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This collection of thirteen essays deals with people with such differing views as Charles Saint Julian, the visionary who drew up constitutions through which he hoped island communities would become what the western world would consider civilised states; Apolosi R. Nawai, a messianic leader in Fiji who challenged established authority; C. M. Woodford, the naturalist who came to study nature but finished as Resident Commissioner of the Solomon Islands Protectorate; Henry Nanpei who manipulated successive European overlords. These and others come to life in the pages of this book.

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MORE
PACIFIC ISLANDS
PORTRAITS
MORE PACIFIC ISLANDS PORTRAITS

Deryck Scarr Editor

Australian National University Press Canberra, ACT and Norwalk, Conn., 1978
In memory of J.W. Davidson

1915–1973
'THE seven sleepers of Polynesia stand, still but half aroused, in the midst of the century of competition.' In these words, with a novelist's panache, Robert Louis Stevenson—who finds a place in this volume of biographical studies of the Pacific—summed up the South Sea Islands as they seemed to him at the end of the nineteenth century. It was a pretty idea and, from the European point of view, not a bad summation of the situation. A good many of the Europeans had tried hard to wake up the sleepers, as these portraits show. The visionary Charles St Julian drew up constitutions through which he hoped Island political entities might turn themselves into approximations of what the Western world would consider civilised states, and so be able to meet that encroaching world on its own terms. Captain Eduard Hernsheim and Captain Crayton Philo Holcomb brought steel tools and draperies, and instructed Islanders in the value which that other world attached to coconut oil in great quantities; and J.B. Thurston, arriving in the South Seas in pursuit of the romantic ideal of a simple life botanising and sailing schooners, remained to see through the pretensions of his fellow Europeans and try to enable Islanders to remain masters in their own houses; while C.M. Woodford came in pursuit of birds and bugs but ended up as foundation Resident Commissioner of the Solomon Islands Protectorate; and Arthur Grimble landed in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands as one of a new breed of colonial civil servants with, in more than a few cases, at least as much commitment to their own careers as to their colonies.

And yet in reality the apparent sleepers were not much in need of awakening. Fully alive to the realities of their own world, Islanders
were pretty conscious too of the modifications and opportunities introduced by the trader, the missionary, the administrator—and indeed by the labour recruiter who, contrary to the unhappy, erroneous popular impression which still persists despite the truth as it was portrayed in the first book of Pacific Islands Portraits, could usually fill up their ships without resorting to blackbirding.

Pacific Islanders found new avenues opened up. The missions provided a fruitful line of advancement; the Samoan pastors Kirisome and Tema made profitable careers in the Ellice Islands—now Tuvalu—while never forgetting that they were at least as much men of the South Seas as men of God. In the Loyalty Islands and in New Caledonia the chiefly Naisiline family and the great chief Bouarate of Hienghène used opportunities arising from Europeans' activities to pursue objectives that would have been perfectly intelligible to the chiefs' Island forbears. In Ponape, Henry Nanpei moved adroitly among the ranks of successive European overlords—Spanish, German, Japanese—while equally adroitly manipulating the highly complicated ranking system of the society into which he was born. And Apolosi R. Nawai, one of a long line of messianic leaders in Fiji, seized on current twentieth century coinage—commercial companies and Christianity—to assist him in the time-hallowed game of challenging constituted authority; while among the atolls of the central Carolines, voyaging in fast outrigger canoes remains to this day the preferred way of life for a man.

Those sleepers were more awake to the century of competition than some of its heralds realised; and they are still wide awake, in the following pages.

Canberra, 1978

D.A.S.
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THE FORTUNES OF THE NAISILINES

Portrait of a Chieftainship

Kerry Howe

THE fortunes of Pacific Islands leaders were often dramatically altered by the arrival of Europeans. Whether contact with the West was ultimately to their personal advantage or not most leaders were quick to appreciate the social, economic, and political opportunities that could arise through dealings with explorers, traders, missionaries, and government officials. The more astute chiefs readily perceived the possibilities of playing off different European interests against one another. Warring chiefs commonly exploited the hatred between Catholic and Protestant missionaries and applied the mutually antagonistic prejudices to their own local conflicts.

Nowhere was this process more clearly illustrated than in the Loyalty Islands. By the 1860s each of the three main islands of the group, Maré, Lifu, and Uvea, had been 'Christianised' and all were neatly divided along boundaries of traditional hostilities into areas of either English Protestant or French Catholic support. Long-standing feuds became 'wars of religion' as chiefs and missionaries urged on their respective 'Soldiers of Christ'. National as well as religious differences introduced by the missionaries to the Loyalty Islands were further aggravated by the French annexation of New Caledonia and the Nouméa administration's increasing participation in Loyalty Islands affairs. Among the more shrewd and ambitious of the Loyalty Islands chiefs were the Naisilines of Maré. For much of the nineteenth century they attempted to come to terms with and manipulate conflicting indigenous and European interests in the hope of intensifying their control over their own tribe and of extending their chiefdom in the north-west of the island to encompass the whole of Maré.

The Loyalty Islands, covering an area of 900 square miles, lie parallel to and sixty miles from the east coast of New Caledonia. Low
Area owing allegiance to the Naisiline chiefship at the height of its influence

Map 2  Maré showing tribal boundaries in the mid-nineteenth century
and flat, they are formed of raised coral and covered in dense bush. At the time of the first reliable censuses, in the 1860s, they supported a population of about 12,500 inhabitants. Although they were first settled by Melanesians, numbers of Polynesians, particularly from Samoa and Tonga, later drifted westwards with the prevailing winds and made landfall. Loyalty Islands chiefs readily accepted the strangers and usually gave them positions of some status in society in return for a monopoly of whatever intellectual or technological skills the migrants possessed: Tongans, for example, were renowned for their expertise in canoe building. Polynesian influences are readily apparent in the Loyalty Islanders’ racial features and may also be partly responsible for the highly stratified socio-political organisations.

The basic social unit was a patrilineal, exogamous, and patrilocal clan or extended family, each with a chief. A clan was usually allied with others, forming a tribe which paid allegiance to a great chief who was normally the most powerful clan chief in the tribe. Whereas clan chiefdoms tended to be based on kinship ties, the great chiefdoms were political organisations forged by conquest or by peaceful diplomacy. The position of chief at both the clan and tribal level was hereditary with succession usually, but not always, going to the eldest son. Deference to the great chiefs was complete. On Maré and Lifu they were addressed in a special ‘court’ language, and on the three islands followers grovelled on all fours if travelling in their presence. But chiefs were not despots: theirs was a position of trust and carried with it the responsibility for the well-being of the tribe. To aid and at the same time keep a watchful eye on the great chiefs were councils of elders or nobles — clan chiefs, advisers, and priests. All policy decisions affecting the tribe were first discussed with the great chief in council in an attempt to reach a consensus of opinion: few great chiefs would dare oppose the wishes of their people. A great chiefship was also supported by a large administrative hierarchy of advisers, diplomats, guards, personal servants, specialist labourers, and other dignitaries. Obligations and the relationship of each individual to all others in the chiefdom were ceremonially delineated each year; the season’s first yams were presented to the heads of families, then to the clan chiefs and were passed up through the pyramidal ranks of dignitaries and nobles, each person adding to the gift, until it finally reached the great chief. Loyalty Islands society with its rigid hierarchies where status and authority was ascribed, as was common in many Polynesian societies, contrasted with numerous Melanesian communities where social stratification was frequently less well defined and status was earned competitively.
The prehistory of the Loyalty Islands was characterised by evolutionary and revolutionary change—the assimilation of migrants, endemic warfare amongst the great chiefdoms, and a consequent continual fragmenting and regrouping of areas of political control. Maré, 247 square miles and with a population in 1860 of 4300, had a particularly turbulent prehistory. According to reliable indigenous traditions considerable numbers of migrants from New Caledonia, Lifu, and Polynesia were accepted by the original Maréan inhabitants, known as eletok, but were denied any political authority. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the disaffected migrants and descendants of migrants took matters into their own hands and massacred a great many of the eletok. The violent process of regrouping clans and redividing the island into areas of political and territorial control had not been long under way when the first Europeans arrived in 1841. The southern and eastern regions were split into numerous warring and politically unstable tribes whereas the northern region was becoming increasingly dominated by the Si Gwahma tribe led by the Naisiline family.

The great chief Yiewene Naisiline had conquered the neighbouring Si Waeko and his influence was established from the eastern side of Northern Bay to just north of Tadine. Fortunately for him and his successors, most of the Europeans visiting Maré came to this area because of the anchorage in Northern Bay, protected from the prevailing easterlies, and the sheltered landing places in the tiny coves at Netche and Mebuet; the exposed, reef-encrusted eastern and southern coastlines kept the tribes in those regions virtually isolated from direct European contact for over twenty years.

Missionaries of the London Mission Society (LMS) made a series of brief visits to Maré throughout the 1840s and early 1850s to land Polynesian teachers who were to introduce aspects of 'civilisation' and the doctrines of Christianity. Yiewene, following the Loyalty Islands tradition, had already gathered about him a retinue of Polynesian migrants and their descendants. One of them, Taufa, from Nuiatoputapu in the Tongan group, was apparently a recent arrival for when the LMS vessel Camden put into Northern Bay in 1841 he astonished the travellers with the cry 'I know the true God'. Yiewene readily agreed to protect two Samoan teachers and added them along with their European utensils to his collection of Polynesians in his household at Netche.

The following year sandalwood traders discovered fine stands of wood on Maré and throughout the 1840s there was a constant stream of English vessels collecting the aromatic timber, buying provisions, and hiring Maré men for boat crews and women for 'wives'. Having
a virtual monopoly on anchorages and landing places Yiewene did very well out of the flourishing trade, much to the disgust of other chiefs on Maré. So jealous were those in the southern regions that when a vessel did brave the reefs and put men ashore in Si Ruemec territory the local chief, according to the LMS teachers, 'commanded his people to kill them all at once; saying all the ships and property had gone to the other district now let it be revenged'. Yiewene immediately wished to punish those responsible for the ensuing massacre of the boat's crew 'for he considered himself now as related to the foreigners on acct. of his relation to them the Teachers'. The Samoan teachers, however, prevented him from sending warriors and he and his people 'wept that they might not go and be revenged'.

Yiewene was portrayed by the LMS missionaries as a crotchety old savage, eager enough to accept Polynesian teachers but only in order to exploit their possessions and technical skills. He paid little heed to their evangelising, and, on his orders, so too did most of the tribe. Services which the teachers initially conducted in his house soon had to be moved elsewhere 'owing to the noise and confusion on the . . . premises' and henceforth only a small number of Tongans made up the congregations. Ta'unga, a Rarotongan teacher, complained:

Jeiue treated us kindly with regard to bodily needs, but he was not partial to the message of God. He would not behave properly on the Sabbath, and the people followed him in his wicked ways, saying evil things to us. He and I quarrelled many times. I tried to persuade him to believe but he flatly refused.

Only once did Yiewene consider that the new doctrines might be of some use: during an epidemic he called upon the teachers' God to repel the disease-making spirits; when the sickness throughout the island continued unabated his initial scepticism of Jehovah's existence was confirmed.

Although Yiewene enjoyed the benefits of regular and peaceful shipping contacts he was easily persuaded by some Isle of Pines visitors who, flushed with their recent successful sacking of the brig Star, encouraged him to attack a sandalwood vessel as a short cut to greater riches. His attempt to take the Brigand failed although ten of her crew were killed. Shortly afterwards his warriors captured the Sisters and killed all eleven crew members not, it seems, out of greed this time but because the captain had allegedly taken to Yiewene with a rope's end during an argument over prices for sandalwood. Having stripped the vessel and set it alight Yiewene's men amused
themselves by flicking gunpowder from one of the *Sisters'* barrels onto a fire. To achieve more spectacular results they threw in handfuls until, inevitably, a spark landed in the barrel and five Islanders perished in a great explosion. The powder barrel incident had significant repercussions for the Naisiline chieftainship for one of those killed was Menedoku Bula, Yiewene's youngest son and heir*.11 Relationships with the traders remained cordial from then on, not only because Yiewene realised that it was to his advantage to bargain peacefully and so attract rather than scare off vessels but also because he became increasingly fearful of retaliation by Europeans for the deaths of crew members of the *Brigand* and the *Sisters*.12

The ageing Yiewene died of dropsy in 1848 and, according to the LMS missionaries, told his sons with his dying gasps that he had been wrong to oppose 'The Word of Jehovah . . . let the heathenism of our family die with me.'13 His youngest surviving son Yiewene Kicini Bula, described by Captain Erskine the following year as a 'fine boy of thirteen or fourteen', was appointed successor,14 and during his minority two older brothers, Naisiline Alakuten and Naisiline Nidoish, acted as regents.15 The latter two immediately attended the instructions of the LMS teachers, not, as the missionaries liked to imagine, because of the pious exhortations of their dying father but because for some time they had recognised the political advantages of associating themselves closely with the new religion. Freed from their father's restraints they immediately exploited the institutions of Christianity and the presence of the teachers to secure their own positions and to assume more intensive control over the every-day activities of their people. Utilising the teachers' technological skill the two Naisilines had built for themselves whitewashed limestone cottages surrounded with neat gardens and picket fences, and ordered their people to construct huge churches at both Ro and Netche. The Sabbath was rigorously observed, attendance at services was compulsory, classes for baptism were begun, nudity was covered, and polygamy publicly abandoned, all under the watchful gaze of the Naisilines.16 Bishop Selwyn, visiting Maré in 1851, considered that among the Si Gwahma people there were 'probably more Christians than anywhere in these seas'.17

By the early 1850s, the two Naisilines felt that they had exploited the Polynesian teachers to the full; further progress, they believed,

* Recognition of the youngest son as heir was an exception in the Loyalty Islands. The reason given in this instance was that Menedoku Bula's mother was a noble woman in the chieftdom of Losi in the south of Lifu. As the Si Gwahma tribe wished to strengthen friendly ties with Losi, Yiewene's advisers considered that the appointment of her son as great chief would ensure continued amicable relations. See Jones to Resident, 13 June 1876, Jones Mission Papers 1845-1875, A399, ML.
depended upon procuring a permanent European missionary. On their 1853 visit to Maré the LMS noted with satisfaction:

> 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.¹⁸

The following year the LMS sent two permanent missionaries, John Jones and Stephen Creagh. Their mission was, in their terms, an instant success: by 1855 the entire population of the Si Gwahma and Si Waeko, about 3000, was considered ‘Christian’ and the missionaries delighted in reporting that their flocks were clothed, clean, reading from books, and in sending off impressive figures for congregations and church membership.

The relationship between the Naisiline chieftainship and the missionaries was a symbiotic one — the chieftainship was strengthened through association with the LMS mission, and the missionaries’ followers increased in numbers and behaved with due decorum because the chiefs so decreed: ‘Having secured the favour of the king’, wrote one missionary, ‘were not only safe, but the gospel became popular.’¹⁹ Just before the two missionaries arrived, the teenage Yiewene Kicini Bula died and his infant son was declared great chief; until he was old enough to assume command Naisiline Alakuten was appointed regent. But he was quickly overshadowed by the more energetic Naisiline Nidoish who was noted for his ambition and his arrogant, officious nature. He had designs not only on the Si Gwahma chieftainship but dreamed of one day ruling the entire island. He saw his opportunity in steadfastly supporting Jones and Creagh and for over thirty years the interests of the LMS mission and Naisiline Nidoish were virtually inseparable — the consolidation and extension of the Si Gwahma chieftainship went hand in hand with the consolidation and extension of Protestantism on Maré.

Within a year of their arrival 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 hard labour, imprisonment, and chaining for months on end. Together with the missionaries, Naisiline Nidoish organised a ‘police force’ of young toughs who roamed about seeking out and punishing ‘miscreants’.²⁰ Armed with the new laws and a means of enforcing them, Naisiline Nidoish assumed almost absolute
authority. He and the missionaries decided policy for the tribe, ignoring the councils of nobles.

A new hierarchical administrative structure headed by Naisiline Nidoish and the missionaries emerged. Beneath them were the Polynesian teachers and the Maré pastors, who gradually took over the duties of the Polynesians. The Si Waeko and Si Gwahma regions were divided into church districts, each one presided over by a Maré pastor who arrogated to himself many of the functions of the local clan chiefs. Villagers had to build huts and supply the pastors with food which was prepared and cooked by clan chiefs' daughters. On Sundays the local pastor's police detachment marched the whole village off to church. The pastors also controlled ranks of church officials — chapel keepers, organisers, overseers — followed by the church members and the 'listeners'. Many of the nobility found that their traditional positions were seriously threatened by the new administration but as they lacked any effective means of gaining popular support to oppose its institutions, most of them supported the innovations. Members of the nobility often became the most ardent supporters of Christianity, seeing in its doctrines and customs a means of maintaining their former entrenched positions within the social hierarchy.

The new administrative structure thus paralleled and to a considerable extent assimilated the pre-Christian political stratification of the chiefdom. The notable difference between the old and the new hierarchy was, however, that all controls were now applied directly from the top: the chieftainship became a despotism. Anyone who dared to question or challenge Naisiline Nidoish was likely to be imprisoned. Even Jones and Creagh, who were well aware that the success of their mission on Maré depended upon his support, nevertheless privately expressed reservations about his officiousness.

'It is highly unlikely, however, that such changes in the chiefdom could have taken place had the majority of the Si Gwahma and Si Waeko people been actively opposed to them. The influence of the mission and Naisiline Nidoish was based on more than just coercion. Christianity and its trappings quickly became a dominant popular
force in the north-west of Maré. There was a genuine and even aggressive enthusiasm for wearing clothes, church-going, singing hymns, reciting catechisms, learning to read and write, and participating in church feast and sports days. Upward social mobility was readily available to the more astute Islanders. Anyone of sufficient intelligence, whether from chiefly lines or not, could attend the seminary established at Ro and within a few years earn for himself a position of authority and responsibility within the chiefdom. Baptism and church membership added to all individuals' dignity, and competition was keen for the required instruction. The mission was also closely identified by the Islanders with the technological apparatus of the European world — tools, printing presses, and large buildings. Metal implements such as fish-hooks, saws, and axes introduced in their hundreds by the mission lightened the burdens of everyday living. The missionaries also taught the Islanders how to dig wells through the coral to reach fresh water, saving many a long trek to natural waterholes. The mission stations at Ro and Netche with their vast missionary houses, workshops, and churches all conferred prestige upon the Christian Maréans. Naisiline Nidoish's own house was a source of wonder not only to his own people but to many European visitors. One described it 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."

Such temporal developments indicated to other Europeans a level of 'civilisation' unprecedented in the south-west Pacific. English vessels, which held a monopoly of New Caledonian maritime commerce throughout the nineteenth century, flocked to Northern Bay or anchored off Netche bringing with them untold material prosperity for Naisiline Nidoish's people, who exported their island produce to the rapidly expanding Nouméan market and signed on as short-term crew members.

The more aggressively the Si Gwahma tribe associated itself with Englishmen and Protestantism the more the Islanders throughout the rest of Maré, although amazed and deeply impressed by the revolutionary happenings in the north-west, 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.\textsuperscript{24}

Christianity was seen as 'Naisiline's religion' and the chiefs felt that any acceptance of the new doctrines and customs would indicate deference to their enemy who, they not unreasonably assumed, would send his pastors and policemen to challenge their authority.\textsuperscript{25}

In 1860 Naisiline Nidoish took his first step to extend the Si Gwahma chiefdom: encouraged by the missionaries, he led his warriors into battle with the cry 'Naisiline the chief of Jehovah', a modification of his former cry 'Naisiline the son of Jewessi', and decimated the neighbouring Si Achakaze. The leader of the vanquished tribe, great chief Gocene, escaped with a spear sticking through his throat and swore that he would one day avenge his humiliation at the hands of the Naisiline family.\textsuperscript{26} The Si Gwahma victory in the name of the Christian God had a profound effect upon surrounding tribes and most of the members of the Si Nerech, Si Med, and Node Ri Kurubu thought it prudent to accept the new religion lest they suffer the same fate as the Si Achakaze.

Naisiline Nidoish immediately sent his teachers and policemen to those tribes and thus effectively ruled half of Maré. The LMS missionaries were delighted: 'the Christians are encouraged having right and light on their side', wrote Jones.\textsuperscript{27} To add to Naisiline Nidoish's triumph his de facto position within the Si Gwahma tribe was legitimised in the early 1860s. When Naisiline Alakuten died in 1858 Naisiline Nidoish was technically regent for Yiewene Kicini Bula's infant son, and when the child died in 1861 Naisiline Nidoish was considered by the majority of his people as the great chief of the Si Gwahma.\textsuperscript{28} The missionaries, hastening to make capital from the fact that he could no longer be accused of usurping the chieftainship, and also hoping to consolidate his recent territorial gains, crowned him 'King of Maré' in 1862.\textsuperscript{29} But their attempts to found a 'missionary kingdom' in the western Pacific were premature, for there were still too many tribes bitterly opposed to Naisiline Nidoish who turned to French Catholic missionaries for help. In response to requests by several chiefs, the Marist Mission, already entrenched on New Caledonia, the Isle of Pines, Uvea, and Lifu, sent François Beaulieu and Jerome Guitta, who established a mission station at La Roche with outposts at Awi and Penelo. Mortified by their presence, Naisiline Nidoish involved himself in the intricacies of intra-tribal
politics in these regions, encouraging several ambitious dissidents who, seeing their chance to supplant their now Catholic chiefs, pledged their allegiance to the LMS. But as well as having to deal with this new European presence, Naisiline Nidoish also had to consider the French administration in New Caledonia, which was becoming increasingly concerned with Loyalty Islands affairs.

The French Government annexed New Caledonia in 1853 and although it considered the Loyalty Islands as a 'natural dependency' it initially took little interest in them because they were of no economic significance. In 1864 Governor Charles Guillain sent a military expedition to Lifu to end the 'war of religion' between Catholic and Protestant Islanders. Guillain was a rabid anticleric, just as much opposed to Catholicism as Protestantism, yet the LMS mission bore the brunt of his campaign because he detested English influences so close to New Caledonia. Naisiline Nidoish had looked on in anguish as the French soldiers closed down the LMS mission and forced the Lifuan chiefs to submit to their will. Although the LMS conducted a successful propaganda campaign through the British Foreign Office, and the Paris government censured Guillain and allowed the Protestant mission on Lifu to reopen, Naisiline Nidoish was still fearful of French intervention on Mare. Thus when he attacked the Catholic tribes in 1869 he did so in a manner calculated to pander to Guillain's anticlericalism: abandoning his 'chief of Jehovah' war cry, he marched instead under a tricolour, which he had procured from a French official on Lifu, and claimed that he was the 'Napoleon of Mare' out to end the 'lawlessness' fomented by the priests in the south and east and to put the tribes in 'their proper order'. Whether by design or not, with his huge waxed handlebar moustache he certainly bore a striking resemblance to the reigning Napoleon III, and was henceforth referred to as such by the priests.

Naisiline Nidoish destroyed the Catholics' villages and plantations. The two priests and some 600 supporters took refuge on top of a huge fortress-like upthrust of coral at La Roche. When food supplies ran out they were forced to surrender and Naisiline Nidoish imprisoned many of the Maréans at Netche. He then travelled to Lifu to tell the French commandant of his deeds but Beaulieu got there first: when Naisiline Nidoish set foot ashore he was imprisoned for several weeks. Although the French administration had no desire to protect the Marist mission it did want to limit Naisiline Nidoish's influence to the north-west of the island, if only to maintain peace among the tribes. However, it could not afford to send a sufficient number of soldiers to check any future aggressions and the priests,
fearful that Naisiline Nidoish would soon return to the attack, transported their 900 Maré supporters to the Isle of Pines. For the next five years the Si Gwahma chief and the LMS missionaries ruled Maré unchallenged.

In 1875 most of the Maré Catholics and the priests returned. Their stay at the Isle of Pines had been unhappy, mainly because they outnumbered the Isle of Pines population and food resources were strained. Moreover the French administration was eager to see them leave because it was preparing the island as a prison for deportees from the Paris Commune. Naisiline Nidoish was furious to see his enemies return but instead of resorting to intimidation he opened a campaign on the diplomatic front, doubtless under the inspiration of Jones. In November 1875 Naisiline Nidoish organised a 'constitutional convention' at Netche and announced the establishment of a parliament of Maré with upper and lower houses and with himself as leader. He also presented himself with a petition begging that he would assume the chiefship over all of Maré. When few of his enemies attended the meeting he forged their signatures on the petition. The documents were written in the Maré language and in English and sent to Governor Léopold de Pritzbuer in Nouméa for approval. The Governor repudiated them, having little time for Maré politics and even less for Naisiline Nidoish, whom he considered an arrogant upstart.

Naisiline Nidoish immediately re-involved himself in the local squabbles over land and rights to chieftainships among the southern and eastern tribes. 'He knew well the excellence of the principle: divide and rule', remarked one French official. The priests, who had lost an anticlerical foe on the death of Napoleon III and whose country was still smarting from the effects of the Franco-Prussian war, now vilified Naisiline Nidoish as the 'Bismarck of Maré' — a name which, in view of his delicate relations with the French administration, he wisely rejected. In the late 1870s the French sent four commissions to mark out boundaries beyond which Naisiline Nidoish was not to go, and to try to sort out the issues dividing the rest of Maré. All their attempts were unsuccessful, although Naisiline Nidoish's refusal to accept the findings of one commission earned him six months working on a government farm in New Caledonia and several of his allies from the southern and eastern tribes were exiled to Tahiti. Any inquiries into the problems of land ownership and rights to chieftainships in the south and east led immediately to evidence of the massacre of the eletok. Much of the unrest on Maré, the French realised, resulted from the political and territorial
division of Maré since that time. One commission noted in some despair that it was impossible to adjudicate to the Islanders’ satisfaction because there was not one village on the whole island that was possessed by the original owners and that chiefs had always ‘made war to increase their powers and their domains’.

Minor skirmishes between the Catholic chiefs and Naisiline Nidoish continued but the Si Gwahma chief increasingly lost the initiative in the south and east to both the Marist priests and the French officials: the priests were to prove his equals in the campaign of divide and rule, and although his warriors could easily have driven the Catholic forces from the island, he was well aware that such an act would result in his exile by the French. He could extend his chiefdom no further, his dream of becoming the great chief of Maré faded. He died a disappointed man in 1880 at the age of 65.

The LMS paid him lavish tribute, hailing him as their patron and the grand old man of the Protestant cause on Maré; the Marist priests bade him good riddance. Although he failed to realise his life-long ambition, Naisiline Nidoish’s achievements were considerable. He successfully exploited various and often conflicting European interests from the late 1840s until the mid 1870s. He intensified the Si Gwahma chieftainship’s powers by organising and dominating, in association with the LMS missionaries, a revolutionary and militant administrative hierarchy for the chiefdom and he extended its boundaries to encompass more than half the island. Finally, his leadership remained effective during a period of considerable social change — from a time when Europeans described his people as naked savages until they were considered to be devout Christians and ‘the most advanced of any natives in western Polynesia’.

Yiewene Dokucas Naisiline, Naisiline Nidoish’s son, took over the chieftainship. Aged 30, he had been virtually brought up in the Jones family and had received a good deal of English middle-class schooling; he had even briefly visited England with Jones in the late 1860s. Jones hoped that Yiewene’s staunchness in religious matters and his devotion to the church combined with his youthful enthusiasm might well inspire his people to renew attempts to spread Protestantism throughout the rest of Maré. Jones was delighted therefore when one month after assuming the chieftainship Yiewene threw caution to the winds and destroyed the Catholics’ villages at Awi, Penelo, and La Roche; for the second time in ten years the priests and all their followers took refuge on top of the coral fortress at La Roche. In contrast to its mild reaction to the 1869 attack, the
Nouméa administration, sick and tired of the continuing trouble on Maré, immediately dispatched a warship and exiled to Cochin-China fifteen of Yiewene's allies from amongst the southern and eastern tribes. Their removal brought an end to the fighting if not the hostility between Catholics and Protestants over issues of land and chieftainships, and as eleven of the fifteen exiles died by 1882 through illness and despondency in the harsh climate and conditions, aspirants to chiefly positions dared not antagonise the French any further. The loss of his allies was of little moment to Yiewene, however, for he had to face far more serious consequences within his own chieftainship.

To save himself from exile Yiewene swore undying loyalty to the French administration and promised to break his ties with Jones. The French spared him, not because they were fooled by his overnight change of heart but because they believed that the only way to achieve a lasting peace on Maré was to secure the support of the most powerful chief.\(^4\)\(^5\) They were also determined to eradicate once and for all the anti-French prejudices of Yiewene's people. Both English and French visitors to the island invariably commented on the sentiments of 'continual ill-feeling, insubordination and even rebellion' that the Islanders displayed towards the French.\(^4\)\(^6\) The administration laid the blame squarely on the shoulders of the LMS mission and to combat its English influences without upsetting the Islanders' religious scruples sent a French Protestant missionary, Jean Pierre Cru. He immediately tried to take over the running of the Protestant church and joined forces with Yiewene. Jones and the Maréan church officials together with the majority of the Si Gwahma tribe were horrified by Cru's presence and his association with the great chief. When it was discovered that Cru was not a member of an accredited missionary society Jones vilified him as a 'paid state agent'. Yiewene's popularity dropped dramatically and Jones gave the church its independence from the LMS and encouraged the Maré pastors and all their supporters to rebel against Cru and the great chief.\(^4\)\(^7\) The resulting schism between the church hierarchy and the chieftainship left Yiewene powerless. In 1883 he complained to the French Government: 'the religious question has become a political question and two parties that are enemies have formed in my land'—a minority following him and France, and a majority owing allegiance to Jones and England, the walls of their huts lined with drawings of the Royal family. 'This [latter] 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'.\(^4\)\(^8\)
Although tempted to transfer his loyalty back to Jones and so unite his chieftdom, Yiewene was well aware that the French Government ultimately held the power throughout the Loyalty Islands. Relying on French backing he and some trusted henchmen attacked and imprisoned a number of Maré pastors who were openly advocating rebellion against him. The French Government quickly exiled the pastors to the Isle of Pines and New Caledonia and the rift in Yiewene’s chieftdom assumed more serious proportions. A number of individuals who had harboured grudges against the Naisilines openly displayed their feelings. Gocene, the former great chief of the Si Achakaze who had been defeated by Yiewene’s father in 1860, had long awaited his chance to even the score. He travelled around the north and west showing off his scarred neck where he had been speared at the time of his defeat and claimed that he would lead the people from the tyranny of Yiewene and the French. Some 2500 Maréans from amongst the Si Gwahma, Si Waeko, and Si Achakaze tribes followed him inland and settled between Menaku and La Roche; only 400 people remained loyal to Yiewene.

By turning against the church organisation which had helped to make the Naisiline chieftainship the most powerful on Maré, Yiewene brought the chieftainship to the nadir of its fortunes: no longer could it command its own people let alone any other tribes on Maré. The lesson for Yiewene was a bitter one. The missionary-inspired administrative structure built and controlled by Naisiline Nidoish had developed its own momentum and with its mass support could ignore any leader who attempted to change its course radically—an illustration that, although the institution of chieftainship could be strengthened through Western contact, a Loyalty Islands chief still could not force his views upon an unwilling tribe. Ironically, however, although Yiewene lost his chieftdom he was among the first of his people to realise and accept the political reality that Maré was a French territory: to attempt to dominate the rest of the island, to cultivate anti-French influences, and to adopt pretensions of independence was impossible for the Naisilines as long as the French controlled New Caledonia; it took ten years for the majority of his people to adopt a similar view.

Until 1895 the ‘bush party’ led by Gocene and proclaiming its allegiance to Jones and England lived apart from the ‘sea party’ which supported Yiewene and the French. The government made some effort to unite the two factions by removing Cru, expelling Jones in 1887, and exiling Gocene to the Isle of Pines. But the French were hesitant to force the bush party to return. So strongly did it identify with Jones and so vigorous was the public outcry in Britain and
THE NAISILINE CHIEFTAINSHIP

Yiewene Naisiline
(received first Europeans 1841, died 1848)

Menedoku Bula
(heir to chiefship, died 1843 in explosion of powder barrel from Sisters)

Yiewene Kicini Bula
(great chief from 1848, a minor, died 1854)

Naisiline
(great chief from 1854, a minor, died 1861)

Naisiline Alakuten
(regent for Kicini Bula's son, died 1858)

Naisiline Nidoish
(donated Si Gwahna during Alakuten's regency, conquered Si Achakaze 1860, declared great chief 1861, crowned King of Mars 1862 by LMS missionaires, died 1880)

Yiewene Dokucas Naisiline
(great chief from 1880, transferred allegiance from LMS mission to French administration in Nouméa and to French Protestantism, died 1916)

Henry Naisiline I
(1874-1918)

Henry Naisiline II
(1911-)

Henry Naisiline III
(1945-)

Australia against his expulsion,\textsuperscript{51} that they had no wish to aggravate matters further. But by the mid 1890s the bush party's resolve had flagged. Having lost all its militant leaders, aware that the French had no intention of ever allowing another LMS missionary to set foot on the island, and realising that the government did not want to destroy its church, the bush party rejoined Yiewene and agreed to obey the French. The uniting of the two groups was symbolised in the acceptance in 1898 of a member of the Société des Missions Evangéliques de Paris, to whom the LMS officially transferred the Protestant mission on Maré.

By the turn of the century the major issues of conflict on Maré, between Catholicism and Protestantism, between English and French influences and between rival indigenous interests had largely been settled. After almost 100 years of turbulent history the Naisiline chieftainship finally achieved a relatively stable relationship with its own people, the other tribes on Maré, the missions, and the Nouméan administration—a relationship which, while not without its tensions, has remained to the present day. The Naisiline's territorial ambitions were thwarted and their direct control over their own people was severely shaken. Never again have they achieved the degree of authority such as that once exercised by Naisiline Nidoish; nor has the Protestant church, though remaining a powerful influence in the chiefdom, ever regained its old militancy and its ability to dominate each individual in everyday affairs. The pre-missionary structure of the chiefdom in large part reasserted itself, although its members remained at least nominally Christian. In particular the council of elders once again became an effective body both in aiding and on occasion also in limiting the authority of the great chiefs. As the Loyalty Islands were unsuitable for large scale European settlement or economic exploitation the Nouméa administration declared them Native Reserves in 1900 and was content to rule through the existing chiefs and their hierarchies rather than impose any European administrative structure. As a result, Loyalty Islands chieftainships today have structures more akin to their traditional organisations than to those inspired by the missions at the height of their influence in the mid-nineteenth century, and none more so than the Naisiline chieftainship of Maré.\textsuperscript{52}
THE Pacific in the nineteenth century attracted more than its share of European romantics, ill-assorted men who found in this area, so remote from the mainstream of political events, an opportunity to act out their private dreams and aspirations. On such a small stage, the individual had more freedom of action, and could write for himself not only the subsequent scenes of his own drama, but also, if the mood took him, his own prologue to the play. No one could disprove the script, and at this distance proof becomes harder still.

One such actor was Charles St Julian, of whose early life what is known is confusing, obscure, and relies almost entirely on what he chose to tell about himself. He was born, probably in France, of Anglo-French parentage, in May 1819, and by his own account seems to have led a life of high adventure before coming to South Australia in 1837, the year following settlement. During his adolescence he had served with the irregular British forces in the Circassian Mountains against the Russians, and against the Carlists for the Queen of Spain.\(^1\) He was also involved, possibly in the naval support, in an expedition up the Niger River, ‘while yet a mere boy’. During a court case at which he was called as a witness, he also claimed to be a count, nationality unspecified, saying he had the papers to prove this claim.\(^2\)

The importance of his early life lies in the fact that St Julian’s actions are coloured by a quixotic approach which may well owe its origins to this background, though whether he designed for himself a background to complement his later attitudes or was himself moulded by a genuinely unusual adolescence is hard to say.

In 1839, at any rate, St Julian came to Sydney and, with some experience in journalism in South Australia on the South Australian Colonial Gazette and Register, quickly became involved in the news-
paper world of New South Wales. He was particularly associated with the liberal Catholic press, through the *Australasian Chronicle* under W.A. Duncan, and later became co-proprietor of this paper under its new name of *Sydney Chronicle* with his future father-in-law, E.J. Hawksley. By 1848 it had failed, and after struggling on as sole proprietor of the *Daily News*, which went to six issues, he lapsed into bankruptcy in early 1849.

This background of religious partisanship was to be a complicating factor in his Pacific interests. His liberalism shows in the political role he saw for the Pacific islands, and especially in the constitutions he wrote; while as a Catholic he aroused the antagonism of Protestant missionaries with whom he came in contact. His Catholicism leaned to the French rather than the Irish, and his relations with the French Pacific missionaries, the Marist Fathers, were close despite his dislike of French imperial ambitions.

Following the collapse of his finances St Julian joined the *Sydney Morning Herald*, with which he had earlier connections; and here and elsewhere he now began to establish a reputation—however undeserved—as an expert on the Pacific and an advocate of the expansion of Australian commerce in this area.

The Islands of the Pacific, afford an almost unlimited field for enterprise, which has as yet been but little touched by the Australian merchants... No attempt whatever has been made to develop their latent resources... There has been no settled principle of exchange—no definite arrangements for a continuous supply—but the trading masters have driven the best possible bargain at each place, utterly reckless of the future.3

In the mid-nineteenth century, improved transport was bringing Australia and the Pacific countries closer together. The repeal of the British Navigation Acts in 1848 removed the last legal barrier to trade, and the gold rushes, first in California, then in Australia, developed a substantial communications link across the Pacific.

St Julian had come into contact with Hawaiians on board ships calling at Adelaide, and his interest in the Pacific islands appears to date from this early period. A general interest in the Pacific was developing in New South Wales during the 1840s, stimulated by the French takeover in Tahiti and the publicity surrounding the Pritchard expulsion. Sydney was an entrepôt for the Pacific from its earliest existence—for both commerce and the missions—and the British presence in New Zealand made the possibility of further expansion more likely.

St Julian’s advocacy of Australian commercial expansion was not unique in this period, although its intensity was to make him a major
spokesman of commercial groups and an adviser to successive governors on Pacific affairs. It was his involvement in Hawaiian affairs that gave a new, and unexpected, twist to his preoccupation.

During the period of the gold rushes, communication with Hawaii was more frequent because of the heavy traffic on the Pacific route from Sydney to San Francisco. Hawaii was therefore more in the eyes of the Australian public, and for St Julian this provided an opportunity both to further his interest in Pacific affairs and to satisfy his craving for status and position.

In his efforts to gain such a position, the image which Hawaii was seeking to project in the South Seas at this time helps to explain the Hawaiian response to his suggestions. Hawaii was an island kingdom in a state of precarious independence. Under the Kamehamehas, the tribal groups within the islands had been united and a limited monarchy established — limited both constitutionally and by the de facto power of the European population. The government, especially through the skill of the Foreign Minister, English-born Robert C. Wyllie, maintained an uneasy balance between the competing interests of the United States and France, with Great Britain acting as a slightly dishonest broker in negotiations. Wyllie had manoeuvred Hawaii out of possible French entanglement in the 1840s, until a point had been reached where Hawaii's future existence depended largely on her ability to justify herself as an independent state in the eyes of the international community.

That she was comparatively successful in doing so made her a model for other island groups in the Pacific, particularly Tonga and Fiji where the process of unification under a single ruler had already begun. In her quest for international respectability, her ability to influence the development of these other groups along the lines first developed in Hawaii was seen by both Wyllie and St Julian as a useful diplomatic move and in fact, the constitutions of Fiji (1871) and Tonga (1875) both owe much to Hawaiian precedent.4

St Julian's first overture to the Hawaiian Government was characteristically circuitous. In 1848 he wrote suggesting that Hawaii should:

not be without a Consul in this part of the world—apart from political and commercial considerations there is another reason why there should be some such officer here, and that is, that natives of the Hawaiian Islands are frequently knocking about in this quarter who require a constitutional guardian.5

St Julian did not become that 'constitutional guardian'. Instead Thomas Winder Campbell, of the mercantile dynasty, was approved
by Merivale as Hawaiian Consul on 13 May 1851. But St Julian continued his approaches to the Hawaiians, sending Wyllie a copy of his *Notes on the Latent Resources of Polynesia* and exchanging statistical information. He also began to broach the subject which was to interest him for the next twenty-three years:

I perceive from the list of His Hawaiian Majesty's Foreign Representatives appended to your report that you have no one to represent and to guard the interests of the King in the countries to which I particularly allude as requiring attentive observation—I mean the great island of New Guinea the extensive groups in the vicinity and the Archipelagoes of Polynesia proper. I therefore respectfully solicit an appointment as His Majesty's Representative for these regions . . . I think I may venture to assert without much egotism that there is no one in the quarter who has bestowed or is bestowing so much attention upon the countries alluded to, and their affairs as myself, nor can I admit that there is any one who has more kindly and respectful feelings towards Hawaii its Government and its people . . . I will now briefly mention some of the reasons why, in my opinion the Hawaiian Government should be represented and well represented in connexion with the countries before mentioned. Around us to the northward and to the eastward are youthful states springing up—many still barbarous and ill organised, but marching towards comparative civilisation and good government with astounding rapidity and speedily to become respectable and respected in their independence. It is necessary that, as these grow up, the proper supremacy of Hawaii among the nations of Polynesia should be presented and its interests secured.

He went on to point out the dangers from European expansion, dwelling particularly on France, which had recently been threatening Hawaii, and pointing out the likelihood that white chieftainships in the Sarawak tradition of Rajah Brooke were likely to emerge. In offering his services, St Julian said he would not require payment but laid great stress on the legal technicalities of appointment. He was a great stickler for etiquette, and was later to spend considerable time and expense in designing his own uniform—plain but "spicy".

The motives behind this offer, apparently unsolicited, need careful examination. St Julian's own explanation to Wyllie is ingenuous, but probably contains an element of truth. 'I will candidly confess that such an appointment would forward my own views by aiding me in the collection of materials for a larger work on Polynesia'. The larger work was never completed, and assurances of candour in St Julian's correspondence are usually a sign to look below the surface, but he did have a genuine interest in the study of Polynesian culture. Among the assets listed in his second bankruptcy in 1863 is a collection of Polynesian artifacts, and he was still collecting ten years
later in Fiji. In addition, he seems to have had a genuine visionary program for Polynesia, in which he hoped to persuade the Hawaiians to play a large part.

and if God spares my life the Kingdom of Hawaii shall be what, in these regions it ought to be. — In the Australias respected and looked up to as a sovereign state which must, one day or another have extensive political and commercial relations with these splendid countries: In Polynesia regarded as the guide the guardian and the Natural head of a system of small sovereignties: Occupying, in short a position not dissimilar from that which is filled by Austria in connection with the small German states.

In his official position of His Hawaiian Majesty's Commissioner to the States and Tribes of Polynesia, an ad hoc position conferred upon him through Wyllie's support, Charles St Julian saw his role as that of encouraging the development of Pacific island groups as independent states and giving practical help in government through his hobby of constitution-making. As court reporter for the Sydney Morning Herald he had much practical experience in the law, although no formal legal training. Hawaii would gain from his efforts, as the 'moral leader' of this loose Pacific confederation which would make her a more effective power in her confrontations with the imperial powers. She would 'have an amount of influence in these states — "pulling the strings" as it were and virtually controlling their movements and policy — which will fix her in a position of world wide importance and will aid materially in placing her permanent independence beyond all question'. Such a confederation would fill the power vacuum presently existing in the Pacific, which coincidentally threatened to destroy Australia's sphere of influence before it had even been recognised as such.

St Julian worked without effective instructions, at a time when the first enthusiastic traffic to the Californian goldfields was dwindling, and he never went to Hawaii or met any members of her government; but his actions were ostensibly taken in the name of Hawaii. He proceeded to send a circular letter to the various 'Chiefs and Tribes of Polynesia', extolling the virtues of the Hawaiian Kingdom, suggesting the advantages to other islands of following this same road, and offering his services to lead the way: 'I also, as the representative of His Hawaiian Majesty, shall be ready and willing at all times, to give you every information in my power.'

The response was hardly deafening. From Tonga there did come a heartening response, although it would eventually lead to a deep rift between St Julian and the missionary establishment there, a deeply entrenched group of Australian-based Wesleyans. King George
Tupou had visited Sydney in 1853, when to St Julian he appeared as 'a mere missionary puppet'. King George may have met St Julian during this visit and he was certainly brought to the King's attention when St Julian's official missive arrived in November 1854. The document was translated and presented to Tupou by the Reverend Thomas West, who remarked in his journal:

It is a highly instructive fact, and very suggestive of the remarkable progress of religion and civilization in these parts of the earth, to find negotiations of this kind formally opened between kings and natives, who, a few short years since, were heathens and cannibals . . . Certain I am that the Tonguese have better capabilities, and greater facilities for becoming an important people, than even the Hawaiians; but such sweeping reforms and alterations in the political conditions and laws of any people must, in great measure, be a work of time.

This temperate attitude on the Wesleyans' part was to change when King George showed signs of welcoming the advice of St Julian:

Charles St. Julian,

I am thankful with a rejoicing heart this day in my receiving the letters which have been brought to me from you my friend, to aid me and my people and my land . . . And this is the Book of our Laws that I send you. Do you look into it, and if there be anything that seems strange or wrong you make it known to me and I will consider respecting it.

This response from Tonga was followed by letters from St Julian, later published as Two Letters of Advice from MR. ST. JULIAN to THE KING OF THE TONGESE ISLANDS on the formation of his government, etc. in which he suggested changes in the Tongan legal code and constitution. Although many of St Julian's recommendations, based largely on Hawaiian precedent, were subsequently adopted by the King, the missionaries came to resent bitterly his encroachment on what they regarded as their sphere of influence.

The wider implications of St Julian's connection with King George seem to be hinted at by those Wesleyans on the spot:

[King George] was certainly in a bad and unsettled state of mind when he returned from Sydney. The cause was that he fancied he was going to start into unknown riches and magnificence through the kindness and philanthropy of your Australian citizens who were going to 'develop the resources of his country'! He, perhaps, thought we Missionaries were keeping him in tutelage and he must teach us to respect his altered position. The 'South Sea bubble' of Australia has burst! The philanthropists have flown! 'Bite, bite, Sir.' The only remaining philanthropist of this class now appears to be a Mr. St. Julian. i.e. Hawaiian Commissioner i.e. Law Scavenger of the Sydney Morning Herald. What sort of a Premier would he make in the Tongan kingdom?
The King has now a more correct opinion of the friendship of his old acquaintances the Missionaries. I am persuaded he would not write such a letter now as he sent to Sydney three years ago. But who can tell? He is a native after all, you well know.23

Intensifying their resentment, on 9 January 1858 an article appeared in the Sydney Morning Herald, for which St Julian later claimed responsibility, entitled ‘Central Polynesia’; in it he wrote:

King George of Tonga, the ruling chief of the Friendly Islands, has clearly an eye to the acquisition of sovereignty over Samoa, as well as over the Feejeees . . . The acquisition of any such general supremacy by this man must not, however, be permitted. It would not only tend to perpetuate barbarism, but might end in the production of quarrels among some of the maritime powers whose subject[s] are scattered over this region. His government of his own islands is totally inefficient except for the wants of the merest savages, and, with the true feeling of a semi-barbaric chief, he obstinately resists all improvement. He still holds, too, the office of a local preacher under the Wesleyan missionaries. His own kingdom will certainly fall asunder when he dies. How, then can he hope to hold more extended dominions?24

This provoked strong reaction from John Eggleston, General Secretary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society:

I must say that your paragraph respecting King George of Tonga is utterly opposed to all the information I have received [sic.] from the Islands both from Wesleyan Missionaries and others . . . and I deeply regret that an article so damaging to one who has wrought so hard for the elevation of his people should be sent to England on your authority.25

St Julian’s reply demonstrated the differing assumptions on which both men based their judgments:

King George is much in advance of his tribe in intelligence and he is a good man in the widest sense of the term. By his intelligence and his goodness he has done much for the social advancement of his people but looking at his and their political state (the only aspect in which I now regard them) there is still very much to be desired. I should be glad as you well know to see King George not only recognised by all the great maritime powers and invested with an extended rule if the conditions precedent of qualifying his government to fulfil international obligations were complied with. But ere this be, he must give up his canoe progress feastings and Cava parties must have an organised government and an effective code of Laws impartially administered must relieve the lower orders from the Reactions of Chiefdom must encourage industrial improvement must give up his local preachership and stand neutral between all sects and classes of his Subjects.26

St Julian’s relations with Tonga reached a height of complexity with British moves to establish a consulate there. With his reputation
as an expert on Pacific affairs, St Julian by the mid-1850s had become an adviser to the Governor of New South Wales:

I have been requested . . . as one supposed to be peculiarly conversant with Polynesian affairs and interests to prepare Memoranda, with suggestions as to policy etc. which His Excellency will submit to the Imperial Government. This paper, so far as the British Government are concerned, will come from me as a private individual. But . . . it seems to me that the Policy which is proper for Great Britain is to, a great extent, equally proper to Hawaii.27

In this dual role then, St Julian continued to espouse his objective of commercial penetration, and suggested that it could be successfully furthered by the establishment of a number of British consulates, one of which was to be at Tonga. That St Julian hoped to be appointed to one of these positions is clear from the tone of his letters to Wyllie, in which he started to dwell on the advantages—for Hawaii—of his removal 'to some central position in Polynesia'.28 A formal request to this purpose was sent to England.29

The Wesleyans were appalled. St Julian was a Catholic of liberal tendencies and French origins, totally at odds with the Protestant, theocratic and anti-French system for which they stood in Tonga. His previous intrusions into Tongan affairs made him doubly unpopular. The result was a determined effort to prevent St Julian's appointment. Eggleston petitioned the Secretary of State for the Colonies:

Your Memorialist is assured that King George while deeply concerned for the welfare and improvement of his people and ready to weigh any advice properly tendered has a mind peculiarly sensitive of any undue interference by foreigners with his official position and this would render a gentleman who is ever ready to intrude his opinions in constant danger of disturbing those friendly relations which should exist between the King and Her Majesty's Representative . . . Wherefore your Memorialist humbly begs that your Lordship will be pleased to take the premises into favorable consideration and in the selection of a Consul for Tonga will fix upon a gentleman who will not unnecessarily interfere with the civil or religious rights and privileges of King George or his people.30

The request was backed up in London by Elijah Hoole, Secretary of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, and St Julian did not get the post.31 None was created at this time.

He had many other irons in the fire. For Samoa also he wrote a constitution—first published in the *Sydney Morning Herald* on 30 March 1855, and reprinted with the King George correspondence. His opinion was that Samoa should establish 'a federal union of the petty states now existing—with some (constitutional) improvements;
and a central government for the whole—rather of a Monarchical than of a Republican Character—a sort of Lilliputian resuscitation of the old German Empire upon which a more perfect system may and will be slowly grafted'.

Like most of his schemes this never got off the ground, but it demonstrates again his predilection for the confederate system of government at present experiencing its death-throes in Europe. Nonetheless the appointment of J.C. Williams as British Consul in Samoa was a result of St Julian's recommendation.

St Julian's aims for a Hawaiian confederation came closest to success through his connection with the machinations of Ben Boyd. Ben Boyd was a flamboyant entrepreneur, who came to New South Wales in 1842 when he took up large tracts of land in the Monaro area, and was involved in a scheme to set up a steamship service connecting the ports of Australia. Much of his capital was tied up in a further venture, the Royal Bank of Australia, formed in 1839; and when this failed in 1849 he set sail for the goldfields of California, with a plan—should he once more fail to make his fortune—to set up an independent state in the South Seas, along the lines of Rajah Brooke, a scheme he had first proposed to Lord John Russell in 1840.

In pursuance of this plan, Boyd sailed to the Solomon Islands where he claimed to have bought the Stewarts' Islands; but he was killed by Islanders on San Cristoval, and his claims then devolved on his partner John Webster. These rather dubious claims formed the basis of St Julian's most ambitious attempt to further the interests of Hawaii, through annexation of Boyd's alleged purchase to the Hawaiian crown. Such annexation would undoubtedly have been of benefit to Webster, who planned to set up a trading post there; it would have imposed no restrictions on his activity, Hawaii being too weak, while at the same time it would have freed him from the possibility of annexation by some other power. For Hawaii, St Julian painted the advantages thus:

The establishment at such a place of a Hawaiian dependency would create no jealousy but would by all classes be hailed as a great boon. Indeed from its usefulness in every respect it would be a great boon and would be a practical confirmation of the impression I am desirous of seeing established that while the importance and the wants of Eastern, Western, and Central Polynesia is wholly lost sight of by the great powers, Hawaii is fully alive to that importance that this the first of Polynesian nationalities is determined to promote by every means in its power the elevation of the less civilised races who people the extensive and beautiful regions already alluded to, and to care for the welfare of those who go
among them either as the Heralds of a surer faith or as the pioneers of Commerce, and these advantages will be gained to his Majesty's Government, without the slightest outlay.\textsuperscript{35}

As an added inducement, St Julian suggested that the islands could be used as a sanatorium for debilitated missionaries.

Wyllie was apparently tempted by the scheme, but the Hawaiian administration was in no position to begin a policy of aggrandisement, and after considerable stalling the cession offer lapsed. Webster by this time had lost interest, and ceded full rights to St Julian. In 1859 the latter used these islands to endow a Polynesian order of merit—the Order of Arossi—of which he made himself Grand Commander for Southern Polynesia.\textsuperscript{36}

Thwarted in his efforts to gain the co-operation of the Hawaiian Government for his schemes, St Julian seems to have lost interest in Pacific politics during the 1860s. He had acted as a sponsor for Pacific interests and as a protector for Polynesians in Sydney, particularly in the courts; but the fall-off in trade in the 1860s meant that contact with Hawaii was virtually lost and, more personally, depression and bad management took him into bankruptcy once more in 1863. His main preoccupation in these years was local government—he was chairman of Waverley Council, and Mayor of Marrickville during this decade.

Unexpectedly, however, he resumed correspondence with Hawaii in 1870, sending an 'exploratory letter'\textsuperscript{37} in which he suggested that the present unstable situation in Fiji might be resolved if Fiji were to become a protectorate of Hawaii.\textsuperscript{38} This was followed during 1871 by more puzzling suggestions that Samoa or New Guinea might also enter the Hawaiian sphere of influence.\textsuperscript{39}

By 1871, Fiji's instability was becoming an issue of international proportions and a matter for intense speculation in Australia. During the cotton boom brought about by the American civil war, the number of Europeans had increased to levels which made the need for some form of recognised authority greater than during any previous period. The power of the consuls, previously adequate, no longer sufficed and with the urging of a group of European settlers in Levuka, the 'Cakobau Government' was established, on the form of a monarchy with the Vunivalu of Bau as the putative ruler.

This move involved an attempt to restrict the previously unlimited extra-territoriality practised by the European population, and aroused a storm of protest, led by the British Consul who felt his authority was challenged. The government was further plagued by financial difficulties—the difficulty of exerting sufficient authority to collect taxes was aggravated by a slump in the price of cotton. But its
main failure lay in its inability to gain international recognition, crucial if the European population was to be made acquiescent.

St Julian's acquaintance Sir Alfred Stephen, Chief Justice of New South Wales, assessed the situation in a spirit of cautious optimism:

If we look at this in a ludicrous light, or with suspicion more or less well founded, here is a nation scarcely exceeding in number the population of this City, and here (it may be said) are Ministers of State, of no distinguished social position in the Colony from which they emigrated, who have for purely selfish ends imposed on the ignorance of an uneducated Barbarian, whom they rule in his name. Well, I do not think the Government more absurd, than was that of the Sandwich Islands in its infancy; . . . Surely, looking to the notorious state of the Fijian people, white and colored, for years past, and the utter absence of settled authority, and of the means of administering justice, any orderly attempt at regular Government should command at least our good will, if not our cordial respect. And I, for one, do not believe Cakobau to be the mere puppet, that he is by some people represented as being; nor the majority of his Ministers to be actuated by unworthy motives.  

Early in 1871, St Julian suggested to the Governor of New South Wales that if the British Government would not establish its own protectorate over Fiji, it should support a Hawaiian protectorate instead.  

London rejected the suggestion. Hawaii, however, while giving St Julian no special instructions, was prepared to support him to the extent of £200 to visit Fiji as 'His Hawaiian Majesty's Special Commissioner to the Fijis and Chargé d'Affaires to the Independent Chiefs and Governments of the South Pacific', and in August 1871 St Julian duly arrived in Levuka, on his first trip to Fiji — or indeed to any part of the Pacific.  

The new Hawaiian Minister for Foreign Relations, Charles P. Harris, left the ball very much in St Julian's court, while commenting:

I cannot but think that your original plan of Association of the Fijian Government with this will be most advantageous to the people there, however much the arrangement might add labors and difficulties to those who are called upon to administer the Supreme Government here. In the first place, they would obtain the advantage of an immediate and thorough recognition by Foreign Powers as a part of this Monarchy. Secondly, in the event of commotions or difficulties they will have calm action of a civilized people to fall back upon, a digested Code of Laws to look to which might of course need some modification to meet local circumstances.  

But the Fijian Government wanted the protection of a more effectual government than that of Hawaii, although the National Assembly of
August 1871 produced a Constitution closely following the Hawaiian model. Consequently St Julian's stratagem was unsuccessful for Hawaii. For himself, however, it was very successful indeed. As a result of his visit he wrote two articles for the *Sydney Morning Herald*, later republished as *The International Status of Fiji*, which was widely circulated, and impressed such diverse personalities as the Chief Secretary of King Cakobau's Government, J.B. Thurston, and Sir Alfred Stephen who was apparently responsible for St Julian's recommendation to the Fijian Government.

Subsequently St Julian was offered the position of Chief Justice and Chancellor of the Kingdom of Fiji; he arrived back there, this time with his family, in May 1872. He was by this time a Knight of the Order of Kamehameha I, an official designation which he used in Fiji until annexation to Great Britain. The portrait of him in *Sydney Illustrated News*, January 1875, now in the possession of the family shows him wearing the order. The Fiji appointment was confirmed on 1 June 1872. The last two years of St Julian's life represent the culmination of many of his objectives, but they were scarcely free of controversy. The same love of ceremony and display which had led him to design for himself a uniform for his Hawaiian office now led to his insistence on all the forms of title and office, which in the context of independent Fiji served only to make him look ridiculous. As the Levuka diarist Richard Philp saw him:

> here, in the Supreme Court of Fiji, Sir Charles St. Julian, Chief Justice of that Court, and Chancellor of the Kingdom, goes on with all the antics and mummery . . . and has the astounding assurance to fancy himself a great judge and an able lawyer when he is only a poor charlatan and imposter—a crow dressed up in peacocks feathers. It is wretched to see this little, fussing, vain creature bustling into Court, arrayed in scarlet and ermine and silk and French lace and all the trappings of his office, and to see the consequential way, and the self satisfied smirks which he gives, when he is uttering what he no doubt thinks is a very able and exhaustive judgement, but which in reality is nothing but a long winded blather, mixed with common plain law phrases.

Philp was an embittered spectator, thwarted by the Fijian administration of the legal appointment he had hoped for; he had, moreover, the contempt of the professional for the amateur struggling in a specialised field. Nevertheless, St Julian's posings laid him open to criticisms and shrouded his real talents. As St Julian was a political appointee, attitudes to his ability depend almost entirely on the general attitude of the commentator to the administration as a whole. A different view of him is given by Stephen; it is biased, perhaps, by personal friendship but not by internal Fijian politics:
I have seen Mr. St. Julian almost daily for 20 years, or thereabouts, as law reporter in my own court; and I am sure that he will be found an upright, fearless, discriminating, just, and painstaking magistrate, a capacity in which he has had some experience, though not in a Court of Record, already.50

All told, St Julian seems to have coped fairly well in the court with an admittedly impossible situation, in which law enforcement depended on a moral authority which the government did not possess among Europeans. The comments which he attached to an application for admission as advocate of the Supreme Court of Fiji by J.S. Hobday, a man of bad reputation in his dealings with Fijians, are indicative of the situation he was facing:

The questions raised in this matter, and with which the Court is called upon to deal are, as very often happens here, unprecedented . . . it is of the greatest importance to the interests of Justice that those who are entrusted with its administration should command the respect and confidence not only of the white settlers in general, but of the native born Fijians in general . . . We see it publicly stated that there is an existent and growing doubt as to the probabilities of getting justice for the Fijian as against the White man.51

The difficulties of avoiding racial bias were increased, moreover, by the ambiguous position of the Fijian judge, Ratu Marika Toroca, whose comment on the same application—'The Law is an affair of the White man. We do not understand the workings of the same'52—is surely an adequate commentary on his weight in the Supreme Court.

The problem of St Julian's Fijian adventure is a basic one. Why did an elderly man, with a large family and a history of financial insolvency, secure in a job which he had held since 1849, leave the city where he had lived for thirty-three years to accept a risky political appointment in an insecure island kingdom at a considerable drop in salary? Certainly he had looked for a Pacific appointment for many years, and this one, though more tenuous, was also more remunerative than any consular posting. He was intelligent, and had a definite vision of the Pacific which he may have hoped to sponsor from his Fijian post. But the real reason for his decision to break with the past seems to lie in his underlying quixotic nature. St Julian had a colourful past, and this sudden upheaval seems more understandable when paralleled with the restlessness of his youth. He was an armchair adviser now suddenly faced with the realities of the area he had been espousing for so long, and the reality proved more difficult to handle than the theory.
Like many well-educated men of his time, St Julian's training made him a Jack of all trades, a master of none. He lacked specific training for the law, and his efforts at constitution-making show his theoretical approach. In social attitudes he was a liberal of the old school, with a genuine concern for working men but the assurance that he was not of their number; and his ideas of equality are perverted both by his snobbishness and fascination with the trappings of authority, and by his notion of white superiority—although in this he was typical of his period, and more humane than most. It is interesting that his respect for rank considerably influenced his approach to rulers such as the Hawaiian kings, George of Tonga and Cakobau of Fiji.

The life of the Cakobau Government was short. Its contradictions could not be contained indefinitely, and annexation was the aim of its European subjects. However, the existence of a Fijian Government allowed for a less arbitrary transfer of power and permitted the negotiation of terms with the Fijian chiefs, in which St Julian was involved on the side of J.B. Thurston. On 31 January 1873, St Julian wrote privately to Stephen:

> . . . although it would not be difficult at the present time to secure annexation upon terms . . . unconditional annexation is an absolute impossibility . . . No doubt unconditional annexation might be forced on the Fijians . . . for a time; but not for long. It would produce ultimately . . . a war of races, of which the results cannot be foreseen . . . By terms . . . in which the interests and feelings of the present king, and the high Chiefs, and those of the Fijians in general are considered and guarded, and such due precaution taken as the condition, interests and feelings of the white settlers render necessary, all difficulties—or rather all serious difficulties—may be avoided.53

Despite his involvement in negotiations towards annexation, the transfer of sovereignty was a personal disaster for St Julian. His legal experience had been adequate for the Kingdom of Fiji but could not be accepted by the British Government. There was little chance of reinstatement on the *Sydney Morning Herald*, and it was doubtful if he could have afforded the cost of transferring his family back to Sydney. This was recognised by Sir Hercules Robinson who negotiated the final Act of Cession in October 1874.

As regards Mr. Charles St. Julian, his health is much broken, and he is past 60 years of age. The office of Chief Justice has been abolished, thereby affecting a saving of £800 a year. Mr. St. Julian is entirely without means to support himself and his large family of eight children, and it would, under all circumstances connected with the cession, be, I think a scandal if a person who held such high office under the previous rule were
allowed to become wholly destitute. I recommend, therefore, a pension of £200 per annum be allowed to Mr. St. Julian for his life to be paid from the revenues of the Colony.54

St Julian did not live to receive this compensation; he died on 26 November 1874—reputedly of a broken heart, more probably of dysentery. His widow was eventually given a lump sum of £300. The obituary in the generally pro-government Fiji Argus, written by a personal friend, perhaps demonstrates best the ambivalence of his position in Fiji:

On the Bench he strictly conserved the dignity of his office; and though somewhat over-positive in judgement, yet his conclusions were based upon much forethought and incessant application.

But the acceptance of this judgeship was a fatal error, for it involved the surrender of a certain handsome income derivable from the newspaper, for the precarious emolument attaching to the former. The temptation, however, was admittedly great, and Sir Charles yielded to the promptings of, we may say an ill-timed and unfortunate ambition.55
FOR nearly seventy years after the first recorded European visit to New Caledonia in 1774, contacts between its Melanesian inhabitants and Europeans were brief, sporadic and highly localised. None of those vessels known to have penetrated the encircling barrier reef entered Hienghène bay, a spectacular though not particularly safe anchorage on the north-east coast of the main island. Yet from 1843, in the decade following the onset of more regular contacts with Europeans, the Hienghène tribe and its leading chiefs acquired the basis of a reputation which, under French colonial rule after 1853, rapidly developed into notoriety. And the focus of European interest was the chief known to the English as Basset, to the French as Bouarate.*

A study of Bouarate's life involves the familiar problems of a disjunction between, on the one hand, the individual and his society, and, on the other, much of the evidence on which the study is based. Bouarate was not himself literate, though he spoke several non-Melanesian languages proficiently. No native New Caledonian of his era has left written records, and few have as yet written about their people's past. Again, in comparison with some Polynesian and Micronesian societies, the genealogical and traditional material available is limited, although Bouarate is well remembered in the Hienghène area and much useful information can be obtained from local informants on clan, place and personal names, traditional alliances and enmities, migration itineraries and the like. Almost all the documentary sources used in this study, however, are Eurocentric.

* Throughout this paper I have used the modern French version of New Caledonian names, except in direct quotations. 'Bouarate' is pronounced Bouarat, 'Hienghène' is Yengen.
Map 3 Above New Caledonia; below Hienghène
both in origin and perspective. This said, it should be added that they are also of considerable richness and variety.

The history of the people of the lower valley of the Hienghène river is inseparable from that of the Bouarate chieftainship, and the 'Hienghène tribe' can be defined as those clans which recognised Bouarate as chief. The prestige of the Bouarate clan was such that its name was applied to the whole tribe. The terms 'clan' and 'tribe' are used quite specifically in this context. The basic unit of social organisation in New Caledonia was the localised clan (tun in the Poai dialect of Hienghène), an exogamous, patrilineal and patri-virilocal descent group, the members of which claimed descent from a common founding ancestor. All members paid allegiance to a hereditary chief, regarded as the oldest man of the senior lineage of the clan. The largest and most important political unit, however, was generally the 'tribe'—a group of clans united in common allegiance to the chief of one of their number, who thereby exercised the functions of tribal chief. Though no indigenous language seems to have possessed a word for 'tribe', the various groups so formed had names and were recognised by their own members, and by outsiders, as forming entities distinct from other such groups and from autonomous single clans. The relationships between the various clans and individuals belonging to a tribe were expressed in the same kinship idiom which defined clan membership: a tribe was seen as a group of related clans with a common founding ancestor, real or putative, which paid allegiance to the man considered to be the oldest member of the senior lineage of the original clan. In practice, this terminology was a convenient and expressive way to rationalise a variety of modes of recruitment: both clans and tribes commonly absorbed unrelated groups and individuals by conquest, by immigration, by extending protection or by invoking affinal links, but within the group such newcomers were ascribed a position and a social role which were described in kinship terms. A noticeable feature of the absorption mechanism of New Caledonian local groups was a tendency for a newcomer to be installed as tribal (political) chief. The earlier inhabitants usually retired to the background, but they continued to exercise real, though not always obvious, authority in the group by virtue of their control of land.

Ultimately the status of every chief stemmed from his attributed position as senior member of a descent group. The term for chief in Poai dialect, teama, meant 'great (first-born) son', and the relationship of a chief to other members of the group was that of deeply respected elder brother, to whom great deference was paid but who was in no sense an autocrat. His prerogatives were many, but they
were balanced by his obligations to the group and its members. He was the personification of the power and prestige of the group; through his own prestige, spirit-derived, and his correct performance of his role he was the guarantor of the group's security and socio-economic welfare. He was expected to be a fluent orator and to be generous in distribution and gift exchange on ceremonial occasions. Should he repeatedly fail to ensure the success of the group's communal enterprises, such as gardening, fishing and warfare, should he abuse the rights of his clan or tribal 'brothers', be an incompetent orator or seem to lack generosity, he might be replaced as chief by a close kinsman or abandoned by members of the group who would then seek protection elsewhere under another chief.10

There seems to have been a division of function between the chief and other dignitaries who performed such important roles as war chief, master of the land,11 priest or sorcerer, and who formed a council to advise the chief on matters of common interest and assist in reaching the consensus on which group action was generally based.12 The chief seems to have been mainly a spokesman and an administrator. He had a supervisory role over the land, sacred and inalienable, which formed the patrimony of his clan, but his personal usufructuary rights extended only over tracts which he had inherited or himself cleared and planted, and he was not necessarily the largest landholder in the group.13 Division of functions provided a safeguard against chiefly absolutism, though within his own clan a successful chief could exercise great influence. In the tribal context, relations between the tribal chief and the chiefs of member clans were largely a matter of compromise and negotiation.14 The prestige of the chief of a large tribe, like Bouarate, might be immense, but the extent of his authority depended more on his personality and intelligence, his ability to realise the potential of his position whilst respecting its traditional limitations, than on the position itself.

European ignorance of the importance of the fraternal relationship between a chief and the members of his clan or tribe, and their misconceptions about the deference paid to him, which often smacked to them of servility, led to erroneous estimates of the extent and nature of chiefly power. For instance, Captain J.E. Erskine, who visited Hienghène in the *Havannah* during 1849, commented:

I had no means of judging the extent of Basset's authority among his own tribe; but it was evident from the people, particularly the women, crouching as they passed him, that his superiority was fully acknowledged.15

As happened frequently in the Pacific, the European observer tended to interpret gestures of ritual deference as marks of a chief's authority
rather than as the natural corollary of the respect and affection in which the *teama* was held. The respect owed to a chief by all who recognised him as *teama* was only an extension of that shown to an elder brother by his siblings, and to all brothers by their sisters. Most Europeans, even the most sensitive, invoked inappropriate European political analogies to explain New Caledonian socio-political structures, and chiefs were generally equated with feudal lords or absolute despots. One experienced missionary, for example, described the traditional polity as 'a true feudalism'. Generalisations such as these were based on incomplete understanding of the internal workings of large, closely-knit tribes, like Hienghène, in which the leadership of one clan was unquestioned and where limitations on the tribal chief's authority were not readily apparent. When applied to smaller, less unified tribes, or to autonomous clans, these analogies were even less apt.

Within this context, contemporary European observers variously estimated the size of the Hienghène tribe, Bouarate's power within it, and the extent of his influence over neighbouring clans and tribes. There was general consensus that Hienghène was one of the larger and more warlike tribes in northern New Caledonia, and Bouarate a powerful and influential chief, but exaggeration was common, especially after French annexation in 1853. In 1867, for instance, a mining engineer, Jules Gamier, described the Hienghène tribe as:

> formerly not only the most powerful, but having also a sort of sovereignty over all the surrounding tribes and as far as the northernmost point of New Caledonia.

Similarly, a few years later a naval physician, Jules Patouillet, an experienced and sensitive observer, depicted Bouarate as the ruler of 'a vast territory over which he dominated as absolute monarch'. It seems certain, however, that other northern tribes could at least equal the power and influence of Hienghène, while Bouarate was not the ruthless autocrat so often depicted. His authority and prestige were consistent with his position as chief of a large tribe, but they depended on the respect and affection which he commanded as an able and intelligent chief rather than on the force at his disposal. Joseph du Bouzet, the first governor of New Caledonia, gave a more balanced perspective:

> Bouarat . . . appears to exercise fairly great influence over his natives; but he has been wrongly designated . . . as the greatest chief of New Caledonia . . . nobody recognises in him his pre-eminence, and his tribe itself is far from being one of the strongest.

It is possible nonetheless that the relatively late judgments of Garnier and Patouillet reflected a fairly recent change in the actual or
assumed power of the tribe and its chief. This may have been due to the regional monopoly of trade with Europeans which the Hienghène enjoyed for several years after 1843, and which provided them with a few firearms and a plentiful supply of steel hatchets, rapidly turned to military use; and it may have resulted, or appeared to the French to have resulted, from a colonial policy which sought to bolster the authority of friendly tribal chiefs in order to create local satraps who would control and administer the Melanesian population.

Despite these uncertainties, it seems reasonable to conclude that the Hienghène tribe at the onset of contact with Europeans was settled mainly in the lower valleys of the Hienghène and Tanghène rivers, with outlying groups scattered along the coast to the north-west, and to the south-east towards the Tipindié river. Bouarate's main village (five or six huts in 1846) was several kilometres up the Hienghène river at Kamédane, but he built a further residence at Kalgone, near the river's mouth, apparently to facilitate relations with European traders. Across the mouth and a short distance inland, at Koout, are the remains of a European-style stone house, complete with iron roof, which Bouarate built with traders' help after a visit to Sydney. His grave, a massive grey mausoleum, is nearby, close to the house of his great-great grandson Roch.

Although the main focuses of New Caledonian existence were clan and tribe, the Bouarate chiefs and the Hienghène tribe as a whole were identified with a wider network of allegiance, known as Waaf, or, more generally, Waap. Waap was one of two such networks (the other being Oot) which were mutually, permanently hostile and which in chequer-board fashion incorporated all the clans and tribes of northern New Caledonia. This dichotomy created a form of regional consciousness amongst people whose horizons were primarily local. The principal Waap chieftainships seem all to have been of fairly recent exterior origin, in accordance with the New Caledonian tendency to absorb newcomers at the apex of the political hierarchy. Thus the Bouarate are said to be descendants of Polynesian immigrants from Wallis Island who reached Hienghène via Héo (Beautemps-Beaupré), an islet near Ouvéa in the Loyalty Islands. From Hienghène, by means of a slow migratory process over many generations, they eventually settled elsewhere in New Caledonia, including Koumac and Balade, where as at Hienghène they came ultimately to occupy tribal chieftainships.

From estimates of his age made by European observers in the late 1840s, Bouarate of Hienghène seems to have been born between 1815 and 1820. Nothing is known of him before December 1843, when
Bouarate of Hienghène

English sandalwood traders first anchored in Hienghène bay. From then until his death thirty years later he was probably more prominent in European eyes than any other New Caledonian of his time. European reports provide at least three, often conflicting, perspectives on the life and significance of the man: first, that of various groups of Englishmen who met or had dealings with him, almost all of whom spoke highly of his character and qualities; second, the French Roman Catholic missionaries, to whom he was always an ogre; third, French naval officers and colonial officials, to whom he was initially an object of hatred and suspicion, but finally a valued and respected ally. In conjunction, these three streams of opinion provide a detailed case study of the first three decades of European contact with New Caledonians, but from the viewpoint of only one set of protagonists: all three depicted the chief's role as essentially reactive, and one or other group of Europeans as the major factor in tribal history after 1843. A further perspective might have been provided by Bouarate's Melanesian contemporaries. Frustratingly, this can only be gleaned by inference—informed imagination, in J.W. Davidson's phrase—from European sources and, indirectly, from traditions still current in the Hienghène area; but it is of vital importance to assess the man's role in terms internal to his own society. An analysis based on this perspective will stress the cultural component in the chief's actions, will see Europeans as only one set of influences—not necessarily the most important—which operated on Bouarate, and which he tried with varying degrees of success to manipulate to his own and his tribe's best advantage.

From 1843 until French annexation a decade later, most of the Europeans Bouarate met were English. His relations with them were uniformly good. The first sandalwood vessels, Sydney-based, which arrived in December 1843 were enthusiastically received and quickly obtained cargoes in return for pieces of hoop iron.27 Their arrival coincided with the installation at Balade, sixty kilometers north-west of Hienghène, of a party of French Marist missionaries. The missionaries themselves, and more particularly the French naval commanders who landed and subsequently revisited them, all commented on the activities of this rival band of Europeans amongst what was at once perceived to be a populous and powerful tribe, the key, possibly, to effective penetration of the entire region.28

The immediate attraction of Hienghène for the traders was an abundance of cheap, easily accessible sandalwood. Further inducements were the presence of a united, co-operative population, and the security offered by a powerful chief.29 Not slow to realise what benefits could be gained from the traders, Bouarate and the
Hienghène became enthusiastic participants in a mutually satisfactory business arrangement. Before long the preferred item of commerce was the small steel axe, which became a lethal weapon of war. As the Hienghène became more experienced and powerful through their dealings with the traders, so their demands on the latter became more exigent. Despite missionary objections, Bouarate eventually acquired two muskets and some ammunition. This increase in offensive power was said to have enabled Bouarate to mount a successful surprise attack on the enemy tribe of Tipindié during which he killed his adversaries at will, demonstrating the initial shock value which a few firearms could have against warriors with no previous experience of them:

As soon as Bouarate saw himself owner of two guns and a little box of caps . . . he thought himself the most powerful of the chiefs. Without any pretext and without warning his neighbour to the S.E., he made war on him. The latter tried to defend himself, and Bouarate killed his adversaries at will . . .

Bouarate was also said to have practised his skill with the musket upon lowly members of his tribe, and to have used the weapons to procure human flesh for his own consumption. Cannibalism undeniably occurred at Hienghène, as in other tribes. Everywhere feasts were held with the bodies of slain enemies, or of people who had been condemned to death for crimes such as infringement of tabus or sorcery. More rarely and unnaturally, some powerful chiefs regularly killed junior members of their own clans to appease their appetite for human flesh. According to the ethnographer Maurice Leenhardt, a chief possessed a right of life and death over members of his own clan, provided he continued conscientiously to fulfil the role of teama, 'great son'. A man whose son Bouarate had eaten was reported to have praised the chief's greatness, and seemed to bear him no animosity. Nevertheless, Leenhardt implied that wanton murder by a chief of his 'brothers' for the sake of their flesh was sacrilege and would eventually destroy his prestige and his right to the allegiance of his 'brothers', as seems to have been the case with a particularly bloodthirsty chief of the Mouélébé tribe of Pouébo. Leenhardt described cannibalism in the following terms: 'Cannibalism is not a social institution, like cultivation, fishing and hunting and admits of no social right that can be noted. It is not a custom, but an excess; it is a function of appetite and of force, and not of Custom'.

It seems clear that wholesale slaughter by Bouarate of the people of his tribe would have destroyed the prestige he enjoyed as chief. Despite his reputation as a cannibal amongst Europeans neither his
prestige nor his authority was ever questioned by the Hienghène, who regarded him with affection and pride. Early in 1845 Bouarate was said to have promised to abandon cannibalism after a missionary had informed him, to his surprise, that it was an evil practice; and after his return from a visit to Sydney in 1848 he encouraged his tribe to give it up, since he now believed it to be uncivilised. In most French eyes nonetheless he was to remain an unregenerate cannibal for years to come: 'an insatiable anthropophagite and an unbridled libertine'.

By the end of 1847 the Sydney entrepreneur Robert Towns had acquired a sphere of influence in the Hienghène area. Within a year it was apparent that bêche-de-mer was now a more promising item of commerce than sandalwood, and that the main attraction of Hienghène was the protection offered by a powerful chief. Towns remained anxious to use the goodwill of Bouarate, and for some years exhorted his captains to enlist the chief's aid to form a bêche-de-mer fishery:

You better take young Basset with you if he will go willingly and call your ship Bassett's ship it appears Basset is liked among them—but you must take care before you do this to ascertain you are amongst Basset's friends.

Towns sent Bouarate a number of gifts, including a horse, complete with saddle, bridle, and instructions to his captain to give the chief a riding lesson. Although Towns's commercial plans do not seem to have been realised, the Hienghène area became a favourite haunt of semi-itinerant petty traders and coastal shippers, most of whom were English. They were dependent on the goodwill of the chief for their security and their labour requirements, and their principal function in the local society was economic. They were tolerated, even welcomed, because they were useful and their presence did not pose a threat to customary beliefs and practices or to the authority of the chiefs.

These frequent visits of English ships to Hienghène gave its people a chance to travel. Some served as crew members on trading vessels, several went to New Zealand under the auspices of Bishop Selwyn of the Melanesian Mission; still others, Bouarate and his brothers among them, visited Sydney as guests of Towns. The city itself, the excellent treatment he received, made a great impression on Bouarate, and his descendants still recall the trip as a notable event in clan history. Years later he explained why he had liked the British and why he learned to speak reasonable English, adding that in Sydney he first realised the weakness of his people in comparison to Europeans: 'I liked these English very much', he added, 'they paid
me well and treated me as a chief; one day I even agreed to follow them over the sea to their great village of Sydney; it was there that I understood best our weakness'.

Reputedly anxious to civilise his tribe after this visit, Bouarate frequently requested both the Marists and the Melanesian Mission to send a missionary to Hienghène. He seems to have favoured the latter after Selwyn's visits in September 1849 (in company with HMS Havannah) and in May 1850 (with HMS Fly). The conjunction of British sea power and English missionaries was certainly not lost on the chief; an unsupported Marist attempt to set up a station at Hienghène towards the end of 1849 ended in complete failure.

The British naval vessels made four separate visits to Hienghène between September 1849 and October 1851. In this time only one French warship stopped there, although others had visited Balade between 1843 and 1847. Almost continual contact with English traders, his trip to Sydney in 1848, and these visits of British men-of-war, all reinforced Bouarate's pro-English sentiments. And the respect, affection even, which he felt for Englishmen was reciprocated. Erskine, for instance commented:

He is a man apparently about thirty, and of quiet and rather dignified manner. The white people give him the credit of having been a great tyrant and cannibal, until his intercourse with a somewhat better class of English and his visit to Sydney. During our short acquaintance he seemed to me to be a man much in advance of his own people, and anxious to do something to civilize them.

The only Frenchmen with whom the Hienghène had direct contact before 1850 were Marist missionaries, whose wealth and power could not compare with the British. Even after French annexation the English connection was maintained by the traders resident there, and Bouarate's real or assumed preference for England was later to have serious repercussions for him and his tribe.

From 1843 until 1863 ambivalent relations existed between the chiefs and people of Hienghène and the Marists. The Bouarates frequently asked that a missionary be sent to their tribe, but every attempt to do so ended in failure. The Marists quickly recognised that their influence would be limited as long as they remained at Balade, amongst a divided and insignificant tribe, and at an early stage seem to have contemplated the eventual transfer of their main base to Hienghène. They were always anxious to secure a foothold there because of the importance of the tribe and its chief, and to counteract the potentially detrimental influence of Englishmen, who were assumed to be hostile towards both France and Catholicism.
In 1859 Father Xavier Montrouzier summed up the attitudes and prejudices of more than fifteen years:

here in few words is what Yengen is in the history of the mission. — A fairly strong tribe since it numbers at least two thousand souls and is not divided, like many others, into small chieftainships. The centre whence most of the high chiefs of the region have come, provided with a small, fairly well enclosed port, for a long time frequented by the English who drew from there great quantities of sandalwood and left in return guns, unspeakable diseases and a stubborn hatred towards the French and the Catholics, Yengen had naturally to be the object of our attention.53

Driven in disarray from their bases at Balade and Pouébo in August 1847, the Marists had made their first serious attempt to reoccupy the New Caledonian mainland early in October 1849. Hienghène seemed a logical choice. The mission had previously been granted land there,54 Bouarate had again requested a missionary, while Father Gilbert Roudaire had recently visited the area and been impressed with the chief's goodwill:

Boirat, the chief of Hyenguene, formerly so fond of human flesh, no longer eats it today; his voyage to Sydney has done him good. He repeated to me several times to write and tell Mgr Douarre [the Marist bishop] to come and stay on his land at Kalegone, that no one would touch the mission's possessions.55

Shortly before Bishop Douarre's departure for Hienghène, however, Erskine met him and was struck by the low estimate in which he held New Caledonians: 'it did not appear to me that the mission was embarking in the business in a spirit likely to ensure their success'. Douarre seemed obsessed by 'the reproach of cannibalism'.56 The bishop later described his own reaction to Bouarate in the following terms:

Bouarate appeared to want me ardently, and I made my sacrifice, although with repugnance. I believe, truly in the full and complete conversion of this famous anthropophagite, but his person inspired in me a repulsion for which I could not account.57

A nightmarish experience for Douarre, the attempt was abandoned after little more than a month because the missionaries became convinced that Bouarate and his brothers planned to murder them and plunder their property as soon as a substantial station developed.58 To the missionaries the Bouarates' motives seemed purely mercenary. This, and their often insolent and provocative behaviour, distressed Douarre, but he was reduced to despair by the realisation that the Hienghène did not intend to modify their attitudes or way of life to satisfy missionary demands or spare Christian scruples. Hienghène was a powerful, successful tribe, with
united, self-confident leaders. They had no reason to doubt the general efficacy of traditional methods and explanations. The chiefs were eager to adapt potentially useful elements of a new culture but were unlikely to countenance wholesale interference with custom, or be able to enforce acceptance of such interference upon a majority of the group, unless it was clearly in the local interest to do so.

It seems likely, however, that Dourrère's fears for the ultimate safety of his party were exaggerated. Bouarate possessed quite sufficient imagination to foresee the vengeance which would follow the molestation of missionaries, since the people of Balade and Pouébo had suffered heavy reprisals from a French warship for their violent rejection of the mission in 1847. Bouarate seemed amazed and distressed by the Marists' decision to abandon the station, and he always maintained his innocence of any design upon their lives. In 1850 HMS Fly's captain heard another version of the story at several places along the north-east coast. Bouarate's brother was said to have threatened, in jest, to eat a plump 'young lay brother. The missionaries took the threat seriously, and although Bourate punished his own erring brother and begged them to stay, they were so alarmed that they left on the first possible occasion.

By September 1853 when New Caledonia was annexed by France, the Hienghène and the Catholic missionaries were mutually hostile. The rebuffs suffered at Hienghène and fear of English influence affected the way in which especially Xavier Montrouzier attempted after 1853 to influence official opinion towards this tribe and its chiefs. They considered the Hienghène anti-Catholic and Anglophile, a threat to the interest of both mission and colony: 'we saw clearly that the Chief of Yengen, friend to the English, was hostile to the French, that in him we would have a redoubtable defender of all savage practices, and energy of Civilisation'. Although the authorities did not always entirely agree, this view remained the basis of official policy towards Hienghène and Bouarate until 1863.

In May 1854, in response to mission fears, Captain Louis Tardy de Montravel, senior office of the New Caledonian naval detachment, made a demonstration of power at Hienghène with two warships. He aimed to squash any idea of opposition to the French by the chief, 'to destroy the hopes of several northern tribes who only await the signal from Hienghène to make a hostile demonstration' and to counteract the supposedly hostile influence of English traders. Impressed, Bouarate accepted French sovereignty and promised to forbid cannibalism and murder. He was guaranteed in return that Melanesian property rights would be respected and that he would
remain free to accept or reject Christianity. Like most people who met Bouarate, Tardy de Montravel was impressed by his intelligence: 'to superior intelligence he adds a more upright character than any other savage and he especially considers himself in honour bound never to break his word'. The Frenchman naively assumed that a ceremony and a demonstration of power would suffice to bring about a revolution in morals and political allegiance, at Hienghène, that 'Buarate is henceforth openly subject'. He underestimated Bouarate by interpreting his acceptance of the immediate situation as indicative of a lasting change in attitude. Warships had anchored off Hienghène before, Bourate had little reason to assume that this latest visit signified more than earlier ones, despite the impressive display of pomp and military efficiency which accompanied it.

The concept of French sovereignty was beyond the experience of Bouarate and his tribe, but they were probably prepared not to oppose the development of the colony, provided they were left alone to regulate their own internal affairs and relations with other groups. A collision came early in 1856 when the Hienghène joined forces with several other tribes against the partly Christian Touho and Mouélébé. Until 1862 the mission and the colonial authorities were preoccupied by a series of so-called 'northern coalitions'. Resistance to colonial rule, or, as the French saw it, 'rebellion', was generally assumed to be their raison d'être. Yet it seems clear that initially the coalitions were traditional alliances against traditional enemies, with essentially traditional ends—combinations, in the main, of Waap tribes against Oot adversaries. They became bitterly anti-missionary because the Marists made common cause with their enemies; they finally took on the appearance of an anti-colonial uprising because the French administration, bedevilled by inadequate finances and armed forces, saw the mission stations and the partially Christianised tribes of the north as outposts of empire, their opponents as challengers to a legally constituted sovereign authority. A French naval officer, Lieutenant-Commander Laurent, who negotiated a truce between the Hienghène and the Mouélébé in March 1856, clearly saw the affair as a traditional struggle into which the missionaries had been drawn because of the involvement of their neophytes. He noticed no hostility at all on the part of the Hienghène towards himself as representative of the French authorities. The coalitions are probably best described as a series of loose alliances, consisting of a core of implacable enemies of the Touho and Mouélébé tribes and their missionary mentors, plus an assortment of individuals, clans and tribes induced to join at different stages and for a variety of reasons.
These instances of concerted military action beyond the purely local level sorely troubled the administrators, who had confidently expected to be able to use inter-tribal jealousies as the basis of a pacification program: 'this great variety of interests, these inter-tribal enmities . . . may be useful at the outset if we can turn them to account by opposing one to the other'. Yet the essentially traditional nature of the coalitions led to their ultimate defeat, since they lacked the desperation and single-mindedness of a genuine anti-colonial resistance movement. On at least two occasions during the 1850s they failed to press an early advantage because of dissension within the coalition. Unanimity was difficult to attain, and tended to break down once limited objectives had been reached or setbacks suffered. A few non-Christian tribes, mostly Oot, were always prepared to fight against the coalitions since the capacity for united action was not restricted to the Waap. In the long run French 'divide-and-rule' tactics were successful, and the co-operation of Melanesian auxiliaries, with their profound knowledge of country and local methods of warfare, was to prove the single most important factor in the conquest of New Caledonia.

The Hienghène were leading participants in the coalitions until 1860, but leadership passed from the chief of this tribe after 1857. In November of that year the administration finally took an active hand. Governor du Bouzet called at Hienghène in the Bayonnaise, ordered Bouarate on board and, since 'his guilt appeared obvious to me', arrested him. He was subsequently exiled to Tahiti, where he was to be interned for the next five years, and was replaced as chief of Hienghène by his brother Mouéaou. Du Bouzet was a humanitarian who avoided unnecessary force in his dealings with New Caledonians, but he was compelled to intervene in this essentially inter-tribal dispute in order to honour a guarantee of protection given to the Mouélébé chiefs in return for a promise not to take the law into their own hands. He wished also to forestall the need for a war which would seriously extend the colony's limited resources and hinder the work of the mission. He believed that Bouarate had repeatedly provoked disaffection with French rule as far away as Balade and the Loyalty Islands: 'He is the moving spirit of all the intrigues woven against us since annexation . . . through his birth and his intelligence he has acquired great influence in the North and exercised it against us'.

From the point of view of the administration the governor's action was moderate and conciliatory, given Bouarate's reiterated defiance of French authority. To the Hienghène, however, the intervention of the government in a private quarrel between traditional enemies was
an unjustifiable encroachment on the tribe's independence. That Bouarate shared their sense of outrage is suggested by an account of the affair which he gave some years later:

It was then that your warlike nation arrived; I paid little attention at first: but because my young men had killed a Kanaka enemy from Houagap, protégé of the missionaries, I saw an immense ship (the Styx[sic]) arrive in my port; instead of fleeing, I went on board, having been sent for by the captain: I was not to see my tribe again for a long time...72

The exile of their chief infuriated the Hienghène but failed to impress them with a sense of the administration's military power.73 They remained unconvinced despite an expedition in September 1859 in which forty Melanesians were said to have died, three English petty traders were shot as collaborators of the Hienghène, and the villages and gardens of the tribe were devastated, including Bouarate's at Kalégone and the ancestral hill village of the Bouarate clan at Kamédane.74 The tribe was placed under interdiction to all Europeans, which effectively ended the English connection at Hienghène. Such hit-and-run tactics only increased the thirst for vengeance of the hostile tribes, a thirst which, in the absence of any permanent administration presence in the region, could only be slaked at the expense of their traditional foes, the Mouélébé, and their most recent, but by this stage equally despised enemies, the Marists. Though the missionaries always denied any responsibility for government's actions, Bouarate and his tribe were well aware that their animosity towards the Christian tribes and the Marists was the source of most of their troubles, while the missionaries certainly did not regret Bouarate's removal.75 Indeed, in 1860 the advice given by one of their number to the administration was the main reason for the abandonment of a plan to return Bouarate to his tribe.76

Open hostilities broke out again in December 1859, when a new coalition, determined to avenge Bouarate and the Hienghène, hurled itself against the Mouélébé. The missionaries obtained firearms from the government, which could spare no troops, and drilled a small Christian army which halted the invaders and eventually put them to flight. Then the Mouélébé set out on a war of conquest—a crusade, to the missionaries—south along the coast to Hienghène and inland through the mountains: 'all was burned, plundered, some deaths, the rest fled, abandoned their tribes'.77 This exercise in Marist-sponsored imperialism changed attitudes throughout the north; the defeated tribes almost unanimously requested missionaries, and meekly accepted catechists sent from Pouébo. At Hienghène the Christian cause suddenly flourished.
Early in 1862 the warriors of Hienghène fought with the Mouélébé against some of their own former allies, who had destroyed one mission station and laid siege to another. Bouarate’s son, Powe, who became undisputed chief of the tribe with the death of Mouéaou in 1862, was baptised in that year. Within a few months there were 600 catechumens, and the success of the mission at Hienghène seemed assured.78

By 1863, then, the outlook for Bouarate was bleak. He had consistently adopted a pragmatic approach to Europeans, an approach which had initially been successful. He had been able to ignore the mission because he had other sources of European goods and support. But in the short term he failed to foresee the changing power balance presaged by the annexation of New Caledonia. Certainly the role played by the administration before 1863 was limited, and the Christian victory was seen throughout the north-east to belong to the Mouélébé and the mission and only indirectly to the colonial government. The Mouélébé had long been prepared to tolerate the mission, and became fervent Christians when it became clear that the latter could provide useful military support against traditional enemies. The results of the victories of 1860 were far-reaching: the influence, even the authority of the Mouélébé chief, Bonou, extended far beyond traditional limits, and encompassed outlying clans and tribes which had at best owed only distant allegiance to him. Within the Mouélébé tribe itself customary limitations on the exercise of chiefly power broke down, at the behest of the missionaries, and the tribe operated as a virtual theocracy.79

Bouarate’s bitter sense of failure and futility is illustrated by his subsequent recollection of the period spent in exile in Tahiti: ‘during this time . . . I was in Taiiti, weaving baskets to earn a few sous, and worries and absence whitened my head prematurely!’80 The governor of French Polynesia, de la Richerie, provided an image of Bouarate’s learning to temper the proud independence of a teama with the virtues of patience and humility. He learned French; he eventually became a kind of trusty, released from internment at Taravao and allowed to work on the flower gardens of government house, under the direction of the governor’s wife:

... I ended up allowing Boärat to establish himself in the chief town [Papeete] and accommodated him at government house itself, in one of the outbuildings.

For the year approximately during which he has been so to speak always before my eyes, I have only praise for him. He does what he likes and has developed a taste for growing flowers which he cares for himself
under my wife's direction... So I remain convinced that Boārat is
leaving completely disposed to obedience and even devotion towards our
authority.81

An official attempt to repatriate Bouarate in 1860 foundered on the
prejudices of his old foes, the Marists, and he languished in Tahiti
for a further three years. There he would undoubtedly have ended
his days had not an extraordinary circumstance, in origin beyond his
ken or his control, provided him with an unexpected weapon against
the Mouēlēbé and the missionaries. It was a weapon which his years
of frustration and contemplation in Tahiti had well equipped him to
use. He would not again be found on the losing side, for bitter
experience had taught him the new realities of power in his land,
how best he and his tribe could cope with and even exploit the
presence of a colonising power.

The fortuitous circumstance which altered completely the status
and influence of the Marist mission within the colony, and which
gave the tribes defeated in 1860 an unexpected ally against the
Mouēlēbé, was the appointment of a new governor, Captain Charles
Guillain, who arrived in June 1862. Guillain had Saint-Simonist
sympathies. He developed a system of penal colonisation which
stressed mutual co-operation and the human dignity of the convict,
he encouraged the formation of a friendly society, and set up an
agricultural commune, based, so he claimed, on the model
expounded in Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte's Extinction du
Paupérisme. An admirer of the governor remarked that 'in his youth,
he had been a Saint Simon, and of advanced opinion', much as
Louis-Napoléon himself had been.82 Guillain was a rabid anticlerical
in a peculiarly French tradition. Like most of his breed, he accepted
the religious role of the clergy willingly enough, provided it did not
trespass into the secular sphere and provided the representatives of
the church obediently conformed to government policy.83 In the
wake of the victories of 1860, however, the missionaries in the north­
east had come to exercise a broad control over most aspects of tribal
life, working with and through powerful Christian chiefs and
catechists.84 Late in 1862 an officer well known as a devout Catholic
and an admirer of the mission reported confidentially to the
governor:

... it has followed in my view that the influence of the missionaries over
the natives is still more political than moral; that in all their internal
affairs as well as in their dealings with neighbouring tribes, the chiefs are
naturally inclined to let themselves be guided by them; that in the
absence of frequent contact with the natural representatives of the
administration, these partial influences tend to grow, and to be
centralised in the hands of the Superior of Missions, whose tour of inspection could have more a political than a religious purpose.\(^8\) 5

Before Guillain's arrival, the colonial administration and the responsible government department in France had generally given tacit approval to this state of affairs, since the mission was believed to have an important civilising and pacifying influence, especially in areas where official action was limited by the shortage of men and resources. Guillain, however, was of another persuasion. Despite his espousing some tenets of utopian socialism, he was by training and inclination an autocrat, determined to enforce unquestioning acceptance of his authority on all sections of the colony's population. He professed great high-mindedness and benevolence towards Melanesians, but his 'aspirations civilisatrices' on their behalf amounted to 'the desire to use the natives in the works of colonisation from which they will themselves benefit'.\(^8\) 6

In practice his native policy meant forced labour for Melanesians, especially on public works; the compulsory acquisition of land needed for colonisation; frequent punitive expeditions in reprisal for acts of violence against Europeans or allies of the government; the replacement of missionary influence over Melanesians in temporal matters by that of the administration and the restriction of the missionaries to purely ecclesiastical affairs.\(^8\) 7 Because the Marists and the Christian tribes seemed to Guillain to pose a serious obstacle to his domination, and because the missionaries were not prepared to surrender their hard-won position without a struggle, the governor's efforts came increasingly to concentrate on the related questions of missionary influence over Melanesians and the extent of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Between 1863 and his departure in 1870 Guillain prosecuted an escalating campaign against the missionaries and their Melanesian supporters, a campaign which finally degenerated into open persecution. One of his first moves was to lift the ban on European contact with Hienghêne, and to negotiate the return from Tahiti of Bouarate and several other chiefs who had been exiled for their consistent opposition to the mission and the Christians. The Marists saw this, rightly, as a deliberate blow to their influence.\(^8\) 8 Guillain had great hopes for Bouarate:

Boarat is intelligent and endowed with the spirit of reflection: he will understand; and, by re-establishing him in his former position, as chief of Hyenguène, I will have, I am convinced of it, in this spot . . . an energetic and devoted partisan of the Colonial Government.\(^8\) 9

The governor was not to be disappointed; though at first, influenced perhaps by his Christian son, Bouarate was prepared to tolerate the
growing missionary influence in his tribe. It was soon made clear to him, however, that active rejection of the mission would find official favour. With understandable enthusiasm Bouarate then drove the catechists from his tribe, and before long most of the recent converts among the Hienghène, including Powe, had apostatised. A mission source reported that all the reparitites adopted the same coldly pragmatic attitude to the mission/government conflict:

These chiefs are not less hostile to the government than to the missionaries; but they say quite publicly that they profit from the Governor's disposition to combat Christianity, and they unanimously repeat that M. Guillain enjoins them above all to prevent its penetration into their tribe.

The forces at the disposal of the government were still so limited that beyond the areas immediately surrounding the main centres of the colony, both in the south, and within a small radius of the military posts which Guillain set up elsewhere, Melanesians enjoyed considerable freedom of action. The administration relied to a great extent on the support of allied tribes, of which Hienghène was one of the most important, to keep the colony reasonably peaceful, to ensure the security of isolated settlers and traders, and to spearhead punitive expeditions. All the major allies of the administration in the 1860s were aggressively pagan, in the north they were all Waap, and they used their position to harass the Christian tribes, of which Mouélébé was the most important on the mainland.

Guillain's anti-missionary campaign involved a comprehensive attack on most aspects of Marist influence over Melanesians throughout the colony, but some of his most energetic efforts aimed to undermine the position of the Pouébo mission and to reduce the influence of the Christian Mouélébé chiefs in the areas 'conquered' in 1860. Demands for forced labour on public works fell more heavily on Christian tribes, because the administration would not risk offending its pagan allies; Guillain's education policies seemed specifically intended to bring about the closure of mission schools; catechists were arrested and imprisoned on specious grounds; Bonou of Mouélébé and his successor as chief were both deposed for insubordination; the missionaries were refused permission to set up new stations, to buy land directly from Melanesians, to cut wood for building purposes; Christians were forbidden to help in the construction of chapels and mission dwellings or to leave their tribal lands for religious gatherings; at Pouébo colonists were encouraged to settle on lands occupied by Christians; paganism was actively encouraged, while Christians, including the most recent Mouélébé converts and others who had converted after the victories of 1860,
were led to apostatise by threats or bribes; potential converts were bullied or persuaded to reject the mission; military posts were set up near mission stations including Pouébo, and local commandants were said to have been specifically ordered to harass the missionaries and the Christians.

This process culminated in 1867 in an attempt to inculpate the Pouébo missionaries and the Mouélébé chiefs as instigators of several murders and widespread pillage committed by apostate and pagan members of the Mouélébé tribe against gendarmes and settlers in the area. The attackers, all members of outlying clans brought firmly within the ambit of the Mouélébé chiefs and the mission by the events of 1860, seem to have reacted violently to a threat to dispossess them of their lands. The move against the missionaries failed, but the tribal chief was deposed and exiled. His leading adviser was executed as instigator of the plot, while the Mouélébé tribe was held to be corporately responsible for the deaths and damage which had occurred, and was ordered to pay a heavy indemnity. Thirteen tribesmen, all pagans or apostates, were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment with hard labour; ten men, including the Christian adviser already mentioned, were publicly guillotined on the beach at Pouébo, demonstrating to Melanesians that a claim to civilisation and humanity was no proof against barbarity; A missionary at Bonde repeated the comment "The whites are said to be humane, and they kill more cruelly than we!" Subsequently the tribe was reduced in size and reorganised. The clans that had long been committed Christians remained so, but the missionaries had been forced to restrict their overt activities to ecclesiastical matters. In the colony as a whole the number of committed Christians did not markedly decrease between 1862 and 1870, but by missionary reckoning, about 9000 recent converts and people well-disposed to the mission cause in 1862 had reverted to paganism by 1870.

Thus the Mouélébé, who had originally used the missionary presence to enhance their political position vis-à-vis traditional enemies, became victims of an unexpected power struggle between Europeans, over which they had no control. On the other hand, the Hienghène, who had originally suffered at the hands of traditional enemies operating in alliance with a particular group of Europeans, were able to take advantage of this same power struggle to restore the traditional balance in the region, and in the end to subvert it to their own advantage. Although the official attitude towards Bouarate had changed, the premise on which the attitude was based had not. He was still believed to be the absolute ruler of a large and powerful tribe. The conclusions now drawn from this assumption were,
however, very different. His influence, once seen as a threat to the colonial régime, was after 1863 regarded as an asset, as was his long-standing antagonism towards the Catholic missionaries. He was officially encouraged to consolidate his authority within his tribe, and, like Bonou before him, used a new dispensation to extend his influence to include neighbouring groups over which the chief of Hienghène had traditionally enjoyed only nominal suzerainty. By 1869 it was possible to say that ‘the authority of the chief of Hienghène stretches almost from one coast to the other’, a comment which was almost certainly not applicable before European contact. Once he understood what was expected of him (‘struck by what the chief of the colony had said to him about the necessity to preserve carefully his authority over his rule’), Bouarate played to perfection the dual role of tribal autocrat and local government agent and intermediary. French observers, who had generally praised his intelligence and ability even when they decried his cannibalistic proclivities, his assumed Anglophilia and his opposition to the colonial régime, now spoke of him admiringly as the very model of chiefly excellence: ‘He is the most chiefly of the chiefs and the most generous I know; his tribe, the richest and perhaps the most warlike of all those in Caledonia, obeys his orders religiously.’

Bouarate remained a loyal and valued ally of the administration, the chief most dedicated to the French administration, and a pagan for the rest of his life, but he was an ally on his own terms. He participated with the French in most of the punitive expeditions of the 1860s, against both pagan and Christian tribes. It appears likely that Bouarate and the other allied Waap chiefs were often able deliberately to direct French repression against their traditional enemies, since most of the tribes which felt the weight of official disapproval and military action in the north were Oot. In any event, it seems clear that the relationship between the colonial government and its pagan allies between 1863 and 1870 was between equals, one with which both sides had reason to be satisfied. The allies refrained from murdering Europeans, ceded some land for colonists, produced a few labourers for public works, and provided the French with their main striking force against recalcitrant tribes, which were usually their own enemies. In return, their land rights were respected, they were not involved in corvées, and some, including Hienghène, were exempted from the process of reorganisation and resettlement applied in 1869-70 to the Mouelebe and most other northern tribes. Internally the allied tribes enjoyed almost complete autonomy: customs excessively repugnant to Europeans, such as cannibalism, tended to be concealed but probably did not disappear. Patouillet,
for instance, was convinced that Melanesian fusiliers ate the bodies of those slain during punitive expeditions. He regarded official connivance as a price which had to be paid for loyal and energetic allies: 'it would have been as useless as it would impolitic to thwart the customs of these always faithful allies, and we closed our eyes to deeds which we would despair, alas! of being able to prevent'.

In other respects too traditional culture remained more or less intact, certainly much more so than in tribes where mission influence was strong, and where polygamy, traditional modes of adornment, ceremonies, settlement patterns, magical practices and the like were proscribed. The allied chiefs were lionised by the governor. Bouarate was awarded a gold medal in 1865, in recognition of services performed, and as part of a deliberate policy to bind him even more closely to the government's cause.

When Guillain left New Caledonia in March 1870 he was replaced by Bouarate's old admirer, the former governor of French Polynesia, Captain Gaultier de la Richerie. He reversed most of Guillain's policies. The campaign against the Marists was abandoned, there were few punitive expeditions, and most of the military posts set up by Guillain were withdrawn. The administration seems to have decided to deal with its native problem by ignoring Melanesians. Official reports referred to them rarely, unlike Guillain's despatches which often dealt with little else. Again, after 1870 Melanesians were conspicuously absent from the pages of the colony's official newspaper, the Moniteur. Since the missionaries continued to have few contacts with Hienghène, virtually nothing is known of the last three years of Bouarate's life, although it is reasonable to assume that he continued to do much as he pleased in his own district, and that he retained the respect and affection of his tribe. It is perhaps a measure of his standing as the best-known Melanesian of his generation that his death in 1873 earned a brief mention in the Moniteur, one of very few references to the native population during this period: 'The death is announced of the high chief of Hienghène, Bouarate, whose name is so often found repeated in the story of the beginnings of French colonisation in New Caledonia. His tribe and all those of the North are perfectly tranquil'.

Not long after this a mission station was set up at Ouaré, on the northern shore of Hienghène bay, though for a long time few converts were made. Bouarate's son, Philippe Powe, who succeeded his father as tribal chief, remained an apostate until his death in about 1889 but adopted an attitude of neutrality towards the Marists. Bouarate's eventual success in coming to terms with the colonial régime was not emulated by at least two of his descendants.
His grandson, Philippe Doui, shot himself in 1919 after being implicated in the last Melanesian uprising in 1917;9 his great-great grandson, Roch Bouarate, was deposed from the chieftainship shortly after World War II following unproven allegations of irregularities in the collection of the capitation tax.10 The tribe was subsequently led by a man who calls himself Bouarate, but was probably only indirectly related to the Bouarate clan. Recently Roch has been reinstated as chief on the death of the man who had replaced him. Hienghène is now one of the poorer districts in the east coast, and in some areas overcrowding and land shortage cause severe problems and intra-tribal tensions. In 1870 the tribe was powerful, rich, officially well regarded and enjoyed considerable internal autonomy. Bouarate had overcome setbacks to become one of the most influential Melanesians in the colony. The peculiarly favourable position of the Hienghène, however, could not survive the reversal of Guillain's policies, Bouarate's successors, less fortunate than he, were eventually forced to accept European encroachment on their lands and their independence, and to suffer the consequences of attempted resistance. But a study of Bouarate's career suggests that good fortune was not the only key to his success. Indeed, his tribe's subsequent experience of colonialism might well have been less devastating had his descendants possessed his flexibility and astuteness. It is these qualities which explain how a man rewarded by an alien government for 'Fidelité et dévouement' to its cause should at the same time be regarded by his own people as one of their greatest patriots.
In May 1867 Crayton Philo Holcomb, a middle-aged whaling captain with many a sea voyage behind him, took leave of his relatives in Granby, Connecticut, for the last time to follow his star. 'There is a fortune or utter disappointment ahead and I do not often give up before I make a trial', he wrote to his mother in words that have a familiar ring. 1 Holcomb was on the verge of making an overland journey across the continent that would eventually bring him to far more remote frontiers than post-bellum California. At the time he had no way of knowing just how elusive the 'fortune' would prove to be, nor could he anticipate the major role he would play in the commercial development of Yap, an island in the Western Carolines on which no permanent trading station had yet been established.

Born on 24 January 1830, Holcomb appears to have begun his vagabond existence at the age of seven when he first went away to live. It was not long before young Crayton's eyes were set seaward, like those of many another New England youth of the day. At the age of 20 he left the family farm to sign on a whaler, the Braganza, which sailed from New Bedford on 10 September 1850 for a two-year cruise in the Pacific. 2 Holcomb must have found the sea more to his liking than the pastures of Connecticut, for within six months of the Braganza's return in 1854 he shipped aboard another whaler, Chandler Price, as first mate, later becoming master of the vessel upon the death of Captain Curn. His first voyage aboard the Chandler Price (1854-7) was followed by another (1857-62) during which he retained command of the ship. 3

This essay first appeared in the Journal of Pacific History, to which thanks are due for permission to republish here.
He must have put to sea again almost immediately after the completion of his second voyage in the *Chandler Price*, for in 1864 we find him writing to his family from aboard an unnamed whaler at port in Honolulu of the hard luck that seems to have dogged him for the rest of his life. He complains in his letter that his ship had been rammed by another vessel and dismasted, and while it was undergoing repairs at the dock it was set afire by 'a nigger one of the damned contrabands from Washington'. As if this were not enough, the ship dragged anchor a few days later in a storm and smashed into a wharf, causing still further damage.4 His bad luck may have persuaded Holcomb to turn from whaling to another occupation—for this is what he did shortly afterward—but it never tempted him in the slightest to give up his wandering ways in exchange for a placid life in Connecticut. He remained at home no more than two years before setting out again, this time for California. A seasoned traveller by then, Holcomb confessed to his family that 'for me to live in Granby is out of the question . . . not that I have not seen many happy days there, but there is nothing I can do to make myself contented'.

Although shortly after his arrival Holcomb declared his intention of making California his home, his letters soon betray the same old restlessness; a year later, in 1870, he pronounced the times dull and the streets of San Francisco 'crowded with idle men and women'.5 After two short voyages to Alaska as master of the schooner *Page*, Holcomb bought his own vessel (never named in his letters) and sailed to Tahiti on his first trading voyage into the Pacific. His visit there seems to have made a lasting impression on him, for the idyllic vision of 'orange groves and a life of pleasant indolence' becomes a common refrain in his correspondence after that event. Granby, on the other hand, and all that it represented to him—harsh winters, uneventful rural existence, and family squabbles—held less appeal than ever despite frequent promises that he would return home for a visit once he had made a comfortable profit for himself in his business ventures. Soon Holcomb was writing of how weary he was 'drifting around the world like a waif upon the water without any settled plans' and telling of his desire to settle on some island of the Pacific and sun himself 'beneath the green groves of fruit and flowers that grow there'.6 Nevertheless, not one month after his return from Tahiti Holcomb had sold his vessel and taken a berth aboard the schooner *Sarah*, bound for Japan and China.

In April 1873 Holcomb left San Francisco again, this time for good, as captain and part-owner of the 80-ton schooner *Scotland*. At first his intention was to resell the vessel in China for his
Map 4 The Caroline Islands

- MARIANA ISLANDS
- Guam
- Carolines
- Palau
- Yap
- Admiralty Is.
- St. Matthias Is.
- New Guinea
- Philippines
underwriters, Messrs C. L. Taylor and Co., at a good profit after completing one or two lucrative trading voyages. But a loss of $2800 in repairs for damages suffered by the *Scotland* during bad weather off Japan ate up the profits of the first trading voyage, and Holcomb decided to keep the schooner, making Hong Kong his home port.7 A subsequent voyage to Borneo in January 1873 resulted in a full cargo of mother-of-pearl shell, camphor gums, rubber and bêche-de-mer, and must have served to whet the captain's appetite for further speculative ventures.8 A few months later Holcomb set sail again, this time for New Guinea and the Western Carolines to procure a cargo of bêche-de-mer. It was on this trip that he first visited Yap, the island that was thereafter to become as much of a home for him as any single place had been since the days of his early youth in Granby.

Yap in 1873 was only beginning to sprout a community of resident whites after years of cool and fitful relations with the outside world. The inhospitality of the Yapese people to foreign visitors was remarked upon some years earlier by Andrew Cheyne, whose brig *Naiad* was almost cut off there at the end of his month-long stay in 1843. The abortive attack on his ship appears to have been precipitated by the outbreak of an influenza epidemic among the Yapese which, by Cheyne's own account, caused the death of some sixty natives within three days.9 Cheyne also reports that while at anchor off Yap collecting bêche-de-mer he encountered two Filipinos, the sole survivors of two Spanish vessels whose crews had been massacred by the natives seven years earlier.10 A later partner of Cheyne's, Alfred Tetens, who visited the island aboard the *Acis* in 1862 to establish regular trade there, was told by one of the chiefs that he was the first white man who had been allowed to remain on Yap unmolested.11 On a later visit, probably in 1866, Tetens was forced to repulse an attack on his ship by night which he thought was motivated by a desire to seize his cargo of pearl shell, a commodity used as money by the Yapese.12 By 1873, however, a handful of foreigners were living permanently on Yap, and many more moving freely in and out of the island group. The observation of a passing merchant that 'the Yapese were generally well disposed to Europeans' was an accurate enough statement by that time.13

Although the first permanent trading station on Yap was only opened in 1869, when J.C. Godeffroy & Son sent an agent by the name of John Nash there, the island group was regularly visited by itinerant trading captains ten years before this.14 Cheyne and his business partners—first Edward Woodin and then Tetens—frequently stopped off there to collect copra and bêche-de-
mer en route to and from Palau, their base of operations. In the late 1860s, after Tetens had dissolved his partnership with Cheyne to captain the trading steamer *Vesta* for Godeffroy & Son, he felt confident enough of the disposition of the natives to leave one or two Europeans along with a handful of Palauans on Yap while his ship passed on to other islands.\(^{15}\) When Tetens himself was accidentally wounded on Yap in 1867 (his musket discharged into his leg), he could turn for help to a European who had taken up permanent residence on the island. He implies in his journal that there was more than one white living on Yap at the time, even though the devastation he found clearly indicated that the intersectional warfare which had troubled the island since contact days had not by any means ceased.\(^{16}\) As was true in many another Pacific island group, the unwary white visitor to Yap was frequently caught up in the inter-island rivalry—in this case, between the people of Rul and Tamil—and was often played off by one of these factions against the other. Even so, the safety of the white trader or beachcomber who chose to live there was virtually assured by the end of the 1860s and, unlike Truk in the years following its first sustained contact with whites, there is no recorded instance of any serious attempts made on the lives of traders or of attacks on ships after this time. Any violence in the years to follow could be attributed to the rough and ready ways of the small but growing band of seamen and merchants who frequented Yap.

'This is the land that suits me', Holcomb wrote after his first visit to the Carolines.

Where the natives go nearly naked and appear to enjoy life as well as the fashionables of New York, where the earth produces all that is required to sustain life without labor, and where although it is sometimes warm there is never any cold to freeze a person, where that fruit is always in season and is free to all.\(^{17}\)

Stirred by these romantic impulses—and even more, one suspects, by the lucrative trading prospects that were still almost unexploited in these islands—Holcomb decided at once to return to Yap and settle there. The Yankee adventurer was then 44 years old with little more than his ship to his name and a fairly long string of commercial failures behind him. His letters sound a strong note of discouragement as time after time he watched the modest profit made on one venture lost on another spectacularly unsuccessful scheme the following year. Even when he was just reaping the first returns from his copra trade in the Western Carolines, he sailed off to Japan in a futile attempt to raise the treasure of a sunken steamer
and incurred losses of $2000. After seven years on the seas, he was no closer to making his fortune than the day he left Granby.

Though bound for Yap in February 1874 to establish a trading station, Holcomb was not the man to neglect any diversion that gave promise of profit. The *Scotland* made a brief stop at Guam in March of that year and after selling about 2000 pesos worth of goods quietly slipped out of port one evening with two political prisoners, or *deportados*, aboard. The incident did not go unnoticed by the Spanish authorities, as we know from official reports of an inquiry into the matter, and Holcomb was unwelcome on Guam thereafter. The practice of smuggling *deportados* out of Spanish possessions for a fat fee was becoming popular among those ship captains on the lookout for ways, legal or not, to supplement their income. A similar event a year later, in fact, was responsible for Holcomb's first meeting with Bartola Garrido y Taisague, the Chamorro woman who eventually became his 'wife' after the fashion of the day.

On his return to Yap in April 1874 he found there David Dean O'Keefe, the resourceful Irishman who in later years exercised a virtual monopoly over the copra trade on that island. O'Keefe had sailed to Yap in a Chinese junk two years earlier, and was then working for Webster and Cook of the Celebes Sea Trading Company. A year after Holcomb's arrival, however, the company failed and O'Keefe's own business genius, aided by his tact in dealing with the Yapese people, found ample room within which to blossom. In November of the same year another enterprising trader, Eduard Hernsheim, put in on the *Coeran* to fish for trepang and, before he left, founded a permanent station on the island. Meanwhile the Godeffroy enterprise, which had opened on Yap in 1869 and was later taken over by the Deutsche Handels und Plantagen Gesellschaft (DHPG) when the former company dissolved in 1879, continued to flourish. Competition was quick in developing on Yap; the number of firms represented there multiplied practically overnight. Nonetheless, with the ready supply of copra and well-nigh insatiable desire of the Yapese for trade goods, these early years on Yap were still the most promising period in Holcomb's career. So successful was he that by 1877 he was preparing to open a few more trade stations, and two years after that was able to boast of his prosperous business and well-outfitted bailiwick, complete with 'stores and wharfs and everything'.

Holcomb, who had earlier written that he was 'trying to get enough together to fall back on by and by in the shape of funds or family', must have reckoned among the foremost blessings of his life on Yap his mistress and helpmate, Bartola Garrido, although he
never once mentions her to his kin in Connecticut. 'Traders in Yap', a later visitor to the island perceptively noted, 'seem to find a life of single blessedness tedious'.\textsuperscript{24} Holcomb was no exception. Bartola, 'una mujer muy fea' in the opinion of a Spanish seaman who met her some years later, could not have been a great beauty, but she displayed a genuine affection towards Holcomb that must have been truly gratifying to a man who had been spurned by every woman he had courted.\textsuperscript{25} Bartola was one of the passengers aboard the schooner \textit{Rabbi} when in late April 1875 it drifted to Palau, and was rescued from the hands of the natives by Holcomb, who took command of the ship. The crew and passengers of the \textit{Rabbi}, which included eight deportados smuggled aboard at Agana some days earlier, were obliged to depart from Guam with unexpected haste upon hearing that the ship's master, Captain Flages, had been arrested while ashore and that a company of soldiers was being dispatched to take those aboard into custody. The Spanish authorities gave them up for lost when they learned that there was no navigator, and very little water besides, aboard the \textit{Rabbi}.\textsuperscript{26} After Holcomb's display of courage and resourcefulness in Palau, O'Keefe reports, Bartola 'fell an easy victim' to the Yankee skipper and was easily persuaded to return with him to Yap.\textsuperscript{27} There she was to play a prominent role in the Spanish acquisition of the Western Carolines some ten years later.

As for the \textit{Rabbi}, it was brought to Hong Kong a year later, registered under Holcomb's name and renamed the \textit{Rachel}. The same week, in one of those characteristic reversals of fortune, Holcomb dispatched his other schooner, the \textit{Scotland}, under the command of his first mate, to the Okhotsk Sea where it was lost with all hands aboard.\textsuperscript{28} The loss of $9000 incurred by Holcomb through this misfortune, together with the losses sustained during his unsuccessful attempt to recover the sunken treasure, absorbed most of the profits of his expanding copra trade during his first four years on Yap.

By the early 1880s Yap had become established as the commercial centre of the Carolines, largely through the vigorous copra trade carried on there. An average of 1500 tons yearly—far more than the output for any other island in Micronesia—was exported by the four major concerns: Hernsheim, the DHPG, O'Keefe and Holcomb.\textsuperscript{29} Each of these agencies, including Holcomb's, had smaller stations on Palau and on other islands in the vicinity that were supplied from and overseen by regional headquarters in Yap.\textsuperscript{30} Between twenty and thirty vessels visited Yap each year, and the island's importance was
further enhanced when it became a coaling station for steamers sailing between Guam and Manila.

Meanwhile, the transient foreign population of the area had swelled to include the likes of Walter Amery, an Englishman who had formerly been engaged in the Hawaiian labour trade, and Harry Terry, an escaped convict from Australia who, thirty-five years earlier while a refugee on Nauru Island, was said to have participated in the attack on the whaling brig *Inga* and the massacre of her crew.\(^{31}\) Both of them were later charged with inflicting cruelties on Yapese labourers, as were the British subjects Thomas Shaw and John McGuinness, sometime agents for Hernsheim and O'Keefe respectively. Both Shaw and McGuiness countered with sworn statements of their own, one charging Holcomb and the other O'Keefe with inhumane treatment of natives and fraudulent business practices.\(^{32}\) One has only to skim through the correspondence in the Western Pacific High Commission Records relating to the Western Carolines to detect the utter abandon with which accusations, many of them later proved to be without substance, were hurled about by the rival agents working in this area. Yet, however baseless many of these charges were, one point is clear—by the early 1880s it was no longer the traders who needed to be defended from the Yapese. It is significant that while the first warship to put in at Yap, the German corvette *Hertie* in 1876, was dispatched to recover property that had been stolen from a resident trader by the Yapese, the British man-of-war *Espiegle*, which visited the island in 1883, was called in to investigate charges of injustice against the natives at the hands of the whites.\(^{33}\)

Not all the new arrivals, of course, were of this type. Some traders remained as long-term residents of Yap and became prominent figures in the life of that island—notably Robert Friedlander, the principal agent for Hernsheim & Co., who was still on Yap in 1903; Evan Lewis, the Welshman who lived there off and on until the end of the century; and, of course, O'Keefe himself who for 30 years, until his death at sea in 1901, remained the most imposing foreign figure in Yap.

Even in this period of greatly expanded commercial activity, O'Keefe continued to dominate the copra trade in the Western Carolines. His success was in great part due to his well-known strategem of quarrying and hauling from Palau to Yap the large stone discussed by the Yapese as money. As often as not during the 1880s he exported more copra than the other principal firms combined; in 1883, a poor year for Yap, he handled 300 tons out of a total of 550.\(^{34}\) O'Keefe had also
acquired exclusive rights to trade at Mapia, which yielded another 220 tons a year, at a lease fee of $50 per annum. As he established an incontrovertible supremacy over trade on Yap, he also acquired a host of enemies from among his business rivals. "There is now not a white man on the island who speaks to O'Keefe", wrote another trader in his testimony against the Irishman at the time. And Holcomb, who was forced to abandon his own business in 1880 under pressure of competition and to work for two years for Hernsheim on Jaluit, could be counted among O'Keefe's most bitter personal enemies.

O'Keefe was easily the favourite target for the recriminations made by the white traders on Yap. He was the defendant of the four cases investigated by the Espiègle in 1883, and afterwards on more than one occasion he was obliged to stand trial in Hong Kong for charges brought to court by his former employees. The charges—which included flogging natives and throwing them overboard in shark-infested waters, forceful abduction of native girls, illegal labour practices, and defrauding employees of their wages—were proved to be totally unfounded. In the judgment of the British Judicial Commissioner, O'Keefe had been maliciously wronged by his rivals owing to their 'jealousy at the success of his relations with the natives'. Although frequently painted as a villain by his contemporaries, he was genuinely liked and respected by both Palauans and Yapese. Even the naturalist Kubary, who had no particular reason to come to the Irishman's defence, testified that in the time he had been residing on Palau O'Keefe's dealings with the natives had always been creditable. Over all, the opinion of the British authorities regarding O'Keefe's conduct remained favourable. The Commissioner and his fellows, clearly impressed by the manner in which he handled his business on Yap, concluded their official report on the judicial inquiries there with the observation that 'his industry and energy are doing good to the natives and their island as well as to himself'.

The same could not be said of all foreigners living on Yap. On one occasion, when a trader was beaten by several Yapese for failing to deliver a rifle that he had promised them in payment for copra, the entire white community—with the exception of O'Keefe—undertook an armed expedition against the village of the offenders to demand their surrender. The traders were not able to persuade the frightened Yapese to hand over the guilty parties even though they gave assurances that their lives would be spared, for in similar circumstances some years before a Yapese defendant had been hanged on the spot after being surrendered to his white accuser.
Angered by the villagers' refusal, the small army of traders set a torch to several meeting-houses and, upon being mistakenly told by one of their party that the Yapese were planning to launch a counter-attack, kept up a steady fire into the bush with their Gatling gun and rifles. The Yapese had fled long before, however, and the only casualty was Holcomb who was accidentally shot in the back of the leg by his own house boy.40

Holcomb himself seems to have been one of the principal instigators of this attack. A good deal older than most of the other traders and seamen on Yap, he exercised considerable influence over the others, and it was at his advice that the band of whites armed themselves for their punitive sortie. For his part in the whole affair Holcomb was later sternly reprimanded by the British, although his nationality exempted him from any stronger disciplinary measures. His own view of the incident, put forth in one of those rare passages from his correspondence that do not deal with his pecuniary affairs, is that the British authorities 'took the natives part and punished the few Englishmen here for attacking and burning some canoe-houses for the attempt made to rob and drown one of them'. 'Now if this is English law', he adds, 'thank God I am not an Englishman'.41

Hot-headed and impetuous, Holcomb possessed neither the restraint and tact necessary to win the confidence of the Yapese nor the business sense that might have made him a match for O'Keefe. He could not but have been painfully aware of these shortcomings, and for the remainder of his life seems to have harboured deep resentment against the Irishman. O'Keefe must have been foremost in his mind when he wrote to his sister of 'some great rogues out here . . . who will take advantage of any false move I may make as soon as or sooner than they would do an honest action'.42 In one instance Holcomb was accused by O'Keefe of attacking him with a weapon and threatening to take his life, although nothing further seems to have come of the incident.43 A far more serious charge was brought against Holcomb a few years later in Hong Kong when O'Keefe and another trader testified that he had tortured and killed two Yapese who had reportedly robbed him of $200 worth of trade goods some years before. According to their story, Holcomb clamped wires on the hands, feet and noses of the natives until they were mangled beyond recognition.44 It is unlikely that this accusation of O'Keefe's had any more truth in it than most of those directed against O'Keefe himself, but the incident is a measure of the ill will that existed between the rivals at that time. Nonetheless, the sworn testimony of O'Keefe and Thomas Shaw prompted the Governor of the Colony of Hong Kong to request that the US Commander in the
Far East dispatch a warship to Yap so that the charges against Holcomb could be investigated—just as the Espiégle had been sent there two years earlier to look into charges made against O'Keefe. This measure proved pointless, however, for the American fortune-seeker had been killed on 6 May 1885, just two days prior to O'Keefe's first deposition in court.

Over all, the years between 1880 and 1885, which marked a sharp rise in commercial activity on Yap, were difficult ones for Holcomb. With the fall-off in his copra trade resulting from the stiffening business competition on Yap and the financial blow that was dealt when the Scotland was lost at sea, he had no choice but to dispose of his trade station on Yap for a time and take employment with one of his principal rivals, Eduard Hernsheim. After a year of 'exile' working for Hernsheim's establishment on Jaluit and several months in New Britain and the Admiralty Islands as the pilot of a German man-of-war, he returned to Yap in the middle of 1882 to find further troubles awaiting him there. The part-owners of the Scotland, C. L. Taylor and Co., were initiating a law-suit against Holcomb for back debts on the schooner they claimed he had never paid. Holcomb, who had already lost $9000 on the Scotland, was convinced that the company had already recovered the full insurance and now were conniving to wring his last dollar from him. At about the same time, he learned of a suit for $2000 filed against him in Connecticut for 'board bill and horse hire', and his letters from this time on are filled with invective against the 'sharpers from San Francisco and the lawyers of Connecticut'. The following year found him on his back recovering from the gunshot wound in his leg and smarting from the rebuke he had received from the British for his role in the shooting spree.

On top of all else, there were problems brewing with his kin in Connecticut. Barely had he re-established his trading concerns in Yap and Palau when his sister pleaded with him to return to New England to help the family in some financial distress that had lately befallen them. Holcomb, who had always tirelessly protested his affection for his relatives back home and his intention of visiting them at the first opportunity, acidly declined: 'I cannot see in strict justice that I should be called upon with a cry of anguish every time that a baby cuts a tooth or loses a toenail. Cannot any of you help yourselves without appealing to me?' This request for financial assistance was the last straw. Holcomb's relations with his kinsfolk, which had already deteriorated during the long years of his absence and were not helped by his frequent caustic allusions to his step-
father even after the latter's death in 1877, were nearly strained to the breaking point. His letters to his mother and sister had always been full of a whining self-pity and were frequently querulous besides, but his last two letters, written only a few months before his death, display an unusual testiness. To his family's suggestion that he 'come home soon for God's sake and let the islands go to thunder', Holcomb replied:

Now which do you think would be best for me to do, to throw up my vessel and let her lie and rot or be pillaged by the natives and let my other property go to thunder or for God's sake (a gentleman that I am unacquainted with) to come home and be bullied by a parcel of lawyers and scolded by you, to save I don't know what; this is a pecuniary view of the matter.49

The matter was already decided for Holcomb. Within a few months he embarked in the Bartola, a schooner that he had brought from Sydney the previous April, on his fatal voyage to the Admiralty Islands.

Holcomb's financial position in late 1884 must have been precarious, however mightily he had worked to re-establish his copra trade in the Western Carolines after his two-year absence. Although in a letter of 11 October 1884 he listed the total value of his holdings in the Carolines as $14,500, most of this was in the form of trade goods that had been obtained on credit. Holcomb's new schooner was still unpaid for at the time of his death, and his creditors in Sydney were advised by O'Keefe, to whom they had given the power of attorney, that it was useless to try to collect the $4000 owed them since 'no more than a pittance' remained of Holcomb's estate after other accounts had been settled.50 The reverses of the early 1880s had been exceptionally hard on him.

In all likelihood it was the realisation that his shaky financial position could hardly improve as long as O'Keefe and the German firms maintained their present trade advantage in the Western Carolines that led Holcomb to actively seek the establishment of a permanent Spanish administration on Yap. On 23 October 1884 Holcomb personally presented to the Governor of the Philippines a formal petition—signed by himself, Bartola, and a handful of Yapese—that Spanish rule be extended to Yap and Palau and that a governor be appointed to reside there.51 The petition speaks of the benefits to be had from Spanish cultural influence, religious beliefs, and education of the natives; but its true spirit is best captured in the line that deplores 'the domination of Yap by foreign powers that are concerned only for their own business interests'. One can scarcely
imagine Holcomb enkindled with genuine zeal for the spread of either the Roman faith or the Spanish culture and such sentiments ring far more true of Bartola, whose whole-hearted dedication to the Spanish cause in the Carolines later won her an honorary title and a life-long pension. Yet Holcomb undoubtedly felt that he would fare better under Spanish rule—particularly if he himself were instrumental in bringing it about—than in a free port where the law of the most powerful continued to prevail. He was clearly one of the underdogs and he must have counted on the trade restrictions that he was sure Spanish authorities would impose to offset some of the advantages then enjoyed by his competitors—if not to break their power altogether—and enable him to solidify his position in the Western Carolines.

Spain had already cast a long look in the direction of the Carolines and was slowly maturing plans for their occupation. In 1882 a Spanish cruiser visited Yap to reconnoitre the island, and a year later the steamer *Castellano* carried the personnel and materials for a factory that was planned but never actually built. By the time Holcomb's petition reached Manila, Spanish authorities needed very little encouragement to accelerate plans for the establishment of a Spanish protectorate in the Carolines. The Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, fearing the imperialistic designs of Bismarck's German navy in the Pacific, was beginning to recognise the strategic value of islands like Yap as coaling stations and provisioning stops for merchant ships en route to Asia. Holcomb's petition, which was widely publicised in Madrid, provided some assurance that Spanish rule in the Carolines would be well received by at least a segment of the population, but the Governor of the Philippines was directed to investigate the matter further. At the end of February 1885 the Spanish steamer *Velasco*, under Butrón y de la Serna, was dispatched from Manila to conduct an exploratory voyage preliminary to the establishment of a Spanish government in the Western Carolines and to report on the receptiveness of the people there to the Spanish Crown. On 26 February it steamed into Yap. Hardly had the *Velasco* been secured at anchorage when Bartola Garrido hurried a party of chiefs aboard to formally declare their loyalty to King Alfonso XII and their recognition of the new Spanish government. This and a similar occurrence in Palau, when the *Velasco* visited that island two weeks later, confirmed Spanish hopes that its move to colonise the Carolines was timely and acceptable. By the time the *Velasco* had returned to Manila, a royal decree had
been received directing Manila to establish a political-military governor on Yap.

It was not until several months later, on 21 August 1885, that two Spanish vessels arrived at Yap to take formal possession of the island and install its first governor. Even then the official party dallied for four days in selecting a site for their new quarters, and to their surprise and chagrin the German gunboat *Itlis* sped into port and planted the German flag over Yap on 25 August, a few hours before the Spanish finally got round to unfurling theirs. These events led to the well-known controversy over the possession of the Caroline Islands that was finally settled in favour of Spain by Pope Leo XIII. As the contesting claims of Germany and Spain were being argued at conference tables in Europe's capitals, Bartola—by then a widow—again gave convincing proof of her own loyalties by tearing down the German flag and raising the Spanish colours. When the Spanish steamer *Manila* arrived in June 1886 with a Spanish garrison and a band of Capuchin missionaries aboard in a second, and this time successful, attempt to set up a Spanish government on Yap, Bartola was the first to greet them. In recognition of her past patriotism as well as the continued assistance she rendered to the civil authorities on Yap, she was given the title *dona*, made Official Interpreter for the Governor, and granted a stipend of 600 pesos yearly.

Full Spanish dominion in the Carolines, when finally realised in June 1886, came too late to further Holcomb's personal ambitions. In April of the previous year, he set out aboard the *Bartola* with a work force of some sixty Yapese to obtain a cargo of mother-of-pearl from St Matthias Islands, a group off the north coast of New Ireland, in his last trading voyage. Holcomb had apparently learned from O'Keefe, for his intention was to barter the shell, which was highly prized by the Yapese as a traditional symbol of prestige, in exchange for copra. He had also recently entered the 'stone money' trade, hitherto monopolised by O'Keefe, and touched at Palau on this voyage to let off a group of Yapese to cut stones which he intended to transport later to Yap. When the *Bartola* arrived at the tiny island of Tench in the St Matthias Group on 6 May 1885, Holcomb went ashore to negotiate with the island's chiefs for the right to collect the shell that lay at the bottom of the sandy bay. According to the reports given by two of the Yapese who accompanied him, he was standing in the boat showing the Tench Islanders some of the cloth that he proposed to give them when spears began to fly from the beach. Struck by one of them, Holcomb fell over the gunwhale into the shallow water of the bay. The Yapese crew of the boat, all of
them wounded in the mêlée, made a vain attempt to drag Holcomb into the boat before rowing frantically for the Bartola. When they were out of spear range, some of them turned round in time to see Holcomb's body hauled out of the water by his assailants, lifted on a spear point and carried away towards the interior of the island. Despite the loss of its captain, one of the Bartola's Yapese crew who happened to be familiar with the use of a compass managed to guide the ship back to its home port.57

For years after his death, rumours circulated in Connecticut that Holcomb had amassed a fortune of five million dollars that included a fleet of ships and the legal title to the whole of Yap. These tales probably had their source in wild inferences made from certain statements in Holcomb's letters: that he had bought a small island, purchased another schooner, constructed wharves and storehouses, and the like. The trading captain's relatives and their descendants periodically reopened their inquiry into the whereabouts of the supposedly rich legacy he left behind in Yap and Palau, the latest investigations occurring in 1947. Letters from the US Consulate in Manila and the Registry of the Supreme Court in Hong Kong certifying that Holcomb had no assets recorded there were unable, it seems, to disabuse his kinsfolk in Granby of this fantastic notion. The fact is, however, that the Yankee captain who had spent the last eleven years of his life on Yap in pursuit of a fortune left his wife 'a small island with a thatched hut and little more'.58 When accounts were finally settled after Holcomb's death, Bartola was obliged to apologise in a letter to his mother that she had not even enough cash left to send her a small present.59 Holcomb, who remained a hard-headed businessman to the end despite his fondness for declaiming on the virtues of a life of South Seas indolence, in terms of his personal ambitions would have to be judged a dismal failure.

But if the ex-whaling captain Crayton Philo Holcomb is typical of that group of hapless adventurers whose dreams of a fortune to be made in the Pacific never materialised, he still played a far from insignificant role in the 'domestication' of Yap through his trading activities and his political intervention on behalf of Spain. Coming as he did at a time when the copra trade was in its infancy in the Western Carolines, Holcomb was one of the handful of foreigners who established the trade on an expanded and permanent basis there. He and a few other traders guided the copra industry through the critical years of the late 1870s, and thereby succeeded in exposing the island to later commercial and political influences. Although overshadowed by O'Keefe and other trading concerns in later years, Holcomb watched the island group in which he had pioneered
trading activities develop into the commercial centre of the Carolines. By 1885 Yap had become the major single source of copra in Micronesia, a radial point for trading voyages in other islands among the Western Carolines, and an important stop for trade vessels of all nationalities. Years later the island would assume further importance as a coaling station for Spanish and German naval steamers and as a cable station under the German Administration. By 1885, too, Yap had been brought into the sphere of Spanish colonial rule as Madrid made a last attempt to assert its sovereignty in the Pacific against what it viewed as the encroachments of German expansionism.

Holcomb’s part in the acquisition of Yap and the rest of the Carolines by Spain can hardly be called decisive, but he and Bartola did greatly facilitate the actual establishment of the local Spanish Administration in Yap. Not only did they rally support for Spanish rule among the Yapese and thereby assure the new government of a good measure of acceptance on the island, but Bartola continued long after Holcomb’s death to act as an intermediary between the Yapese and their Spanish administrators. Even if Holcomb failed in his quest for a fortune, he stands as an important figure in the pivotal years of the 1870s and 1880s on Yap.
IN all the Ellice Islands', wrote G. R. Le Hunte in 1883, 'there is a so-called "king" and a governing body of Kau-puli, (who have all the power, the chief being practically a non-entity), but the real king and sovereign is the teacher: nothing can be done without his permission'.1 Such was the verdict of the Judicial Commissioner on board HMS Espiègle on the power and influence of Samoan pastors in the Ellice Islands (now Tuvalu). The London Missionary Society (LMS) landed its first three pastors in the group in 1865 and for the next thirty years they and their successors were the most significant agents of acculturation. The careers of Kirisome of Nui (1865-1899) and Tema of Funafuti (1870-1889) encompass those crucial years when mission influence was paramount and when the Samoan pastor was the dominant personality in an isolated archipelago.

Little is known about the early lives of Kirisome and Tema but they were probably destined to become pastors just as their own sons were groomed for the job. The role of pastor was often a family tradition in Samoa. In addition to being Kirisome's cousin, Tema was also:

the brother of Ioane of Nanumanga, and of two of our best pastors in Samoa. All four are sons of an excellent old Samoan Pastor ... It is gratifying to be able to point to such a family, especially as we have the joy of seeing the children of the third generation following the footsteps of their parents and grandparents. One of Tema's sons this very month of December 1885 offered his services in the North-West Outstations having passed a successful course at Malua.2

Kirisome and Tema also received their training at the Malua Theological Seminary. The level of instruction was superficial and much of
their training had no practical application. But Malua held a virtual monopoly of European education and places at the Seminary were in constant demand. Educational opportunities and evangelistic fervour, however, only partly explain the attraction of the role of pastor to many Samoans. Briefly, pastors had readily become incorporated into the Samoan social structure, offering a means to influence in a strictly graded society which placed a premium on status and rank and where the opportunities for social mobility were limited. In keeping with Samoan preoccupations the pastors were much concerned with their standing within Samoan society and the LMS organisation. They likewise imposed a Samoan character on the structure of the local church. Those who were sent to preach the gospel outside Samoa took with them these attitudes and expectations and acted accordingly. Their activities were characterised by distinctively Samoan patterns of behaviour and are intelligible when seen in the light of Samoan values. This proclivity of pastors abroad to be the conscious agents of Samoan norms and to secure for themselves a local standing commensurate with that of a pastor in Samoa is readily exemplified in the careers of Kirisome and Tema. At the same time their activities in the Ellice demonstrate that, despite a common background and training, Samoan pastors varied markedly as individuals.3

The nine coral atolls and reef islands which form the Ellice group lie a few degrees south of the equator on the western margin of the Polynesian triangle and possess the features typical of such islands—low elevation, poor soils and a limited terrestrial biota dominated by the coconut tree. The Islanders in the south of the group acknowledge Samoa as their ancestral home. Later arrivals, particularly Tongans and Gilbertese, introduced some of their own cultural traits but only on Nui were the pre-existing Samoan influences submerged. Although the exact details of this cultural transfer have still to be unravelled, it is well known that parties of Gilbertese settled on the island and that the newcomers’ ways eventually displaced most aspects of the original culture. By 1825 the last Ellice Island had been placed on European charts and the inhabitants of the group—in the southern islands at least—soon became acquainted with white men. The few known contacts between Islanders and the outside world were almost uniformly peaceful until 1863 when Peruvian slavers reduced the populations of Nukulaelae and Funafuti by about two-thirds. When the first missionary voyages were made shortly after, the populations of Nui and Funafuti were approximately 200 and 100 respectively.4

The LMS entry into the Ellice Islands has secured a cherished
Map 5 The Gilbert and Ellice Islands
place in Pacific missionary annals. In 1861, Elekana, an LMS deacon from Manihiki, drifted off course and eventually made landfall at Nukulaelae, over 1500 miles north-west. The people of Nukulaelae, who already knew something about Christianity from traders and were anxious to know more, listened readily to Elekana’s proselytising and allowed him to depart only on the understanding that he would return with a Samoan pastor. On the strength of Elekana’s testimony the English missionaries in Samoa decided to incorporate the Ellice Islands into the Northwest Outstations which at the time comprised simply the Tokelau Islands. Shipping difficulties delayed the move until 1865 when the Reverend A.W. Murray, Elekana and two other pastors took passage in the German trading vessel Augustita bound for the Ellice. It was sheer coincidence that the islands visited by the Augustita—Nukulaelae, Funafuti, Vaitupu, Nukufetau and Nui—were the ones initially receptive to Christianity (whereas the northern islands of Niutao, Nanumanga and Nanumea were not). The earlier groundwork by traders and other lay bearers of Christianity was, in fact, of greater moment than the unpremeditated landing of Elekana at Nukulaelae. On each island, Christianity was being practised after a fashion—’according to their measure of light’, in Murray’s phrase—and several ‘heathen practices’ had already been abandoned.

The spread of Christianity in the five southern islands proceeded rapidly. Both the initial attraction of the new religion and its ultimate acceptance are explicable in terms of the recipient culture: the key tenets of mission teaching could be related to, or were not inconsistent with, important facets of the pagan religion. Christianity was also explicitly identified with Europeans. The earliest European visitors had possessed superior resources, greater knowledge and ‘higher spirits’, and the Islanders could scarcely disregard a god who so endowed his adherents. The ability to read and write was perceived as the key to these attributes and, significantly, Murray was asked on each island for a supply of books as well as a pastor.

The Islanders were notably receptive to new ideas but lived in an inherently limiting environment and could only encounter a limited range of experiences. More than most other Polynesians, therefore, they had ‘explored and exhausted all the avenues open to a non-literate society and now sought an ampler world’. The conversion process in the Ellice, however, cannot be adequately accounted for simply in terms of compatibilities between Christianity and traditional values or in an eagerness to expand horizons. There is also the question of inter-cultural communication,
and the close harmony of the two cultures meant that Samoan pastors in the Ellice would be particularly successful evangelists—a contrast to Hawaiian pastors in the Gilberts who came ‘from a country recklessly unchaste to one conspicuously strict; from a race hag-ridden with bogies to one comparatively bold against the terrors of the dark’. The pastors were charged with defined pastoral duties and a specific educational role. They were to preside over the transformation of the Ellice Islands into Christian communities—to impose standards of Christian morality as defined by the LMS. As far as possible the Islanders were to be imbued with the ethics of English middle-class non-conformity. The educational duties involved the pastors mainly in teaching scripture and the three Rs, the vehicle of instruction being at first the Samoan Bible. However, the pastors usually exceeded their briefs. Not content with simply being God’s representatives on earth they pursued ambitions of their own which remained either ignored or undetected by English missionaries for over thirty years.

In the political sphere pastors became the dominant local personalities. Although the available records do not describe the manner by which Kirisome and Tema achieved pre-eminence, it is likely they would have been free with threats of eternal damnation and let it be known that salvation depended on providing for the pastor and his family. More importantly, their positions were largely assured from the start. Pastors were eagerly accepted in the southern Ellice and the situation which occurred at Vaitupu may well have been repeated at Nui and Funafuti. In Vaitupu the tupu (chief):

so enthusiastically received the first bearer of Christianity that he ordered a house to be built for the missionary and that he be given lands and cared for, because he came to Vaitupu with no means of livelihood. Furthermore he transferred his chiefly prerogative of receiving the head of any turtle caught to the pastor who thereby became his political equal or surrogate.

In their moves for temporal power within the existing hierarchical societies in the Ellice, the pastors had the added advantage of working within a familiar context where their acquired cultural characteristics—political adroitness, skill in oratory and generally forceful personalities—had ample scope for concrete expression. The traditional Ellice political structure tended towards a Samoan model with power normally rotating between chiefly families on each island. The kaupuli (council of elders) furthermore was by no means remote from the Samoan fono. The results of the stratagems of the pastors are apparent enough. The tupu on each island was reduced to a figurehead while the kaupuli became an adjunct of the church.
It still performed its original legislative, judicial and executive functions but its members were appointees of the pastors and they normally followed their directives. In other words the secular authority remained structurally intact but the character of its legislation was now overlaid by a theocratic bias. Accordingly, the power of the pastors was actual but not formal. Maintenance of these laws was enforced by a system of fines which one naval captain thought to be:

probably a vicious one; it is a temptation to the Kaupuli to multiply laws in order to pocket the result of their infringement, and, as it seems they actually pocket the fines, the temptation must be great. Moreover, the paying of part to the Mission teachers is bad, as it is likely to enlist their sympathy and interest in troublesome laws and exactions.

Kirisome was not among the original contingent on board the Augustita but was landed on Nui a few months later, in November 1865, by obliging Presbyterian missionaries. Thus began his association with this small atoll which was to last—almost without break—for nearly thirty-five years. During this period Nui became known in English missionary circles as the most 'enlightened' island in a group which in itself was notably responsive to mission teaching. Why Christianity prospered on Nui is not readily explicable since Gilbertese influences prevailed whereas the Gilbert Islands themselves were the graveyard of many missionary aspirations. At the time all credit went to Kirisome but it is now clear that he gained a reputation which required little effort on his part.

The situation on Nui upon Kirisome's arrival owed much to Robert Waters, the coconut oil trader whom Murray simply identifies as 'Bob'. He was no longer on the island at the time of Murray's first visit but during the early 1860s had energetically been giving religious instruction to the people of Nui. A combination of professional jealousy and moral outrage led Murray to denounce Waters as an unprincipled selfseeker, yet it is clear that Waters's teaching had done the LMS greater service than the missionary was prepared to acknowledge. There is a clear connection between the readiness of a southern individual island to accept Christianity and the extent of its previous instruction in Christian tenets by Europeans. At one end of the scale stood Nukufetau, which had received the least measure of such teaching; at the other was Nui.

Ironically, Waters was the cause of Kirisome's first crisis, for within a year of the young pastor's arrival Waters returned and attempted to set himself up as of old. The ensuing confrontation must have been a bitter affair. It would be interesting to know how Kirisome, the inexperienced pastor who could barely speak the local
Kirisome and Tema

language, gained the allegiance of the people of Nui against Waters. Probably the people's anxiety to have a pastor was the telling factor and Kirisome would surely have exploited this sentiment, claiming that he was an accredited representative of Christ whereas Waters was a fraud. And 'so Bob was foiled', observed Murray triumphantly, 'and with his three wives, slunk back to the congenial darkness of the Kingsmill group'.

Nui had one initial drawback as a missionary field. The southern Ellice Islands spoke Samoan dialects which made feasible the use of the Samoan Bible as the medium of instruction. On Nui, however, the people spoke a Gilbertese dialect which no LMS missionary could understand. Language barriers are a notorious stumbling block to missionary activity but the situation at Nui was resolved with an unexpected ease. Not only did Kirisome learn the local language remarkably quickly—aided, no doubt, by the many visitors from neighbouring islands—but the problem of unsuitable literature yielded to the printing press and to outside help. When Murray first visited the group he discovered at Nui a few copies of the Gospel of St Matthew together with a spelling book and a hymn book, all of which had been left behind by traders. These were publications of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, a Protestant missionary organisation of similar complexion to the LMS, whose Pacific branch—the Micronesian Mission—was based in Honolulu and whose sphere of activity included the Gilbert Islands. Murray took a copy of each back to Samoa where new editions were published. Supplies were landed at Nui later in the year when the Presbyterian missionaries took Kirisome there and also by Murray the following year. Then, in 1867, at Murray's request, the Reverend Hiram Bingham Jnr of the Micronesian Mission called at Nui with a further supply of religious tracts which he himself had translated into Gilbertese.12

Kirisome had now been twenty months on Nui. As with the other islands in the southern Ellice the people of Nui had built a house and a chapel for their pastor and were providing him and his family with a daily supply of food. Kirisome could now speak Gilbertese with ease and was already displaying his remarkable talents as a teacher. Bingham was amazed at the extent of literacy on the island and further observed that the people were thoroughly drilled in scripture and that Kirisome considered about half the adult population to be 'truly the friends of Jesus'. Bingham, who also visited Vaitupu, derived both joy and sadness from his visit to the Ellice.

We shall not soon forget this delightful visit [he wrote]; though the contrast of the results of one year and six months' missionary labor here
with those of six and a half at Apaïang could not be otherwise than—I almost said—painful.

Nor could Bingham refrain from comparing the unsatisfactory performances of the Hawaiian pastors in the Gilberts, who had to be provided from Honolulu with the necessities of life, with the successes of the pastors on Vaitupu and Nui. Kirisome, he wrote pointedly, 'depends on no provisions from abroad. He seemed happy and contented in his work, hardly knowing when he would be visited by an English missionary'.

In the event it was to be another three years before Kirisome was visited by an English missionary. But finally, in 1870, missionary voyages to the Northwest Outstations began on an annual basis with the arrival in the Pacific of the new John Williams III. The Ellice was visited that year by the Reverend S.J. Whitmee who called at Nui with a special purpose in mind. At the behest of the Micronesian Mission, the Samoan District Committee of the LMS had agreed in principle to extend the Northwest Outstations to include the southern Gilbert Islands. Kirisome, the only ordained member of the LMS able to speak Gilbertese, was seconded for service in the Gilberts for a year and stationed at Tamana. Those twelve months at a difficult new posting which involved pioneering work proper put Kirisome to the test and soon revealed his limitations as a missionary. Basically, an inability to reconcile himself to a new and less favourable situation was his downfall. His impatience for immediate results and his frustration at achieving less than complete success soon affected his work. He was finally removed at his own request but also 'for the benefit of the people' of Tamana and replaced by a novice pastor who was considered to 'be much more conciliating than was Kirisome'.

Kirisome was then returned to his original island which meant that the people of Nui now had to support two pastors, as Tuilouä had been landed by the John Williams only a month before. Nor were the Nuians found wanting for by the following year the two pastors were too fat to fit into their trousers. A 'liberal use of the spokeshave till they reduced to fit the [ir] breeches' was strongly recommended. Fat and contented the two pastors seem to have worked together harmoniously until Tuilouä left for Nanumea in 1873, by which time Kirisome's previous high standing in the eyes of the English missionaries had been fully restored.

Tema arrived in the group in 1870—the year Kirisome was sent to Tamana—and was landed on Funafuti to replace the original pastor
who had been recalled to Samoa for some unspecified transgression. Yet Christianity had in no way been prejudiced by the deviations of his predecessor. Most of the people could read, devotions and school classes were being conducted by four senior Islanders, and a 'neat stone chapel' and a 'good house' for the pastor had been constructed. In Whitmee's view the island had 'advanced to a stage which would put to shame many a village in highly favoured England'.

Like Kirisome, Tema was confronted with early opposition, not from a trader but from a Roman Catholic catechist. In this, as with all future threats to his authority, Tema's reaction was one of uncompromising hostility. Tema's long reign on Funafuti was also marked by a series of confrontations with traders, the most serious of which involved W.B. Thompson, who claimed that he 'was once Church Moderator in the "Poultry Chapel" in Dr. Spence's time'.

A few weeks after his arrival in November 1873, Thompson was married by Tema to a Funafuti woman. The trader then demanded that the lands belonging to his wife's family be handed over to him and threatened warship action when his claims were rejected. The dispute soon assumed serious proportions; a tabu was placed on Thompson's trade, he was fined, and even occasionally assaulted. Tema was deeply implicated in these proceedings. He solidly backed the *tupu*, who was seriously disturbed that Thompson's threats of warship action would eventuate. Indeed, the trader complained that he frequently heard Tema 'tell the natives that so long as they kept a Samoan teacher and treated him well no ship of war would dare trouble them'. Thompson continued to be harried by the Islanders until finally, after five years of persecution, he decided he had had enough. He departed with his family in March 1878 and there the matter rested despite Thompson's repeated calls for 'powerful and vigorous action against the people of Funafuti'. There was, in fact, no possibility that a warship would come to Thompson's aid as the Commodore of the Royal Navy's Australian Station was determined that the trader should not 'receive from our Cruizers a support of which he appears unworthy'. But the people of Funafuti were not to know this. In their eyes, Tema's promises of protection had been fulfilled and his local standing was considerably enhanced.

Tema's relationship with other resident traders was also strained. One of the traders maintained that competition over limited resources was the underlying cause of conflict and a missionary noted in his diary (but not in his official report) that the traders accused Tema '... genly of greediness and money-making tendencies. There seems some ground for the complaint that Tema interfered with the sale of Copra'. It is certainly true that the LMS
through the instrumentality of the pastors could compete more successfully than traders for the island's inadequate resources. Ellice Islanders normally made three separate annual donations to the LMS, either in cash or in kind: a donation to the society itself, a contribution to the John Williams and the payment of their pastor's stipend. It was a matter of pride to both pastor and people that these donations should be substantial and Tema was particularly successful in this regard. Year after year the total donation from Funafuti on a per capita basis was greater than that from any other Ellice Island. Moreover, Tema's stipend often exceeded the island's donation to the society, an unusual occurrence elsewhere in the Ellice. This was clearly a major drain on the island's productive capacity but its effects on the traders were less than one would at first suppose. Much of the traders' business derived from the Islanders' desire to obtain the money necessary to meet their obligations to the LMS and their pastor. A more compelling reason for the traders' financial difficulties was the current recession in the copra market, which alone would have made their business unprofitable.

There was also a pronounced racial dimension to the traders' dislike of Tema. Many Europeans in the Pacific besides traders viewed the sight of an Islander administering the white man's religion with misgivings and distaste. The traders on Funafuti went to the extent of conducting their own church services (ostensibly because other devotions were held in Samoan) and unsuccessfully applied for a portion of land on which they could build their own church. One of the traders even refused to allow Tema to baptise his youngest child; instead he waited until a warship arrived whereupon he asked its chaplain to perform the ceremony.

Another blow to the traders' racial pride was the fact that Tema brought them within the ambit of his authority. Visiting missionaries noted that the traders were 'jealous of Tema's influence' and the naval captain who described him as 'the most important man in the island' was merely affirming what they already knew to be the disagreeable truth. They strongly resented being subordinated to one whom they regarded as an arrogant usurper and were driven to distraction by the very pettiness of the missionary-inspired regulations. One of the traders later wrote bitterly of Tema's pretensions and 'absurd legislation'—the enforcement of a strict Sabbatarianism, Tema's obsession in building a second church as a monument to himself, the rigid curfew and the activities of the village police who prowled by night in search of adulterers. Small in themselves, all these things in sum intruded irritatingly on the traders' daily lives, another complication in an already harsh and
frustrating existence. Perhaps they over-reacted but Le Hunte, who had little admiration for traders, seemed to think that the pastor was more to blame.27

Tema equally resented the presence of traders and fully reciprocated their animosity. But for all his influence it was beyond his power to be rid of them. In the first place, traders were deemed by the Islanders to be vital to their needs for only they could supply in sufficient quantity those items of European material culture which the Islanders had come to regard as essential to everyday life. Secondly, traders and the LMS were economically dependent on each other. On the one hand the copra trade provided Islanders with the cash which they then donated to the missionary collections. On the other hand the LMS, in spite of itself, encouraged traders by virtue of the fact that the demand for trade items—especially clothing and building materials for churches—were missionary-inspired. Tema and the traders were therefore forced to accept the unpleasant fact of each other's existence. Both, in a sense, were victims of the system but Tema derived greater benefits from it. His handsome stipend, which frequently amounted to $100, far exceeded the annual earnings of any trader on the island.

Kirisome was more reasonable in his dealings with resident traders, though their smaller numbers than on Funafuti reduced somewhat the scope for conflict. During the 1870s an American named Davis traded on the island. He was well spoken of by visiting missionaries—a rarely bestowed honour—and maintained a polite relationship with Kirisome for a number of years. The parting of the ways came in 1878 when Kirisome began to incite the kaupuli to pass regulations which would hinder Davis's trading operations.28 With the arrival of further traders the situation worsened. The problem largely involved disputes between the traders and the kaupuli concerning obedience to local laws29 and Kirisome's allegiance at such times would have been explicit. But, until his later years, Kirisome did not normally go out of his way to provoke the traders, thus avoiding the tensions which prevailed on Funafuti.

Traders were not the only Europeans in the Pacific to disparage Polynesian pastors. Le Hunte considered that the Ellice Islanders 'suffer[ed] a good deal from ecclesiastical rule' and expressed regret that the English missionaries 'should not have taught their native emissaries to temper the wind a little to their lambs, which they keep certainly very closely shorn'.30 And Charles Hedley, one of a group of scientists working on Funafuti in 1896, had little admiration for Tema's successor:
The severity of the Native Teacher towards the gentle, submissive Islanders, [is] remarked on by all members of the Expedition . . . He seemed anxious to obliterate native manners, and to substitute the habits and customs of the European, as he understood them, as to preach the European's creed . . . The elders often look back with regret to the merry old days of heathendom, when the village was not so dull.31

Yet the manifold changes induced by pastors were still not as sweeping as Hedley and others thought. Moreover the authority of pastors was subject to restraints from within, and their power was somewhat circumscribed by the recurrence of traditional ways.

The predilection of pastors to preside over theocracies provides a case in point. Certainly this can largely be attributed to their highly developed sense of personal ambition, but there is also the suggestion that they 'played the despot, partly because they had to. Since Ellice Islands' political organisation was characterised by a continual jostling for power, the pastor who did not assert himself could be left without local standing. Even those who did so were sometimes not entirely assured of their position—in the late 1890s, for example, strong-willed tupu on Nukualaelae and Vaitupu were able to effect the removal of pastors who had overreached themselves. Even Tema, who kept 'the king and people well in hand',32 could be the object of local displeasure. On two separate occasions the visiting missionaries found him suffering from a bout of fish poisoning,33 no doubt the work of a disaffected member of his congregation.

In applying their authority, Tema and Kirisome differed. Tema cultivated power for its own sake and had a nice sense of his own importance. In 1883, when asked by Captain Bridge to escort him to the house of the tupu, Tema declined to do so—'he evidently considered this beneath his dignity and refused to go with me'.34 Kirisome, in contrast, was described by one who entertained serious misgivings about the common run of Samoan pastors as:

A fine, open-eyed man without pretension in manner or dress, keeping a vigilant eye over his flock but avoiding all mean ways of doing so. Kirisome has guided the people of Nui for nearly twenty years, and is a striking proof that the natives have in themselves good material for the work.35

Despite occasionally antagonising the resident traders, Kirisome was disinclined to assert himself unless confronted with a direct threat to his authority. Instead he developed an arrogance of a different sort which stemmed from having worked for so many years on an 'easy' island. A visiting missionary was not unmindful of this self-assured attitude: 'He gives the impression that he could do very well without the counsel and advice of Eng. Miss but that can easily be excused
when one remembers the noble work he is doing on Nuui. The results of this 'noble work' were described by Hedley in 1896:

To-day Paganism claims not a single adherent throughout the Archipelago. Christianity has now been embraced for a quarter of a century, and the memory of the old rites is rapidly vanishing... The old order has changed to such an extent that it is difficult to gain information upon the former social system. The elder natives are averse to discussing what they now regard as a shameful and deplorable past.

And certainly, outward signs indicated that the new orthodoxy had displaced the old. Churches now stood where ancestral shrines had once been in evidence. Tattooing, on Funafuti at least, had long ceased to be practised; only the oldest inhabitants were tattooed and were embarrassed by it. The Islanders were 'clothed and in their right minds', to use the common missionary quotation from Job, thereby aggravating the numerous and endemic skin infections. The steady increase in the Ellice populations during the period attests to at least the partial success of the church ban on former methods of birth control. Monogamy, of course, became a prerequisite for church membership.

The Islanders, to be sure, adhered faithfully to many doctrines of the church; but they deviated from others. The deviation tended towards traditional modes. In 1887 the visiting missionary reported that Tema's 'questions to me indicate that there is still a lot of wickedness on this island'. Another missionary commented thus about Nui: 'Divorce is a great trouble to Kirisome. It is a question not easily settled in these places owing to the low state of morals generally, but more especially in relation to the marriage bond'. Alcohol imported by trading vessels was also a matter of concern to Kirisome but not to any other pastor in the group. Like the Gilbertese to the north, the people of Nui displayed a greater interest in alcohol than did other Ellice Islanders; it was a refractory problem which Kirisome only countered with difficulty. On the other hand, Kirisome did nothing to prevent his congregation from smoking and when the tupu asked him to forbid the habit 'he replied that he himself smoked and could see no harm in it'.

Nor were pastors notably successful in their attempts to suppress moetotolo (night-creeping). The nocturnal, sexual rendezvous, traditionally the prerogative of unmarried men, is still a fact of life in the Ellice. The Vaitupuans who resettled in Kioa (a small island in eastern Fiji) took the practice with them—'You can't stop it', an anthropologist was assured. But Tema did on Funafuti. The village police would march around the village during the night and quietly steal into the houses to see if all was all right. It was found that the
house-dogs barked and gave notice of their approach, so they decreed the destruction of all dogs on the island and again became masters of the situation. This, and the punishment meted out to occasional offenders, was sufficient to keep the matter in hand. Indeed, visiting scientists in 1899 spoke of the excellent 'moral tone of the community' and—without realising the connection—further remarked that 'there was not a dog on the atoll'. The 1912 crime statistics further testify to the persistence of traditional modes. Seventy-three Islanders were imprisoned that year by the British authorities—three for fighting, ten for stealing and sixty for adultery. Conformity to the church's moral code was far less complete than the missionaries would have liked, except on Funafuti.

The well-meant criticisms that Hedley, Le Hunte, and others directed at missionary activity in the Ellice are therefore substantially, but not completely, correct. However, it must be denied that the conversion to Christianity altogether deprived the Ellice Islanders of their cultural identity without providing a viable alternative. Rather, the church became the focal point of village activity and has remained so to this day. Nor were unpleasant episodes invariably due to the pernicious influence of pastors, as non-missionary visitors seem to imply. Sometimes it was not that at all. Tema, for instance, was accused of instigating sectarian persecution on Funafuti, and certainly he did not disapprove when his congregation harried the only Catholic to the point of distraction. However, Tema was only an enthusiastic bystander; his congregation took the initiatives, exercising customary community sanctions against an incorrigible deviant. All this is not to deny, however, that pastors enjoyed a position of extraordinary ascendancy, which they frequently abused.

The LMS considered education to be a vital part of its work and, as Kirisome's activities demonstrate, the pastors' educational role could have far-reaching results. Kirisome himself was scholastically inclined and would question visiting missionaries for hours on problems associated with his work and studies. He was also multilingual for in addition to his native Samoan he could also speak English and the local Gilbertese dialect. He could speak neither when he first arrived at Nui but by 1885 a visiting missionary went so far as to say that his 'knowledge of the English language and idiom far exceeds that of any other native I have ever met; and he has no mean acquaintance with the higher rules of arithmetic'. Whereas Tema, typically, was a rigid disciplinarian Kirisome, from all accounts, was
Kirisome and Tema

an outstandingly gifted teacher. Year after year his pupils gained better exam results than on any other island in the Northwest Outstations and a disproportionate number of scholars from Nui were admitted to the Malua Theological Seminary. Many of the society's best pastors in the southern Gilberts hailed from Nui, so despite his early reversals at Tamana Kirisome may well have had an appreciable indirect effect on the course of Christianity in the Gilberts. He took an obvious pride in his teaching and once asked a naval captain:

> to hold an examination of his pupils in arithmetic and dictation, which I did, and most of the writing was very good indeed, as was the spelling. They then sang the multiplication table up to 19 times 19. This missionary evidently takes great pains, and has considerable influence over his people.48

Of greatest significance, however, was the Samoan bias of Kirisome's tuition. By 1880 he had begun to teach the Samoan language and within five years it was being remarked 'how strongly Samoan ideas have taken possession of the minds of Kirisome's people'.49 Similarly on Funafuti: 'The people seemed familiar with the best . . . Samoan tunes'.50 This introduction of fakasamoā* (the Samoan way) is one of the more striking and enduring legacies of early mission activity. The pastors regarded the Islanders as 'rough, uncultured boors';51 some even called them tagata'āi niu (coconut eaters). Indeed, the pastors saw fakasamoā as an integral part of Christianity. They were intent on engineering a cultural as well as a religious conversion.52

There was also a less positive side to the education program. The Islanders readily responded to mission education, partly because it was their only means of gaining a knowledge of distant parts. They displayed an intense interest in the outside world and would listen in awe to a lecture on missionary work in New Guinea. Many of their songs, moreover, related to Europe and included such improbable topics as Captain Webb swimming the English Channel. But despite mission training (perhaps because of it), the Ellice perception of Europeans and their ways could be none other than a distortion of reality. Their islands were infrequently visited by European shipping, their opportunities for overseas travel were few, never more than a dozen traders resided in the group at any one time, while the Europeans they actually did encounter were highly unrepresentative of European culture as a whole. Nor were the pastors, with their dubious Malua education, in any position to provide a corrective.

* Fakasamoā is an Ellice term; fa'a Samoa is the Samoan form. Fakasamoā could be described as fa'a Samoa as practised in the Ellice Islands.
But the forms this distorted perspective took are nonetheless interesting. After thirty years of mission teaching the people of Funafuti could still tell Mrs Edgeworth David, the wife of the leader of the coral boring expedition and herself the first European woman to make extended contacts with the Islanders, that white people were the same in outward image as black people, but their spirits were different; white people had higher spirits because they were able to do such wonderful things—to read and write a language they had never heard before—and to make water run uphill. (They had seen the pump of the diamond drill machine at work).53

On another occasion an Islander buried the crown gearing wheel left behind by the coral boring expedition of the previous year under one of his coconut trees to act as a fertiliser.54

In 1892 Britain declared protectorates over the Gilbert and Ellice groups. During July and August, HMS Royalist visited both groups; on that occasion Captain Davis declared a protectorate over the Gilbert Islands and reported that the inhabitants of all the Ellice Islands (except Niulakita) were agreeable to British rule. The following month, HMS Curacao visited the Ellice and Captain Gibson proclaimed a protectorate over the group.55 At no stage during these proceedings were the pastors consulted. Clearly they were not recognised as a source of legitimate authority; that function on each island was seen to reside with the so-called 'Chief and Council'. This view was reaffirmed the following year when High Commissioner Sir John Thurston visited the group.56 The feelings of the pastors on the matter were never recorded. Probably they were initially indifferent to the protectorate government stationed in the northern Gilberts as it did not directly affect them for a number of years. By the late 1890s, however, the pastors were uniformly hostile to the new order which was by then supervising their actions more closely.

British rule had little appreciable effect in the Ellice until 1896 with the arrival of William Telfer Campbell, the new Resident Commissioner. Energetic, domineering and irritable, Campbell was an apostle of direct rule and could brook not the slightest opposition. Throughout his stormy twelve year term he was constantly at loggerheads with the European residents in the group whether they were missionaries, traders or his own staff. It could only be a matter of time before Campbell clashed with the unco-operative pastors whose political pretensions he was determined to stamp out.

Shortly before Campbell took up his appointment, all but one of the experienced pastors in the Ellice had either died or retired. Only Kirisome remained, 'the last of the Dictators, of the old style . . . '
remarked Campbell, who had a nice way with words. Within a year, Campbell visited the Ellice and like Captain Davis before him expressed disgust at the money making tendencies of the LMS. He also considered the salaries given to the pastors to be excessive and specifically scolded Kirisome for greediness, noting afterwards that the latter 'did not appreciate my kindness in enlightening him as to his position as a Missionary and Foreigner'. At Nui, Campbell also ordered the election of a new council of kaupuli as he considered the existing one to be a hindrance to the tupu and 'an extremely useless body' generally.

Kirisome was hardly going to mend his ways but the resulting clash of wills was a very one-sided affair. Kirisome survived Campbell's next visit in 1898 but he was not so fortunate the following year. Campbell arrived at Nui on that fateful occasion to find that Kirisome had taken to the bush the moment his ship appeared over the horizon. Having announced that he would not depart until Kirisome had accounted for himself, Campbell went back on board to await further developments. That evening Kirisome went out to face the Resident Commissioner and the following morning the two went ashore where Campbell received complaints against the old pastor. It transpired—and Kirisome did not deny it—that he had incited the people against paying their government taxes and had frequently used the pulpit as an anti-administration rostrum. Campbell was in no mood to overlook such intransigence. Not only was Kirisome's challenge to his authority unforgivable but the opposition to taxes had wider implications. The Colonial Office had decreed that the Protectorate must on no account become a burden to the British taxpayer. Yet the Ellice showed a distinct preference for donating to the LMS rather than being taxed by the government. Encouraged by their pastors they often gave all they could spare to the church and then pleaded they could not afford to pay their taxes. Campbell, who was intent on breaking this habit which threatened the financial self-sufficiency of the Protectorate as well as his reputation as an administrator, accordingly left instructions that Kirisome be taken away the next time the John Williams called. The dismayed English missionaries had no option but to comply with this directive and received a further set-back when their subsequent complaints to the High Commissioner were ignored.

Kirisome's return to Samoa coincided with significant local developments. In 1898, the year before he left Nui, the first Ellice pastor was stationed in the group, inaugurating a continuing trend. Also, the English missionaries were finally coming to realise that abuse of power was general among Outstation pastors and steps were
gradually taken to supervise more closely. But neither these developments nor the arrival of 'a new generation of Pastors' was sufficient to usher in a new phase—although it might well have been different had the Reverend W. E. Goward's stringent proposals been put into operation. But the pattern had been too firmly established over the previous thirty-five years to be readily altered; and today, the pattern set in the pre-Protectorate era persists.

Kirisome and Tema spent the greater part of their adult lives on their Ellice Islands. In the main those were rewarding years. Apart from the obvious satisfaction of being God's servant, the role of pastor had many other substantial satisfactions to an ambitious Samoan. Even so Kirisome, Tema and their contemporaries had to contend with frustrations and disappointments. Perhaps the most difficult part about a posting in the Ellice was the break it involved with one's Samoan past, as a pastor had to spend ten years on his island before qualifying for furlough. It is difficult to evaluate how much mental strain was endured on this account, but there is evidence to suggest that it could be severe. In 1871, the Reverend Thomas Powell observed:

> It seems as much a trial to the Samoan teachers to be cut off from their old associations and friends as it is to European missionaries, and it occasions no little delight to receive a visit from a missionary and the native brethren by whom he may be accompanied.

So despite the extent to which pastors became integrated into their communities they still experienced some deculturation stresses. Another indication that they remained oriented towards Samoa can be seen in Kirisome's concern about his son's future. He approached Powell with this problem whereupon the missionary:

> agreed to take his son 10½ years old, to Samoa and try to get him in the youth's class at Malua, or failing that to take him into my own family till an opening occur in the institution. The best of our pastors feel a sense of anxiety about their children, that English missionaries do with regard to theirs. Kirisome and his wife appeared to feel deeply about the parting with their son.

Extended residence on the same island compounded the problem of isolation, producing a staleness in many pastors; and this can be seen clearly in the case of Kirisome. He seems to have gone downhill rapidly during the late 1880s and in 1892 it was reported that:

> At Nui, pastor Kirisome, things were not very satisfactory; this old pastor who has done very good service, is getting quite too high-minded and important to condescend to the regular routine work that is still sadly
needed. The chapel and the house both good building were fallen into utter decay for want of care and attention; the school was good as it always is, but here as in so many islands . . . real spiritual life and Christianity were lacking in both pastor and people. The resident traders have many complaints to make of the pastor's conduct and I fear that for work's sake the speedy retirement of this pastor will be wise and necessary.64

But, significantly, Kirisome's eventual removal was not instigated by a missionary but by the administration.

The satisfactions, however, far outweighed the frustrations and this reveals itself in two ways. The role of pastor was a family tradition; sons of both Kirisome and Tema became pastors in the Northwest Outstations. The second indication that pastors were basically contented in their work is seen in their willingness to remain in the Ellice. Illness sometimes forced a premature retirement, family difficulties occasionally gave rise to a resignation, a handful of pastors were returned to Samoa for transgressions or incompetence; but very few left their island of their own accord. Kirisome, Tema and their contemporaries remained on their islands and their children followed their footsteps because power over human and material resources was assured to a pastor in the Ellice Islands.
JOHN BATES THURSTON
Grand Panjandrum of the Pacific

Deryck Scarr

He was 'that bugger J.B.T.' to white settlers in Fiji, 'Bayonet' or 'Spear Point' to Fijians. And when he died in 1897 as Sir J.B. Thurston K.C.M.G., F.L.S., F.R.G.S., an obituarist reflected that even novelists would be hard-pressed to create his life.' You could not say the age of romance was gone when a one-time castaway in the South Seas could become their Grand Panjandrum — High Commissioner and Consul-General for the Western Pacific, Governor of Fiji. A local magnate of great airs the Grand Panjandrum; and Thurston had earned the right to assume them. He knew the South Sea Islands from the viewpoint of trader, Consul, planter, labour recruiter. Most of all, though, he was a far-sighted, highly individual man who hated cant-theories of white supremacy. He thought the racism of his fellow European settlers towards Islanders would bring both white and black to ruin. Fiji and the Western Pacific were not white men's countries.

He had his Fijian admirers, in consequence. After his death his adopted son, the Tui Cakau, Ratu Josefa Lalabalavu, denied return of the body for burial in Fiji, defiantly held the mourning ceremony burua for him. It took place not far from the spot on Taveuni where, coming ashore from the John Wesley in June 1865 as a castaway picked up on Rotuma, the bare-foot Thurston had first encountered Ratu Lala's actual father, Ratu Golea. A fateful meeting. Thurston and Ratu Golea became friends. They were the same age—and thereabouts physical resemblance ended. While Ratu Golea's physique, style and warrior reputation engaged Fijian and European alike, no one ever claimed Thurston had much presence. 'About 4 ft nothing—that's his height is it not?'—one of his white enemies gibed, lopping off perhaps eighteen inches.
Short, slight and sallow under his heavy beard, active in habit and fond of words, a perfect foil to men like Ratu Golea and his sometime father-in-law Ratu Seru Cakobau, Vunivalu of Bau, Jack Thurston had been born in London on 31 January 1836. He was the second child and eldest son of parents who had no money, some social pretensions based on connection with a minor landed family in Gloucestershire, and enough books in their house to help make Jack literate. When he wanted to explain his doings in Fiji, he referred his sisters to the *Pickwick Papers*. All his life, his humour had an irony like Charles Lamb’s in the *Essays of Elia*. A considerable humorist in his own right, Jack Thurston. He improved his sardonic touch in the prolonged schoolboy world into which, his father dead of tuberculosis in 1847, he entered two years later by apprenticing himself to Liverpool shipowners trading with India. He began life at sea, he would say—and always preferred storms to fine weather.4

Four Indian voyages and one to Sydney made him the seventeen-year-old whom he revealed in the journal he kept as first mate in the barque *Arabia*, bound from Sydney for London around the Horn in 1854-5. He was self-confident, fond of botany and the tropics, and, able to command men, a mordant observer of mankind. An American ships’ chandler whom he met at Bahia seemed to Jack ‘a regular specimen of the driving American, half horse, half alligator and all the rest steam engine . . .’ Jack was spoiled for Europe. Landing into the freezing London winter of March 1855 he found his mother, brothers, sisters were all gone to New South Wales. There was nothing else to keep him in England. And he longed for the sun, tropical vegetation, the romance of the South Seas. As he had written in his *Arabia* journal:

> I often think what part of the world I should like best to live in, & always settle upon the South Sea, and Pacific islands cruising from one island to another, for to me there is a great charm in a primitive style of life.5

He worked his passage back to Sydney as able seaman in a full-rigged ship, then under family pressure had a spell ashore on a sheep-run before moving into the schooner *James*, she took him as mate on two voyages in 1861-3 trading for coconut-oil to the Gilbert and Ellice Islands and Rotuma. From here he went into a brig trading with general cargo between Sydney, Mauritius and New Zealand. He was a melancholy man as he walked about Port Louis, though, briefly cheered as he might be by good French pastry, cheap local cigars, and a visit to the opera to see the different shades of coloured beauty. He was tired of the sea; its schoolboy attraction had worn thin.6

He was still a romantic, even so. As he read Washington Irving’s
description of the scene aboard the *Santa Maria* on the night before Columbus sighted the Islands of the New World, his pulse was stirred ‘as if I was there awaiting dawn among them’.[7] If you wanted romance now, the South Seas still offered. In the *James* he had learned to put a whaleboat ashore through surf; he had met Island notables like the Tarawa chief who came aboard to buy firearms, himself already scarred from shark-toothed swords and stingray spears. Perhaps as an offshoot of his romanticism, Thurston loved exotic plants too. When he returned to the Pacific in 1865 after his Mauritius excursion, he went as a plant collector bound for verdant Rotuma. He lived there with an old shipmate from the *James*, the chief Riamkau. Riamkau was to dispose of some of Thurston’s white enemies from Fiji with the remark that, whatever they might say, he was ‘a very good man’.8 Thurston received more plants from Riamkau after settling in Fiji; and then in 1878, when Riamkau, having tried years before to stop inter-clan warfare by keeping the competing Wesleyan and Marist missionaries off Rotuma, was desperately involved in a quasi-religious war with the Wesleyan majority, Thurston heard one last word. His friend sent some plants to me, and a prayer for aid . . . [which the Fiji Wesleyans prevented his despatching]. A week afterwards Riamkau was a dead man, and the Roman Catholic natives had to choose either to join the ‘lotu Weseli’ or to join the great majority abruptly. Rotuma was ‘pacificated’, and no one now ventures on that island to deny that there is only one God, and John Wesley is his prophet.9

Riamkau’s Fijian counterparts came to share his opinion of Thurston. He was energetic and imaginative, not given to sentimentality, with an inbuilt cynicism which made him resistant to posturing in white men or black. Chiefs of coastal Fiji had got to know white men pretty well in many guises by the time that, having waded ashore at Levuka on 27 June 1865, their future champion Jone Cositeni took an uncongenial job briefly as master of the Wesleyan Mission’s schooner *Dove* before being brought at last into his element again as a leader.10 He was appointed consular clerk by a fellow raconteur about India, the reluctant British Consul to Fiji and Tonga Captain H.M. Jones, v.c.; if he were soon to escape South Seas’ sweat and cockroaches, Jones needed someone to act for him who could handle barratry-bent seamen, planters oblivious to their labourers’ right to repatriation, and chiefs alternately agreeing to sell and seeking to recover land. Thurston could do it. What the chiefs had not known till now was a European who would uphold their sovereignty against his fellow settlers. Thurston became a cotton-
grower himself, first on a plantation near Levuka, then on land he bought from Tui Cakau at the northern end of Tavenui; but he involved himself more with the interracial conflicts he found in this sprawling Island group. Here, as he said, 'adventurous whites ambitious, warlike Tongans, and savage desperate Fijians are preparing to put their interests, passions, and rights to the issue of war'.

He felt all this was as much his business as the clewing up of sail before a squall. A hitherto footloose man in his late twenties, he needed a role—as much as it seemed to him he needed a wife. Immediately after becoming Acting Consul in 1867, he married Marie Valette Olsson, née Prince, turning his back on the many 'coloured beauties' of Fiji in favour of a twice-widowed grandmother perhaps fifteen years his senior who, he said on her death in 1881, had loved him with all her soul. He needed quiet company, not over-demanding but intellectually satisfying, as refuge from his fast-lived public life. You might avert war, he felt, if Tui Bua for instance should succeed in building a government in his chiefdom; if the Tongan leader Ma'afu would truly give up his ambition to rule all Fiji; and if white settlers would only understand their true place there. They were aliens in the country, he told them, after reading up on his Blackstone in the consular role which he found so congenial—but they preferred to believe they were potentially Fiji's masters.

So matters stood when, superseded at the consulate late in 1869 after an active, varied experience there which taught him especially that Europeans in the South Seas were odd creatures with their dreams of dominion and sudden riches, he left Levuka for his Taveuni plantation, Naveitalacagi—'Divider of the winds'. New ground to break in for cotton, labourers to recruit from the New Hebrides. He spent May to August 1871 there in a chartered schooner, learning first-hand about this 'labour trade' which for the rest of his life he wanted to see ended. He collected a couple of arrows through his hat. Misty thoughts about the European's great place in the Pacific Islands nonetheless came back with him — and were blown away pretty promptly when the imported labourers on the next plantation to his own, essential to European survival on any scale, were wiped out by Fijians from neighbouring villages. Europeans might be killed too, or a war started in which it would take outside help to deal with the Fijians. He was repeatedly sought out by his friend Tui Cakau for help in warding off the whites, with their demands for labour and land; they might be dogs and he a bitch in heat, so earnestly they sought him out, Tui Cakau told him.
Increasingly, Thurston had felt that some form of independent government would have to be established. Britain would do nothing to help. And anyway, as he said:

The Chiefs have their written Constitutions and Laws... and, in short, it must be assumed that the day has now gone by for dealing with Fiji as any Colonizing Government would deal or did deal with countries like Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand.¹⁵

Matters political were developing on his return from the New Hebrides. Fiji was now one Kingdom. In Cakobau’s name, a handful of white adventurers had jumped the gun and declared an independent Kingdom. When they invited Thurston to join them as Chief Secretary, he let that cup pass—poisoned, he thought it was. Then mid 1872, a white delegation brought him an appeal from Cakobau—‘Cockaboo Rex, as irreverent people call him’, said Thurston—to save the Kingdom from the feuding. There were Cakobau’s white Ministers on the one hand and on the other, several score largely itinerant self-confessed ‘Anglo-Saxons’ who were determined not to recognise the jurisdiction of any Cannibal King.¹⁶

It gave Thurston great pleasure to suppress these political nihilists when he did accept his commission as Chief Secretary in May 1872. Irons for mutineers aboard the old Arabia in Bahia harbour, grape-shot in a couple of carronades ready to prevent the British Subjects’ Mutual Protection Society from breaking gaol in Levuka—either was pretty much the same to him. And he had no difficulty in convincing the captain of HMS Cossack that King Cakobau’s government deserved the de facto recognition by Britain which the captain was authorised to give. That was only a start. Full recognition must follow, in Thurston’s view; and he spent the rest of 1872 seeking it—by passing legislation to control labour recruiting, for instance, which went far towards convincing those half comprehending Foreign and Colonial Office clerks whom he called ‘the dear old ladies of Downing Street’ that he had done better than any of their own emissaries could have.¹⁷

He did not think much of King Cakobau’s government, even so. Its inception he privately felt was a mistake. Once started, though, it was better than no Fiji-wide authority at all—and this was the alternative now that Britain, having ignored a Fijian-European petition for protection which he sent to London in 1870, had openly said that the mixed races of Fiji must look after themselves.

They must first learn to live together. White guests had duties along with their black hosts, in his view. But he recognised white racism in the Legislative Assembly, where he had to play politics
after the Australian or New Zealand manner with a few European planters elected by perhaps 1500 fellow whites; while in the Privy Council he must explain as best he could the European oriented measures passed on by these legislators to the chiefs, governors of provinces, whose Fijian people outnumbered the whites almost a hundred to one.

He riposted with sarcasm when a European member of the Assembly raged at him that no Fijian official, even a provincial governor, should be empowered to arrest a European.18 And, if he had possessed the power, he would willingly have arrested planters in Ra who let him know, as a matter of course, not only that their imported labourers were instructed to shoot any Fijian from the interior spotted within plantation boundaries, but that expeditions into the hills were indiscriminately shooting Fijian women and children along with the men.19

As Thurston said, the war of the so-called superior race against the so-called inferior had begun.20 And it was encouraged by reaction overseas. Settler propaganda had more receptive audiences than his government's well-argued viewpoint could ever attract. His own reputation was damaged in Downing Street by highly-coloured reports from his incompetent successor as consul, Edward March. In the Commons the Wesleyan businessman-philanthropist W.A. McArthur spoke to his motion for British annexation on a brief prepared from the Fiji Times—'the voice of the people', as he quaintly supposed this voice of the white community to be.21 And though the Colonial Office agreed, internally, that Britain's determination not to annex would have to be emphasised if uncertainty were not to reign in the wake of McArthur's demand, the Secretary of State never did issue a disclaimer. Instead, misled once more by March, he announced that, de facto recognition notwithstanding, Britain would still hold her subjects responsible to British law for their actions in Fiji.

This went far in destroying the Cakobau government's legitimacy; it was seen as being specifically aimed at the ministers in their dealings with whites. And McArthur's promise to reintroduce his motion reawakened settler hopes of British rule. It would bring more capital, settlers, prosperity—the near bankrupt planters and over-extended merchants supposed. Fijians would be put in their place, like the Maori in New Zealand. And woe to the immigrant white community that must ask a black king's government for protection when the interracial battle for existence started, as start it assuredly must.22

False expectations of colonial rule, these, Thurston replied. No
shooting of aborigines, no poisoning with arsenic in flour, would be allowed.23 Privately, though, he thought settlers might be right. Neither the Australian nor the New Zealand example was encouraging. Meantime, with European deputations pressing him and Downing Street playing dog-in-the-manger, he consulted Cakobau, Ma'afu and Tui Cakau. Then, for them, he put London to the test again. Would Britain finally accept the annexation of Fiji if through his Ministers Cakobau now made another offer? As he put it privately: 'In other words will they undertake to rule here or let us alone? Present policy being neither one thing nor the other.'24

He was caught in a cross-fire. On one side, the British Government’s combined unwillingness to intervene and feeble inclination to preserve the appearance of morality; on the other, the settlers’ determination to preserve their predominance. The ruling factor as he saw it was Fijians’ growing determination to be imposed upon no longer. He was not surprised when European blood flowed down the Ba river in February 1873.

After intermittent hostilities during which one inland Fijian intruder on alienated land had been, Thurston said, ‘butchered like a sheep’ by planters or their imported labourers, a settler family was wiped out.25 Blaming Cakobau’s government for being overnice with Fijians, the Ba planters rose and were only quietened by the prospect of battle with the Fijian troops Thurston brought down, backed by a British warship. As he told her captain:

When foreigners seek to set themselves above all law and authority, to offer armed resistance to the Kings Ministers, to threaten peaceable villages with fire, to array foreign savages in arms against the King’s native born subjects, to shoot down, murder, and permit their savage labourers to murder, the aborigines of this Country, then tolerance becomes a crime and forbearance folly.26

Strong stuff—threatening impertinence, many of his fellow whites thought such language. His language was often trenchant, usually sarcastic, always telling. ‘Treason—High Treason—against the Majesty of color’ he sneered in reply to European charges during August 1873 that he was a traitor to the constitution, in preparing to give Fijians the right to vote in Legislative Assembly elections.27 They actually had that right under the Constitution Act, he could reply—and if this particular clause, negated later by the Electoral Act, were against the spirit of the original legislators’ intentions as they now claimed, then King Cakobau must recognise that it really had been the Europeans’ serious intention to seize all power in Fiji—and must guard himself against it.28
In the end, Thurston readily obtained the consent of Fijians, and Ma'afu's for the Tongans, to a new, nominated legislature with Fijians sitting alongside Europeans:

It would be utterly futile to attempt to introduce . . . systems of government adapted only to civilized life; and utterly incomprehensible to a community in a state of transition. Wherever this experiment has been tried it has failed, and has been the cause of much bloodshed, and destruction among aboriginal people . . .

To J.B. Thurston, wearied with work and fighting in 1873, disgusted alike with what he called the 'rampant Anglo-Saxons' he met daily and the pusillanimous old ladies of Downing Street, the attempt to form a government after Westminster's model in 871 had been absurd. He laughed outright in September 1873 when those inalienable rights of a British subject which John Hampden had suffered for in the seventeenth century were invoked on the alien Levuka strand by white deputations presenting to Cakobau 'the people's' determination never to truckle further to his damned arrogant unconstitutional ministers and their nigger-loving government. Turning up armed, at Parliament House to press their point, the whites were sent packing back to town at the rate of 8 knots—said Thurston—by troops under Tui Cakau and Ma'afu. As he told one of his colleagues: 'The Whites have done more harm . . . than ever they did before for themselves. In addition to my belief that nothing will induce H.B.M.G. to bother with Fiji—the Chiefs now say—if we are treated like this by a handful of men what would be our lot if the country was full of them'.

He was right in thinking that Britain had no wish to bother with Fiji. The commissioners sent late in 1873 to inquire into his question were ordered to support Fijian independence if it were viable. He was right again that the Fijian elite saw no reason to deliver themselves over to the tender mercies of a country whose emigrants, in nearby New Zealand, had set about reducing the Maori into social wreckage, from mingled motives of greed and piety. New Zealand was always Thurston's example when he was trying to convince his fellow settlers they would bring about another race war; and the Maori's fate was not lost on Fijians.

Even so he expected the chiefs to cede. After Commodore J.G. Goodenough arrived barely informed in November 1873 to be joined by his fellow commissioner Consul E.L. Layard next January, Thurston's object was to ensure that the chiefs should be able to cede after full deliberation—and on conditions which would ensure the future of the Fijian people. Their land rights were to be safeguarded,
so too their political and social position. And meantime their own independent government was to be kept in being.\(^{31}\)

Until cession was offered and accepted, the King ruled—that was his maxim. It became as he frankly said an obsession with him.\(^{32}\) He had cause. Goodenough, brother-in-law to one of the rampant Anglo Saxons' leaders, immediately set about destroying Cakobau's government; while Layard, who hoped to become first colonial governor of annexed Fiji, followed him enthusiastically in applying the British nineteenth century political plumbline to a situation it would not fit—and one they were ill-equipped to understand. The one a very excellent, highly ambitious seaman who had never felt other than complacent about his own behaviour, the other a Foreign Office joke notorious for accepting any story told him so long as it came from a white man and tended to reflect innate British instincts for fair play— Goodenough and Layard could not recognise truth nor see further than the end of next year. Thurston thought them inept, destructive. European-oriented; they thought him a charlatan and a liar.

The upshot was that on 4 March 1874 the Fijian chiefs gathered at Bau overruled tired old Cakobau, threw out dissembling Ma'afu (two who for different reasons wanted to cede) and resolved to keep Fiji independent. Where would they be if a colonial governor behaved like Layard and 'the Commodore'? This decision was accordingly crushed by the commissioners, who refused to recognise Thurston as head of the new government the chiefs proposed.\(^{33}\) He told it well himself in an anonymous but inimitable newspaper article:

Mr Thurston was a triple-dyed villain and traitor. He could have forced the King and chiefs to accept annexation, and he had not done so. He could have refused to assist or advise them in any way, unless they accepted annexation, which they must then perforce have done, but—wretch and traitor against the divinity of white skins—he had even the audacity to try and sustain a native monarchy.\(^{34}\)

Let assassins threaten, his concern was for Fijians. 'Poor wretches, there is to be no peace for them', he told his journal—and devoted his life to ensuring that they should be enabled to disturb their own peace in their own way, with as little interference as possible from any outsider but himself. After all, Cakobau said that Jone Cositeni, na Kena Vai, was the only European he could trust.\(^{35}\)

At the fall of Fiji's independent government in October 1874, when Fijian sovereignty had been so impaired that Britain had to be let in without conditions, Thurston could still feel that he had done his duty by King Cakobau.\(^{36}\) The adviser had no cause to feel
complacent about his own future, though; it would have been gloomy but for the accident that the new Governor, Sir Arthur Hamilton Gordon, shared Thurston's belief that every society had a validity of its own. Ready to listen and to use, Gordon found Thurston compelling. Gordon would not keep him in his interim office of Colonial Secretary but, making him Auditor-General, found him a fount of ideas and legislation.

'Sir', the cynical Thurston told Gordon in Legislative Council, 'the mission of the civilized man to the semi-savage is pretty much the same all over the world. It is to overreach him in business, and to overcome him in war!'37

Fiji, as Thurston found Gordon ready to agree, would be an exception. There would be no cash head-tax to turn Fijians into bands of migrating helots working for planters at two pence a day, or into beings providentially designed to sell cheap to the European trader while they bought from him at double the price he charged white customers. Instead, Thurston devised and for years administered a tax in copra, cotton, tobacco, sugar—produce which a Fijian could grow on his own land, and which Thurston was prepared to extract even with some compulsion, in the belief that a Fijian typically 'prefers the presence rather than the absence of his wife and children, and the cultivation of his own qali land is infinitely more interesting to him . . . than the cultivation of a stranger's land distant a hundred miles perhaps from the place in which he was born'.38

For a generation after cession, men were enabled to do this, and more: the surplus they produced above the tax assessed was repaid them by government. Government sold the produce to the highest tenderer among local merchants, and got better prices than any individual Fijian could have hoped for.

In Thurston's intention again, Fijians were to become producers where in the past they had been little more than gatherers. He imported cocoa plants for them, coffee, new cane-tops—and then brought in the Colonial Sugar Refining Company to process Fijian cane, Fijian cane-growers were his concern when he completed negotiations with the millers in 1880, not Europeans.39 His plan was to entice the capitalists in without selling out the country. The 'most selfish company in the Australasias', he described CSR in a break from negotiations with them in Sydney. 'It would be a good thing if they invested, but not if they got all they want.'40 He let them look forward to friendship and support from him which they never got. If their coming also meant the arrival of Indians to work on Europeans'
plantations while Fijians worked their own land, there need be no fear of dispossession. Indians would never be allowed political power. They were introduced 'to secure a working population and nothing more'—a point on which his far-sightedness failed him.

For twenty-three years after cession J.B. Thurston was the most powerful individual in Fiji—Colonial Secretary again from 1878; Administrator in 1880, 1883–4, 1885–7; Lieutenant-Governor; and then full Governor for nine years from the beginning of 1888 until his death. Those years saw a consistent policy, his from the first, of governing according to Fijian aspirations as these were expressed in regular district, provincial and Fiji-wide annual councils—councils which often presented the chiefly view, he admitted, but then Fiji was a land of hierarchical societies. And this must be recognised by legislation if they were to survive now that the chiefly sanction, the club, was no longer available. What value, he demanded, were British nineteenth century political ideas—particularly those of the radical fringe which were most commonly espoused by settler communities—to Fijians whose stone axes still lay about their houses, whose aunts were their classificatory mothers and who regarded cross-cousin marriage as an obligation?

Our policy I admit is one of retardation in many respects, but it is life. To the semi-savage, progress—i.e. the progress understood by the livers of so-called civilization—is death. Plague, pestilence and famine are not more certain destroyers.

In the early and mid 1880s he resisted the frantic efforts of the dwindling European community to get the policy overthrown by petitions to the Queen; or to ensure white supremacy by incorporating Fiji with Victoria or New Zealand, where the claims of capital and education—as settlers said—were given their true value. All hope finally died in them in March 1888 when, Governor at last, he told a colonists' banquet there would be none of the relaxation they looked for in these economically-straitened times. As he remarked to the assembly of chiefs which installed him Fijian-fashion soon after:

You well know that in years gone by, the fathers of many of you were known to me and were my friends; they have passed away but you still remain... and in all that concerns you my vigilance has never slumbered. Who then ought to take; who then can take more interest in your happiness and social advancement than I?

A living legend, he moved with enormous satisfaction among books, cigars and claret with the growing family he had by Amelia Murray, née Berry; widow of a friend, she became his second wife in Decem-
ber 1882 just a year after the death of Marie. Genial in triumph over old European enemies, he encouraged their sporadic attempts to grow and export new crops, gave them jobs when he could, but kept white society at arms' length, and, so its members muttered, went on being oppressive politically. The CSR Co. wanted more than it ever got from him. Quieter under his rule than ever they had been under his predecessors', the whites only hinted now about their right to constitutional government—under which, as he said, 'half a dozen gentlemen elected by fewer than a thousand Europeans would control the interests and destinies of 120,000 Fijians, Indians and Europeans'.

He did not think their attitudes would ever change. Here was one of his own European Stipendiary Magistrates ordering a labourer flogged for assaulting a white overseer, who would certainly not have been flogged in the reverse case; here was an Islander convicted of rape on a part-white woman from evidence that Thurston thought should not have convicted a dog. He quashed both convictions. And when Mrs Harry Gordon fired her revolver after an Island intruder fleeing from her bedroom she found herself in court to explain; her infuriated husband was assured by the Governor that European ladies had no special status before the law. None of which meant that he would invite part-Europeans to his house. He recognised a bar there. His position was simply that no one 'race'—he usually employed the quotation marks—had the right to dominate another in its own country.

Thurston's most congenial moments were spent in Fijian villages where young men like Ro Tuisawau, whom he had sent years before to join Ratu Lala at school in Sydney, threw themselves down beside him sweating from the club meke; or being called on by aggrieved commoners as he smoked his evening cigar. He was the only Governor it was ever possible to approach informally, in Fijian, with the certainty that he would understand the point put to him—perhaps too well, for he might reply that men who offered inducements to upset, say, a majority recommendation of their provincial council would probably go to gaol.

'Fiji is indeed my land', Thurston had claimed when the chiefs formally installed him as Governor; and they knew how to reply. As Ratu Tevita Rasuraki, Roko Tui Bua put it when the Cession memorial stone was unveiled in 1889, Fijians could rejoice that they remained a nation; yet the greatest cause for congratulation was that they were still guided by their father Jone Cositeni, na Kena Vai—the Bayonet, or, as Fijians were later to render this nickname of his in a revealing mistranslation, the Pilot Fish. He was acceptable
because his practice was to enable Fijians to rule themselves. If Thurston was to any degree one of Mannoni's Prosperos—expatriated, by an infantile urge to dominate which could not be readily gratified in Britain—he had the 'Prospero complex' far less developed than, say, either Gordon or Goodenough (who took his from the nursery into the navy). And he recognised few Calibans, while his Ariels were treated like men. As he protested in 1882 when prurient eyes were prying into Ratu Lala's morals:

When one hears . . . a hot-blooded young fellow of twenty-two is more fond of a wenche than is consonant with the canons of Xtian morality, one offers him a little sound advice and hopes that he will soon sow his wild oats.50

Thurston could indeed behave after the Prospero stereotype, with his demands that recalcitrant chiefs remember his services to their fathers. And these were frequent demands. Returned from exile, or freed from gaol, the backsliding sons of Cakobau's formidable daughter Adi Arieta Kuila—after whom Thurston named his own eldest girl—would be summoned to Government House to be lectured on their sins and hear appeals to be at last true leaders of their people. They were never submissive, though; and the relationship between Thurston and his Fijian contemporaries is revealed by their understanding of his nickname. He was their pilot-fish. They remained the sharks.

For his part he believed Fijians saw him as the link between their past and future. He feared for their future, if their natural leaders the chiefs went on pursuing pleasure without responsibility. Arch conservative that he was, na Kena Vai continued to respect their right to rule. He had expressed the hope early on that no Fijian equivalent of the English radical Charles Bradlaugh would arise to disturb it.51 None had done so—unless perhaps in the wholly traditional Fijian figure of the millennial prophet Navosavakadua (real name Dugumoi). Until his deportation to Rotuma in 1887, Navosavakadua was following the cult practices of his forefathers by raising gods of the past. Legendary heroes known to have fled Fiji after quarrelling with the creator-god Degei, the twin gods Nacirkaumoli and Nakausabaria were now understood to have returned; they would rule over their sworn votaries who, on a given day which tended always to be tomorrow, would achieve immortality, engulf unbelievers and inherit the land.52 Since this Tuka cult seemed to promise violence, Thurston suppressed it quietly. His picnic air on the virtually unarmed expedition he mounted to do it, the readiness with which Fijians spoke back to his often abrasive
comments, were amusingly observed by the American house-guests he took with him, the historian Henry Adams and painter John La Farge. His abrasiveness was more frequently brought to bear on the coastal aristocracy, old friends' sons who seemed irremediably bent on a downhill path. What would happen if they the chiefs lost their peoples' respect? — he kept demanding of them as complaints came in.

These came from the chiefly caste, though—from rival chiefs, not from the body of the people; they knew their place and would not readily incur the displeasure of the ancestors whose representatives the chiefs were. For chiefs did not owe their status to the talaidredre regulation, which provided legal sanctions against disobedience to replace the vanished sanctions of fire-stick and club. Nor were authority or politics 'frozen' at Cession, after the innocent notion prized by some European commentators.

Politics continued to be conducted in the established idiom—chiefly rivalry, contests for precedence. Since the Fijian Administration was rapidly absorbed into the life of the land, a mark of success for the Gordon-Thurston policy, Fijians' energies were often channelled into contests for government office. And the land's life was made commercially productive by the produce tax and refund-system. Early twentieth century villages were never to be so well-found in imported material comfort as those of the 1880s and '90s. All this required leadership. And no leadership was acceptable unless legitimised by descent and locality. Discontent was often expressed over taxes, the sharp point of government felt by men whose political style was incessant complaint. When they came to blows, though, it was among themselves not with government—and not so much because the tax work was heavy as because the produce was going to Suva along channels not regarded as legitimate.

So it was in June 1894 when, moving with a speed he had not been called on to show for years, Thurston put down the so-called Seaqaqa 'revolt' at a cost of eleven lives. Seaqaqa was a mountain district of Vanua Levu, famed as a fount of chiefs but worsted in war during 1870-1; part of it now tried to reassert itself by shifting allegiance from one neighbouring province to another—killed a couple of messengers in the process, and declared for the old gods too. Pride and precedence were the causes, along with motives Thurston had identified ten years before:

many hundreds of lusty young Fijians regard peace as an enervating and unbecoming state of existence for a man. Their fathers died with a reputation. They killed or were killed. If a young Fijian of today expresses
himself strongly . . . he is almost sure to be sarcastically asked by some old woman, why he speaks; what has he ever done?57

But longstanding enemies of his among the poor whites were given an opportunity to attack him, their Judas, over Seaqaqa.

By then he was re-established as a controversial figure in the overseas press, once more set up as an ogre for Europeans in the South Seas. The seeming irony of it had not been lost on observers in July 1890 when, as High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, Thurston prohibited the Reverend Shirley Waldemar Baker from living in Tonga — 'the first time I ever engineered a Revolution', Thurston put it after encouraging the Tongan chiefs to request this prohibition order from him.58 In many ways Baker was his counterpart. As adviser to an Islands sovereign, King George Tupou I, the former missionary Baker had become offensive to fellow Europeans.59 Conscious of the parallel, Thurston had tried to help him in the 1880s. Little good for outraged Wesleyans to press him to remove Baker when most Tongans followed the apostate into a new, independent Free Church of Tonga. All Thurston wanted was for Tonga to remain a stable sovereign kingdom. He seems to have given Baker up only after becoming convinced that the ex-missionary was intent purely on revenge against his many enemies, and might involve Germany and the United States on his side—until the Tongans could be in as bad case internationally as the unfortunate Samoans had been since the early 1880s.

International affairs had occupied Thurston directly since 1884. That year he went back to London, his first visit for thirty years. He was Colonial Secretary, had lately been Administrator and Acting High Commissioner. Acknowledged South-Seas expert, he was called 'Home' to expose the fraudulence of Bismarck’s assertion that honest German planters had been deprived of Fijian land by the colonial government’s lands claims commission. As he said, in mockery, German claimants were demanding to be given 'lands of which they did not and could not acquire possession prior to annexation, and . . . at the expense of other men, also entitled to justice . . . in fact, of men . . . in possession of their fatherland'.60 Disillusioned by the effect upon the Pacific of Gladstone’s Egyptian bondage, which meant that financial concessions were made to pretty undeserving Germans in order to get Bismarck’s support against the French on the Nile, he sought solace in botanising at Kew; but he was kept busy as British representative on the Anglo-German Commission appointed to discuss the demarcation of British interests in the Western Pacific. He kept mocking the German manner too. Holier than thou, they said, whereas Thurston's experience told him there
was little to choose between a German recruiting Island labour for Samoa in Melanesia and a Queensland or Fiji recruiter—except that the fellow from Fiji particularly was under supervision. In Fiji itself, Thurston still recognised lack of consideration for labourers 'even on the part of men who would be deeply wounded if a doubt were expressed as to their humanity'—and there was no question that, in Samoa, German planters and their consular supervisors alike tended to view Island labourers as having different humanity from their own.

Thurston's answer was that Europeans had better be kept out of the islands. Where they could not be excluded, let them be controlled. The Western Pacific High Commission's restrictions on the sale of arms, ammunition, and dynamite, and its refusal to register land-purchases, should be extended to all foreigners, under international agreement, in islands with no indigenous governments able to legislate for their people's own protection. He wanted unannexed groups kept neutral. Where he thought this impossible, as in the case of Samoa, he wanted reality to be recognised and the Germans given the preponderant foreign voice their commercial pre-eminence warranted, in imperial terms. Only this would end the miserable situation in which, under British, German and American treaties made with internally-distracted Samoa during the late 1870s, the effect of foreign intervention—too little for control, and too much if control was not aimed at—has been to keep the dividing forces in equipoise . . . Considerable loss of life has occurred, and the unfortunate Samoans have bartered away large areas of their lands in exchange for rifles, powder, and bullets wherewith to slay each other.

None of which proposal, turned down by his Colonial Office masters because it would have outraged the young colonial imperialism of Samoa's neighbour New Zealand, meant that he admired German methods in the Samoan kingdom.

Between 1886 and 1889, after his return to the Western Pacific as Acting High Commissioner, he had visited Samoa three times. He was sent by Downing Street to inquire into successive German attempts at overthrowing Malietoa Laupepa, the high chief recognised as King by all three powers, in favour of the Germans' puppet Tamasese. The Germans' guilt was clear. 'They are (in Samoa) a hard and rapacious people', Thurston concluded on his 1886 visit. He drew up a plan for continued Samoan independence; privately he feared that, under whatever plan, Samoan sovereignty would always be intruded upon by the Germans. They had 'ridden roughshod over the natives, and as far as possible over everyone else'. On his third visit, at the end of 1889, he found they had gone
further. An 'iniquitous tax and land mortgage scheme', he told those Downing Street masters whose attitude to the Pacific he still rather despised, had helped take the volatile Samoans into the insurrectionist camp of Mata'afa Iosefo, charismatic third leader in their socio-political hierarchy. Samoans had been 'deported-imprisoned-fined-shot- and now, finding death preferable to such a life, the native has risen and very properly risen against a state of affairs which in a private note I may characterise as brutal'.

There was some irony in it, then, that he should be set down as a more than Balkan despot insensitive to Samoans by a supporter of Mata'afa Iosefo. The supporter was the, to Thurston, 'very eccentric and fifth rate novelist' Robert Louis Stevenson.

A resident near Apia since 1890, RLS reacted in what Thurston thought a sufficiently revealing fashion to a sedition ordinance which was issued from the High Commissioner's office in December 1892. It was intended to support the tripartite government set up in Samoa by the treaty powers after their Berlin Conference in 1889. Not that Thurston thought much of this new government. Its white bureaucracy nullified Samoan sovereignty; and by refusing to recognise Mata'afa Iosefo as King, the Germans had removed any chance of uniting Samoans. For Thurston, though, this government was a fact. There was little chance the powers would change it. And to encourage Mata'afa in thinking otherwise was to lead him into the mouths of naval guns. Hence the sedition regulation, which was aimed at politicians like the part-European William Yandell, who had been urging Samoans to withhold their taxes.

What Thurston did not know was that Yandell's instigator was Stevenson himself. He could fairly deny the novelist's far-flung claim that the regulation was aimed at him. Told earlier by his local Deputy Commissioner of Stevenson's attempts to establish relations with Mata'afa, Thurston had dismissed RLS as a publicity-seeker. Nonetheless, after the event, he was ready to say that if Stevenson were to be taken as seriously as Stevenson himself believed, then he certainly ought to be restrained. 'Poor Samoa!' Thurston exclaimed, and made a diagnosis with which Mata'afa later concurred:

There can be no true peace until one Nation or the other governs there or until we leave the Samoans to fight out their own destiny and encourage them to begin by hanging every meddlesome white man who persistently refuses to mind his own business.

He was justified a few months after this when, defeated by Malietoa, Mata'afa was deported among lamentations from RLS. The novelist
More Pacific Islands Portraits

seems to have accepted the rebuke Thurston gave him in an exchange of private letters.\textsuperscript{68}

Having failed to get Mata'afa transferred from German custody in the uncongenial Marshall Islands to his own care as a guest at Government House, Thurston entertained instead a lesser Samoan chief. This one delighted him by baulking at the much-touted prospect of Samoa's being taken over by New Zealand, which had given women the vote.

The proposal has however its humourous side. A Samoan Chief on a visit here said to me the other day —'if we ever go under the British Flag we will go under \textit{The Queen} only. New Zealand!! Why New Zealanders cannot govern themselves let alone us Samoans' —How do you mean I said—they do govern themselves. 'No'—replied my friend, 'they had to call in women to help them—are we Samoans to be ruled by New Zealand women?' and then he muttered something to himself which—might have been a short prayer or a snatch of some ancient song.\textsuperscript{59}

An old idea, the one of New Zealand's 'manifest destiny' in the South Seas. It was always odious to Thurston. He thought it both visionary and dangerous. Agitation for New Zealand control in the early 1880s was what had led the Germans to make their first bid to conquer Samoa. And morally it made Thurston laugh, so blandly was New Zealand rule over Samoa, Tonga, and Fiji too, argued in terms of the impartial temper shown by white New Zealanders in their dealings with the Maori—and this while Maori were vainly petitioning to be allowed autonomies like those the Fijians enjoyed.\textsuperscript{70} It was a nice irony, again, that old Sir George Grey should be represented to beleaguered Samoans as a saviour and be visited as a great friend of 'natives' by the innocent RLS. As Governor of New Zealand Grey had always known how to compromise with settlers against Maori interests; and as a politician he had assured the \textit{pakeha} that their destiny was to rule the South Seas—so long as they kept themselves a pure Anglo-Saxon race.

'From the Arctic to the Antarctic Pole'—Thurston had laughed—'nothing less will satisfy the descendants of the Gigantic Moa.'\textsuperscript{71} When New Zealand did succeed in getting the right to pay, therefore to appoint a Resident in the newly-protected Cook Islands during the late 1880s, he was careful to maintain his own legal jurisdiction there. He foresaw that the appointee, his friend F.J. Moss, would be under pressure from the Auckland-Rarotonga traders whose influence had helped get the flag raised, like the firm of Donald & Edenborough. There were as he told Moss, 'a number of dirty little ropes in those "Summer Isds of Eden" (borough) & a number of rather dirty hands pulling upon them'.\textsuperscript{72} He was soon visited by Mr
A.B. Donald with complaints of piracy against the Penrhyn Islanders. Even before he had direct evidence that Donald & Edenborough made a practice of taking money for schooners they never delivered, Thurston gave instruction to his judicial commissioner which amounted to a statement for the Penrhyn defence. If they had indeed seized a schooner they had almost paid for, what other course had been open to them?

Thurston detested European traders, or the mummery of dirty European clothes, furniture, gimmickry they offered in payment for their copra. This ‘rotten pestilential civilization of the trader’ offended him in 1893 when he went back to his old haunts, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, to inaugurate protectorates there. He thought protectorates were a necessary evil, dubious in legal basis but at least a logical step here and, next year, in the southern Solomon Islands, if European political control were to be extended in the Pacific as he supposed it now must be. At least these Line Island protectorates would be under imperial control, not at the mercy of settler politics like the Cook Islands; and he could apply the Fiji principle of letting men look after their own affairs once he had, at their request, codified their Island laws. But he hankered after the condition he had found these men in thirty-odd years before. Then they had been pretty ferocious, but not encumbered with debt and happy in their ‘old time savage cleanliness’.

He was equally afflicted in the Solomons next year. He stalked European arms-dealers, held assemblies under trees to explain the nature of the new protectorate to Solomon Islanders, but again found more ‘pestilential civilisation’ than he liked in the coastal places he was confined to touching at. Foul language after the Queensland mode and short clay pipes were particular signs of it here, according to his journal. These were marks of the labour trade which, as High Commissioner, he would always have liked to suppress while, as Governor of Fiji, he expressed his dislike but waited for other colonies to act first. He spoke on Islanders’ behalf when he was in England on leave in 1895. Apologists for the labour traffic argued that plantation life was an improvement on the far-from-ideal island life, but even this he doubted: ‘The ideal life of such natives is their own not ours . . . War and cannibalism they look on as they do marrying and giving in marriage, canoe voyaging, planting, or any other incident in life as they know it’. No sentimentalist even in his sixties, he still nonetheless held that island life was valid, not to be judged on imported terms by outsiders coming into the South Seas to work out their own psychoses, or seeking profit. Catholic missionaries in Fiji knew how he detested...
their attempts to cut their converts off from Wesleyan heretikos. Catholic exclusiveness was an affront to social bonds, he said. And the Australasian New Hebrides Company, influential politically though it was, found he would not sanction inter-island recruiting in the New Hebrides where, having no resident deputy commissioner, he could not supervise. Not even to combat the unfettered French would he do it. He did not think the South Seas were any place for the adventurous European. White men tended to do strange things there, and bring themselves or other people to grief.

He himself had come as an adventurer, in some ways made a good thing out of keeping other Europeans away; but he had maintained himself and his policy only because his Downing Street masters could not doubt he was indispensable to an administrative philosophy most of them had accepted but never much liked or understood. Its object was to keep 'native peoples' alive, they thought—and they were inclined to feel that this was a pretty visionary object. He was a masterful servant, though, and incredibly energetic as well as compelling in argument. He had his way on most issues, and wore himself out in the process.

His visit to England in 1894 was his first long leave. He wanted to put his children to school. At once he went down with what passed for bronchitis. When he returned to the Pacific at the end of the year, lonely without his wife, three daughters and three sons, he was deathly sick with an advancing collapse of the central nervous system. He looked his condition in the eye; 'if the malady cannot be stopped it means that I die by inches while having the vigour of a man of forty'. He was sixty-one when he died at sea off Port Melbourne on 7 February 1897, escaping too late from the islands kingdom that helped to kill him. His legacy to Fijians was rich enough, for thanks largely to his thirty years of political life they still rule their country; but he had little to leave his own children. He died poor, after riding out his share of stormy weather.
WHEN German investment in New Guinea was valued at the end of World War I, the New Guinea Company came first at £1,280,000, then the Hamburg South Seas Company at £500,000, and after that Hernsheim & Co. at £260,000.¹ These three firms had achieved success in different ways, the first by massive state subsidies, the second as the purchaser from Queen Emma of New Guinea’s oldest foreign plantations, and the third as the inheritor of one of New Guinea’s earliest trading networks. The founder of that trading business was Captain Hernsheim, notable as one of the few speculative traders of any period in the Pacific Islands whose commercial adventure paid off as he had hoped when he first ventured there.

Eduard Hernsheim was born in Mainz in 1847, younger son of a prosperous lawyer. By the age of sixteen he had lost both parents. Cast loose on the world, he joined the crew of a Hamburg barque which took him to Singapore, Hong Kong, San Francisco, Auckland, Valparaiso, Capetown, Port Elizabeth and London. He decided to make the sea his career.

At Altona near Hamburg he learnt sail-making and at Kiel trained in seamanship, qualifying in 1867 as a captain. As second mate in the Nubia to Zanzibar and Lagos for the Hamburg firm Wm O’Swald & Co., he saw German tropical commerce at first hand. For twenty years O’Swald & Co. had traded spirits and manufactures for palm kernels and palm oil, and since 1859 had enjoyed special influence

Except where otherwise indicated, the material for this chapter, including unannotated quotations, is taken from ‘Lebenserinnerungen von Eduard Hernsheim’ (n.d.), held in the Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Familienarchiv Hernsheim no. 1.
with the Zanzibari sultanate, based on a trade treaty between the Hansa cities of north Germany and the Sultan Seyd Majid bin Said. With an inheritance of 30,000 marks, Hernsheim bought a schooner of 100 tons and sailed to the River Plate in 1870. He was detained there by the Franco-Prussian War, a conflict which he looked upon with detachment. Years afterwards he recalled:

As a born Mainzer I had a distaste for Prussianism and through the writings of the encyclopaedistes Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot and others, whose works I preferred to read, I was far more a citizen of the world than a patriot. Only later did I comprehend what we as a nation had won by this war and the events following it and how every single German abroad now had the right and duty to take pride in these achievements.

Hernsheim was out East again in 1872. He took coal from Cardiff to Hong Kong, tea from Fu-chou to Sydney and coal back to Hong Kong. On these voyages across the western rim of the Pacific he encountered the island world for the first time. Islanders clamoured to barter with passing vessels and Hernsheim foresaw a highly profitable commerce. Late the following year he bought a 100-ton brigantine in Singapore, the Coeran, a teak vessel designed for the guttapercha trade in Borneo and mounting six guns. In Borneo, Sulawesi, Sumatra, and the Malay Peninsula Hernsheim observed Germans doing good business in guttapercha, timber, tobacco and tin; and he knew of the trade in pearl shell, trepang, spices and birds-of-paradise which extended to the islands of the Western Pacific. The prospect of speculative wealth enchanted him: 'I had come to know the luxurious life of the European merchants resident in the large trading emporiums of the East and knew that it rested on the results of trade in the products of this island world'.

His Coeran sailed from Singapore in January 1874 with a crew of sixteen and made for the eastern Indonesian archipelago. But Hernsheim was discouraged by the competition of Sulawesi small traders and sailed further east to the Asia islands north of modern Irian Jaya, where he bought a few hundred pounds of turtle shell from Islanders in canoes, his first trade in the Pacific. Malakal in the Palau group, reached soon afterwards, became the site of his first trading post. He engaged agents to collect trepang and turtle shell.

Islanders from Yap were on Malakal in 1874 quarrying limestone for the enormous stone discs they used as currency. They persuaded Hernsheim to take them home with the discs, most of which weighed more than half a ton, and in return Yap chiefs allowed sixty of their subjects to accompany Hernsheim on a voyage south. His scheme was ambitious: to gain a foothold in the Bismarck Archipelago with a trepang fishery run by Yapese and Filipinos. The only precedent was
discouraging: a Captain Bird, an American, had been murdered by Hermit Islanders a few years before together with '27 of his natives, Yap and Manilla men' who were 'bèche-le-merring'. Hernsheim nevertheless cleared for the Hermits in the west of the Bismarck Archipelago, his brigantine loaded with pigs, goats, hens, boats, building materials, iron pots for cooking the trepang and about 6000 coconuts for food. As he ran down for the group in November 1874 Hernsheim encountered HM schooner *Alacrity* under Lieutenant Sanders coming to avenge Bird's murder and, as it was thought, to rescue Bird's daughter. No daughter could be found but Hernsheim went with Sanders on an abortive attempt to persuade the Islanders to hand over the murderers. There followed European justice, Pacific-style. Sanders wrote:

> Having waited beyond the appointed time I destroyed the village and returned to the ship and from the acknowledgement of the murderers and the chief afterwards, though they did not actually murder Captain Bird and his men, yet they all had a hand in it, and the whole thing was arranged two days beforehand, simply from the motive of plunder, they wanted his trade . . .

Sanders subsequently took to Sydney two men who were offered up as the culprits.

One shipment of trepang left Pemei Island in January 1875 but storms, dysentery and fever soon forced Hernsheim to abandon the settlement. He tried again later that year, this time in the Duke of York group and with his eyes on the copra trade. The Duke of York Islanders were no strangers to Europeans, especially to trepang fishermen and whalers who had used the group for victualling and repairs for decades; and when Hernsheim sailed up St Georges Channel in October 1875 the Islanders already had missionaries living among them, the Reverend George Brown and his Fijian and Samoan teachers. Brown took Hernsheim on a tour of Blanche Bay and introduced him to To Porapora, of Matupit Island, who claimed to have saved the lives of two traders in 1873. 'To Porapora, the chief', Brown wrote:

> showed me the marks of two severe wounds he received in defending them. One of the spears went through his thigh, and another inflicted a very nasty wound on his breast; it must have glanced off one of his ribs, and so his life was saved. Captain Hernsheim made him a present of an American axe, etc., for his kindness to these men, and Captain Ferguson [of the *John Wesley*], I believe, had previously given him a present for the same reason.

It was Hernsheim's first, judicious encounter with the Matupi people, who were later to share their island with him.
Hernsheim left behind a trading agent, Blohm, and a Dutch carpenter at Balanawang (Port Hunter) on the north-east Coast of Duke of York Island. But the Islanders had 'hardly any needs' and little incentive to collect coconuts.

The Hernsheim stations on Malakal and Yap did better because the Caroline Islanders were accustomed to the foreigners and their wares. In 1876 Hernsheim moved eastwards into another flourishing trading archipelago, the Marshall Islands. At Jaluit he met a fellow German, Adolph Capelle, who had lived in the group for thirteen years and who tried to discourage Hernsheim from becoming a competitor. Originally independent, Capelle had been tied to J.C. Godeffroy & Sohn of Samoa since 1869, his copra going straight to the Godeffroy vessels which visited Jaluit every four or five months. Another visitor to Jaluit in 1876, J.L. Young, found Capelle 'excessively narrow-minded, seeing everything from one point of view—dollars & cents —While John Caesar Godeffroy & Son are his "Deities", they can do no wrong'. He was a religious man, Young recorded, with human failings:

Capelle has been a kind of lay preacher for some years assisting the Missionaries in their work, but as usual he has proved that a man cannot be a good trader and a good Missionary at the same time, and he has rather 'backslidden', as the Wesleyans have it. The 'old Adam' is said to be too much for him, as it is for so many of us, and he is reported to have some difficulty in distinguishing between his partner's . . . wife & his own. But Lord! Lord! how the ungodly delight to carp at, and spread malicious reports about the 'Elect' . . .

Hernsheim, no less a womaniser but more to be counted among the ungodly than his competitor, left behind a carpenter on Jaluit to build a trading post. He sailed north and engaged ex-agents of Bully Hayes.

At Majuro a long row of burnt palms testified to local hostilities. Jiberik, chief of the east end of the atoll, was at war with Kaibuke twenty-five miles away at the west end and his ally Ujilong of nearby Arno. For trade's sake Hernsheim served as mediator and was received by Jiberik in full military regalia, 'his earlobes stretched by strips of pandanus into large rings and each standing fully a foot or more from his head'. Jiberik agreed to enter into peace negotiations the following day but first required Hernsheim to spend the night on land, offering him his wives:

I spent the night [Hernsheim wrote] in a hut not far from the king's and believe the holy Antonius of Padua was not more tempted than I; perhaps with less success, if the legend is true.
The sun was already high the next morning when I awoke after a long and deep sleep.

Peace was made, and an Englishman joined Hernsheim's employ at Jiberik's end of Majuro. Lijotub, the young Majuro girl who accompanied Hernsheim away from the atoll, later went with him to Hong Kong. She was his servant and interpreter on Jaluit in 1877, and clearly his mistress as well. In 1878 Hernsheim acquired a new lover in a girl from Woleai in the Carolines called Levoel, who lived with him for a while in the Duke of Yorks. He appears to have taken women as they offered and spoke of committing 'irreversible folly' with an actress in London in 1886.

Hernsheim's enterprise in the Bismarck Archipelago was built on experience of Micronesia. In mid-1877 his agent Blohm recruited four traders in Ponape 'all degenerate and addicted to drink, always ready for a fight and carrying a revolver' but prepared to work in a part of the Pacific where few whites had ventured. With their Ponapean wives they lived rough in houses built of planks and palm fibre, their furniture consisting of empty boxes and drums, their food bought from the Islanders. It cost Hernsheim little to establish them. In the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain trading posts were put at Matupit and Raluana and land acquired at Kabakaul and on the north coast.

Micronesian experience could be a poor guide. Hernsheim employed two vessels making contacts with villages, but, he complained, lasting agreements could not be arrived at. There were no chiefs and no large settlements, only families living for themselves, mostly in enmity with their neighbours; his traders had to buy whole coconuts and bring them to Makada to be made into copra; a whole schooner load of coconuts was needed to make a few tons of copra; and though the clay beads, hoop iron and empty bottles demanded by the Islanders were cheap, large-scale trade was out of the question.

For four years Hernsheim sailed the peripatetic traders' circuit of the Western Pacific, his face known equally in Yap, Jaluit and the Duke of Yorks. He visited the Abemama of Tem Binoka, still a young man but already grossly overweight and preferring to be lifted aboard ship on a platform rather than trust the ship's ladder. He saw Butaritari at a time when its people were recovering from an alcoholic binge on sour toddy. He attempted without success to dislodge Capelle & Co. from Kusaie in 1878 by telling the Kusaiens that Capelle had gone broke and obtaining a promise of exclusive trade for his own agent, a Captain Wright. According to the American missionaries on Kusaie, Wright was 'a miserable wretch, a
drunkard, a liar, a thief and sodomite—practising all these vices as opportunity offered', and the Kusaiens soon gave their business back to Capelle.7

After 1878, when his brother Franz came to Jaluit to run the Micronesian side of business, Eduard devoted more time to the New Guinea islands. He moved to Matupit in New Britain in 1879, his home for the rest of his life in the Pacific. Matupit was densely populated. The Matupis' main gardens were, then as now, not on the island itself but on the mainland of the Peninsula. Dozens of canoes left Matupit each morning, in each a few women rowing and perhaps a child in the middle, to return from the gardens in the afternoon laden with food.8 To Richard Parkinson, who settled in New Britain in 1882, the houses of the Hernsheim factory on Matupit, overshadowed by palms, were proof of the 'successes of the German spirit of enterprise'.9

Two of Hernsheim's speculations came to nothing: his attempts to export opium to Chinese in Hawaii and to take possession of an island near New Caledonia said to contain phosphate. He decided to make the most of straightforward island trading. Hearing that the islands of Steffen Strait in northern New Ireland were rich in palms he made an exploratory voyage to Nusa Island (Kavieng) in 1880:

The people appeared trusting and accommodating and I decided simply to go ashore in the boat. As soon as the natives had recognised my intention they seemed very pleased, they . . . guided it [the boat] over the reef to land on the first island. On the beach we were received by more crowds of natives who, with great shouts of joy, lifted the boat up with me and the other occupants and put it down on land. I was taken by the hand and led for half an hour into the interior . . .

The Islanders pressed gifts of bananas, coconuts, spears and oars upon Hernsheim, as well as a girl of about ten years of age whom he took briefly to Matupit. When she was sent home a few village men also agreed to make the journey to New Britain and Hernsheim began recruiting the northern New Irelanders on regular short contracts. Under his agent Schulle, Hernsheim's New Ireland business expanded south-east from Nusa to Kableman, Put, Kapsu and elsewhere. Prices paid to the Islanders were 'of course completely in our hands', Hernsheim recalled, because there were no competitors.

While Hernsheim lived safely in a comfortable new house on the eastern end of Matupit his ill-accommodated agents faced the constant threat of death through disease or attack by Islanders. Visiting Matupit in May 1881 H.H. Romilly, a deputy commissioner under the Western Pacific Orders in Council was 'much astonished at
the size of the trader's house and the appearance of civilisation, and even luxury, about everything'. By way of contrast, Hernsheim told him that he had 'thirty traders in the group, and that they seldom live more than a year'. The Methodist missionary Isaac Rooney estimated that 'upwards of a dozen' traders had been killed in the Bismarck Archipelago in 1880, 'most of them through their own folly'.

Octave Mouton, a Belgian refugee from the Marquis de Rays's colony in New Ireland who later worked as a trader for Hernsheim, described trading in New Britain in 1881 in his own brand of English:

> the method was to pay one stick tobacco for a number of cocosnutes ready shelled and ready to cut, for a gun we would receive so many hundred cocosnutes clay pipes also was a great trade with them specially those representing a nigger head or something else ... caloco was also an article of trade but not much, the natives were thoroughly naked men and women the only covering they had was on their neck or arms, and only those near the Mission wore loin cloth ...

Whatever the exact number of traders in the New Guinea islands— it was put at thirty-two for both Hernsheim's and the DHPG in mid-1881— their presence inevitably invited metropolitan protection. Hernsheim went on board the German gunboat *Habicht* when she destroyed houses and gardens in New Ireland in July 1881, and was told by the German consul for Samoa that more warships would be coming to strengthen German influence. The golden age for traders in the region had in fact already passed, as the *Habicht*'s commander recognised when he told Berlin: 'Business with the natives is no longer as lucrative as before, since they have come to know the Europeans more and more and have become more careful, and copra has fallen considerably in price.' Henceforth traders would be caught between the Islanders' hard bargaining and a depressed world price for copra. Hernsheim also blamed his agents: it was always a 'choice between fools and cheats and both added to the poor results'.

On a trip to Germany in 1882 Hernsheim was made Imperial German Consul for the Marshalls, Carolines, Gilberts, Nauru, Duke of York Islands, New Britain and New Ireland, and when his steamer the *Freya* was attacked in the Hermit group he was able to report the incident directly to Bismarck: '[I] had the satisfaction of learning soon afterwards that two warships, *SMS Karola* and *Hyäne* had been ordered to these islands to investigate and to punish the natives'.

Back in Matupit in April 1883 Hernsheim became alarmed at the incursions into the archipelago of labour traders from Fiji and Queensland, who found the men of his own trading district in northern New Ireland particularly keen to sign on. Romilly, having visited New Ireland later that year, explained why:

For more than a year before the arrival of any Queensland or Fijian labour ship it was the habit of Mr Hernsheim . . . to send ships to Neusa . . .

These ships used to bring from 10 to 20 men every voyage to Matupi, where they would be kept at the head station for three months, at the expiration of which . . . they would receive trade goods to a small extent and be returned to their homes . . . in course of time a great number of them had worked at Matupi and could speak a few words of English. Their anxiety was so great to go there that hundreds of them would rush on board the ships and would have to be turned off again. While things were in this state the first labour ships visited the group when they pursued their trade with but little success till they arrived at Neusa. At this place . . . they filled their ships immediately.

The natives were under the impression that, as usual, they were going to Matupi to return in a few months. No particular pains were taken to undeceive them, and thus the fame of the first three ships to visit New Ireland was soon spread among the labour-engaging portion of the Queensland colonists. The result is the rush of ships this year.14

Hernsheim's objections to the labour recruiters were those of the trader who had to maintain good relations with the Islanders, and who resented other Europeans supplying them with goods. In the first place, he wrote:

a large number of young men and women of working age were taken away, in the second the chiefs got all they needed in goods and weapons without having to work for them, and in the third this recruiting brought with it many unpleasant incidents [Unzutraglichkeiten] and shootings between the natives and ships' crews in which it was difficult to decide on which side the attack had occurred.

One incident angered Hernsheim. He was visited at Matupit on 3 May 1883 by the government agent of the Stanley, out of Maryborough, boasting that the Stanley had burnt down the settlement of a German trader named Carl Tetzlaff on the Laughlan Islands a few weeks before, in retaliation for Tetzlaff’s interference in their attempts to recruit. The government agent would have held his tongue had he known beforehand that Tetzlaff worked for Hernsheim, and that the destroyed property was Hernsheim’s. In evidence Tetzlaff said the Queenslanders asked for men for two months; he had told the Islanders the real period of contract would be three or four years. Hernsheim appealed for the protection of a
German warship and was later compensated by the government of Queensland.15

The years 1883 and 1884 witnessed growing Anglo-German tension in the Western Pacific. Hernsheim was uniquely placed to observe it, and served as host to a succession of official visitors representing Britain or Germany. Romilly stayed at Matupit from August to October 1883 investigating the labour trade and enjoying himself — he noted Hernsheim's library, a good one, and approved his plans to install a bowling alley and billiard room.16 In February 1884 Hernsheim piloted Consul Oskar Stuebel from Apia around the islands on an inquiry into alleged abuses by German recruiters from Samoa. Stuebel's inquiry was a whitewash:

The recruitment of labour [wrote Hernsheim] was a vital question for the Trade and Plantation Company in Samoa-[DHPG], where the natives would not work at all, and for this reason the consul-general was not inclined to pursue his investigations too strictly and refused to prohibit the entire recruiting business, as I and the missionaries would really have wished . . . I was made to realise that all my reports as consul were seen simply as biased because the government wished to support the heavily capitalised Samoa company.

Stuebel rejected as 'impractical' Hernsheim's proposal that the only whites allowed to recruit labourers should be those who lived among the Islanders, and that recruiting by sea-going vessels be forbidden.17 This would have left Hernsheim's traders free of disruption and hurt his competitors the DHPG without preventing him from engaging a small labour force himself.

When the gunboat Hyäne next visited the archipelago in June 1884 it brought a special German commissioner, Gustav von Oertzen, who settled in the Duke of York group. In his official instructions he was reminded of the DHPG's interest in the Islanders' labour, and Hernsheim observed that he did his best to discount complaints against DHPG recruiters.18 The Royal Navy appeared in the archipelago the following month as HMS Diamond and Swinger tried to enforce the British ban on the trade in firearms between British subjects and Islanders, not a measure which Hernsheim wanted to see applied to Germans. While 'very necessary and correct in itself', he wrote later, it 'would have drastically affected our business with the natives, who knew absolutely no other needs and were much too lazy to work without pressing reasons'. Muskets and Snider rifles were clearly the engines of early German trade with the Melanesians.

The Hernsheim brothers could not avoid being caught up in the politics of German colonial annexation. Franz was approached in
April 1884 by Adolph von Hansemann, principal backer of the New Guinea Company consortium, with the proposal that the Hernsheim company (with new capital from relatives, now called Robertson & Hernsheim) should become part of the projected New Guinea Company colossus. He turned it down and appears to have leaked Hansemann’s plans to the Reichstag deputy Ludwig Bamberger, whose premature revelations in June 1884 proved embarrassing to both the New Guinea consortium and the German Government. Germany’s designs in New Guinea became public knowledge. Under pressure from the Australian colonies and the British Colonial Office the British Colonial Secretary Lord Derby advised cabinet on 5 July to set up a British protectorate over unclaimed New Guinea. Britain was given to understand in August that Germany contemplated taking territory in the northern part of New Guinea but assumed that the Germans would not move without informing the British Government first. As they proceeded to define their claims to New Guinea in September and early October the British had no inkling that Bismarck had authorised annexation and that a clandestine flag-raising expedition was at work for the New Guinea Company of Berlin.

Hernsheim was also told nothing. The German Foreign Office warned Bismarck that the discretion of Robertson & Hernsheim could ‘hardly be counted upon’, and on a visit to Sydney in September 1884 Hernsheim got no information.19 The captain of the Hyane said he had to leave Sydney with sealed orders, destination unknown. By the time Hernsheim was back in Matupit on 20 November 1884 the German flag had been raised.

A month before, ten men from the Melamu area of Astrolabe Bay in mainland New Guinea had put marks on a treaty between their peoples and the imperial German Government. According to the treaty the New Guinean signatories permitted Germans to settle, obtain land, plant, and mine without hindrance, promised them complete security of person and property, and undertook never to object to the legality of land acquisitions made under German law then or in the future. Near modern Madang, richly decorated men wearing elaborate necklaces and armlets of teeth and shell signed a similar treaty. No copies of the treaties remained in New Guinean hands. The people whose country was being annexed by Germany were more interested in trade than treaties. Bilbil Islanders, makers of pottery, sailed south in their ocean-going canoes to trade with the German expedition at Melemu. ‘One soon saw sharp iron fastened to the natives’ axes instead of stone’, the imperial commissioner wrote, ‘and the owners envied by everybody else.’20
Captain Hernsheim

In the islands one of the flag-raisings was at Matupit. Ten Tolai men—To Porapora, To Lingling, To Mavrid, To Uromane, To Walur, Ta Liliman, Ta Marita, To Nonot, To Minigulai, and To Lokot—signed a treaty at Matupit on 3 November 1884 which ceded Blanche Bay and its harbours to Germany. They watched ten boats land, two hundred marines march and assemble, the imperial flag going aloft and the guns firing.21

The annexation of north-east New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago was followed by a rush to buy land and appeals for more annexations. Hernsheim himself acquired extensive acreages in northern New Ireland, a region he claimed to have 'quasi discovered', and he asked the German Government to assume control of the Ellice Islands, Gilberts, Marshalls, Carolines and Nauru. This would have given the protection of the flag to all Hernsheim trading factories. In the Marshalls the company had stations on Ebon, Namorik, Majuro, Arno, Mili, Aur and Maloelap. It had visited Nauru, the Ellice and the Gilberts regularly since 1878, trading through its own agents or independent traders. In the Carolines it operated on Ponape, Yap and Woleai.22 Hernsheim was in Yap in August 1885 soon after Germany claimed the Carolines. The claim collapsed in the face of Spanish protests and the Gilbert and Ellice Islands were reserved for the British in the Anglo-German Declaration of 1886. Germany took the Marshall Islands in 1885 and Nauru in 1888.

The government of German possessions in Melanesia was put in the hands of the New Guinea Company. Hernsheim disliked the company men from the start, especially after they deceived his cousin Henry Robertson. Since the German Government wanted commercial interests in the new protectorate to work together harmoniously the company was eager to include Robertson and Hernsheim as shareholders and offered them 10,000 marks in free shares. Robertson at first refused but when he was introduced to a certain 'Secretary of State Herzog' who urged him to accept, he relented, assuming the man to be a government representative. In fact Herzog was a New Guinea Company backer produced for the occasion, and had long since ceased to work for the government. The New Guinea Company could now represent itself as embracing all significant German firms in its new colony.23

As Hernsheim saw it, the New Guinea Company was nothing more than an 'enlarged edition of the Marquis de Rays's undertaking with just as much ignorance of the actual conditions, and even greater pomp and greater rodomontade ...' It looked upon the islands of the Bismarck Archipelago as a mere appendage,
while the immense area of New Guinea was to be the main target of the new endeavours. There cities were to be founded and from there the whole administration was to be established. It seemed to amount to selling land and privileges to free settlers at high prices.

In articles in the *Hamburger Correspondent*, published in 1886 as *The Bismarck Archipelago and its Future as a German Colony*, Hernsheim warned against unrealistic enthusiasm for colonisation. The existing barter trade with the Islanders, he wrote, was not capable of great development, and revenue for the colony from land sales or other sources could not be expected in the first ten or fifteen years. Plantation agriculture was promising, but its success depended on attracting the right type of settlers,

... not people who feel bound to a particular vocation ... but ... men who keep their aim in view and prepared to attempt and to be taught, who can work and command ...

The capitalist would be prepared to invest his money and the settler his life only after the islands were made safe for Europeans by a proper government, Hernsheim explained. The New Guinea Company's first task was obviously to install such a government. Here too there were difficulties:

As no firm law or authority exists among these peoples and every single person has personally to avenge wrongs done to him, it will be difficult to accustom these people to the blessings of legislation all at once and our government would make a great mistake if it put the maintenance of the laws in the hands of a magistrate or commissioner who would naturally be hardly acquainted with the people and their customs and who would then depend for the real execution and management of the laws on the temporary visit of one of our warships.

He recommended the maintenance of a troop of at least 100 police, possibly 'African Negroes or Swahilis'. The force needed to establish an ordered administration should, he thought, be much greater and more constantly effective than visiting warships.24

The administration of the New Guinea Company's colony developed precisely as Hernsheim warned that it should not. Government was mostly by warship rather than police and in the Bismarck Archipelago was put under a magistrate who issued a succession of unenforceable orders. This was Georg Schmiele, described by Hernsheim as 'a little Napoleon'.

The pitfalls of naval punishment were revealed as early as June 1886, when the visiting imperial squadron was asked to go to the north coast of the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain where New
Guineans were threatening the lives and property of traders. The *Bismarck, Gneisenau* and *Olga* landed 546 sailors to march into the territory of To Varing and To Long-long, break their resistance and collect a fine of 2000 fathoms of shell-money. Their feet soft from shipboard life, the sailors stumbled in the heat through jungle and tall grass, catching distant glimpses of New Guineans. The people had long since fled their dwellings taking guns, shell-money and other belongings, and leaving the settlements bare. The Germans had to be content with burning. As Captain von Prittwitz of the *Gneisenau* detachment reported:

> after I had the part of the village where my detachment rested set alight, I marched at 10:07 a.m. in order to begin the return journey via the village of the chief Tonglonglong [sic]. After 20 minutes we passed a settlement with a double palisade which could be called almost impressive compared to those we had just left. I had it set alight and later also destroyed about a dozen villages, settlements or huts.

Valuables were found nowhere. The huts were as if swept out. . . .

A large section of the trees on the plateau of the chief Tonglonglong were cut down.25

Hernsheim grew increasingly critical of the New Guinea Company. He resented losing his consular position in 1887. He mocked both the pretensions and the performance of the company, whose officials, he wrote in 1887,

> are at loggerheads with each other, the administration officer publicly calls the magistrate an ox and an ass and neither associates with the other or with third parties; the principles upon which, as I hear, the Company wishes to establish and manage undertakings, are realisable only in Utopias and no thinking person will therefore be prepared to settle these lands under such administration.26

Hernsheim's anonymous pamphlets of 1888, *Die Neu-Guinea-Compagnie im Kaiser Wilhelmsland* and *Die Neu-Guinea-Compagnie im Bismarck-Archipel*, were the first sustained criticisms of the company as a coloniser and began a tradition which was to reach its peak in Hans Blum's *Neu-Guinea und der Bismarck-Archipel* (Berlin, 1900).

It was a blessing, Hernsheim said, that only about a dozen settlers had been attracted by the New Guinea Company's advertisements to migrate to Kaiser Wilhelmsland because the capital of Finschhafen was totally unsuitable for cultivation or business of any kind except what was artificially stimulated by the company. A wit had suggested re-naming Finschhafen 'Schimpfhafen' (Insult Harbour); Hernsheim agreed with him: most of the original company officers had left, while the rest were waiting for contracts to expire so as to be
able to turn their backs on the land of illusions. Settlers running a cotton plantation north of Finschhafen shot any New Guinean who appeared, according to Hernsheim, and labourers on the tobacco plantation at Hatzfeldthafen (Dugumor) were frequently attacked by local villagers. The tobacco project seemed praiseworthy and patriotic to Hernsheim but commercially impossible. Settlers, he thought, should be given full freedom to take up land and exploit the country's natural resources of fish, timber, and metals without restriction and the New Guinea Company should transform itself from 'a state existing only on paper' into a genuine business undertaking.

Hernsheim wrote of the company's activities in the Bismarck Archipelago with a special passion for it was there that his own trading business suffered from company interference. He complained of the land registration tax, the duties on spirits and copra, and the company's monopoly of labour recruiting. The company had done nothing for the settlers, he claimed, which could justify taxation: the jurisdiction of the magistrate was without effect; there were no police or defence forces; and the company's irregular shipping service had only harmed the old-established firms by taking freight from their ships. The achievements of the company in the islands amounted to one station in the Duke of Yorks, consisting of a warehouse, two dwellings, a store and some bamboo sheds, together with a single boat. No attempt had been made to establish relations with the Islanders and no united front could be presented to them because of disagreements between the company and the Imperial Navy.

The navy quickly tired of acting as a police force and repeatedly refused to comply with requisitions from the company. One requisition concerned Hernsheim's neighbour, To Mavrid, one of the Matupit men who had signed the cession of Blanche Bay to Germany in 1884. Hernsheim called him a 'respected native' and had had him in his house. To Mavrid was charged with having threatened a Fijian missionary and was called to appear in court. He failed to do so, Hernsheim recalled, 'out of fear and ignorance', and when he escaped from police custody, the company governor requested the cruiser *Alexandrine* to send an armed detachment ashore to capture him. Captain von Prittwitz refused, almost certainly encouraged by Hernsheim.

Hernsheim had come to respect New Guineans out of necessity. As a trader, he valued above all a working relationship with them, undisturbed either by labour recruiters or by indiscriminate naval landing parties. From March 1886 to September 1887 labour recruiters were prohibited from Hernsheim's territory around the
northern tip of New Ireland, following his representations to the German Government. In the case of a payback killing by New Guineans on the north coast of the Gazelle Peninsula, he saw only disruption in plans to arrest the murderers since the killing had proceeded according to local law. Captain von Prittwitz, explaining why he took Hernsheim on board on a tour of the islands in 1889, described him as a man who could make himself understood to the Islanders and knew their 'customs and usages'.

Much of Hernsheim's business was as a supplier to Europeans. He sold coal to visiting naval vessels, grew fresh fruit and vegetables and even opened a saloon for sailors on Matupit Island. Heated by liquor, some of the sailors may then have travelled across the bay to enjoy the hospitality of Queen Emma and her 'approachable Samoan nieces and cousins', as Hernsheim called them. According to the missionary Rooney, the trade between Sydney and the Bismarck Archipelago in 1886 was 'almost entirely in the Hernsheim's hands'.

Hernsheim's worst predictions about the New Guinea Company came true. A report from the Hernsheim Company at Matupit of 6 March 1891 was one of the first to describe the terrible malaria epidemic at Finschhafen which forced the company to abandon its capital:

> the plague [sic] has broken out in Finschhafen and, of the living, those who remain are only those who must.

Wissmann [Company Governor] had already embarked on the 'Ysabel' after the death of his wife and died on the second day at sea, whereupon Captain Schneider returned to Finschhafen in order to have him buried there. At the burial at 10 a.m. two more employees sickened in the intense heat and were dead within 24 hours. Another two helmsmen died on the trip here. The accountant Jäger and the storeman Christel are also dead. The Commissioner is alone with one printer and some tradesmen who are now to dismantle the houses. In Stephansort . . . 40 of the 76 Chinese were still alive when 'Ysabel' was there.

The ill-fated New Guinea Company contrasted with the Hernsheim brothers' own venture in privileged colonial enterprise: this was the Jaluit Company, a union of Hernsheims and the DHPG in Micronesia, which was given special rights in the German Protectorate of the Marshall Islands. Under an agreement of January 1888, the Jaluit Company paid the Reich to administer the island group in its interest. The imperial commissioner could take local administrative measures only with the consent of the company and all laws concerning the colony were submitted to the company's Hamburg office for its advice.

The stated aim of the two firms in merging was to make German influence in the Marshalls 'even more predominant'. In 1888 the
Jaluit Company controlled probably three-quarters of the group's copra export trade, the remainder being divided between Henderson & MacFarlane of Auckland, the American firm Crawford & Co., the Pacific Navigation Co. of Honolulu and a few small traders. The new Hamburg firm was well placed to harass commercial opposition. Though Crawford & Co. offered the government 21,000 marks for the right to collect tax copra from the Islanders, the Jaluit Company's offer of 12,000 marks was approved instead and from 1891 it alone farmed the tax. The Jaluit Company controlled the leasing and sale of land, and the Hawaiian and American firms were forced to sell out to it in the early 1890s. Henderson & MacFarlane, burdened by a doubling of business taxes from 1895, sold out to the Pacific Islands Company in 1898 which in turn made over its Marshallalese trading stations to the Jaluit Company in January 1902. By the time the Hamburg firm lost its trading privileges in March 1906 its earnings were being boosted by its participation in the Pacific Phosphate Company. The administration of the Marshall Islands in the years 1888 to 1905 cost the Jaluit Company about 300,000 marks, roughly equivalent to its net profit for 1906.

From 1892, when he suffered a stroke and returned permanently to Germany, Eduard Hernsheim knew the Pacific through balance-sheets and company reports rather than from the deck of a brigantine as in his early years. His reminiscences stop in that year, as if he thought his Pacific years the only ones of interest. Under the management of his nephew Max Thiel, the Hernsheim company in German New Guinea prospered. The Jaluit Company made fabulous profits from Nauru phosphate. And Hernsheim's original ambition to grow rich in foreign lands was fulfilled long before he died in 1917. After its New Guinea assets were expropriated by Australia, Hernsheim & Co.—like other German Pacific firms—invested in Dutch Indonesia, assisted by a war compensation loan of 912,000 Reichsmarks granted by the Weimar Government in 1926.31

Like a hundred other forerunners of empire Captain Hernsheim wanted his country to protect his business. When it suited him he asked for German warships and the German flag. But for the same reason he was against the labour trade and the 'government by warship' which developed under the New Guinea Company: both frightened away valued New Guinean customers for his calico, guns and tobacco. For a man who was reputed to know local custom his comments about Islanders are disappointingly few. The Islanders, it seems, were merely the backdrop to his world of prices, percentages, competitors and navigation.
HENRY NANPEI
Pre-eminently a Ponapean

Paul Ehrlich

ON the high, rugged, densely forested island of Ponape in the Eastern Carolines one often hears of Henry Nanpei. Men say that he was the 'smartest', the 'most enlightened' among Ponapeans of three generations back, the one who 'best understood foreign ways and money'. Through these phrases Ponapeans explain the extraordinary influence he wielded during the Spanish and German Administrations as well as the early part of the Japanese mandate, how Nanpei accumulated wealth, and how he became the owner of approximately twenty-five per cent of the land on Ponape to which titles were issued during the German administration. Many Ponapeans add that Nanpei's success grew out of shady manoeuvring. Even today those who knew Nanpei do not reveal everything they know about him; the rest one can only conjecture.

Who, then, was Henry Nanpei? He was the first Ponapean to receive substantial recognition from the West. American Board missionaries touted him as a prize pupil, model convert, and irreplaceable supporter. The Spanish governors regarded him as a treacherous man, believing he masterminded all conflict on Ponape. German colonialists respected but distrusted him; they were confused by him, as well they might be while his enemies and supporters were accusing and defending him. The Japanese worked
with him and respected his abilities. Each group dealt with Nanpei on different terms, because he skilfully adjusted himself to new situations.

Nanpei’s life spanned sixty-five years (1862-1927) in which Ponape passed through the final phase of early contact and experienced three colonial regimes. He participated in Christian conversion, increasing trade, and a major land reform which overturned the system into which he was born. He played very active roles in the succession of colonial rules which began in 1886 with the Spanish entry, was followed up by the German purchase of the Carolines and Mariana Islands in 1899, and saw their loss to the Japanese at the opening of World War I in 1914. When he died during Japanese rule in 1927, he had actively participated in each stage, he had gained and lost — and whatever he had done, was skilfully and quietly done.

Nanpei was an enigma to all who knew him. It is quite certain that whatever face he presented to the Western and Japanese audiences which viewed and assessed him, he was always a Ponapean. Until now, the West has always viewed him in Western terms: how well he spoke English, how well he understood and promoted Christianity, and how well he succeeded as a businessman. To forget that he was Ponapean is to overlook the context in which he acted, his opportunities, and the constraints under which he operated.

Henry Nanpei lived on a lush island which seemed a paradise to the outsider. Breadfruit, taro, yams, sugar cane, coconuts, dense rain forest, large rivers, lagoons teeming with fish; these were (and are) only part of the gifts of the island. The pace of life was slow but the social atmosphere seethed with personal ambition and constant competition, forcing people to be secretive while seeking out weaknesses in others. These attitudes infiltrate the oral traditions which surround the island; they are present in the stories about Nanpei.

His life is a fragment in the continuum of Ponape’s history. The legendary travellers who founded human society on Ponape did so with a dream and a prayer to build a land where they would never need to worry about food. The prayer worked, and when the dream became reality they competed for power over the land and its fruits. The period following the founding of Ponape is one of shadowy kingdoms led by man-gods with extraordinary magical powers, united under a single ruler, the Sau Deleur, whose powers and knowledge exceeded those of all other chiefs except one, the Lepin Palikir. All paid tribute to the Sau Deleur. His authority was absolute until after many generations it was shattered by the legendary hero Isokelekel, the essence of whose complex legend is
Map 6 Ponape
that he was the avenging, returning son of a man who had fled from Ponape to Katau on Kusaie.

Isokelekel founded a new political system. At its head stood a Nanmwarki (king) and a Naniken (orator chief); these, the highest chiefs in two discrete matrilineages, may be seen for convenience as royalty and nobility respectively. The Nanmwarki was entitled to tribute in his kingdom, and lower ranking title-holders often received a share of the tribute. Each kingdom was divided into sections (kousapw) which were further subdivided into farmsteads (paliensapw). Frequently high ranking royalty or nobility were section chiefs (soumas en kousapw) or else their relatives or members of specific clans received those titles. Delicacies such as turtle, certain fish, pit breadfruit, yams, sakau (kava), dogs and pigs went first to the Nanmwarki and other title-holders and then to the commoners. When a man wove a net, the first fish he caught in it went to the Nanmwarki. When he made a canoe, the first use of the canoe was to fish for the Nanmwarki. When he built a feast house, the first feast was to honour the Nanmwarki. Through the year there were feasts to celebrate different seasons, payment for titles, apology rituals, funerals, and house building. The right and authority of the Nanmwarki were not absolute, however, for they were expected to redistribute food to the participants in the feasts. Ponapean history records the reigns of generous and evil, kind and cruel Nanmwarki. The Nanmwarki’s authority carried obligations to the people. If he failed in these obligations, he could be removed—by murder. Or he might fall victim to another chief’s ambition, as did the Nanmwarki of Henry Nanpei’s kingdom of Kiti, whose murder long before Nanpei was born affected social order in a way which at once benefited Nanpei and confined him. For their role in avenging this Nanmwarki, Nanpei’s father’s clan, the Lipitahn, were given all the noble titles; Nanku, his father, was a Naniken of Kiti and held the title at the time Henry Nanpei was born. On Ponape, children born to reigning Nanmwarki and Naniken are highly regarded; had Nanpei’s mother been of the Nanmwarki’s clan, he would have succeeded to the Nanmwarki title. Instead, Nanpei’s mother, Meri-An, was from a lesser clan Dipwenluhk Soun Ant. Her own mother was the daughter of a Nanmwarki of Kiti but the lower clan status inhibited the fortunes of her descendants. Despite this, Meri-An had married a Naniken and Henry received certain benefits both from his father’s position and from his mother’s genealogy.

Nanku is remembered as a powerful individual—a brave warrior, personally well suited to hold a title which, as intermediary between the Nanmwarki and the people, gave him opportunities to exercise
greater direct authority than the Nanmwarki himself. Nanku was also curious about the West. His wife's father was an Englishman, James Headley, who served Nanku as an intermediary with visiting foreigners. Nanku regularly welcomed visitors at Rohn Kiti; this place, where the Naniken chief lived after his marriage, was also the harbour most frequently used by European ships. When missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions arrived in 1852, Nanku allowed them to establish a mission there, in defiance of the Nanmwarki's wishes.

According to Henry Nanpei's friend, confidant, and brother-in-law Luelen, Nanku died shortly after the birth of his only son, Nankirounpeinpok, who was later baptised Henry. 'Nanpei' is a title into which he was installed. One of Henry Nanpei's surviving daughters, Sehny, states that Nanku had signed a testament which made Henry heir to his lands. Whether or not the new Naniken honoured Nanku's will, or was even aware of it, is unknown. In any case, the new Naniken, Nanaua en Mwudok, married Meri-An, thus enabling Henry and his mother to continue living in Rohn Kiti.

Nanaua en Mwudok was a striking contrast to his predecessor; he was a heavy drinker, of renowned cruelty. Despite the fact that she had married another Naniken, Meri-An preferred that her son should adopt Western ways. She and Henry lived alone and Henry attended the school which the American Board had established in Oa, Madolenihmw. There he became a hard working student and a faithful Protestant. Given his later activities it is clear that missionary objections to the interwoven systems of land tenure and tribute took firm root in his mind.

Nanpei learned his lessons well. As a young man he began to plant coconuts at Rohn Kiti in accordance with his Christian mentors' desire to see Ponape become an island of small farmers producing for themselves rather than for the chiefs' bellies. A fine speaker of English, he became a teacher at the mission. He abhorred tobacco and alcohol and did not drink sakau. While at Oa, he met and later married Caroline Santos, daughter of Narcissus de los Santos, a Filipino whaler who jumped ship in Ponape. Narcissus turned Protestant, became a trader and was an intermediary at several levels in the ever-increasing contact between Ponapeans and whites. His son-in-law Nanpei's commitment to Christianity was exceedingly important, for the traditional Ponapean religion had been shaken, not merely by Christianity but also by the introduction of firearms, a devastating smallpox epidemic in 1854, a sizable beachcomber population, and increasing trade. Under the old system, the priests
and high chiefs had controlled the sources of wealth; these were now being challenged by God, Gold, and Guns. Nanpei’s life illustrates the way in which an ambitious Ponapean could put these three to excellent use. He traded copra for guns and ammunition, which he then traded to Ponapeans for more copra—and the missionaries demonstrated no knowledge of his arms-dealing but were most pleased with his teaching.

American Board missionaries were also gratified by their own progress; by 1885 they had established churches in all five kingdoms and their congregations were growing—smooth development which ceased the following year with the introduction of Catholicism, when the Spanish assumed control of the Caroline and Mariana Islands. The Spanish decided that the northern harbour would suit their purposes for it afforded better protection than any other. They started to build a fortress around themselves and hired Ponapeans to work. When the Spanish failed to pay, hostilities broke out and in the ensuing battle the Ponapeans of the kingdoms of Sokehs and Net, and a group from Kiti, slaughtered the Spanish soldiers and murdered the governor.

The new governor, Don Luis Cadarso, sought to relieve the tension by seeking out only those who murdered his predecessor; he promised no reprisals if the people of Sokehs and Net would convert to Catholicism. According to Luelen, Nanpei served as an intermediary; he accompanied Wasai Sokehs to a meeting with the governor where this solution was effected. For his efforts, Nanpei received a medal from the Spanish.

Peace lasted until June 1890 when the Spanish decided to build a church and barracks for soldiers at Oa. They chose a site sixty feet in front of the Protestant church, arguing that it was the only suitable place. The next day a group of Ponapeans attacked the Spanish garrison; intensive fighting broke out and again Nanpei assisted the Spaniards, by hiding two priests in the girls’ school and five Manila soldiers in his own house. The Spanish had to retreat from Madolenihmw, where they had suffered heavy casualties.

Despite protests by the missionary Frank E. Rand that none of the good Protestants had been involved, the Spanish forced the American missionaries to leave Ponape. This left the Protestants with no outside authority to maintain the faith. Nanpei took it upon himself to keep the Protestants together in the face of efforts by the Spanish to spread Catholicism throughout Ponape.

There is much speculation concerning Nanpei’s role in these uprisings against the Spanish of 1887 and 1890. Despite the evidence provided by Luelen and the missionaries that Nanpei sought to
relieve the tension and assist the Spanish, many believed he was responsible for the unrest. The Spanish distrusted him because he was Protestant. Many Ponapeans openly state that he supplied guns and ammunition to the Madolenihmw fighters and influenced them to attack the Spanish.

Given his position as a leading Protestant, the arguments are convincing, for the Spanish established their first mission on a Protestant site and tried to do the same in Madolenihmw. By striking at the visible centres of Protestant activity they could weaken the base. Nanpei had hitched his star to the Protestant wagon and may have felt threatened by these developments. It is interesting that he did not simply switch over to Catholicism, for it gives evidence of a strong commitment to the faith which he had learned. That commitment could have led him to the surreptitious acts which have been attributed to him, and his role as a trader gave him the means.

He was the only Ponapean who had constant contact with whaling vessels which regularly stopped at Rohn Kiti harbour. The price of Winchester rifles at the time was forty dollars per weapon and Nanpei was the only Ponapean who had sufficient funds to be able to purchase them in quantity. Where else, ask the Ponapeans, could the people of Madolenihmw have acquired so many weapons?

Following the Madolenihmw conflict, Nanpei took his eldest son, Oliver, to Hawaii and placed him in the Kamehameha Preparatory School on Oahu. In a letter to O.P. Emerson of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association on 6 June 1892, Nanpei thanked him for his hospitality and reported the difficulties which the Protestants on Ponape faced. 'We have no Church such a thing is strictly forbidden [sic] by the Catholic priests who appear to rule supreme. We are forbidden [sic] to hold meetings of any kind.' Although he and other Protestants held meetings on week nights and Sundays, many had already 'gone astray and returned to their old habits of intemperance ...'. At least Nanpei could report that the Madolenihmw Protestants were standing firm. Nanmwariki Paul wanted to build a new church and to establish a school to replace those which the Spanish destroyed during the fight in Oa. The Spanish were judiciously staying away from Madolenihmw, and the Nanmwariki and his 'tribe' did not 'trouble the Spanish'.

Ponape was adjusting to the Spanish. Nanpei himself was learning the language and continued to teach school at Rohn Kiti. Given the persistent efforts of the Spanish priests, it was difficult to maintain Protestant morale sufficiently to counteract Catholic influence. Nanpei wrote to Emerson in 1893, 'I frequently take a turn around the island, to cheer them up, and to keep them in remembrance of
our faith, our love, and our duty towards God: I experience great happiness in so doing." His greatest cause for anguish seems to have been the prevalence of liquor which made the Ponapeans lose all self-control: 'An intoxicated native at once becomes a raving maniac, and his imbecility urges him on to acts of violence and blooshed [sic]." This self-deprecating statement was and is typical of Ponapeans and may have been more for the benefit of the American missionaries than a true reflection of Nanpei's own thinking.

Accordingly Nanpei approved of Spanish efforts to restrict the import of firearms and the sale of liquor. He admired the new governor for being evenhanded and a 'strict prohibitionist'. By 1894, the Spanish had begun patrolling the island during the whaling season to intercept guns and ammunition. Nanpei described this as 'just and right' and was very pleased when the governor prohibited sales of liquor to natives and foreigners in sufficient quantity to make them intoxicated.

Nanpei himself did not sell liquor in his stores in Kiti and Santiago, the Spanish colony. His commitment to Protestantism never wavered; he continued to teach and he used his own money to pay for lumber, galvanised roofing, and a bell for a new church in Rohn Kiti. The reasons for such devotion are complex and extend into the secular realm. Despite his low clan status he received the title Nanpei of Kiti, a ranking of number six in the royal line, because of his father. Most Ponapeans who remember say that he had risen as high as he could by age 25; others say he was offered higher titles but refused them. As long as the system remained intact it is doubtful that he could have had access to the highest traditional titles. Nevertheless Ponapean history is filled with stories of individuals who were influential without having been elevated to high titles.

Nanpei achieved influence along an alternative route which began with his education at the Protestant mission. As leader of the church in the absence of the American Board, he held a valuable position as intermediary between the Ponapean Protestants and the faith to which they subscribed. He was head of a group of five men which included Luelen (Nahlik Lapalap), and David (Soulik en Mwudok) in Kiti, Ettekar in Madolenihmw and William of Mwand in Uh. Luelen and David were Nanpei's brothers-in-law. While Luelen was a Lipitahn, he had little hope of becoming Naniken because younger men were ahead of him in the noble line. David was a Dipwenmen — but of the 'white' Dipwenmen who had no access to power in the royal line which was controlled by the 'black' Dipwenmen. William was a Dipwenpahnmei, and had no clear right to high traditional rank, though his wife was a Lasiahlap, the clan of
the Nanmwarki of Uh. Though men could gain high titles through marriage there was no certainty that this would occur in William's case. Ettekar was of the Ledek clan, which had no standing in either of the chiefly lines in Madolenihmw. In each case the traditional paths of power offered limited or belated opportunity at best. On the other hand, Protestantism and a facility with Western ways offered a significant influence over traditional leaders who had little or no schooling. Nanpei's position at the head of this circle gave him strong influence, not only in Kiti, but in Madolenihmw and Uh, where the Protestants held the highest titles.

Nanpei's influence was growing and so was his business. In 1890 he hired a Japanese named Sekine to work in the store in Rohn Kiti. In 1892 an American named Henry Beaumont began to work as a secretary and some remember him as a bookkeeper. This was probably necessitated by Nanpei's multifarious activities as a teacher and a farmer. He continued to plant coconuts at Rohn Kiti and on the island of Aru at Ant atoll (12 km beyond the reef at Kiti). Inasmuch as the Spanish Government did not interfere with his activities, Nanpei had little to worry about.

In 1896, the Spanish Governor Pidal recognised Nanpei's land claims, which were based on the testament signed by his father Nanku on 27 May 1863. Such recognition was critical for Nanpei because the only true owner of the land was the Nanmwarki. A clan or an extended family had customary use rights but inheritance rights rested with the Nanmwarki. Normally there were no problems, but if a dispute arose the Nanmwarki would settle it. Moreover, a displeased Nanmwarki could remove a person from his land at will, though this rarely occurred except in instances of serious breach of etiquette.

Nanpei had not broken any rules, but other Ponapeans were seeking lands which he claimed by virtue of his father's will. In Ponapean reality, the will meant nothing; the lands in Rohn Kiti, Kipar, Pwohk, Nan Mahnd, Ant and elsewhere were virtually all part of the Naniken's traditional fief. Nanaua en Mwdok had succeeded both as Naniken and husband of Meri-An, and had permitted Henry to remain on the land. The possibility always existed, however, that a succeeding Naniken would claim it. While recognition by a colonial government was no guarantee against adverse claims by others, Nanpei understood the respect Western governments had for agreements and declarations.

It is noteworthy but not surprising that Nanpei accepted the authority of the Spanish governor to certify his ownership while he
opposed Spanish efforts to increase their influence and authority in other areas, namely religion. The Spanish repeatedly tried to induce him to convert to Catholicism.19 Nanpei resisted partly on the principle that no man could dictate another's beliefs. And it was Ponapean ethic for a man to declare himself once and never go back on his word. A man who remained steadfast was worthy of the highest respect.

Though the priests could not convert Nanpei, they made significant progress elsewhere. He lamented the influence of priests who could have a governor removed if they felt he was not supporting their efforts strongly enough.19 In 1897, Nanpei reported that four of the five Nanmwarki had been baptised Catholics.20 Still, there were bright spots in Mwand, for example, where William had a big church, and four Protestant schools continued to operate on Ponape. Nanmwarki Paul stood firm in Madolenihmw, where the priests were reluctant to intrude because he would not stand for it. However, the lack of missionary direction was taking its toll as more and more Protestants left the faith. Part of the reason logically rests with the fact that the Spanish had established themselves; and again, the Catholic church was much less strict than the Protestant about smoking and drinking either sakau or liquor.

In 1898, war broke out between Protestant Uh and Catholic Awak. Though nominally part of Uh, Awak had long been autonomous and the Soulik en Awak did not necessarily follow the Nanmwarki in all decisions. The German anthropologist Hambruch learned in 1910 that Soulik en Awak was acquitted of a murder; the victim was from Mwand and William, the Protestant leader, declared it was time to stop the Catholics.21 Hambruch states without reservation that William was a tool of Nanpei’s, not doubting for a minute that Nanpei was manoeuvring behind the scenes.22

The Spanish also believed Nanpei involved; shortly after the Spanish–American War broke out they gaoled him as a spy for the Americans.23 His wife and children too were gaol-ed, but his political finesse kept operating. He gave orders from prison that his workers should feed and protect the Spanish when their supplies were cut off as a result of the war. The Spanish again made efforts to convert him, but Nanpei refused even in gaol. Religion, he declared, 'is strictly a private affair, ... in which no man has a right to interfere'.24

In the Awak war, the fourth major battle of the Spanish administration, the Spanish failed once again to gain a victory. And when Spain lost the Spanish–American War, she sold the Marianas and
Carolines to Germany for 25 million pesetas. It was said Nanpei would have preferred an American takeover because German traders were the principal source of liquor. He was present nonetheless for the arrival of the Germans on 11 October 1899 and he welcomed them to the island. Next day he bade the Spanish governor a cordial farewell—and received a resentful reply with 'some abusive language about our Kings and Chiefs paying their respects to our newly arrived Governor, a thing which had never been manifested towards the Spanish governors'. He summed up Spanish administration bitterly:

For thirteen years our people have been menaced and harrassed to death by those cruel unrelenting blood-thirsty Spaniards. No language can adequately describe the awful and heinous crimes that those wicked Spaniards have been guilty of here on the island. Governors, priests, officers, and men were all of the same calibre. Not one good example have they shown our people. But they had succeeded in making of many good young Christian men and women drunkards and common harlots. Many children of tender age have died an ignominious death at the hands of those lecherous, wanton brutes. May God forgive them, but Ponapeans never can.

Nanpei's first impressions of the Germans were good despite his earlier fears. Dr Albert Hahl, the new Vice-Governor of the New Guinea Protectorate, immediately banned the sale of alcohol and arms to Ponapeans. He impressed the Ponapeans when he walked over about half the island and guaranteed 'free and absolute religious liberty to all sects and to all creeds ...'. Given that pledge, Nanpei hoped the American Board would send back missionaries: 'We feel that we stand in need of some higher influence, to guide and instruct us in the word of God'. The American Board quickly responded, and the missionaries who arrived on 27 September 1900 were most impressed by Nanpei's efforts to maintain the Protestant faith—the new church in Rohn Kiti, the fact that Nanpei's brother-in-law was the minister, the regular Sunday school, and the church services.

The return of the American Board missionaries illustrated the success of Nanpei's struggle to sustain Protestantism on Ponape. It was a remarkable achievement given the nature of Ponape in 1900. Here was an island where men fought over the slightest insult. If two men met on a path in the jungle, they would fight should one or the other refuse to step aside. Men and women cut deeply into their own skin to produce large scars; young men were tattooed on the legs by their families. Nanpei had been tattooed like the rest, and he had grown up in a society where personal bravery was essential. A true man
never flinched from work or war, just as he never changed his mind. When dealing with foreigners, however, the Ponapeans generally said what they thought the foreigners (mehn wai) wanted to hear. They rarely displayed their true feelings among themselves, and even less so to outsiders.

Nanpei always remained very much a part of this Ponape. Though he wore Western-style clothing (most Ponapean men wore grass skirts), he still participated in traditional practices — other than drinking sakau and observing the old religion. He was awarded the Nanpei titles in Uh and Madolenihmw because of his leadership in the Protestant church and his support in the wars against the Spanish. As one missionary report had it, he was 'the peer of Ponapeans in everything that is manly'. This is not to say that Nanpei fought regularly, for manhood was also defined by whether or not a man could provide for a feast. Nanpei had not only yams and sakau to offer, but pigs, cattle, and dogs; he could prepare a feast at any time. And he was a diplomat, a tireless manipulator of events and influences to his own advantage.

In the early years of the German Administration, Nanpei met Governor Hahl regularly and advised him informally. On 16 December 1899 Hahl recognised Nanpei's sole ownership of Ant Atoll. After that Nanpei seems to have been willing to assist the Germans wherever possible. In 1901 when war erupted on Truk between two islands in the lagoon, Nanpei accompanied Hahl on an expedition to settle the problem, helped to mediate and, when the Germans arrested three murderers, took them to Rohn Kiti, thereby acquiring cheap labour. Not blackbirding in its classic form, it served the same purpose. Equally important, Nanpei proved once again his value as a mediator between Micronesians and whites. In 1905 the Deutsches Kolonialblatt announced that Nanpei had received a medal from the Kaiser.

In 1901 Hahl departed to become governor of the entire New Guinea Protectorate and Victor Berg replaced him. Like Hahl, Berg had instructions not to try to move too quickly; he was not to attempt any major changes. Ponape remained peaceful until 1905 when, after a massive typhoon had wrecked the food supply, Berg tried to take advantage of the situation by trading food for the surrender of guns. Ponapeans say that a Winchester in working condition would fetch two hundred pounds of rice and two cases of tinned fish. The Germans collected 545 rifles and 3998 cartridges but many Ponapeans wrapped their weapons in oiled rags and buried them for possible use in the future. The Germans relaxed somewhat, believing they had collected most of the weapons. The island was
beginning to return to normal when, two years later in 1907, Berg went to the still sacred ruins of Nan Madol to dig for the bones of the Sau Deleurs or Isokelekel. The Ponapeans today describe how Berg died the following day, not of heat stroke as the Germans contended but in retribution for violating a sacred place. His death roughly coincided with a shift in German colonial policy, aimed at improving conditions for the natives. Possibly in line with this shift, Hahl travelled to Ponape in September 1907 and informed the Nanmwarki in Kiti, Uh, and Madolenihmw, Wasai Sokehs, and Lepen Net that they could no longer remove individuals from the land on which they lived and farmed. Hahl's decree not only threatened a major element of Nanmwarki power but also set off quiet moves by individuals to secure the lands to which they had hereditary use-rights and to extend claims wherever possible.

No one contested Nanpei's claims in Central Kiti where he had lived and developed the lands since his youth. His claim to all the islands in Ant Atoll was less secure. He had planted coconut trees on Aru and many older Ponapeans say that he used Ant as a trading station to obtain guns from the whalers during the Spanish period. The protocol signed by Pidal in 1896 and Hahl's certification in 1899 had recognised Nanpei's claim to the entire atoll, but there were Ponapeans who did not.

Today people in Kiti explain that certain titles carried rights to land on Ant, which was a preserve for all of Kiti for farming and fishing. Although a number of people could have claimed land on Ant, only one challenged Nanpei. This was Sou Kiti (Sigismundo) of Enipein, who claimed the island of Pahn Mwehk; his claim stemmed from a legendary conquest of Ant by a famous Enipein warrior. Sou Kiti himself was known for his bravery in the war against the Spaniards of 1887. After that war he had added to his own standing by returning to Kiti the Sou Kiti title which years before had been given to Net.

Nanpei could appeal to his own clan status, Dipwenluhk Soun Ant. The Soun Ant had been the rulers of Ant before the Enipein conquest. Essentially the issue was academic, for both Nanpei and Sou Kiti could appeal to historical precedent in the question of Ant; but the issue went far beyond the ownership of the atoll. Power was the major concern, the ultimate derivative of land on Ponape. Recognising where power now lay, they did not debate their formal claims but quietly manoeuvred for support from the new governor, George Fritz, previously District Administrator in Saipan since 1899.

Fritz made Hahl's decree more acceptable to the high chiefs. All land would henceforth be private property and tribute payments
would cease. Thus freed from feudal servitude, men between the ages of 16 and 45 would work fifteen days a year for the District Office in return for their emancipation. Each day of public labour was valued at one mark per man and the high ranking royalty and nobility would receive half the proceeds as compensation for renouncing their authority over the land. The public works obligation would be used for the construction of roads, bridges, and canals to further the economic development of the island and the advancement of all Ponapeans.

Though Fritz had tried to soften this blow-by guaranteeing to royalty 7½ marks per year per man, his decree still removed their traditional authority over the land. Nanpei and his followers even so managed to get royalty in Kiti, Uh, and Madolenihmw to accept it, but Net and Sokehs were not persuaded. Nevertheless Fritz wanted to get started on a road from the colony to Kiti. Though he received the assent of the Namnwarki, a group of Mortlockese workers were warned on 17 July 1908 that they would be attacked if they continued roadwork. They had only completed 1000 metres. Nanpei and the Nannwarki of Kiti informed Fritz that Sokehs and Net had threatened to kill all the whites on Ponape, and Nanpei was supposedly included for having supported the governor in the introduction of taxes and land reform. Though Fritz found Nanpei's warning plausible, he later met the leaders of Net and Sokehs, who professed their loyalty.

Fritz was in the middle of the religious and political conflict which had seethed since the Spanish period. Despite efforts by the German governors to be evenhanded, Protestant and Catholic hostility had not waned. The Liebenzeller mission had replaced the American Board missionaries in 1907 and German Capuchins had replaced their Spanish counterparts in 1902. In addition, the Catholics were gaining still more converts. While Fritz realised that Nanpei was manipulating behind the scenes, his police were too few to act against Nanpei. The issue became further complicated when a group of men from Puaipuai, Kiti, allegedly destroyed Sou Kiti Sigismundo's crops at Tomwarohlong. These men were of the Soun Kawad clan and were allies of Nanpei. At this point the Catholic missionaries entered the dispute on the side of Sou Kiti in an effort to gain a valuable convert. Sigismundo converted, perhaps more out of antipathy to Nanpei than from the priests' efforts.

Sou Kiti Sigismundo, though not yet in the royal line, might possibly have managed to become Namnwarki in the future. Namnwarki Paul and his brother, Wasai David, were the last of the Dipwenmen Inenwaias, the royal sub-clan; once they were gone a
succession fight would probably occur. Fritz knew only that Sou Kiti was of the black Dipwenmen, as was Nanmwarki Paul. Many informants in Kiti have stated that the succession after Paul and David was in question, but Sou Kiti was a likely choice because of his clan and his reputation as a warrior. One can imagine that this possibility was broached to Fritz, who was quite aware of the wars during the Spanish period. Hence when Père Crescenzius and Père Fidelis approached him on behalf of Sou Kiti, Fritz became worried about the development of another religious confrontation.

The Catholic missionaries contended that Nanpei had put the Puaipuai people up to destroying Sou Kiti's crops in an effort to draw him into revenge. Such an act would have discredited Sou Kiti with the Germans and indirectly benefited Nanpei. Today Ponapeans give the same facts and analysis but the issue is narrower; few remember Governor Fritz and these only vaguely recall his proposed land reform. The primary point of dispute in their minds was Ant.

The dispute calmed when Fritz received outside support. On 2 September 1908 the cruiser Condor arrived with 100 Melanesian police soldiers. Later, the Jaguar made a twelve mile cruise from the colony to Kiti as a show of strength. Following this, Kiti, Uh, Madolenihmw, and Net contributed their fifteen obligatory work days. Fritz further calmed the situation by agreeing that Sokehs should continue to collect the traditional tribute payments through 1909 and would begin the public works obligations in 1910; in effect the land reform was delayed there for a year.

Fritz and other German sources do not indicate how the Ant dispute or the dispute over Tomwarohlong concluded. There is a story in Ponape that Sou Kiti and Nanpei met with the Nanmwarki of Kiti, the governor, and a Kiti man named Joseph (who served as translator). The meeting took place off the island of Doletik which is in Rohn Kiti harbour, only a few hundred yards from Nanpei's land. It was decided that Nanpei would get Ant, and Sou Kiti would enter the royal line as soon as there was an opening and succeed the inenwaias.

This story is perfect for it gives the most logical solution in the light of what followed. Nanpei did indeed acquire all of Ant, and Sigismundo eventually succeeded Nanmwarki Paul during the Japanese Administration. The problem is that the Germans have no record of such a meeting. Nor do the Ponapeans seem to know either the name of the ship or the year in which it took place. The people of Enipein remember that Sigismundo was taken aboard a ship, that many thought the Germans were going to hang him and so prepared to fight, but that the ship came about and Sigismundo
disembarked. Here again the ship is unnamed. The logic stems from Nanpei's strong influence over the Nanmwarki of Kiti and Sou Kiti's clan status and reputation. It is possible that Nanpei and Sigismundo met other high chiefs either before or after a meeting with Fritz and that the conflict was resolved without Fritz's being present, or simply without translation.

As stated earlier, the Ant issue was only part of the entire affair which began with Hahl's land reform in 1907 and Fritz's version in 1908. Many Ponapeans have said that Nanpei sought to destroy the power of the Nanmwarki and other high chiefs. This is rumour but it covers a broad range of events between 1907 and 1911.

Essentially, Nanpei and his followers in Kiti, Uh, and Madolenihmw wanted power. Fritz mentions that after September 1907 a 'people's party' developed and Nanpei proposed a council composed of three representatives from every kingdom with himself as chairman; this would advise the governor on matters affecting the Islanders. Ponapeans do not remember the formation of an actual party but they say the old system was oppressive enough to make the people pleased with the land reforms. Though Ponapeans willingly carried out traditional obligations they often expressed dissatisfaction. But to be a Ponapean was to honour the system. The Nanmwarki was king—therefore he received respect, fealty, tribute, etc. If Nanpei was challenging the system and most of the island opposed him, he would have desisted. He had a vocal following, and he always worked with the Nanmwarki of Kiti. He invariably discussed matters with the high chiefs before committing himself. If Nanpei was seeking to change the system, he did so by working through the traditional structure which he sought to change. Ponapeans admit all of this, but many prefer to see evil conspiracy in a number of areas.

Before Fritz left Ponape in October 1909, a canoe travelled from Sokehs to Pakin Atoll, which lies twelve miles from Ponape and five or six miles from Ant. On the return trip, the canoe met rough conditions and tried to put in at Ant. The people of Sokehs believed that the canoe had tried to put in at Ant and suspected foul play. Though their information was based on a rumour they began to prepare for war against Nanpei. The canoe never returned and it is possible the hostility between Sokehs and Kiti had provoked the people of Ant to attack the canoe, assuming the canoe was intending a raid. As tension mounted, the Sokehs warriors guarded the Mwokote channel between the island of Sokehs and the main island of Ponape. This was common practice, and it forced the people of Kiti to go around Sokehs if they wished to go to the colony for any
reason. Sokehs informants have spoken of a particular incident when Nanpei's diesel-powered copra-boat tried to pass through the channel. Those who guarded the channel stopped the boat and searched it, expecting Henry or Oliver Nanpei to be aboard. When neither was found, the boat was permitted to continue.

The Germans display no knowledge of this incident but the Ponapeans insist that war nearly developed as a result. The only thing that prevented violence was the fact that Samuel, a powerful warrior from Tomwara (a section of Sokehs on the main island), had adopted a young boy named Edson Santos, a nephew of Henry Nanpei. Samuel warned the leaders of Sokehs that he would not fight against Kiti. Fearing his powers as a sorcerer as well as his prowess in battle, the people of Sokehs did not attack Kiti.

As we have seen, Fritz had probably not left Ponape when the canoe incident occurred but by the time he departed tension seems to have eased between himself and the Catholic missionaries. He was replaced by Carl Boeder who had served in the German colonial service in Africa before coming to Ponape. Having just witnessed a bloody two-year rebellion in East Africa, Boeder thought little of the Ponapeans. He was determined they should abide by the work obligations which Fritz's revised land reform had delineated. Tension began to rise when he held the people of Sokehs to the agreement which had allowed them to delay their obligation until 1910.

Though the Wasai was king in Sokehs (there was no Nanmwarki in that kingdom), the real leader there was Soumadau en Sokehs, a warrior of great renown, the Ponapean leader of the Sokehs workers. The work was difficult and the German overseer, Otto Hollborn, relentlessly pushed a fast pace. As tension mounted, Soumadau demanded higher pay for himself and rumours circulated that Sokehs was planning to murder all the whites on the island. Hambruch claims that his anthropological research between March and September 1910 was hampered by the mounting tension. He also believed he had uncovered a plot led by Soumadau en Sokehs and Lini, one of the Puapuai Soun Kawad, to rid Ponape of the whites.

In the midst of all this a nephew of Henry Nanpei, Eliu Santos, tried to get cash for paper money in the colony. According to Eliu's brothers Ersin and Lingken Santos, no Ponapean but Nanpei was allowed to have cash. Eliu had received it from Thomas Nanpei, who had stolen it from his father. The two devised a story that a crazy Protestant missionary woman had given it to Eliu as a present. Eliu stuck to his story but a concerned friend told the Germans that Eliu was lying to protect Thomas Nanpei. Thomas cracked under questioning and admitted the theft. Both were gaoled and Eliu was
beaten for having lied, his head was shaved, and he was dressed in a striped suit. The beating and humiliation aroused Eliu's family and many in Kiti wanted to kill the governor.\textsuperscript{55}

It is unlikely that the feelings aroused in Sokehs and Kiti against the Germans were isolated from one another. However, Ponapeans today have varying accounts about how the two kingdoms were operating together. Many in Kiti and Sokehs agree that individuals in Kiti promised support to Sokehs should they kill the governor. Others say that Kiti planned to kill the governor but did not murder him when they had the chance. The people of Sokehs say Oliver Nanpei suggested that Kiti and Sokehs should compete to see who could kill the governor first. Still others state that Henry Nanpei sent grass skirts to Soumadau en Sokehs: such an act could have been a signal of support or a challenge to the manhood of the Sokehs warriors.

The grass skirt incident is alleged to have taken place after a young Sokehs worker named Lahdeleng was beaten by New Guinea soldiers under orders of Governor Boeder. The Germans have written that Lahdeleng was lazy and spoke rudely to the German overseer, Hollborn. The Ponapeans admit this but claimed that Hollborn sent Lahdeleng to the governor out of jealousy arising from a personal matter involving a woman.

Whether or not the Nanpeis tried to incite passions in Sokehs, it is doubtful that they would have had direct influence. As the Germans pointed out consistently, the religious and political split between Protestants and Catholics, South and North, made co-operation unlikely. Sokehs informants say that Soumadau en Sokehs had long distrusted Nanpei and neither a challenge nor a promise of support from the latter would have moved him. After the canoe incident, Sokehs wanted war with Nanpei; it is therefore doubtful that they would compete, as allegedly suggested by Oliver, or co-operate with Kiti. Soumadau wanted to kill the governor for many complex reasons. The governor was putting extreme pressure on Sokehs to conform to the provisions of the land reform. Soumadau had opposed the land reform from the beginning, and the public works was part of the entire package. In this, Nanpei's influence was more fortuitous than planned.

The day after Lahdeleng was beaten, the people of Sokehs killed Governor Boeder, Secretary Brauckmann, Hollborn, and Haeffner and five Mortlockese oarsmen. Upon hearing the news, the German physician Dr Girschner sent letters to the Lepen Net and the Nanm-warki of Uh, Madolenihmw, and Kiti requesting assistance in guarding the colony. However, Kiti sent her warriors three days
later, arousing suspicions that Nanpei may have been waiting to see if Sokehs could emerge victorious. Interestingly, Sou Kiti took a number of his own men to the colony before the rest of Kiti had decided what to do. Though Nanpei sent men, he himself remained in Rohn Kiti. Given the hostility of Sokehs toward the Nanpeis, this was probably wise; but Hambruch reported that Nanpei sent greetings and supplies to Wasai Sokehs.56

The Germans in New Guinea finally received news of the murders in December 1910 after the Germania returned from its run to Hong Kong. They immediately sent four warships, marines, and Melanesian police-soldiers. By 12 February the Sokehs warriors had scattered and various groups gave themselves up. Nanpei persuaded Wasai Sokehs and Samuel, who had led a large group of men, women, and children over to Central Kiti, to surrender. Soumadau and Lepereren Sokehs (Soumadau's brother) went first to Dauk Madolenihmw and then to William of Mwand, both Soumadau's clansmen; William, an old Nanpei supporter, persuaded them to return to the colony for fear the whole island should suffer. He accompanied them to the colony where they were tried and executed along with thirteen other warriors; 426 people were exiled, first to Yap for nine months and then to Palau.

Although the Germans suspected Nanpei had assisted the rebels, they could find no clear evidence against him. Rumours abounded that he supplied guns, ammunition and food. Other rumours said he gave advice to the Sokehs people about places to hide. The Germans actively sought information but could discover nothing concrete. The new governor, Kersting, even sent word to the German station leader in Koror, Palau, three years later to question those in exile.57 Only twelve had anything to say but it was all based on rumour. A number of Nanpei's old supporters from Puaipuai were exiled. The brothers Lini, Kasini, and Jeremiah, of the Soun Kawad, had gone to Sokehs to support their clansmen. If Nanpei had supplied guns and so forth, he could have given them through these men. Ponapeans who knew him say that none ever would have betrayed Nanpei, not out of affection or obligation but in accordance with what it was to be a man.

In the aftermath of the rebellion, a stunned Ponape faced a new governor, who had arrived to put down the uprising. In the face of German naval artillery, marines, and New Guinea soldiers, the Sokehs warriors had been forced from Sokehs and Nan Kiop (in the interior). Most shocking had been the execution of the fifteen men. Hundreds of Ponapeans had witnessed as Soumadau tried to tell the
young people not to follow the example of Sokehs; the New Guinea soldiers opened fire before he finished.

A Ponape thus subdued was more malleable than ever before, and Kersting wasted no time in carrying out the land reform and tying it to a system of indirect rule. The land reform was a major task for it involved deeding and registering all private property. According to Etwet, secretary of Madolenihmw then, Kersting wanted to distribute land in 50-metre-wide plots. All such plots would extend from the shore into the mountains; each farmer would cultivate near the shore and move upward as needed. This suggestion met strong opposition from Nanpei and his followers who claimed that Ponapeans were not used to such techniques of dividing land; specific landmarks such as rocks, trees, rivers were more effective. When Kersting protested that this would make land harder to map, they assumed the responsibility themselves. Here again, Nanpei was not directly involved in the land division, but his influence was strong because in Uh, Madolenihmw and Kiti the Protestants held power and held the powerful positions such as secretary of the kingdom. In addition, he held the Nanpei title in all three kingdoms and had land in each.

When deeds were finally distributed in 1912, all Nanpei's land worries were over. He received twelve deeds in Kiti alone. He owned all of Ant, one large mangrove area, all of the sections of Rohn Kiti, Paliapailong, more land in Puaipuai, Pok, Kapine, Nanpalap, Pantopur, and a farmstead called Peikap on Mutok. In one instance, Paliapailong, Nanpei's claim had been disputed before the war by Dihson and Roland Benjamin. When the Germans sought all those who had assisted the rebellion, someone denounced Dihson and Roland for giving food and shelter to the fugitives. As a result, they were among those exiled and had no chance to pursue their claim.

The land reform substantially altered Nanmwarki power. Though chiefly titles and traditional feasts remained, their absolute power over the land vanished. The deeds stipulated that the holders were free of all tributary obligations but one, provision of one yam, one animal, and one sakau at one respect-feast each year. Participation in all other feasts was now voluntary. The Nanmwarki did have power to authorise homesteading on luen wehi, public domain, but this required the approval of the governor and permission would be granted only when an individual could prove that he had planted all of his original land.

Whatever power the Nanmwarki held, he held only at the pleasure of the German governor who retained final authority. Nanmwarki were now chief magistrates with extensive authority—but under the
governor. Matrilineal clan succession remained the rule for chiefly titles but land now succeeded patrilinearly from father to eldest son. Nanpei’s son Oliver would not worry about his land. More important was the fact that it no longer mattered who was Nanmwarki, for the deeds attested to true ownership.

The land issue settled, Nanpei had the opportunity to relax and turn to his family. Oliver helped to manage the store and the copra plantations. Thomas became a member of a secret organisation which called itself the ‘Typhoon Society’. Its members were young men and women who engaged in such fun and games as eating raw lizards and scarification which had been a common practice of adolescence and early adulthood but was outlawed by the Germans. The Typhoon Society and two other such groups also engaged in promiscuous sexual activity. As a result all the men involved were exiled to Palau.

Nanpei’s daughters were now grown and Sehny became a teacher at Oa, like both of her parents decades earlier. In 1912, Nanpei took the two youngest sons, Robert and Enter, to Germany. There he placed them in the mission school at Bad Liebenzell, home of the Liebenzeller Mission, and returned to Ponape where he continued his extensive copra plantations. He had many Mortlockese workers to whom he had given shelter after a series of typhoons devastated their islands in 1907. They lived on his lands where he permitted them to plant and harvest their own food. He received half of the copra or any other cash crop which they could harvest; their only other obligation was to prepare one feast a year. This paralleled the new system of respect-feasts which the new land reforms had established in 1912. Nanpei, who proved a generous landlord, also hired young Ponapeans to plant coconut trees on his lands, but this became increasingly difficult after 1912 when, because the Germans required all landowners to plant ten coconut trees per month, many Ponapeans returned to their own families to assist in this task. The Germans had rigid specifications which the Ponapeans had to follow and most recall that the work was particularly difficult.

When World War I began in 1914, the Japanese quickly occupied the Marianas, Carolines, and Marshall Islands and expelled the Germans. As he had done with the Germans, Nanpei co-operated with the Japanese. This was certainly facilitated by the fact that the Japanese respected the deeds which the Germans had issued. Nanpei had merely to sell copra to Nanyo Boeki Kaisha, the Japanese company which replaced the Jaluit Gesellschaft as the principal copra marketer. When copra prices rose after 1919, Nanpei added to his already sizable wealth. He regularly sold pigs and cattle to a
growing Japanese resident population on the island. And he even managed to increase his land-holdings under the Japanese. One widely known technique he used was to allow Ponapeans to accumulate large debts in his store and then to demand repayment. If they could not provide the cash, Nanpei settled for their land instead. When Nanmwarki Paul travelled to Japan for medical treatment in the 1920s, Nanpei paid his expenses; in return Nanpei received the deed to the entire section of Sapwtakai—as a present, some say, while others said it was payment.

When Nanpei himself died in 1927, Oliver asked representatives of Nanyo Boeki Kaisha to help him erect a monument at Rohn Kiti. This they did, and three thousand Ponapeans came to honour the man who received the title Sou Puai as his final honorific in death. Though many Ponapeans now use the title Sou Puai in speaking of him, more refer to him as ohl takai (the stone man) or Nanpei takai in reference to the monument, which is a statue of Nanpei.

The term ohl takai has an ironic ring in reference to a man who was able to adapt to all situations. This is not to say that Nanpei was plastic. He could not be moulded by anyone but himself. He was immovable by the Spanish, and the Germans recognised his toughness. The Ponapeans see him as a strong person but they do not identify him as a hero as they do Nanku, his father, or Sou Kiti Sigismundo, his rival. Ponapean heroes were warriors; but Nanpei’s acts were those of the clever man and Ponapeans respect the former, suspect the latter.

Nanpei always left his options open. He employed all the resources at his disposal. Aside from his education, religious training, and other imported opportunities, Nanpei used his Ponapean circumstances to their fullest. Though his own clan status was low, his father’s position as Naniken gave him reflected prestige from the time he was born. In Kiti this permitted him to obtain a high title at a relatively young age, and he used this status effectively for admission into the highest councils of the kingdom. He was very close to Nanmwarki Paul of Kiti during the German Administration. This proved valuable in the Sou Kiti dispute as his adversary sought to press traditional claims to Ant. Ironically it was Nanpei, the man seeking to change the system, who had Nanmwarki support; while Sou Kiti had to turn to the German governor to resolve his claim.

The dispute with Sou Kiti illustrates best of all Nanpei’s use of the Ponapean system. In theory, Sou Kiti had every advantage — membership of the Nanmwarki’s clan, a warrior reputation, and two very important titles. Yet Nanpei could mobilise
Henry Nanpei

support because he understood that personal antagonism existed between Sou Kiti and the Nanmwarki. Sou Kiti's bravery made Nanmwarki Paul uneasy; it must have been embarrassing to deal with a man who could unilaterally decide to return a title to Kiti. Sou Kiti made history with that move and effectively overshadowed the other high chiefs. Nanpei recognised the distance between the Nanmwarki and Sou Kiti and exploited it to his own advantage.

What made Nanpei so successful was his ability to recognise the changes which his own society was undergoing and to use his own initiative to turn them in his own direction. The traditional system was weakening but was not yet dead; he had to move cautiously and was always wise enough to stay out of firing range. He did not fight the Spanish directly but did so by supplying guns to the Protestants. At the same time he presented a co-operative face and even assisted the Spanish when they required mediation or food—assistance which was not entirely the result of Christian charity.

So too under the Germans, Nanpei manoeuvred himself into a favourable position by first co-operating with the Germans and then operating behind the scenes in order to settle his land claims. Even after the dispute with Sou Kiti and the rebellion in Sokehs, Nanpei used his influence. His brother-in-law David (Soulik en Mwudok) was a member of the land commission in Kiti. In each municipality, a three man land commission, composed of high ranking royal and noble chiefs, oversaw the work of a group of seven who placed boundary markers along boundary lines. With his close relative on the commission, Nanpei would not have had to attend a single meeting for his influence to be felt.

There is no evidence that Nanpei had a unified plan to achieve his aims in regard to maintaining the Protestant faith, securing his claims to his father's lands, or overturning Nanmwarki authority. It is more likely that in every critical situation he kept the pot boiling until his position was assured. He always seemed to be on both sides but no one could ever really place him. Ponapeans found him as unpredictable as did whites. That he could keep everyone off balance was an important element of his success for it became almost impossible to stop him.

Nanpei's ability to maintain his composure, to hide his motives, to keep his options open, are all truly Ponapean traits. Ponapeans reveal as little of themselves as possible; maintaining their bearing as a sign of individual strength, they do not present their opinions openly. The Ponapean view of Nanpei is generally reserved to statements recognising his intelligence or his facility with Western ways. Many resent his acquisition of land and wealth but recognise
that he used his abilities well. Few have ever ascribed his success to luck.

A man, then, of extraordinary energy. He could communicate with missionaries, whalers, colonial administrators, and all other types of foreigners. Most important, he understood his own island and used the language, the customs, and the political system to his personal advantage. Other Ponapeans of his time had access to missionary education, others were highly born, others had access to land—the list is infinite. None matched him. Nanpei was not heroic but he succeeded on his own terms better than all the rest.
THE LAST OPPORTUNITY

Robert Louis Stevenson and Samoa, 1889–1894

Kenneth Mackenzie

It is cherished in the South Pacific that the novelist Robert Lewis Balfour Stevenson — so baptised, but 'Louis' to himself and 'RLS' to his devotees — spent the last five years of his life at Vailima, an estate he purchased on the slopes of Mount Vaea, behind Apia, in Samoa. His simply being in Apia during the troubled years of Samoan history 1889–94 served to publicise the plight of the Samoans in their relations with Germany, Britain, America, to each of whom far-reaching treaty-rights had been accorded by weak Samoan Governments. And his activities enabled the British public to become more than usually informed about the pitfalls of end-of-the-century European imperialism.

Stevenson's domicile in Samoa has sometimes been popularised as a grievous exile suffered stoically in order to achieve relief from tuberculosis. In reality, RLS revelled in the South Pacific; as he put it to his friend and fellow-novelist Henry James, 'I simply prefer Samoa . . . the sea, the islands, the islanders, the island life and climate, make and keep me truly happier.' He became a trenchant, observant chronicler and critic of the whole spectrum of island society, no mere strident anti-imperialist as a recent writer would have him. His approach to the problems of populations confronted with alien encroachment was a clear and level-headed attempt to obtain for the Islanders as much autonomy as he thought possible within the framework of what he recognised as the irresistible juggernaut of Western civilisation.

RLS arrived in the South Pacific in search of a cause. He had matured in the heyday of British imperialism, and each successive
act of imperialism bred in him an imperial consciousness. He gloriied in the accomplishment of British arms in India, and he was disgusted by what he considered to have been Gladstone's callous abandonment of General Gordon. Only in the instance of Colley and his troops on Majuba Hill did he join the minority of Britons and deplore the jingoistic frame of mind that defeat appeared to engender in the British public. In microcosm, then, Stevenson typified contemporary Englishmen confronted with increasingly-rampant imperialism. Yet in RLS the net result was a hardening resolve, by 1889, never again to be a silent onlooker at its apparently inexorable march.

After many false starts in search of a healthy climate, the Stevenson entourage of the novelist with his extended family found itself in mid-1888 in the yacht Casco heading south from San Francisco into the Pacific. The first landfall was made on Nukua'hiva, perhaps by no coincidence the site of Melville's Typee. The initial encounter was not made without trepidation, but experience soon dispelled any lingering apprehension that Nuku'ahivans still ate men. He soon came to feel that Pacific Islanders were no different from people the world over. The theme of all his pronouncements from the South Seas came to be this 'universality of humanity'. In travel letters commissioned by the publisher S.S. McClure, RLS exhorted his fireside travellers to assess carefully all the facets of their own cultural heritage before decrying the foibles and idiosyncrasies of the Islanders.

The South Pacific islands of Stevenson's time were islands of deep mystery as well as strong allure. As he wrote, 'the seven sleepers of Polynesia stand, still but half aroused, in the midst of the century of competition'. It became obvious that he had determined to make it his business to see that they should be awakened as gently as possible. He treated in turn each of the well-worn topics connected with Polynesia—cannibalism and taboos, missionaries, beachcombers. Yet these letters now form an 'invaluable source for historians studying what were, and indeed are still, some of the least-known archipelagoes of Oceania—the Marquesas, Tuamotus, and Gilberts'.

So it was that when the weary travellers passed Diamond Head inward bound in January 1889, they had seven months of substantial experience in island cultures behind them. In Hawaii RLS had an easy entrée (through his step-daughter's husband Jo Strong) to the court of the 'Merry Monarch' Kalakaua, and spent many convivial hours with him. Stevenson was disturbed by what he saw in Hawaii. Having come here the 'wrong way about', from the relatively untouched islands to the south, he was distressed by the comparison.
The scene he witnessed in Hawaii indicated the effects of unbridled Western influence on Polynesian society — and it was not a pleasant one. However, he refrained at that time from denouncing it in other than general terms.

One particular result he did deal with more explicitly in his letters, and that was the effect cultural interaction was having on the population of Polynesia. He showed how current depopulation went against history in the islands, which of old had generally suffered from over-population. In some instances, he wrote, the race was now 'perishing like flies'. Only in Samoa was there a fairly stable population, and this exception he linked with what he saw as the problem—the denial of entertainment by missionaries in a land where the living was so easy that other pastimes were essential. Samoans had so far avoided the general fate, he thought, because they were 'the gayest and best entertained inhabitants of our planet'. He pondered so much on this topic that he wrote to the Reverend S.E. Bishop, the author of a pamphlet entitled 'Why Are the Hawaiians Dying Out?', chiding him for having failed to discuss the basic problem, this unthinking meddling by Europeans. He did not, however, venture to recommend how to halt the process.

Stevenson left Hawaii aboard the trading schooner Equator. In this vessel the family spent almost six months, split between two stays of about six weeks each on the islands of Butaritari and Abemama, in the Gilberts. In the latter RLS met Tembinoka, 'the last tyrant, the last erect vestige of a dead society', and was immensely impressed. So it was that when the Equator landed her passengers at Apia in late December 1889 RLS had a year and a half's concentrated experience with and amongst Islanders. He was also vividly aware of the plight Samoans might suffer if they remained pawns in European affairs. Long before setting foot in Samoa, he had rushed into print with a splenetic attack on reported German depredations during their attempt to set up as King their own puppet Tupua Tamasese Titimaea in 1887. When the Equator's uncertain schedule deposited him at Apia he started feverishly to gather information, seeking out participants for their stories.

In the course of this it suddenly dawned on RLS that he had been physically active without an attack of the dreaded haemorrhages. The family promptly decided to make Samoa a base from which to conduct forays and retreat to when Stevenson's health required. Shortly afterwards, however, while he was in Australia on a side-trip, Stevenson's health failed and he became convinced that he must settle permanently in Samoa. Vailima became his fulltime residence, though he did not return there until the end of October 1890, to give
his new friend and mentor the American trader H.J. Moors time to erect a suitable shelter for him.

The months following their return found Stevenson and family 'pioneering' in the truest sense of the word — and RLS revelling in the physical activity. Even then, though, he maintained his literary output. By 1890 he earned enough from his books to live — but that required diligent adherence to his trade; regardless of the rest of his activities, he had always to ensure that his income from his books was sufficient to maintain his extended adopted family. This was in fact doubly important in Samoa which even then was an expensive place to live — and when he had money in pocket or prospect RLS was notoriously extravagant. Never in Stevenson's letters can one escape this over-riding concern for the financial success of his literary endeavours; occasionally it became drudgery and drove him to wish 'literature were but a pastime'.

By November 1890 the family was sufficiently settled for RLS to take a greater awareness of the society in which he had established himself. He observed extravagantly the courtesy of calling on everyone of note—notwithstanding an outstanding snub from the then British Consul, de Coetlogon, who did not much want to know him. Stevenson's first impressions of Samoa and the Samoans were not overly good, and he did not think the Samoans in any way superior to other Polynesians, except perhaps for their ability to survive European influence. He thought:

Samoa, Apia at least, is far less beautiful than the Marquesas or Tahiti: a more gentle scene, gentler acclivities, a tamer face of nature . . . the island has beautiful rivers, of about the bigness of our waters of the Lothians, . . . I am not especially attracted to the people; but they are courteous; pretty chaste, but thieves and beggers to the weariness of those involved; the women very attractive, and dress lovely, and the men purpose-like, well set-up, tall, lean and dignified.

He was not much taken with 'Beach' society either. Apia had by his arrival passed through the vicious stage that had earned it the sobriquet 'Hell of the Pacific' and RLS did not think Apia 'much worse than half a hundred towns that I could name'. Never a democrat, however, throughout his time in Samoa he remained aloof from Beach society unless intrigued by a specific character or event. This was of course reciprocated by the ordinary whites in Apia. RLS deliberately refused to canvass them later when his campaign on behalf of Samoa started in earnest, and his letters have several paragraphs disdainful of 'democracy' as he witnessed it there. Ordinary beachcombers and Samoan commoners were simply outside his interest. With 'ordinary' Samoans there was an additional
barrier, as they spoke a different dialect from the chiefs with whom RLS more usually conversed. It took him all his attention to understand this ‘chiefly tongue’ spoken slowly. He never mastered the every-day language of the islands. He became fairly proficient at writing Samoan, and several of his letters and jottings in it are available.

Once established at Vailima, RLS operated his estate very much in the manner of a Scottish laird—and thus very close to the way in which a Samoan village was run. This, and the fact that the advantages of being in his service were considerable, meant that he was able to employ Samoans successfully to an unusual degree. One of his proudest boasts was that he alone of all foreign overseers in Samoa was able to obtain hard work and loyalty from his Samoans. He credited this neither ‘to high wages nor to indulgent treatment’, but to the discipline and ‘scrupulous justice’ with which he handled them. ‘To ensure permanent service in Samoa’, he explained, ‘I have tried to play the native chief with necessary European variations’. Rules were set and miscreants were haled with suitable ritual before Stevenson, to be punished by fines, with the threat of dismissal in the background for worse crimes.16

The most visible indication of the success of his paternalistic approach came with the spontaneous formation of a delegation by his household staff to attend the missionary ‘May Meetings’, and its acceptance as a unit by the other Samoans there. This was a signal honour that signified that the family possessed a distinct status within the Samoan hierarchy.17

Even in Apia, where the white population was only about 300, there was a stratification of society, with a visible upper crust. This had been given substance by the presence in Apia of a miniature diplomatic community, the result mostly of one of the terms of the Final Act of the Berlin Conference of 1889. This Act, by which the three Powers attempted to ensure the affairs of Samoa remained on a stable footing while they decided the island’s future, had foisted on the Samoans two so-called ‘Treaty Officials’—a Chief Justice for the Supreme Court and a President for the Municipality of Apia—and three Land Commissioners. This was in addition to the staffs of the American, British, and German Consulates. The result was that all the trappings of European society existed—balls, horse races, charity concerts, paper chases. Into this whirl RLS and his family fitted with gusto and enthusiasm, organising many events themselves. As always the occasional visit of a British warship enlivened the place, too; lionised by the wardrooms of these ships, RLS became enamoured of the sailor.
The people Stevenson met ran the gamut of contemporary civilisation in the South Pacific. Blackbirders, missionaries and naval officers, supercargoes and beachcombers, consuls and proconsuls and kings, all at one time or another came within his ken. He met many on his inter-island jaunts around the South Pacific and to the British colonies on its littoral. Not only that, but Vailima became an attraction to all who ventured to the South Pacific. So he came to meet the New Zealand politician Robert Stout and the venerable one-time governor Sir George Grey, the Reverends James Chalmers and George Brown, and Shirley Baker fresh from his deportation from Tonga. With all of these people RLS eagerly discussed Polynesian civilisations and argued his solutions to Samoa’s problem. Then again he met Jack Buckland, Ben Hird, and James Henderson —respectively beachcomber, supercargo, and businessman, the three stages of commerce in the South Pacific. They are almost unique amongst his South Seas acquaintances by being used as examples in some of his writing. He never used his more intimate acquaintance Moors; one of the most fascinating men RLS met in the South Pacific, Moors was ‘respectable’ when they met, but in the past he had been a blackbirder and, euphemistically, a shrewd trader.

Really there was only one section of his accustomed society denied him in Samoa—he had no literary peers with whom to hobnob. Nevertheless even there he found a measure of success. His example brought out the literary in a number of unexpected sources—the lawyer William Cooper and H.J. Moors himself, for example—and he had the companionship of the black-sheep brother of the novelist H. Rider Haggard—Bazett Haggard. He was the hard-drinking, hard-working British member on the Samoan Land Commission, and became the closest thing to a crony RLS found in the island. With Bazett RLS became involved in several escapades, one of which at least almost had serious repercussions when he and Haggard took Lady Jersey, wife of the Governor of New South Wales, to visit the rebel camp of Mata‘afa Iosefo, pretender to the throne of Malietoa Laupepa who was King of Samoa under the Berlin Act. A diplomatic squabble was only narrowly averted. Lady Jersey compounded the affair by writing two articles for *Nineteenth Century* about her visit.¹⁸

There was also a new element in Stevenson’s sphere of activities in Samoa—the religious. Having received an over-dose of Christianity as a child, RLS had shunned religion. In Apia the missionary presence was so pervasive he could not ignore it. In keeping with the times, he approached the topic lightly and with little regard for the
missionaries. His initial letters from the South Pacific—particularly those for publication—generally reflected the anti-missionary tenor of much of contemporary ideas. When faced with the realities as they were in Samoa RLS soon changed his tune. He recognised that the missionaries offered him his best opportunity of obtaining the mass of anthropological data he needed. He cultivated their confidence, and discovered the men behind the façade. He came increasingly to rely on them for his closest friendships. This eventually reached the point where he described the Reverend W.E. Clarke, a member of the Samoan District Committee of the London Missionary Society, as the person he preferred 'to any one in Samoa, and to most people, in the world'.

This is not to say that he concealed or rationalised examples of missionary failure. There is the Damien Letter, in which he castigated an Hawaiian missionary for having published an attack on the leper-missionary Father Damien. There is also the even more significant example of his adamant opposition to an LMS missionary, A.E. Claxton, whom he charged with meddling inordinately in Samoan political affairs. When Claxton was exposed as a participant in a sordid attempt at treachery against Mata'afa, RLS succeeded in having the offending man withdrawn from Samoa.

RLS was doubly fortunate in his missionary acquaintance in being able to meet both breeds of missionary—the earlier proselytiser, and the plodding, dedicated men and women who later replaced them as the South Pacific became ‘Christianised’. The proselytisers were the pressgang of Christianity; they descended on a heathen island, spread the gospel, and then promptly departed for greener—that is, more heathen—pastures after achieving token conversions. These were men such as John Williams, Bishop Patteson, and James Chalmers—men who in these cases achieved the martyrdom they appeared so earnestly to court. The real reformers, however, were those who consolidated the whirlwind conversions of the flamboyant pioneers through sheer and unremitting effort. They were the ones whose efforts were most open to abuse, misrepresentation and ridicule.

Stevenson’s main contact with the pioneers was through the Reverends George Brown, James Chalmers, and S.J. Whitmee. He actively sought out these men to determine their opinions of his solutions to Samoa’s woes, and was in turn entranced by their stories of their exploits. Of Chalmers in particular he wrote that he was ‘a man I admire for his virtues, love for his faults, and envy for the really A1 life he has’. But although he cherished the effect Chalmers’s ‘affectionate rowdyism’ had on the ‘missionary doves in our Samoan
dovecote', it was after all Clarke, one of the 'doves', for whom RLS reserved his most unqualified praise. It was Clarke who acted as the example of what RLS felt a prospective missionary should aim for that he propounded in a letter to a friend. She was thinking of becoming a missionary, and he warned her that she would 'never see the chips fly in mission work, never . . . the work is one long, dull disappointment, varied by acute revulsions; and those who are by nature courageous and cheerful . . . learn to rub their hands over infinitesimal successes'.

While there was nothing particularly unusual in his exhortations concerning the proper role of the missionary—after all, their alleged failure to follow such principles provoked the majority of the criticism levelled at them—their significance lies in the fact they were spoken by one who had come to favour generally the activities of the missionaries he encountered. In other words, RLS believed they adhered successfully to them, and so to him to be a missionary was 'a useful and honourable career in which no one should be ashamed to embark'. But although he expected the missionaries always to set a good personal example to their charges, he drew the line firmly at their becoming active politically. In that direction he thought they faced too many pitfalls, too many distractions from their calling, and he consistently urged them to maintain strict neutrality in the broils of Samoan politics. For this reason he never resented the fact they never openly supported him in his campaigns. It was sufficient to him that men like Clarke and Whitmee and Brown agreed with him in principle and left the politicking to him. He was critical of the Roman Catholic missionaries (with whom he maintained friendly relations) for their overt espousal of Mata'afa, a Roman Catholic.

It became a widespread practice in Apia to appeal to Stevenson's generosity when all else failed. When one particularly destitute European in a rare moment of sobriety, asked to be shipped back to New Zealand, it was to RLS that the authorities turned for the man's steamer fare. RLS also befriended the two outcaste groups—part-Europeans and non-Samoan labourers. He and his wife Fanny initiated a social and literary club for half-castes only, to try to achieve their acceptance by the local, antagonistic, white society. He stocked a lending library in Apia as part of his efforts to provide acceptable entertainment for those without an entrée into the more exclusive circles in the community. He supported the Apia Foreign Church—the poor relation of the Protestant churches in Samoa—with his presence, money, and efforts. When the authorities baulked at improving conditions in the municipal gaol,
RLS coerced them into doing so by uttering 'unutterable things' and threatening to write to *The Times*.  

For the non-Samoan Islanders—mainly indentured labourers from Melanesia who toiled on the German plantations—RLS always had a friendly greeting and helping hand. When a tactical decision taken in connection with his political campaign prevented him from speaking out against the labour trade, he assisted them whenever their paths crossed. As a result his house became known as a refuge for those few who escaped the tyranny of the plantations, and his letters often recounted the harried stories of these creatures as they stumbled into it en route for some sort of freedom elsewhere.

These are perhaps minor items when taken by themselves, and when assessed individually. But when taken in sum they show Stevenson the man, with his real concern to better the lot of his fellow man and his determination to become more than an onlooker in the society of which he had become a member. They pale into insignificance, though, when put alongside his political activities.

Stevenson was first jolted into an active part in politics by Baron Senfft von Pilsach, President of the Apia Municipal Council. When von Pilsach threatened to blow up a gaol-full of Samoan prisoners, Stevenson rebelled. He waged a campaign to ensure the Samoans understood that the atrocity proposed by von Pilsach was an aberration that did not have the support of the white community, to alert von Pilsach to the fact that he would not be able to use that tactic in the future, and to indicate to the Treaty Officials that he was now determined to assert himself actively in Samoan affairs. The world was also alerted to his intentions, for he wrote a lengthy letter to *The Times* on the episode and it was copied by much of the English-speaking press around the world. His charges were so preposterous—albeit true—that very few took them seriously. However, the British Foreign Office did, clipped this letter for its files, and used it and some of his subsequent letters as the basis for pointed questions to the British Consul in Samoa, who was forced to admit that Stevenson's facts, no matter how bizarre, were accurate and unanswerable.

RLS thoroughly enjoyed his campaign, even while expressing reservations about the political methods he had felt obliged to use. At the conclusion of this episode, he jauntily led an impudent delegation to congratulate King Malietoa Laupepa—prematurely, it turned out—on von Pilsach's resignation and departure from Samoa. Already the elements that were to characterise Stevenson's campaign were showing intense activity in spurts, with a marked reluctance to
resort to demagoguery, and a natural inclination to resort to the element he understood best, the printed word, for putting across his points.

By late 1891, just as RLS had finished with his first excursion into active politics, it became obvious that the Berlin Final Act—or, more precisely, the two Treaty Officials sent to Samoa under its provisions—was insufficient for the problems at hand. One of the terms of the Act was that it could be reviewed any time after mid-1892, and so in November 1891 RLS decided to rush to completion his projected chapter on Samoa for his grand anthropological text. He gave up any idea of it being an academic or literary work; it was to be 'journalism' for a political purpose, to influence the deliberations of the three Powers through a knowledge of the true facts, so far as these could be gleaned from both documents and participants, as the diplomats attempted to make the Act workable.31 Thus A Footnote to History came about—probably one of Stevenson's least popular books and certainly the one least well received by the critics, who refused to treat it for what it was. RLS was so keen for it to be published that he offered to do it at his own expense if the publishers baulked at the financial risk.32 Everyone in Europe involved with the book was repeatedly warned of the need for haste in producing it. As it turned out, RLS missed his deadline for the book, which was first reviewed in late July 1892. But that was of little account, for he had been naive in imagining that the three Powers would be interested in bettering the Act for the benefit of the Samoans. Although half-hearted suggestions were made to review it matters in Samoa were left to muddle along.

RLS distributed his book as widely as possible to those who he considered would be influential in their countries. He sent it to any person recorded as having spoken out in the US Senate or the House of Commons on Samoan problems. Those of the participants to whom he sent copies and who took the trouble of writing to him about the book congratulated him on its accuracy. It has also been cited as an authority on the period of Samoan history it covered,33 so it can be considered a fair and reasoned approach to the events it dealt with—the attempt by Germany to seize Samoa in defence of Germany's investment in plantations.

The book had one immediate effect; his efforts in collecting information for it brought him to the attention of a group of citizens in Apia who, like himself, were working to affect the deliberations of the three Powers in amending the Final Act. They could not agree amongst themselves, and so asked RLS to act as chairman at their final meeting. This RLS did, and he successfully reconciled two
opposing factions, enabling the Municipal Council to despatch to the three Powers their proposals as to how the Act could be made workable. Their recommendations did not of course change the basic philosophy behind the Act, which had legalised the extraterritoriality of Apia, but they were realistic and suggested a viable set of amendments.

But as before the Powers were in no mood to act, and so the significance of this episode was its hidden aspect—the fact that RLS had been able to win the confidence of established white residents of Apia. The Chief Justice later accused this group of an 'old settler' syndrome, obstructive to every change he recommended for Samoa, but Stevenson's success showed that perhaps Cedercrantz had not used the correct approach. To RLS his success in mediating helped to show him that he had a flair for such activities, and that if he did become more active he might have some success in achieving his goals.

As King Malietoa Laupepa's Government weakened, RLS felt increasingly justified in intervening. Learning that the leading Samoan 'king-maker', Lauaki Namulau'ulu Mamoe, was trying to form a joint government between Laupepa and Mata'afa, RLS decided to try to influence the Samoan as well as the alien sectors of island society: 'white man here, white man there', he wrote after seeking advice from Whitmee, 'Samoa is to stand to fall on the Samoan question alone'. He was certain that if the Samoans could present a united front to the Europeans they would achieve a great deal of autonomy, and he was convinced that if Mata'afa and Laupepa could settle their differences Samoa would remain virtually intact. Their continued rivalry, on the other hand, guaranteed 'either war or paralysis'.

There is considerable evidence that he very nearly succeeded in effecting this reunion in the first weeks of his efforts. The ideas he espoused had merit, and as RLS had noted they paralleled some Samoan ideas also. Thus when Malietoa Laupepa paid one of his calls to Vailima RLS seized the opportunity to set up another meeting with him to discuss his plan. Shortly thereafter an emissary from Mata'afa invited RLS to call on that chief, by then in self-imposed exile at Malie. RLS seized the chance to mediate. But when he went to the rendezvous to see the King, Laupepa failed to keep the appointment, much to RLS's disappointment and disgust.

He nevertheless met Mata'afa on three separate occasions, but as he brought no commitments from Laupepa, Mata'afa declined to take the initiative in any reconciliation. The Mata'afa faction treated RLS with deference, praised him for risking deportation to serve
their master, but would go no further. RLS was naturally discouraged by this setback, and the insight it gave him of the influence being exerted on the Samoan Government by the European officials. He realised that if he was to have a voice in Samoan affairs he too needed some sort of official position. The only one that could possibly be available to him was that of British Consul, and so he asked his friends in London like Sydney Colvin to see what they could do.

A British newspaper had indeed already rumoured that RLS was to become the new British Consul there and Colvin was on friendly terms with Sir Philip Currie, Permanent Under Secretary of State at the Foreign Office, so the time was propitious. Colvin wrote to ask Currie whether there was any truth in the rumour, and hastened to assure him that RLS ‘was quite ready and anxious to accept it if it was offered to him’. Currie replied diplomatically enough to make Colvin optimistic, but although the rumour was reiterated in various forms over the next two years the appointment was never really seriously considered by the British Government. Colvin downplayed this idea of Stevenson’s for the consulship on the only occasion he let it appear in The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson which he edited; but he was not being true to RLS in so doing because whenever the rumour reached RLS later he reacted eagerly to it.

The next few months were filled with tension. Rumours flew that RLS was to be deported by the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, Sir John Thurston. In one of the lighter-hearted episodes of the time, the local post office was agog one mail day to see a large OHMS envelope from the British Foreign Office awaiting RLS. One can just imagine the silence and anticipation as he opened it—and the shout of laughter when one of his own novels fell out. The Secretary of State, Lord Rosebery, an ardent autograph hunter, had sent it for Stevenson to inscribe, little realising the effect his use of official stationery would create.

By this time it had become obvious to RLS that the immediate obstacle to stability and progress in Samoa was the government of the Treaty Officials. So he campaigned vigorously to have them replaced. His letter campaign to The Times, by then in full swing, discredited them in the eyes of the public, and helped convince the officials of the three Powers of their unsuitability. Moreover, the two men themselves were disillusioned with the monumental task facing them, for which they had received no preparation, and did not hesitate to let their desire to be replaced be known.

As always, however, the three Powers moved too slowly, so RLS determined to expedite their removal. When his numerous letters to
The Times were not immediately productive. RLS turned to sterner measures. He withheld his own taxes from the foreign-dominated government, and asked his consul to establish a fund where such money could be held in trust until responsible officers could be appointed to administer the municipal revenue. He also counselled the Samoans of Lufi-lufi, an important political centre, to do likewise. This they promptly did—and brought about the best opportunity for Stevenson's legal deportation for preaching sedition against the Samoan Government. The messenger who carried Stevenson's suggestion to the village, a part-European named Yandell, was arrested and brought before the High Commissioner's Court in Apia. He was prevented from telling his story by a legal technicality but it was widely known RLS had been his instigator.

In reviewing the case Thurston, while agreeing with his Deputy Commissioner for letting Yandell off with a reprimand, felt the authority of the High Commissioner on British subjects in Samoa should be strengthened. At the end of December 1892 he issued his Sedition (Samoa) Regulation 1892. RLS, all Samoa, a good percentage of the external press, and some members of the British Government immediately jumped to the conclusion that the Regulation was aimed at the Scottish novelist for his involvement in Samoan affairs— which Thurston denied. The British Foreign Office ordered Thurston to amend his Regulation, but until word of that reached RLS he had to consider that his residence in Samoa was in jeopardy.

In the beginning of 1893 Stevenson's actions took a new turn when, as part of an increasing usurpation of authority by the three Consuls, it was rumoured that they had obtained approval from their governments for a three-pronged action in Samoa. This was to involve the quelling of Mata'afa's expected revolt, the disarming of the Samoans, and the collection of delinquent taxes, all by force if necessary. Afraid that any moves of this magnitude would cause a general uprising, RLS once more jumped into the fray. Realising that his campaign in British newspapers (by this time it totalled eight letters) had achieved only a superficial effect, he wrote direct to Rosebery to try to enlist his help in bringing sanity to the management of Samoan affairs. Stevenson struck the most sympathetic response to his efforts from officials in Whitehall, where several were sufficiently sensitive to his aims to comment on his actions in a complimentary fashion. There is evidence his possible reactions were considered when British policy in Samoa was being discussed. His letters and deeds in Samoa were heeded by the Foreign Office to a far greater extent than by the public at large.
Concurrent with his switch to a more private campaign RLS expressed once again his distaste for politics. He lacked the 'killer instinct' of the true politician, and when the announcement was made of the replacement of Chief Justice Cedercrantz and von Pilsach he confessed to being 'not one penny happier' at the success of that facet of his campaign. Also, if the consuls' coercive policy was to be followed by the Powers, then 'this result of all my work over the book and the letters has cured me of politics'. For the next few months he tried quietly to convince the British Government that a forcible policy in Samoa would only bring unnecessary bloodshed.

For whatever reason, the three Powers declined in the last analysis to approve of any plan that would involve them in extra effort in Samoa. The Mata'afa party, aware of the consuls' plan—who could keep secrets in Samoa?—and seeing the continued inaction of the warships, became convinced that the Europeans, notwithstanding their Treaty obligations to sustain Laupepa, would be unwilling to fight to replace him on the throne should they succeed in unseating him. They redoubled their efforts to win popular support. War started to appear inevitable.

Just at this time, when RLS was beginning to have serious doubts as to the efficacy of his campaign, he was able to do something he had been attempting for several years—to meet Sir George Grey and discuss with him his Samoan involvement. Grey had the reputation of a great statesman. He was seen as a friend to Pacific Islanders, and he gave RLS the heart and the desire to carry on his own task regardless of its apparent futility. He later wrote to the novelist that he considered his 'going to Samoa ... a most fortunate thing for those islands'.

RLS returned to Samoa in April 1893 determined to do his best to bring about a lasting peace. His efforts were critically necessary, for events were at the brink of war. Mata'afa's supporters were becoming increasingly impatient with their chief's inactivity, and Mata'afa was gradually allowing himself to be convinced that the time for action was near, during the hurricane season while the warships were still absent. RLS therefore wrote to Maben, the European Secretary of State to the Laupepa Government, offering his house and his services as mediator for a last-ditch effort at effecting 'the union which is (for so many reasons) desirable', between Mata'afa and Laupepa. He begged Maben to lend his weight in convincing the government to approve his overtures. When the Samoan King, advised by his soon-to-depart Treaty Officials, declined his offer, RLS went cap in hand to Consul T.B. Cusack-Smith to convince him he should intercede. This too was refused, and three days later Laupepa informed the
consuls he was preparing to attack Mata'afa at Malie. Throughout June, Laupepa's agents canvassed for support in the coming war, and RLS remained inactive, realising he was now helpless, that the traditional Samoan polity had taken matters into its own hands. He expressed his feelings in a letter to Colvin, deploring the waiting whilst realising he must keep quiet if he were to 'be of use to these poor people' in the future, when and if affairs stabilised.

When the outbreak finally came it was mercifully brief. As chairman of the Apia Community Hall council, RLS obtained from the missionaries permission for the hall to be used as a field hospital. He divided his efforts between acting as a war correspondent and assisting the missionaries in tending the wounded. When Mata'afa's forces were routed and he fled to the island of Manono RLS asked to be allowed to travel in one of the warships escorting a fleet of Samoan canoes to capture him, intending to try for the last time to exert some influence on Mata'afa. When that was refused he requested a letter be carried to Mata'afa, in which he urged the rebel chief to surrender without bloodshed. This too was denied. All that RLS was allowed to do was to greet Mata'afa when he was returned as a captive to Apia. Mata'afa was then carried into exile in the German-held Marshall Islands, and a number of his chiefs were imprisoned in the local gaol. Stevenson's main public comments about the whole incident revolved around the way in which European procrastination had driven the situation to open warfare. Stevenson's campaign was now at a turning point. With Mata'afa's removal—the one man he thought possessed the ability and the stature to govern Samoa successfully—he might easily have forsaken the Samoan cause and concerned himself with personal pursuits. Certainly he would have done so had he, as had been suggested throughout his campaign, espoused Mata'afa simply because of his romantic resemblance to Bonnie Prince Charlie. He also could not have been blamed had he abandoned them out of sheer frustration, for he had learned the truth in Balfour's later conclusion that 'the Samoans will follow a white man's advice, if he advises what they are already inclined to do; or he may be able to restrain them'. All that he could have been accused of was being a dilettante.

For a while it appeared as though he might just throw in his hand. Concurrent with the crisis in Samoan affairs he had been facing one at home. His wife, Fanny, who had been his sheet anchor for over a dozen years, had been suffering a nervous collapse that had come to a head in July and August. This and his other efforts had completely
drained RLS of his energy, and so in September 1893, in the calm after the storm, he took a trip to Hawaii for recuperation.

When he arrived in Honolulu he was swamped with questions concerning Hawaiian and Samoan affairs. He declined to discuss those of Hawaii, ruefully admitting that his efforts in Samoa had not been crowned with success. But he was more than willing to discuss his involvement in Samoan affairs. He had intervened initially, he stated, because he thought the Samoan cause just, and once involved he found it impossible to extricate himself. Moreover, he warned, he intended 'to stay to the end, whatever that may be', in order to achieve the maximum amount of autonomy for the Islanders.66 Hawaiians, one person recorded him as saying, might be 'too far given over to the evils of civilization for salvation at any cost', but for Samoa there was still hope.57

Convinced as RLS was that the removal of Mata’afa would do nothing to stabilise Samoan affairs,58 he recommenced his efforts to act as elder statesman as soon as he was back in Samoa. He was on far better terms with the new Treaty Officials, and lost no time in offering them unsolicited recommendations.59 In late December 1893 and early January 1894 RLS was approached by one Tui, the tula fa le (spokesman) of a group of Samoan chiefs, to intercede with the Treaty Officials to obtain a hearing for them. This RLS was able to accomplish, further enhancing his position with the Samoans. The result was that war was postponed for a few months.60 A short skirmish in late March 1894, in which Laupepa's hold over the Samoans was only barely tested, merely served to point out to RLS the increasing futility of his endeavours. Nevertheless he pressed on, out of a forlorn conviction that somehow, in some way, his efforts might suddenly prove effective. He was 'at heart very conscious of the inevitable flat failure that awaits every meeting, every attempt to achieve peace'.61

He continued holding meetings with anyone of importance, and tried assiduously to increase the base of his local support, all too aware that only amongst a few sections of society was he regarded seriously. He tried to redeem himself with the Germans, for by this time it was obvious that the imperial balance being struck in Europe would result in German predominance in the islands. He sought to allay the jealousies of the British Consul, and reinforce his friendship with the Treaty Officials. By August 1894 he had obtained from President Schmidt of the Apia Municipality the release from gaol of all the Mata’afa chiefs still there, over the marked objections of the
British Consul. The chiefs, when free, were moved to a unique form of gratitude for Samoa by building, with their own labour, using their own material, and providing their own food, a road connecting Stevenson’s house with the road to Apia. He used the opening of the Road of Gratitude as an opportunity to lecture the Samoans on how to ‘occupy and use’ their land, and to deliver a ‘severe . . . sermon’ to them on the dangers they faced if they did not unite to resist the intruders.

The discussions he had held leading to the release of the chiefs, the acceptance of his stern lecture, and tenuous proof that in ‘some notable cases’ the Samoans had indeed taken his advice, convinced him that he should continue his struggle. As before with Whitmee, he chose an adviser — this time E.W. Gurr, a maneminently suitable for such a task, formerly Natives’ Advocate before the Land Commission and married to the daughter of the leading Samoan chief in Apia. From the scrap of their plan that has survived it was obvious that they thought nothing less than a completely fresh start would succeed in bringing peace to Samoa. A total amnesty, to be followed by ‘fresh elections . . . throughout the whole country’. All signs indicated that the Samoans would be receptive to any plan that might finally bring them peace.

But events continued ‘their usual gently disheartening gait’, with sporadic uprisings throughout the islands. Any suggestions for peace must surely have received increasing consideration. But it was to be without Robert Louis Stevenson: he finally succumbed to the effects of his lifelong illness and on 3 December 1894 he died of a brain haemorrhage, with his plan unfinished.

Stevenson sought to become of the Samoan people; it was they whom he had ‘chosen to be my people to live and die with’. He made this commitment without condescension, without affectation. He accepted Samoan life as it was, adopting those of its practices he chose to and accepting the right of the rest of the population to live by its own tenets; the failure in his time of the program he espoused in no way should be used to judge his campaign. The obstacles he faced, the realities of imperialism, were simply too great. Seventy years later, when Western Samoa became independent, the path it followed was startlingly similar to the plan of union he had espoused.

The present author has his own memories of a pilgrimage to Apia and Vailima and the tomb atop Mt Vaea. Apia is little changed outwardly from Stevenson's day, and photographs of the 1890s and the 1970s show many recognisable similarities. The cool, airy rooms
of his house, still in its original state except for the addition of a third wing, make it eminently suitable for its modern role, the official residence of the Samoan Head of State.

Certainly, his grave is unkempt and the track up to it is in poor repair. But no one can pause outside the beautifully kept grounds of Vailima, and read the eloquent memorial marking the commencement of the Road of Gratitude, and follow that immaculate driveway, without thinking that his memory will linger and perhaps grow. Samoans, by a fortuitous combination of their own characteristics and good luck, were able to escape the bitter confrontation that has plagued many colonies. It should be easier therefore for them to recognise Stevenson's efforts and to acknowledge them. No inquisitive Samoan school-child who reads one of the most recent books translated into Samoan — *Treasure Island* — will be long in discovering the true story of Robert Louis Stevenson and Samoa.
APOLOSI R. NAWAI
The Man from Ra

Tim Macnaught

NAREWA, Nadi was his birthplace; Apolosi R. Nawai he signed his name—the R pronounced Ra as in Yasayasa Ra, the western half of Viti Levu either side of the mythic landing place of the first Fijians at Vuda Point; but also as in na kai Ra, the man from Ra, having the connotation of 'the Terror' when he rhymed the phrase with the sound of his own name and defied the great chiefs of eastern Fiji, the colonial secretary and even the governor to put him down.

For I alone am the only chief of Fiji: it is the will of God. These other chiefs look only to their own interests; they don't spare a thought for you or for your welfare... really it is they who are the scum of the earth. You know who I am, Apolosi R Nawai na kai Ra. In times past I was not known while Bau and Rewa were renowned, but wait and you will see...!

Apolosi was not the first Fijian of lowly birth to challenge the colonial order and claim a divine redemptive mission. The story of Navosavakadua and the syncretist Tuka cult of eternal youth in the late nineteenth century is well known, even if not well described in the literature of Melanesian movements. There was a resurgence of Tuka in the interior of Viti Levu in 1914 and again in the mid-1930s. In Fiji the world of the old gods is never far beneath the surface in a nation of enthusiastic churchgoers. The man from Ra had a foot in

I gratefully acknowledge the help of Mr S.T. Tuinaceva and the staff of the National Archives of Fiji for access to files on which this portrait mainly depends. My friend Josefo Meke and many others helped me in the field. The editor of Nat Lalakai gave me the courtesy of his columns, and Adi Sereima Gaunavou, Apolosi's daughter, through the kind offices of Mr Bruce Burne sent me the little booklet cited below.
both worlds although he does not appear to have been initiated directly into the *Tuka* cult.

Apolosi was educated at the central Methodist training institute at Navuloa and Davuilevu where he acquired a mastery of the Bible and skill as a carpenter. He and a Bauan chief, Ratu J. Tabaiwalu, led a team which was based at Davuilevu and contracted to build those expensive wooden churches that competed with sailing cutters to drain the capital resources of Fijian villages. Oral traditions agree that they were building a church at Korovatu near Vunidawa, Colo East, about 1912, when Apolosi first announced his scheme for the Viti Company. Perhaps it was the procession of European-owned punts on the Wainimala river bringing down Fijian-grown bananas for the lucrative export trade out of Suva that led him to dwell on the backwardness of Fijians in the commercial economy. For some time he had been dreaming of a way his own countrymen, who called themselves *ta u kei*, owners, could directly enter the banana trade or other business venture and enjoy some of the profits that made possible the comforts of the Europeans. At 5 p.m. one evening in Mitieli's house at Lutu on the Wainibuka River, the man from Ra unfolded his scheme to the chiefs and people. Provided that they were *yalo qaqa*, strong-minded and determined, began the carpenter, already able to fire their imagination with his superb command of language, Fijians could unite and do without the European middlemen, take control of their own enterprises, learn the required skills and keep the profits in their own hands.  

But how was a man of no personal rank in Nadi, let alone in the proud chiefly confederations of eastern Fiji, to arrogate to himself a leadership role when traditionally, and equally in the colonial government's provincial administration, initiative came from the chiefs? How was he to gain support across Fiji for his proposal when even within the confines of one province it was not possible for an individual to canvass support for a project or an idea outside his own district, *tikina*? The chiefly representatives on the provincial council were not elected on a political platform but were sent as the natural representatives of their groups in relation to other groups. The *tikina* came together in council and looked upwards to the Roko to respond to initiatives that came from him or higher authority—to protect their own group interests and privileges, too, but not to articulate needs that went further than particular concrete problems such as water supplies, access to medical services, roads, or markets for produce.

When Apolosi said 'we Fijians' to people with whom he had no connection or status, he was speaking a new language. He also
needed a new basis of legitimacy, and he sought it in the Western model of a company of shareholders united solely on the basis of their capital contribution and the specific aims of the enterprise, and delegating the control of its operations to a managing director. Apolosi did not know or care much for the financial details of company organisation—it was the status, the titles, the impressive office, the company letterhead and especially the shareholders' meeting that were his first concern to achieve.

A true man of the people, he had an unerring psychological strategy for validating his scheme in their eyes. It was a propitious time for a Fiji Company. Many Fijians had heard of the Tongan Company (1909-12) and the rumoured prosperity of its members at the expense of European traders. Nor did the watchword of that company, *Tonga ma’a Tonga*, Tonga for the Tongans, lose in translation to Fijian commercial conditions. The collapse of the nineteenth century government marketing organisation for tax produce had bound Fijians hand and foot to European and Chinese traders. The Planters' Petition of 1908 seeking the nationalisation of unused Fijian lands and the knowledge that it had the support of the Supreme Chief Sir Everard im Thurn (1904-10), followed by the downgrading of the chiefs' role in the administration, had created 'an atmosphere of troubled suspicion . . . for the first time perhaps since cession', and Apolosi knew how to turn it to advantage.³

At the end of 1913 the government became aware that agents of the Viti Company were soliciting 'share' subscriptions from chiefs and people in nearly every part of the group. The promoters claimed government approval, despite an official warning in *Na Mata* that the company was 'hardly known to the Government'.⁴ Apolosi demanded that shareholders sell only to their company and be content with a lower price until its offices were properly established in Suva. The people of Lutu and most of their neighbours on the tributaries of the Rewa river gave their bananas without payment to Apolosi's agents; the Islanders of Nayau in Lau province gave him their copra, and one district in Ra province handed over its entire tax money. The company aroused great excitement in all parts of the group and was widely attributed to the inspiration of the Twin Gods Nacirikaumoli and Nakausabaria, a suggestion Apolosi did nothing to dispel. In January 1914 an old Fijian servant of the government in the interior roused himself from retirement to warn that the company's objects were said to be the return of the lands alienated to Europeans before Cession, the closure of all the European and Indian stores in Fiji, the abolition of government taxes and the
expulsion of all Europeans from Fiji—while there were 'other reports which it is not seemly to relate'.

Apolosi issued orders to the Bulis (government district chiefs) of eastern Viti Levu to assemble with their people at Draubuta village in the Rewa delta for the official inauguration ceremonies of the company on 29 April 1914. When the Secretary for Native Affairs, K.J. Allardyce, told the Bulis by circular letter that in no circumstances were they to take their orders from the Viti Company, Apolosi and his ex-Davuilevu colleague from Bau, Ratu J. Tabaiwalu, countered with a circular of their own, impressively typed, saying that Allardyce's letter was 'foolish indeed' as there was no law to prevent the collection of money or the formation of a company. Allardyce urged that Apolosi be exiled forthwith under the Confining Ordinance (111 of 1887) originally designed to remove Navosavakadua to Rotuma without trial, but Governor Sir Ernest Brickham Sweet-Escott, fatally ignorant of the interpretation Fijians would place on his caution, allowed the meeting to go ahead. He feared 'a false step'. Was not the government now anxious that 'the communal system with its paralysing influence on individual effort and ambition should be broken down'? Apolosi's Viti Company could herald a healthy new phase in the Fijians' transition from simple subsistence to a liberal economy. The protests of the threatened European banana interest had to be balanced against the government tradition of strong protection for the legitimate aspirations of the Fijians.

That, certainly, was not the view of the traditional leaders of the Fijians, the high chiefs. The Tui Nayau (Roko Tui Lau in his government capacity) was one of the first to try to discredit the company. Apolosi, he reported, had arrived in state at the island of Nayau with £70 worth of gifts to exchange for women. Then at a district church meeting (polotu) Apolosi boasted that he did not honour anyone in Fiji, whether white, red or black, nor any governor, Roko or magistrate. To dramatise the point he tore up summonses issued by the European magistrate at Lomaloma. Finally, warned the Roko, Apolosi advised the people not to pay their debts to the Europeans.

The other chiefs had their first opportunity to discuss the company at the Council of Chiefs in May 1914. They were assured by the Buli Nadi that Apolosi and his brother Kiniviliame were 'people of no position' and that they had both been driven out of Nadi. The Viti Company was the work of young upstarts, an affront to chiefly prerogatives. The council urged the government to prohibit the collection of money for an unregistered company and to prosecute
the promoters. A shrewd chief of Kadavu added that as long as Apolosi and his followers were allowed to make their boasts with impunity, the people would assume tacit government approval for the venture. As the chiefs were well aware, Apolosi had to give the company an aura of chiefly authority before the people would rally to its flag.

In a predicament created by its own mood of liberalism, the government replied that only the misuse of money was unlawful. Apolosi must be legally convicted of an offence before the Viti Company's activities could be constrained. As no one could be found who would testify in court to his squandering of money held in trust, the man from Ra had free rein to develop his organisation. To heighten the impression of a great chiefly enterprise he appointed a large number of company officials with authoritative-sounding titles. Almost every Buli in the District Administration was flanked by a 'manager' while the government village chiefs, the turaga ni koro, were in many places virtually replaced with company nominees bearing the same title. Similarly he appointed ovisa to correspond with the provincial constables, and threatened to fine or imprison the enemies of the company. It was as though there were two governments in Fiji, complained the Roko Tui Macuata.

Promoters of the company carried its messages and instructions from village to village, stirring up enthusiasm and collecting funds. Apolosi was later to claim, and it was doubtless the case, that he had little control over what they said and did in the name of the Viti Company. Nor was there much a handful of overworked magistrates could do to monitor their movements. A chief of Bau, for instance, Ratu Vakatotovo, promised the people of Buca Bay that they would receive 13 shillings a bunch for their bananas from the company—the market price was 1 shilling. He told them the beacons erected by government surveyors marked the places where soil samples had been taken to send to prospective settlers overseas. Unless Fijians organised themselves and supported the company, he warned, they would be driven off their lands and shot as had happened to the Australian taukei. The Roko Tui Nadroga reported similar propaganda in his own province. How seriously the people viewed these rumours is difficult to determine. But the anxiety of Fijian landowners was after all based on a correct reading of the desire of most of the European colonists to see Fiji become an advanced British country on the lines of Australia and New Zealand, with the Crown assuming control of the bulk of the lands and offering them on easy terms to new settlers.
In June 1914 Apolosi was advising his managers that the company was 'nearly formed and its flag hoisted'. In August a levy of £10 was demanded from every district and the membership fee fixed at £1. In the banana-rich villages of the Rewa delta Apolosi proclaimed that anyone selling to Europeans would be prosecuted by the company and imprisoned. The Provincial Commissioner of Colo East reported that rather than sell to European buyers offering cash on the spot, the people were burying their bananas. The government began to realise that intervention would soon be necessary: it was simply a question of the length of the rope.

When it came to the disposal of bananas, copra, and other produce Apolosi was compelled to work with Europeans already in the business. Although the details of his dealings are not documented, it seems the Viti Company had its own inter-island cutters and river punts—essential status symbols—but used established firms to handle overseas shipments. Seeing a chance to capitalise on Fijian patriotism, five Suva businessmen went ahead without Apolosi and legally incorporated a company called the Viti Company with a capital of 10,000 shares at £1 each, 5 per cent on allotment. A certificate to commence business was issued on 16 January 1915. The memorandum of association provided for all the business activities Apolosi had urged Fijians to take on themselves: the marketing of Fijian produce and traditional manufactures, the management of wholesale and retail stores, importing and exporting, shipbuilding, insurance, banking and auctioneering. However, the board was always to have five of its seven members Europeans and in the first instance no Fijians were appointed.

In letters to governor and press the European directors denounced the use of the company's name by Apolosi or anyone else to collect funds. For his part, Apolosi seized on this parasitical Viti Company's legal standing to impress or confuse the people with the legality of the original Viti Company in its diffuse semi-political form. In January 1915 he brought some 3000 to 4000 people back to Draubuta for meetings and celebrations lasting nearly a month. In oral traditions this meeting is often regarded as the real inauguration of the company. Apolosi addressed the crowd from a high stage hung with a hundred tabua (whales' teeth). Ro Tuisawau, dissident high chief of Rewa, is said to have presented Apolosi with a large tabua, to confer on him a chiefly mandate to ensure the prosperity of the whole country. Many minor chiefs and ex-government officials were present, as well as five Bulis of Colo East expressly forbidden to attend. The meeting is poorly documented but apparently Apolosi...
used it to bolster his claim to be the true leader of the Viti Company, for shortly afterwards he warned the Bulis of Nadroga they should cease their hostility to the company 'lest you incur serious trouble'. Did they not understand that the Viti Company had been duly registered and had legal authority?18

In March 1915 Apolosi faced a crisis. The first annual general meeting of the legal Viti Company in the Suva Town Hall was to be held on the 27th; hundreds of Viti Company shareholders (of both companies) were expected to attend and they would learn for the first time that Apolosi was not the Managing Director—one A.J. Mackay was. Apolosi met the problem head on. He called his own meeting for the evening of the same day to follow Mackay's, which went badly enough. Mackay warned of 'certain Fijians . . . who can only be called Germans' collecting money illegally in the name of the Viti Company. Then the Tui Nausori took two tabua to the directors, begging them to take no notice of Apolosi and his agitators: 'Europeans were the only people who could run their Company properly.'19 At night hundreds of Fijians, and a few curious European observers or officials, packed the hall to hear what Apolosi would have to say in reply. The man from Ra drove up outside in a gleaming black car and attired in a well-fitting tussore silk suit made for him by Peapes of Sydney. The Fijians in the audience received him as if he had been the governor himself, but Apolosi was careful to begin on the self-deprecating note demanded by both his sense of dramatic contrast and Fijian chiefly etiquette:

Chiefs of all Fiji and chiefs of Pagalagi present here today. I am one who has not been long in this world, I am but a child [he was about 37] . . . it is not my prerogative to summon you chiefs together that you should leave your chiefly lands and put aside your chiefly rank to attend a meeting called in my name. Why then did you come? To see me? Is it not rather that you endorse this work of cleanliness to achieve our prosperity and increase in the present time . . . .

Then after outlining the history of the Viti Company and the lack of support he had received from Europeans, including the directors of the legal company, he asked the meeting for what reason had he been excluded from the board: 'Someone tell me. Am I a thief. Do I oppose the Government?' He paused for a minute or two to search the faces of his audience. No one said a word. Then he went on to say how sad he was to hear that the afternoon meeting had gone badly for them. Could someone tell him why? One Felipe volunteered that they were angry to see Fijians had been excluded from the board. If it was really a Fijian company then surely Fijians should be in control.
Apolosi asked the meeting to raise their hands if they agreed. There were no dissenters.20

Much encouraged no doubt, Apolosi stepped up his fund-raising for a variety of schemes called ‘Life Insurance on Native Towns’, ‘A Fiji Club’, ‘Entrance to the Viti Company’ and others more or less under his direction. Some of the Methodist missionaries became worried by the fall-off in their vakamisioneri collections, although the chairman of the mission thought that the bubble would burst: ‘Fair promise without anything in the way of vakadinadina [proof] cannot, surely, long satisfy the people.’21 European settlers were more alarmed by the political undertones of the movement. Viti Levu was alive with rumour. In one cable the District Commissioner of Ra reported that a young girl had been killed, cooked and partly eaten in Colo West. Settlers at Tavua, near the old seat of the Tuka cult at Drauniivi, demanded ammunition. An isolated storekeeper in Serua warned that the European population was in real danger. He had heard heathen songs and dances gleefully representing the whites as swimming for their lives: ‘Everything seems to point to an approaching conflict between black and white.’22

In May 1915 Apolosi was touring the Yasawa group collecting copra when a Fijian constable sent from Suva arrived at Yaqeta with a warrant for his arrest on a charge of embezzlement in Rewa. When Apolosi flatly refused to go, the constable returned to the mainland for reinforcements. On 17 May the police arrived at dusk to find Apolosi standing on the beach between two fires with about thirty men seated in a circle around him. Apolosi said in English, ‘stand up, boys’. Tense and sweating, his protectors rose and stood shoulder to shoulder in silence. Light from the fire illumined their three-foot pile of stout batons, and flickered up to faces blackened as if for war. Police Inspector Scott-Young read firmly from his warrant. Apolosi raised one arm and replied, ‘I swear by Jesus Christ that I won’t be taken alive. You may take my dead body. I don’t care if you have 2000 warrants. I will not go’. For an hour and a half Scott-Young stood there reasoning and threatening into the darkness. Then fearing bloodshed—he’s own—he retreated to his boat.23

Two days later the Inspector General of Constabulary, Colonel Islay McOwan, sailed from Lautoka with an armed party. At the mouth of the Ba river they intercepted a little fleet of cutters manned by Apolosi and his followers. The leader and twenty-four of his men were apprehended easily and charged with resisting a police officer in the execution of his duty. There were rumours, but as always no convicting evidence, that Apolosi and his men were on
their way to Natutu in Ba to raise open rebellion and that if those people refused, then he was to go up into the mountains of Colo East. Apolosi was tried in Suva and sentenced to eighteen months with hard labour. His brother Kiniviliame and six others received shorter sentences.

While Apolosi was in gaol others carried on his work under the name ‘Fiji Produce Agency’. Their leader was one Joeli Cava of Vuce, Tokatoka, who reasserted the legitimate business aims of the company and curried favour with the government. At the same time a meeting of the FPA at Sabeto in December 1915 drew up a protest against the government’s attempts to control leasing arrangements and urged that Fijians themselves should cultivate their idle lands and market the produce.24 A large delegation led by Joeli was received at Government House on Christmas Eve 1915, their objections discussed, and their projects cautiously approved. The colonial authorities were still prepared to encourage Fijian commercial ambitions provided they did not ‘interfere with the social organisation necessary for the good life of the majority of the people . . . the only life possible at this stage’ for Fijians.25

In gaol Apolosi received visits from two chaplains. The Reverend W. Brown reported his conversations to the governor: ‘he talks as though he had communications with the old gods of Fiji etc., and at times talks most incoherently . . . the man is mentally unsound’. To the Reverend Father Fox S.M., Apolosi spoke, quite coherently, of his ambition to improve the narrow educational opportunities provided by the mission schools. He lamented his own lack of useful knowledge.26

Four weeks after his release on 30 September 1916, Apolosi was back at Draubuta for a hero’s welcome and to tell how much he had suffered for the company cause. He inspected a guard of honour of 120 schoolchildren neatly dressed in the European clothes prescribed by the company as the outward sign of internal progress towards a modern way of life. A surprise visitor was A.J. Mackay who announced that he had sold his £200 share in the legal company to Apolosi and men of Apolosi’s choice (a French clerk, Adrian Zacharie, and a ship’s steward, J.F. Dunne). The board was now short of its required number and proportion of European blood; or rather the title director ceased to have any more meaning than the other titles in the original company’s pantheon. Books were kept spasmodically, and recorded only a fraction of the company’s transactions, most of which were handled by Apolosi personally. Thousands of pounds were unaccounted for. In November the district of Lutu constructed a meeting house for the company, 96 feet
long, 36 feet wide—the foundations are still visible. Meanwhile Apolosi and Joeli were making a new bid for respectability. They called on Governor Sir Bickham Escott to leave a donation of £30 for Lady Escott's fund for wounded soldiers, and implored His Excellency not to believe evil stories that might be spread about them. They also called in at Davuilevu, Apolosi's alma mater, and talked with the Principal, the Reverend C.O. Lelean, about their plans for Fijians. Apolosi inquired after his young relative Lucy and begged Lelean not to allow her to be sent to the hospital for training as an obstetric nurse—the 'moral danger' of the place distressed him. Lucy should go to his school at Draubuta where the company's own teacher Tikiko Tuwai would give her a modern education that included (it later eventuated) nightly classes for the girls in 'massage'. Apolosi impressed Lelean, as he had the governor, with his sincerity and enthusiasm.27

On 7 December 1916 Apolosi with his harem and a large entourage travelled in a flotilla of boats up the Wainibuka River to Lutu for the opening of the Bose Ko Viti, the Council of Fiji, as the meeting was not inaptly called. As he came ashore with Ro Tuisawau beside him the assembly of 5449 people from every part of Fiji gave the muted roar of the tama: DUO! O! The high chiefly presentations of tabua, and the full kava ceremony (yaqona vakaturaga) were performed just as they would have been for the Supreme Chief, the governor, or a member of the Royal Family. Wherever the man from Ra moved, a body of ovisa with red armbands cleared the way; when he was inside a house or sleeping, they mounted guard on the doorways. His eight 'doves' took it in turns to roll cigarettes and put them in his mouth, or cool him with fans. At short meetings held daily for a week Apolosi and the company officials were dressed in white shirts, white trousers, golf stockings and tennis shoes. Physically Apolosi (like Navosavakadua) was not impressive. He was neither tall nor—by Fijian standards—powerfully built. His dark full face was dominated by wide-set eyes under heavy eyebrows and a nose that flared out around cavernous nostrils. Fijians remember him for his resonant voice and the way his eyes focused hypnotically to seal his message. 'When he spoke', recalled one, 'it was like a bullet hitting your brain—whack!' At Lutu he compensated for his lack of physical stature by sitting in an elaborate pulpit-like wooden throne ornamented with the flags of many nations, his bodyguard to either side, and at a lower level in front of him two men with typewriters to take the minutes of the meetings like the Hansard reporters in the Legislative Council. Could anyone doubt that a great chiefly council was now in progress?
Lutu, 7th December 1916, 12 noon. I now open our meeting house. The Government has ordered that as I am the promoter of the Company, I should be the Manager . . . if there be anyone here who is an enemy of the Company . . . I shall send to Suva for Constables to arrest him . . . God has appointed me to be your comforter in bodily and spiritual things. Many chiefs of Fiji now dead and many still alive are not equal to me . . . Before I was born God predestined me to be your chief and to bring into being a new scheme by which Fiji would be independent in future and free from Government control . . . .

In the words of a Fijian constable, 'It was exactly like a government meeting. There were Chief Constables, Magistrates, Doctors, just as if Apolosi was founding a government that might become something terrible . . . one question I wish to ask about Apolosi, if everybody salutes him as they do what is the use of the Government?'

A vast program was agreed upon. The company would have ships and shipyards, stores and storehouses, a soap factory, its own school system. A Committee of Chiefs was formed under Ro Tuisawau the ex-Roko Tui Rewa with Ratu Jese, ex-Native Assistant to the District Commissioner in Serua; Ratu Bola of Bau, ex-Buli Sawakasa; the fiercely anti-Bauan Ratu mai Verata; the Tui Levuka and ten others, most of them harbouring some grievance against the colonial government. Company officers, managers, town chiefs and clerks were appointed for every province except Macuata and possibly Bua. Apolosi's salary was fixed at £100 a month. The meeting closed on 20 December in an atmosphere of celebration and hope.

The first signs that the euphoria was not to last came from some Colo East banana growers who received no payment for five shipments of bananas. Hitherto they had willingly accepted half the market price or less, for the cause, but their patience and loyalty did not extend indefinitely. They refused to send further shipments. Nevertheless they also refused to sell to Europeans and in the latter half of 1917 thousands of bananas rotted on the trees. Not a single man could be found to testify against the company in court. Between January and April 1917 Apolosi received in his own name over £3000 in bananas and copra. After examining the chaotic books of the company an accountant found there was no way of knowing the real extent of its operations or what happened to the proceeds. Since government was powerless to act under the existing Companies Ordinance until the shareholders petitioned for redress, it proposed to the Colonial Office a Native Company Ordinance giving the Registrar of Companies draconian powers of supervision over any company with one single Fijian member. The Secretary of State thought it difficult to believe such a measure could be contemplated seriously, and there the matter rested.
A polo si R. Nawai

About June 1917 Apolosi finally found a white businessman he could trust, an American named Walter Jago. Jago, it seems, tried hard to restrain Apolosi and establish the Viti Company on sound business lines. But it was too late. The settlers were after Apolosi's head for telling the Fijians that it was folly to lease lands to Europeans for five or ten shillings an acre and watch them reap £10 or £15 an acre in cane. If Indians were prepared to find £1 an acre or more, Apolosi was saying, why should Europeans or sugar companies get land for less? Two Europeans attended one of Apolosi's rallies at Nakorovou, Tavua on 31 August 1917. Afterwards one of them made a statutory declaration that Apolosi had said, Koi au na meca ni matanitu, au na tamata Kaukauwa, 'I am the enemy of the government, I am the strong man'. This, and a similar declaration by the other, provided the governor and Executive Council with the sure evidence they needed. They issued another Confining Order (without trial) exiling Apolosi to Rotuma for seven years.

In an impassioned letter to the Executive Council after his arrest at Votua on 19 November 1917, Apolosi begged to be allowed to kiss the Bible in their presence and swear before God and King that he had not said anything of the sort: 'I humbly beg that you will hear me and permit those natives who were present on the 31st August 1917 at the meeting at Tavua to testify to what they heard at that meeting.' It is indeed unlikely that Apolosi would have been foolish enough to utter the words attributed to him in the presence of Messrs Herbert Hodgson and Alex Eastgate—the latter had once been a magistrate in Ra. The crude phraseology is inconsistent with his desire to give the company the trappings of legality, and the phrase 'strong man' is not one he would have chosen in his more extravagant moments—he would have made some claim to chieftainship. In short he was probably framed. The shoddiness of the confinement proceedings did not escape the Colonial Office: 'in the absence of judicial proceedings we really have to rely on the Governor's opinion'. The governor was asked to review the case after a year.

Apolosi's own reaction is evident in his apologia: 'I cannot turn left, right, forward or backward, up or down, with the crowd of enemies that are about me.' He also offered a psychological analysis of himself and his past:

There are two great things that influence my body and my mind; firstly physical and mental foolishness; secondly, ignorance . . . Their influence over me is due to my childish instability of character, and that as a result of bad education and bad upbringing . . . My mother and father were foolish and ignorant people. They had no wisdom or enlightenment, and therefore I inherited none from them whereby to be
guided in my walk through life. Any knowledge or enlightenment that I have been able to gain has been through my own personal efforts . . . I have had no one to take an interest in me or hold me up or lead me out of the black darkness . . . it was as though I were covered with worms and everything repulsive. Many saw me, laughed at me, and mocked me. It was as though they sucked my blood and wrung the water out of my soul . . . .32

In exile again on Rotuma, Apolosi kept regular contact with his supporters by mail and special messengers. For the most part he lived quietly with his wife and daughter. The only incident of interest occurred inside the Methodist church he attended. Church elders remonstrated with him one Sunday for sitting in the railed-off space reserved for teachers, Europeans and the chief. Apolosi stood up without a word, walked slowly down the aisle and turned his back on Wesleyan Christianity forever. Shortly afterwards he became a Roman Catholic and published a letter in their newspaper Ai Talanoa urging all Fijians to follow him into their true church. The conversion proved a good political move. Fear of drawing a strong protest from the Catholic Bishop was the main reason why the acting governor decided not to prevent Apolosi's release from exile on 12 December 1924.33

For the next five years reliable information is hard to come by. One unusual Fijian source—a letter that went astray in the mail and was eventually opened by the Post Office—suggests that Apolosi compensated for the collapse of his past organisation by a new emphasis on his personal destiny as Saviour of his countrymen. The letter describes a sermon by Apolosi at Sabeto village, Nadi, on 25 February 1925:

It was as if we saw the Son of God . . . Apolosi explained that the Company had failed but that he was now joining together all the black countries, Tonga, Samoa, Rotumah, the Solomons, Tokalau and Futuna so that they would all be subject to Fiji, and Fiji to Vuda where all the money of Fiji would be collected and deposited in the Government Savings Bank. 'I am alive after seven years death on Rotumah. Our Lord God and the Great Government of the United Kingdom have wiped the tears from my face . . . The Progress of Fiji will not cease: it rests in my hands and you see it in me today . . . Only two things will survive, the Church of Jesus Christ in Heaven and the British Empire throughout the world. They are united in Apolosi R Nawai.

In a reference that puzzled the officials in the Secretariat, the writer spoke of Apolosi holding in his hands an object called the 'Crown Colony'. Oral evidence has it that Apolosi at various times displayed a 'Crown Grant' giving him supreme power in Fiji. It was sealed in a bamboo. Towards the end of the 1920s, when perhaps the Crown
Grant was wearing thin, he claimed to have the 'sacred box of the mana of Fiji' lost at Vuda from the canoe which brought the ancestors of the Fijian race; alternatively—for Apolosi never wearied his clientèle with consistency—it was the Vola Ko Viti, the Book of Fiji, which had cost him £10,000; finally a sacred tabua which validated the claim of his Navutulevu clan to be the real descendants of the first-born (ulumatua) of the ancestor-gods and thus the highest chiefs in Fiji. In 1931 the eccentric Reverend A.D. Lelean actually suggested to the governor that Apolosi's right to be paramount chief should be recognised in view of his historical claims and the endorsement of the Bose ko Viti of 1916. Apolosi's chiefly pretensions outraged those high chiefs of eastern Fiji who held government office and gave a focus to the ever-smouldering resentment of western Viti Levu against the dominance of the Bauan chiefs and their allies in the Fijian Administration. It is significant that Apolosi's chief lieutenants Patemo Vai and Tikiko Tuwai were sons of Nemani Dreu, the last Nadi chief to be appointed Roko Tui of that province (Ba and the Yasawas). After Dreu's resignation in 1899 the province was in Bauan hands until 1912 and thereafter ruled by a European Provincial Commissioner. In 1920, without consultation with the people, the province was divided into three (Ba, Nadi, and Lautoka with Yasawas), making it even more difficult for the west, the Yasayasa Ra, to hold their own against the eastern provinces in the assemblies of the land.

Apolosi's following was much diminished in the first years after his release. The Nailaga District Council in Ba voted in May 1925 to ban him from their district, although the people of Votua village gave him shelter until August. In September 1925 he was at Lodini in Tailevu province with his eight women, staying in the government quarters of a relative stationed there as Native Medical Practitioner. He formed a partnership for a few months with a European banana buyer and another trader, and kept within the law. He spent another nine months further north at Lawaki ostensibly starting a co-operative, buying fruit at 2 shillings a case when the market value was 5 shillings. In August 1926 the District Council tried to remove him, and some time later he returned to his favourite hunting ground, the Yasawas. During the year he had already collected hundreds of pounds there for various projects; £677 from Tamasua for a Buli's house, £100 from Nacula, £80 from Navotua, £100 from Malakati. According to the sworn statement of one villager Apolosi intimidated the people: 'If you don't do as I say I will sell your lands. Cakobau is dead and I am his successor—King of Fiji.' He had demanded a total of £800 to set up a new office in Suva.
From the same source comes the first hint of a technique Apolosi was rapidly to perfect: 'something would happen' on a set date, there would be noise, thunder and a sign: 'if his words were not true they should cut wood, pour kerosene on and light it and burn him on it.' When Fijians who remember Apolosi are asked to account for the hold he had over the people they usually recite a series of Apolosi's predictions that came true—the building of Nadi International Airport, for instance, is said to have been implicit in a promise that people from the four ends of the earth would come to Nadi. The independence of Fiji was another of his better known predictions. His credibility at the time, say the people, depended on the many miracles attributed to him, about which there is a flourishing mythology. The stories told in one place of Apolosi will be told in another of Navosavakadua and run to a type—as, for instance, how the British threw him overboard to drown him but when they came back to the wharf found him waiting; or how they once hammered nails into his eyes but could not hurt him. In 1973 a man of Vatakoula asked: 'Tell me, friend, as one who has read many books about many countries have you ever come across a more wonderful man than Apolosi?'—referring not to his moral character but to his mana, which excused everything else.

Apolosi left the Yasawas about March 1928 and returned to his own village in Nadi. For a short time he moved to Lautoka and ran a successful restaurant there. Evidently the catering business did not satisfy him, for in March 1929 he and his brother Josevata (Kiniviliame had died) were back in Votua with a band of followers to plan a new enterprise, the Church of the Era, Na Lotu ni Gauna. The era or time was the messianic age about to burst in upon the world. Government first heard of it from a Votua villager aggrieved when his wife was requisitioned to be Apolosi's twelfth. Apolosi was prophesying the time when his brother Josevata would be King of Heaven and Vicar of Jesus Christ (Tui kei Lomalagi met Sosomi kei Jesu Karisito); he himself would be merely King of the World (Tui kei Vuravura). In late 1929 western Viti Levu was full of talk about the new religion and Apolosi's wondrous powers. Lelean found that the Lotu ni Gauna consisted of

Methodism plus prayers to Dengei, Lutunasobosobo, Salusalui and Vosavakadua. A bowl of grog is used for prayers and their Duka or sins. Baptism is by a bowl of grog down the neck, and promising to obey when the command is given.34

The word gauna was also used in the Tuka cult of 1914 to mean the time of the Twin Gods' return. Lelean's mention of Navosavakadua is one of the few documentary clues to the influence of the
older syncretist cults. His information was good — he omitted to mention that one of his mission teachers, Patimo Vai, was high priest of the new lotu, and styled 'Father of the Society'.

Excitement was such that the Provincial Commissioners were unable to keep the people to their programs of work. The climax came on New Year's Day 1930 at a big meeting inside the compound of the chief of Sabeto, Nadi. Apolosi said that England had lost all her gold and silver; soon there would be no money left in the Government Savings Bank and a plague would visit Fiji later in the year. At Apolosi's command the Tui Vuda, a chief of rank, bent down and kissed the prophet's feet. 'I will make you King of Fiji', Apolosi promised, undertaking to have his uniform ready by March. The Executive Council had heard enough. An order was issued confining Apolosi to Rotuma for ten years. He was arrested near Tui Vuda's village on 16 January 1930. Lelean believed 1060 men were ready to take up arms under Apolosi and reckoned he had been arrested just in time.

In custody the man from Ra was once again the man of sorrows, humbled but still conscious of his power. He blamed his enemies amongst the people and complained:

Had I been given a position in the Government there would have been no trouble. I am cleverer and more ingenious than any other Fijian . . . I should have done a lot of good for the Fijians . . . I should be worth all the Bulis of Nadi Province put together.

He denied he had claimed to be high chief of Fiji, insisting only that he was the proper man to be the next Tui Nadi. Asked why he predicted trouble for Fiji, he said:

In my dream I saw a great flood come in from the sea and overwhelm Fiji. All the lands of Fiji were covered except one high peak on which I and a few others stood. The waters came up to my neck then receded. I saw many people, Europeans, Indians and Fijians swimming about in the waters but only a few of them could reach land. That is why I spoke to the people about a great trouble to come next year and told them to repent of their sins and wash away all evil customs. I did not claim to save them.

There could be no more graphic image of his longing to see the existing colonial order dissolved and his inability to articulate an alternative set of institutions which would guarantee a prominent place for able men like himself. His mind was swimming with dreams and schemes. His flights of oratory and mysterious allusions to supernatural sources kept the people spellbound.

Apolosi was a leader who commanded faith and loyalty. He tapped the roots of Fijian pride and patriotism, and showed them a way of cutting across the parochial limitations of their existing
institutions to meet new needs. He lacked the education, the experience, self discipline and sense of responsibility to carry through his ideas. He could feel what was lacking in the Fijian Administration: there was no room for innovation and initiative from below: 'Very few people', he said, 'are in a bad plight because of their own decisions about themselves.' Yet although the company model put everyone on a new basis, Apolosi exercised his power as Managing Director in a way that was far more autocratic, overbearing and selfish than were the chiefs he professed to despise. The Viti Company and its managing director became in the end a decadent parody of the Administration and the Supreme Chief, and equally impotent as a vehicle of economic progress.

A retreat into otherworldly messianism or the invocation of a deus ex machina was now Apolosi's only hope of resolving the issues his movement had raised. He had not been a year in exile when rumours spread through Viti Levu that the king of the era would return in triumph on Christmas Day 1930 and assume his sovereignty the following year. The reason for the shortage of money, it was said in Nadroga, was that the coins were being withdrawn to be recast with Apolosi's head. The Colonial Sugar Refining Company manager at Ba feared a communist plot to unite Fijians and Indians in common cause against the Europeans. The Fijians who took up cane-farming on CSR estates in the early 1930s, especially those at Toko in Tavua, were ardent supporters of Apolosi; secretly they organised themselves into an association (soqosoqo) to support the Lotu ni Gauna and contribute funds for the 'opening of the era' and the immediate needs of their exiled king whose works were kept alive to them by Josevata, the Preacher of the Era. Josevata lived mostly at Toko, the glory of his brother balm for his leprosy. His letters to Apolosi are those of a fervent believer:

Josefata K.L.M. Nawai to Ratu Apolosi R. Nawai, King of the Era 9th Feb. 1931 [We arrived in Suva on 22nd November 1930] and on the 23rd there swept over the whole of Fiji a big hurricane the like of which has never been seen since Fiji was created. Large houses were destroyed, many people killed and vessels lost . . . this was the Heavy Order known of by the Preacher of the Era.

In another letter he tells of an interview at Lautoka with Governor Sir Murchison Fletcher 'at four minutes to three' on 10 January 1931. He had explained to the governor their real status in Fiji: 'He is lucky this 19th Governor to discover what 18 other Governors sought.' In October the same year Josevata sends his brother a list of sixteen Biblical texts he calls 'the keys of life,' and sixteen texts he names 'the
books of life . . . out of which may come the big order of the era, that is 16 2 32 (1932)'.

The Lotu ni Gauna had a following in several parts of Viti Levu, including Suva. In the inland district of Nasau, Ra, they prayed: 'Remember God the Leader of the Era, Apolosi Ranawai.' On the Wainimala river there were some who expected that their food and necessities would be provided by invisible means, vakayalo, and that their children would be endowed with the wisdom of the era, vuku vakagauna. It was a far cry from their enthusiasm of twenty years before when they were keen to meet Europeans on their own ground through a company on the European model. Apolosi kept alive the hopes of his supporters in Nadroga, Ra, Nadi, Nadrau and Tailevu with regular encyclical letters from Rotuma:

Apolosi to all members of the New Era, 28th June 1938: I am ordered by Jesus Christ our Saviour to write to you for the New Era is drawing nigh, as the Bible says . . . Jesus Christ will come in the year 1944. Everyone that believes in the New Era will be gathered together in the sky and then proceed together to the New Jerusalem which is prepared for the just. I Thes. 4: 16-17; John 14: 2. The wicked people will be destroyed, Revelations 1: 7 and 6: 14-17, Isaiah 66: 15-17 . . . I bear the pains inflicted on me in order to obtain Life and the performance of miracles will be given to me by God our Father and Our Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost Amen . . . Come unto me . . . Follow me . . . Abide in me Trust in me.

It is my desire that you repent immediately and take the right path to follow. I will then forgive the sin of the Society and will be able to cleanse it that we may reach the New Era. I am the only one and there is but one Shepherd and one flock of sheep. You are to prepare for my coming.

Messianic language, but he offers practical hope too if only they will make sacrifices. The sacrifice demanded of members is, predictably, a cash contribution. Apolosi is always specific. In 1938 he suggests that every man pay 1s. 6d. a week. In 1939 he sets a target of £25,000 'for the opening of the door of prosperous life and wealth'. The door will be 'flung open' immediately if the sum can be increased to £50,000. He proposes to set aside £20,000 for the grand opening of the New Era and invest £10,000 in both CSR and Burns Philp, £5000 in Morris Hedstrom's, £3000 in Brown and Joske, £2000 in the goldmines. The new era, it seems, still has a place for capital and dividends. At heart Apolosi is a realist:

I have also in mind to establish business for the benefit of those whom I consider wise and careful. It shall be left to them to choose what particular kind . . . to build for themselves good wealthy and happy lives. I realise that I am causing poverty to us all by these instructions, for
business is not too bright. But you must know that this is in accordance with God’s will, for it is indicative of the seriousness of our belief and preparation of the New Era . . . The secret year is 1944 and it is then that the truth for which we have struggled so much will emerge and stand forth as proofs of our worthy lives and the life of the New Era . . . This is the cessation of earthly time . . . Obey me also that you may live and be blessed.

In March 1940 Apolosi was released from Rotuma and allowed to live under close supervision at the government settlement in Suva where he could not influence the 1500 Fijian goldminers at Vatukoula—a recent concentration of manpower and obvious field for his eloquence. The man from Ra claimed to be 62 years old. Native Lands Commission records made him 64. Despite bouts of filariasis, he looked younger than his years. A minutely documented police report of the sexual conquests he achieved between March and May left no doubts as to his virility. Nor did he restrain his talk of the New Era, although what finally moved the government to exile him yet again was a report that he was about to start a trade union. On 30 May 1940 he was confined to Rotuma for a further ten years.

In 1941 a Catholic priest stationed at Yaqeta in the Yasawas where Apolosi had resisted arrest in 1915 warned the government that people were predicting (hoping?) the Japanese would conquer Rotuma and bring Apolosi to Fiji. The very thought was enough to have Apolosi secretly transferred to a gaol in New Zealand for the duration of the war. On his return he was confined to the small island of Yacata in Cakaudrove. After a short illness in Waiyevo hospital Taveuni he died and was buried on Yanuca island in April 1946—or did he die? Some of the faithful believe he still lives, sa bula tiko. When so many of his aspirations for Fijians to come to terms with the modern economy remain unfulfilled it is not surprising that he lives on in the hearts of his followers together with his promise—to ‘relieve you of your loads, heal and console . . . and introduce upon your land luxurious living and peace . . .’.
STANDING on the deck of HMS Pylades on the morning of 20 May 1896, Charles Morris Woodford viewed the tiny island of Santa Ana at the south-eastern extremity of the Solomon Islands. He was a tall black-bearded man; he had a high forehead and deep set eyes that created the impression of both intelligence and detachment. He held himself characteristically erect, and his bearing would have given little indication of the emotional importance of this landfall. It was ten years almost to the day since he had first sighted Santa Ana and now he was returning to 'those beautiful islands' in a capacity that promised to fulfil his fondest hopes. Two years earlier he had written: 'I take a very great interest in this group of islands and have so far identified myself with them that I have come to regard any thing connected with them as peculiarly appertaining to myself.' His return marked the beginning of his eighteen years in the Resident Commissioner's post—and of his opportunity to prove that the prosperous future he had written so much about could be achieved through his own 'firm and paternal government'.

It is hard to imagine an official more single-mindedly committed to a dependency being delivered to its shores than was the man the Pylades landed committed to the Solomon Islands. At the age of 44, Woodford was launching himself on an uncertain career with the enthusiasm of a young boy. In his own mind he knew he had the energy and the personal resources to achieve the goals he had set himself. Although he was formally subordinate to the Western Pacific High Commissioner he believed that this officer was remote enough to allow him to exercise independent authority over the
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group—that prospect promised a fulfilment he had been unable to achieve in his earlier life.

Born in England on 30 October 1852, the eldest son of Henry Pack Woodford, a prosperous wine and spirit merchant, Charles had spent his early childhood at the family home in Milton-next-Gravesend in Kent. At 12 he was sent as a boarder to the ancient Tonbridge School where he was subjected to large doses of classics and mathematics relieved by prayer and football. The regimen of the school (up at six a.m. and beer for breakfast) and its emphasis on a primitive form of Rugby (Rule Thirteen read ‘Anyone running with the ball may be collared, charged, hacked over, or tripped up’) ensured the strong constitution that was to be Woodford’s boast under the rigours of the tropics. A more important influence was provided by the Headmaster, Dr Welldon. He encouraged the pursuit of natural history as he believed it was a useful skill for boys who were ‘likely to go out to the Colonies or India’; and Woodford became with his encouragement a devoted collector of insects. He was even exempted from fagging to enable him to pursue his hobby, and his skill earned him many prizes. One of Woodford’s school companions, writing from a colony himself, recalled how the combination of Dr Welldon’s encouragement, ‘the glowing accounts of Australia and New Zealand, then at the zenith of their prosperity and lusty youth’, and the exciting tales of the wilds of Africa, America and the Pacific related in Captain Mayne Reid’s books, all ‘exercised a great influence on the future of many a boy’. But Woodford was born into a family of wine merchants; any early plans of exploring the colonies and collecting their exotic butterflies were suppressed while he entered his father’s trade in 1871 and remained in it for the next ten years.

Woodford suffered rather than enjoyed his years in the wine trade. Commerce held little interest for him, but he was not willing to reject the role that was expected of him and as the eldest son he faithfully followed his father’s calling. His dissatisfaction slowly increased as his father’s continued authority over him became more and more irksome and at the age of 29 he resigned from the business. With no particular plans in mind he sailed away for the far distant colonies of Australia and the South Seas and eventually arrived in Fiji in early 1882. The exotic insects of the islands revived in him the enthusiasm of his youth for natural history and he indulged himself for nearly a year wandering aimlessly and collecting butterflies before his financial resources forced him to seek employment in a government office. But after his months of freedom, Woodford did not easily return to the role of subordinate he had so recently rejected. Already
a little weary of the footloose gentlemen wanderers who used Fiji as a
convenient stopover in their tours of the South Seas, both the
Governor (G.W. Des Voeux) and the Colonial Secretary (J.B.
Thurston) were unimpressed by Woodford and found little to
commend in him as a junior public servant.7 After nearly twelve
months of unsatisfactory and unsatisfying employment, he seized a
chance to escape from the censure of his superiors and the tedium of
office work; ‘thinking that perhaps another opportunity for visiting
the Gilbert Group might never arise’ he applied for and obtained the
post of Government Agent in the labour ketch *Patience* returning
time-expired labourers to Tokelau and the Gilbert and Ellice
Islands.8

The voyage of the *Patience* from March till June 1884 gave Wood­
ford his first glimpse of islands not under any formal European
administrative control. He witnessed and heard tales of the
involvement of Europeans in a bloody power struggle between
Abemama and Nonouti which disquieted him;9 and he found the
nature of missionary activity equally disturbing:

> I have now seen islands wholly christianized, semi-christianized and in a
state of darkness and all in the same group. The latter are in a very
undesirable state. The two former might be very much better off than
they are. The [London Missionary] Society says they cannot afford to
keep white missionaries here, but I think more rigid inspection and more
definite instructions to the native teachers would conduce to the benefit of
the people. The power of the Missionaries here is as absolute as that of
any chief in the old days.10

At the end of the voyage Woodford wrote to the Assistant High Com­
missioner relating what he had seen and advocating closer
supervision of the group’s affairs.11 And ten years later he was
pleased to note that the British Government had eventually declared
a protectorate over the islands:

> For a white population in the islands there is no place, except, perhaps, a
trader upon each island. Now that they are under British protection, civil
wars will be rigorously suppressed, and I consider that, under the
combined direction of the Government and the missions, the islands
should have a bright and prosperous future.12

After his return to Fiji Woodford did not stay long in the Pacific.
He naturally saw ‘small prospect of advancement in the Service’13
and his interests were leading him elsewhere. His collecting in Fiji
had earned him a measure of scientific encouragement and when he
returned to England in late 1884 his Gilbert Islands’ collection was
highly praised by the leading taxonomists at the British Museum.14
The nineteenth century, particularly the latter half, had witnessed
the rise of the gentleman naturalist exploring the frontiers of science in remote jungles and Woodford saw a chance to legitimise his wanderings in the South Seas.

On the basis of his early successes and with Museum encouragement he planned an expedition to the Solomon Islands. No land-based survey of their fauna or insects had hitherto been undertaken, and the promise of scientifically important discoveries combined with the complete independence of self-employment lured Woodford into undertaking this ambitious project.\textsuperscript{15}

Financing the expedition himself, and hoping to sell his collection when he returned, he made three separate visits to the Solomons between 1886 and 1889. On his first expedition he landed at Alu in the Shortland Islands and remained there for two months, living as the sole European in the community and building up a fairly extensive collection in all branches of entomology and zoology. He then moved to nearby Fauro to continue his collecting but was stricken with malarial fever and moved to Roviana Lagoon, New Georgia. When he found his fever unabated he sailed to Sydney to recuperate. After two months in Sydney he returned to the Solomons and set up residence at Aola on the northern Guadalcanal coast where he remained for six months, again living alone with the Islanders. He made two attempts to explore the interior of Guadalcanal, but was unsuccessful in penetrating very far. At the end of this expedition he returned to England where his scientific collections were examined and discussed. After six months in England he decided to return and extend his collection, and also he had been commissioned by Lord Amherst to try to identify places mentioned in the surviving journals of the Mendaña voyages to the Solomons in 1568 that were being edited for publication. This third visit was spent based at Nggela with the trader Lars Nielson and travelling the whole group, especially Santa Ysabel, to reconstruct the Spanish voyages. In the company of Nielson, Woodford made a third attempt to explore inland Guadalcanal and penetrated further than on any previous expeditions, but was again unsuccessful in achieving his goal of climbing Mount Lammas (8000 ft). He spent his last month in the Solomons staying at his old house at Aola and returned to Sydney in January 1889.\textsuperscript{16}

From his diaries and other writings it is possible to reconstruct the development of Woodford’s attitudes towards the people he lived among in this period and to see in part the process through which he came to identify himself with the Solomon Islands. When the Fijian labour ship \textit{Christine} landed him at Alu on 23 June 1886 after
months spent on board recruiting in the New Hebrides and the
Solomons, Woodford, not unnaturally, had some misgivings:

The next morning the Christine sailed away and left me; nor will I
conceal the fact that I had some slight feelings of regret as I saw the last
link connecting me with civilization disappear below the horizon, leaving
me for the first time alone—one among hundreds of savages.17

In his first contacts with the inhabitants of the Solomon Islands his
judgments of the people and their life style were largely borrowed
and unfavourable, reflecting many of the prejudices of the 'beach' at
Fiji. At Santa Ana, his first landfall in the group, he thought the
dwellings were 'low and dirty'18 and was already willing to generalise
that 'the promises of natives are seldom to be relied upon'.19 A few
days later at Saa on the coast of Malaita he 'did not like the
demeanour of the men' and thought some of them were 'inclined to
be impudent'.20 Further along the Malaita coast at Uru he judged:
'The natives here are quiet enough apparently but they are not to be
trusted. I always carry my revolver and then have all the time my gun
in one hand and net in the other and the natives would not venture to
attack anyone unless they can get them at a disadvantage'.21 His
preconceived notions of Solomon Islanders' character made him very
cautious in his plans for his first residence at Alu: 'I must keep the
natives at a distance and although I shall have to make Gorai [a
powerful chief of the Shortland Islands] continual presents I shall
tell him I expect him to keep others from robbing me.'22

Left alone to work out his own judgments, Woodford became
more sympathetic towards Melanesians and their way of life. He
learned to live comfortably in the "huts he had at first despised and
soon lost many of the trappings of civilisation:

If my friends could see me now, what would they think of me? A flannel-
shirt, none too clean, rolled up over the elbows and open at the throat;
round my waist a piece of blue calico reaching to the knees and fastened
by an old leather strap; legs and feet bare; on my head a dilapidated
Panama hat . . .23

He became by degrees willing to accept the Islanders as friends and
he abandoned his earlier censorious tone. His relations with the
people of Aola he believed were very close:

Without laying myself out specially to do so, I found that before my
departure I had acquired considerable influence among them, and I have
had more than one earnest request to come and permanently take up my
residence among them.

From purely selfish motives I was useful to the natives in numberless ways.
My house soon became a general meeting-place, where they were pretty
sure to be able to beg or borrow (never to steal) a piece of the coveted tobacco, while as a purchaser of firewood when the supply exceeded the demand, or as a consumer of rotten yams at about three times the fair market price of the best samples, I was what is known in trade circles as a ‘good mark’. I shall not forget the naive remark of old Ululu, the chief of Aola, who holding my hand on the eve of my departure, said with tears in his eyes, ‘Oh, my friend Woorefallo, who will give me pipes and tobacco when you are gone?’

Still I should be sorry to think that my influence with the natives arose from sordid motives alone, for I believe that, especially during my second visit, a feeling of real confidence and friendship existed between us.24

He similarly lost his extreme caution when he knew the people he lived among and his native assistant was allowed to carry his gun on his collecting trips. He never lost, however, his belief in the treachery of strangers: ‘If I were asked what was the prevailing characteristic of the natives, I should say cowardice, both in its sense of timidity and the desire to take every advantage of a defenceless stranger or enemy.’25 Yet he attributed the cause of this behaviour to human instincts, not confined to one race:

It is the same motive that animates schoolboys to torture frogs and to spin cockchafer on pins, and that gave point to the Frenchman’s satire when he said that the Englishman’s first enquiry upon sallying out after breakfast was ‘What shall we kill today?’—the destructive instinct that, after centuries of civilization, still lurks in our nature.26

Observing the already apparent changes that European contact had brought to the islands, Woodford recorded ethnological information about the people he lived among before all trace of traditional crafts was lost, but he only partially regretted the passing of this primitive technology. Commenting upon the almost complete replacement of stone axes with steel axes along the coast he noted: ‘Thus another link with the past is almost severed. I suppose there are very few places now on earth where the people have not emerged from the “stone age” and Darwin’s gap between the lowest man and the highest ape is widening every day’.27 In fact it was the promotion of change, the bringing of law and order and the advantages of civilisation that inspired him. By 1890, prompted by both nationalistic and humanitarian sentiments, he was eagerly advocating the expansion of the British Empire to include the southern Solomons. In fact Woodford would have preferred England to have control over all of eastern New Guinea and the whole of the Solomon Islands. When the news reached him of the Anglo-German demarcation line of April 1886, which gave to Germany the northern Solomons where he was at the time collecting, he recorded in his diary:
Charles Morris Woodford

The whole thing may be traced to Lord Derby and Mr. Gladstone who refused to sanction the annexation of N. Guinea by the Queensland Govt. But for their weak policy the Australian colonies would not have Germany for a neighbour in the Pacific. He was appalled by the virtually uncontrolled state of savagery and lawlessness he had witnessed and heard of in the group and on his return to England he wrote his book partially with a view to publicising the need, as he saw it, for British annexation. Head-hunting and the murder of white traders and missionaries were the two evils he attacked. He preached to the Royal Geographical Society that ‘in the interests of humanity itself, some effective measures should be taken to put a stop to such wholesale slaughter’ and he closed his book with the words: ‘If, by having drawn attention to the state of affairs existing in the islands, measures may be taken to check the horrible practice of head-hunting, I shall feel that my efforts have not been altogether in vain.’

When a report reached England that his friend the trader Nielson had been murdered (an erroneous report as it turned out) he was moved to add a lengthy footnote to his book’s introductory chapter. He asserted that such murders ‘will continue so long as England ignores her obligation to extend by annexation that protection to her subjects in the Solomons that she was at length forced against her will to extend to British New Guinea’. He bitterly condemned the inadequate protection afforded by men-of-war when they punished murderers with ‘the farce of firing shells into the bush’; and he concluded:

I know of no place where firm and paternal government would sooner produce beneficial results than in the Solomons. The numerous small tribes into which the population is split up would render any organised resistance to properly constituted authority quite futile, while I believe that the natives themselves would not be slow to recognise the advantages of increased security of life and property. Here is an object worthy indeed the devotion of one’s life.

It was not just peace that prompted Woodford’s interest in the islands; it was also the possibilities for development that excited him. He could visualise a prosperous plantation economy growing coconuts and other tropical produce on the broad thinly inhabited coastal plains. The role he saw the Solomon Islands playing in this future development was not made clear. He claimed on the one hand that they were ‘as a race highly intelligent, fairly industrious, and certainly capable of great improvement’, but he was also convinced that pressures from both within and without the society were leading to ‘the eventual extinction of the native race’. Nonetheless he was
certain that their successors would be able ‘to better use the unlimited resources of these beautiful islands’. All his efforts to publicise the advantages of British annexation had little effect on the course of events, however; the protectorate that was declared over the southern Solomons in June 1893 owed its origins more to international rivalries than to any official or public acceptance of his views.

In the meantime Woodford’s own future was uncertain. On his voyage out to Australia in the *SS Ormuz* during 1888 for his third expedition to the Solomons he had met Florence Palmer of Bathurst, New South Wales. The shipboard romance between the young woman and the handsome, well travelled adventurer and scientist culminated in their marriage in Bathurst soon after he returned to Australia from the expedition in January 1889. When he and his wife returned to England in August the same year he tried unsuccessfully to settle into London domesticity and business on the stock exchange, but even the birth of his two sons could not keep Woodford’s mind off the Pacific. He saw the declaration of a protectorate over the Solomons as his opportunity to return and he promptly offered his services as a government official. When the Colonial Office refused, having no intention of spending any money on an establishment in the group, he claimed he was planning a return as a scientist and offered to maintain an official presence at his own expense. This second offer was more tempting to the Colonial Office and they forwarded it for comments to the High Commissioner, Sir John Thurston. Meanwhile Woodford, with his passion for the Pacific revived, began to organise another ambitious scientific expedition, this time to the western end of New Guinea; but he abandoned these plans when he was unable to raise sufficient capital and decided in late 1894 to embark for Fiji, believing that an appointment to the Solomons was imminent.

His determination to gain the coveted post eventually paid off, though not as speedily as he had hoped. No money was available for an appointment to the Solomons when he arrived in Fiji but Thurston, overlooking his earlier criticism of Woodford, had a temporary vacancy for an acting-consul in Samoa and Woodford accepted this post ‘in consequence of the certainty I felt, after seeing Sir John Thurston, that the appointment of Resident in the Solomons would be at my disposal on my leaving Samoa’. Woodford’s nine months in Samoa from January 1895 saw him involved in the tangle of international and internal intrigues that were plaguing those islands, and his successful navigation in these troubled waters increased his standing as a candidate for the Solomons position.
When he returned to Fiji, however, he found that the money for the Solomons establishment had again been refused by the Colonial Office and he spent five months dejectedly unemployed before a degree of confusion in the High Commissioner's office created his opportunity. Early in 1896 the High Commission had again suggested to the Colonial Office that money be provided for an appointment and in late March and April a favourable reply was daily expected. In Sydney, Thurston arranged with the Royal Navy for the conveyance of Woodford, whom he considered the 'Commissioner-designate', to the Solomons in the event of an appointment being approved; and he wrote to Henry Berkeley, the Acting High Commissioner, explaining his views on the practical arrangements for the new Solomons establishment. Thurston's letters, along with communications from the Navy arranging Woodford's despatch to the Solomons, led Berkeley to believe that the necessary funds would be forthcoming and he appointed Woodford as Resident Commissioner and finalised the arrangements for employing eight Fijian police to assist him. Woodford was on his way to Sydney to visit his family before his departure for the Solomons when the despatch from the Colonial Office refusing finance for his appointment arrived in Fiji and this impediment forced Berkeley to alter Woodford's instructions. He dismissed the police and, using money from the WPHC vote, appointed Woodford a Deputy Commissioner and instructed him to proceed as planned aboard HMS *Pylades* to the Solomons and prepare a report examining the need for and feasibility of appointing a Resident to the group.

The conclusions of the report that Woodford prepared as he toured the Solomons aboard the *Pylades* were, in his own mind, already arrived at. He gathered much evidence of the need for closer supervision of the labour trade and the general lawlessness of the group and he enthused about the economic possibilities: 'As a locality for the growth of the cocoa-nut palm I believe the British Protectorate of the Solomons presents advantages unequalled by any place that I have hitherto visited in the Western Pacific.' And he prepared careful estimates to show that the group, with a small tax on traders and shipping, could afford a Resident Commissioner. More importantly and not unpredictably, he assumed the role of Resident Commissioner for the duration of his own and energetically involved himself in the affairs of the Protectorate. He took steps to inhibit the speculative purchase of land, foreseeing that speculation could only hinder the development of a plantation economy; he was involved in the rescue of the remnants of Baron von Norbeck's ill-fated expedition which had been attacked attempting to penetrate
the interior of Guadalcanal; and he investigated the murder of two Europeans and undertook a punitive expedition against the responsible village, burning the whole village. Arising out of his experiences in the Gilbert Islands he was wary of the activities of the Melanesian Mission: 'it will not do to allow the authority of the missions to altogether override that of the native chiefs where the latter are worthy of support'. He recognised that the missions held an influence which challenged the authority he hoped to hold as a future Resident Commissioner and took the first opportunity available to him to assert his superior secular authority.

The news of Woodford's appointment was not well received in the Colonial Office. When Thurston requested that the appointment of a Resident Commissioner be sanctioned for the following year and that Woodford's employment be continued until the end of the current year their telegraphic response was emphatic: 'WOODFORD'S EMPLOYMENT CANNOT BE CONTINUED BEYOND SIX MONTHS'. His performance in the Solomons, however, especially his vigorous pacification measures, impressed the Colonial Office: 'All these papers show that Mr Woodford is an energetic and sensible man who wd. make a good resident': and the papers were forwarded to the Treasury in December 1896 to help persuade that always reluctant department to grant some funds to the Solomons Protectorate. To this end the move was successful and with a £1200 grant-in-aid Woodford was Resident Commissioner in February 1897. But the years of waiting and uncertainty had taken their toll on him and when he was informed that his appointment was for one year only he vented his views on the shabby treatment he thought he had received. Was the place to be set up and then deserted? Was he to do all the rough work on 'carpenter's wages' and then hand over to someone else? Do they 'have any objection to me personally'? 'Whatever they get I can safely say they will get not one who takes a greater interest in the place or more anxious to make it a success than I am.'

Pressed by the insecurity of his position as well as his ambition, he launched himself even more energetically into the establishment of a European presence on Guadalcanal and against the headhunters of Simbo in the western Solomons; he had a code of laws drawn up and saw it voluntarily accepted by the people of Nggela, and the people of Savo and parts of the northern Guadalcanal coast were including the administration in the settlement of their disputes: and he succeeded in raising enough internal revenue to cover the administration's running costs. At the end of his first year the site for the Residency had been cleared, the house built, the swamps
drained, and a coconut plantation begun. And Woodford was looking forward to the provision of a government issue of a customs regulation, and the establishment of a post office and hospital. In spite of the reluctance of the Colonial Office and the parsimony of the Treasury, his dedication to his goal had ensured that the era of European rule in the Solomons had arrived.

The tiny island of Tulagi situated just off the southern coast of Nggela in the Florida group became the administrative centre of the Protectorate. The official Residency built well up the slope overlooking the harbour was a symbol of the change in Woodford's circumstances from his earlier life in the Solomons: the substantial European dwelling and the uniform of a Resident Commissioner replaced the 'low and dirty' huts and the native attire of his unofficial days. The official who dominated the Solomons for nearly two decades had a far more complex involvement with the group than the scientist who had been in turn repulsed and charmed by the native life-style he had shared. The role of passive observer was no longer appropriate. Woodford had to define his authority and position vis-à-vis the colonial order he served and the population he had come to rule. His perspective on his position was limited and he allowed his enthusiasm to inflate his view of the importance of his work—probably a necessary device to overcome the isolated, unimportant, forgotten edge-of-the-world reality that surrounded him.

He developed the habits of mind of an autocrat, ruling his subordinate officers rather than working with them. When asked for guidance he would reply to his assistants that they had the Pacific Order in Council as their Bible and only experience would help them apply the injunction of that scripture. Naturally few of his junior officers measured up to his demanding but unstated standards and it was not until the intervention of High Commissioner Sir Henry May in 1911 that formal guidelines were issued to District Magistrates. May was motivated by both the embarrassingly high turnover of Woodford's officers and the low morale and frustration voiced by those who remained for longer periods. With his social equals he extended generous hospitality as lord of his realm. Old school friends and titled visitors who called at Tulagi were entertained with tinned pheasant, champagne and cigars. Thoroughly enjoying his new found position of power he jealously guarded the fragment of empire he regarded as his own domain. Like the other servants of the Western Pacific High Commission he was encumbered with an unwieldy system that could not cope with the rapid growth of its responsibilities that the protectorates had entailed. He resented what
he thought was the unnecessary interference of his superiors and repeatedly defended his independence against their ‘ill-considered’ policies. He was constantly annoyed by their ‘repeated mistakes and delays’, but the remoteness of the Fiji Office also gave to him that measure of freedom he had so often sought in the past—and he exploited this opportunity to implement his version of the *pax Britanica* and to promote the prosperous future he had visualised for the islands.

The British Solomon Islands Protectorate, like much of Melanesia, was still in a very disturbed state when Woodford was appointed Resident Commissioner. Attacks by Islanders on Europeans were frequent; the incidence of head-hunting seemed to be increasing and the range of its operations spreading; the hostility between the ‘salt-water’ men and the ‘bush’ men frequently involved large-scale raids by one group upon the other; and the unsettling effects of labour migration upon the Solomon Islands society were becoming increasingly apparent. Until the establishment of the Protectorate and the appointment of Woodford, visiting men-of-war had performed limited and in Woodford’s view largely ineffective police functions. Woodford had been convinced by his visits to the Solomons in the 1880s of the need for a full-scale pacification program and soon after he arrived in the Protectorate as Resident Commissioner he had his first opportunity to demonstrate the intentions of his administration. Investigating a murder in June 1897, he proceeded with his force of police to Roviana Lagoon, New Georgia, secured a number of hostages including two chiefs and then demanded that the reputed murderer be handed over. When he was not forthcoming, a village was burnt along with a canoe-house alleged to belong to the suspect and the two chiefs were retained as hostages until he surrendered himself.

The burning of villages became a frequent occurrence during Woodford’s administration. When he investigated the murder of Jean Pauret and two cook ‘boys’ in September 1897, he found that the people of the village of Kaukau on the coast of Guadalcanal resented the large-scale land development that Pauret and his company represented. Four men from Kaukau apparently went to two inland villages and paid the ‘bush’ men to kill Pauret. Woodford succeeded in capturing the four men, but in an escape attempt two were shot and one escaped—their village and another were then burnt. With the aid of nine armed traders, Woodford and his police then went inland and raided the two bush villages. They captured some prisoners, burned both villages and killed one inhabitant (he was later identified as having received the payment). In his despatch
reporting this expedition, Woodford made no comment upon the validity of the village's resentment against the rapid land development, but he was obviously pleased with the results of his efforts:

I sincerely trust and believe that the lesson administered to the natives on this occasion will have a beneficial and lasting effect, especially as it came so swiftly and unexpectedly immediately after the event and without having to wait months for the advent of a man of war.52

Through his assistant, Arthur Mahaffy, Woodford authorised a series of ruthless punitive expeditions against the head-hunters of the western Solomons. The plan he had outlined to Thurston in 1886,53 to smash the 'tomakos' and destroy the heads and canoe-houses, was put into operation, and he also pursued individual chiefs who had led head-hunting expeditions. Mahaffy's raids on Simbo and Vella Lavella attacked the communities at their most vulnerable point, their food supplies. Canoes and heads were destroyed, large quantities of stored food captured, gardens were destroyed and pigs shot. By 1901 Woodford believed that 'Head-hunting has now received such a check, that if not killed altogether, it is at any rate scotched for the present'.54 Despite the limited resources at his disposal he relentlessly pursued his goal of pacification and, superficially at least, was successful in destroying the basis for the Protectorate's reputation as the savage Solomons.

Pacification and economic development were, in Woodford's mind, inextricably linked—without the former the latter could not be expected to occur. When he established his administration, European commercial enterprise was limited to about fifty resident traders and it was through this group that he initially planned to raise his revenue. Woodford's swift response to the Pauret murder was aimed as much to convince the traders that the administration they were paying for intended to protect them as to impress the Islanders concerned with the power of the new government. Furthermore, the Marau Company for whom Pauret worked was attempting to establish the Protectorate's first large European plantation and Woodford was not willing to see this development set back by unsettled conditions. His punitive expedition to Kaukau had the desired effect—the traders, who had initially grumbled about their new taxes, supported Woodford and were especially pleased when as a side-effect of the raid the Guadalcanal people began paying long standing trade debts.55 Relations between Woodford and the traders remained close throughout his administration and only those individuals who abused the arms regulation found they were no longer welcome and were hounded out of the Protectorate by him. Trading, however, offered too limited an economic potential
and it was only through the development of plantations that Woodford believed real economic prosperity would come.

Woodford's efforts to achieve this end—and the support he received from his superiors—reflected a change in Western Pacific High Commission policy from the days of Thurston, who died in 1897. The future of the islands was now commonly believed to be in the hands of Europeans, the original inhabitants were considered to be inevitably dying out—the eventual extinction of the Melanesian race, Woodford thought, was 'as certain as the rising and setting of the sun'.56 He therefore saw his duty as twofold. On native interests in land he made his stance clear:

No provisional contract would be recommended for sanction if it was considered that its confirmation entailed an undue curtailment of the available planting area for native requirements and in the case of one or two of the smaller and more thickly populated islands no alienation of native land would receive recommendation.57

But as the population was dying out, already 'vacant' land was available for European development since it would not be needed by future generations of Islanders; and the economic viability of the Protectorate, he believed, depended on encouraging this land development. Woodford's chance to promote this end was not long in coming. In December 1897 J.T. Arundel, a director of the newly formed Pacific Islands Company, approached him about the commercial prospects of the group. Woodford's glowing account of the islands prompted Arundel to apply for a concession of all the unoccupied land in the Protectorate. Such an extravagant concession was not likely to be granted, as Woodford was quick to point out, but he suggested that favourable consideration would be given to an application for some large individual blocks of land and he indicated the blocks he had in mind.58 Early in 1899 Lord Stanmore,* the company's chairman, and Arundel began negotiating with the Colonial Office for the granting of a concession to cover all the lands mentioned in Woodford's letter. By October that year agreement had been reached which allowed the company to select up to 200,000 acres, more than double Woodford's initial suggestion, and lease this land at a nominal rental for ninety-nine years.59

* The involvement of Lord Stanmore (the former Sir Arthur Gordon, Western Pacific High Commissioner and Governor of Fiji) in this large-scale land alienation contrasts oddly with his vigorous protection of Fijian land rights in the 1870s. His motivation was perhaps to exercise again a hand in the affairs of the Pacific, the high point of his career he believed. It is difficult, however, to see how, given his earlier ideals, he justified this type of involvement; and his record with the Pacific Phosphate Company over Ocean Island in the same period is even more dubious.
Woodford found himself early in 1900 accompanying the company's representatives on a tour around the Solomons and helping them to select land on Gizo, Kolombangara, Wana Wana, New Georgia, Ysabel, Choiseul and Guadalcanal. Although he was not happy with the amount of coastline to be alienated, the size of the concession and the promises of the company made his vision of a promising commercial future almost seem a reality. Then his hopes of speedy development were squashed by the news that the Deutsche Handels-und Plantagen-Gesellschaft had filed claims in Suva in 1898 for most of the land proposed for the concession.

Woodford was justifiably indignant that no one in the Suva Office had bothered to inform him of the filing of these claims and he blamed all the subsequent difficulties on this oversight. All his railing against the 'preposterous German claims' could not change the situation, however, and nearly four years passed before the situation was resolved and occupation licences were issued for the concession. Woodford's sense of frustration because of this delay was only magnified when it became obvious late in 1904 that the Pacific Islands Company, sidetracked by the discovery of phosphates on Ocean Island, was no longer interested in developing the land. Being saddled with a large concession that no one was developing seemed to indicate the folly of Woodford's earlier enthusiasm and the demise of his dreams, but by early 1905 he was more confident than ever of the Protectorate's prosperous future. His hopes had been revived by the interest Levers Pacific Plantations Limited was showing in the Solomons. The company's Sydney manager had visited the islands in April 1905 and with Woodford's active encouragement had purchased nearly 30,000 acres. The resources of this company were impressive enough for Woodford to involve himself in organising the transfer of the concession to Levers while he was on leave in England later the same year. The involvement of Levers marked the turning point in the economic future of the Solomons and although relations between Woodford and Levers were not always smooth, the large-scale economic development they initiated marked the accomplishment of most of Woodford's dreams.

To Woodford's mind, his efforts to achieve a peaceful and prosperous Protectorate had been largely successful by the time he officially retired in 1915. The lawlessness of the pre-government head-hunting days had long passed and though violence was still a common occurrence few outbreaks went unnoticed and unpunished; while the growth of the Protectorate's revenue had been steady throughout his administration and the British taxpayer had rarely been asked to supply funds to cover additional expenditure. His one
major disappointment when he left the Solomons for the last time in July 1914 was that he felt his years of 'long and arduous service' had not been given their due recognition. A constant thread woven throughout his tangled and often bitter engagements with the High Commissioner's Office, and visible during his various attempts to achieve colonial status for the Protectorate, was his own inner urging to achieve a recognisable standing in the Colonial Service hierarchy. The CMG awarded late in his career did little to assuage his vanity. Towards the end of his administration part of his motivation in continuing with his chosen task had shifted subtly from his original need to exercise independent power and authority to a more self-promotional need to exercise power and authority visibly.

In retirement, however, Woodford found that his reputation had travelled far and, although no official recognition of his services was forthcoming, he was frequently consulted by people interested in the Solomons as the expert on that group's affairs he felt himself to be. He used his new-found leisure to contribute articles on the islands' ethnography and planned to write a history and natural history of the Solomons, but the project never matured. He was still an enthusiastic naturalist, an interest he had maintained throughout his career, and while his health remained good he continued to extend his collection of insects. His health deteriorated rapidly during the last few years of his life and his hearing failed him, a disability he attributed to his years of massive doses of quinine. He died at his farm in Sussex in October 1927 at the age of 75.

Woodford's own assessment of his achievements, of course, always remained within the narrow framework of his own ideas. The aims of development and pacification carried out with the false assumption of a dying local population left a legacy in the Solomons, aspects of which still persist. Ruthless pacification only buried or obscured fundamental social mores, and outbreaks of violence in areas considered peaceful remained a constant administrative problem for decades after Woodford retired. More importantly, his encouragement of European development resulted in the alienation of over 400,000 acres of prime coastal coconut land and most of this land is still in the hands of Europeans and still the subject of bitter feelings among the Islanders. His administration generally presided over the imposition of European economics, culture and technology in a heavy-handed and poorly thought out manner—reflecting both the arrogance and assumptions of colonialism in this period, and the ignorance of the future effects of their actions by the individuals involved.
Woodford's attitudes as they were embodied in his administration reflected clearly the direction of colonial thought at the end of the nineteenth century. Gone were the men, like Sir John Thurston, who wholeheartedly accepted the validity of the non-European societies they came to rule. Such real acceptance, held by so few even in the mid-nineteenth century, had become the diluted well-meaning phrases of official policy by the turn of the century as increasingly larger areas were brought under British colonial control. Woodford was the product and an example of the aggressive empire building of the later Victorian age, with its assumed racial and social superiority leavened with benevolent paternalism. More sympathetically, Woodford tackled an arduous and generally unrewarding task which few men without his energy and single-mindedness could have handled. The Pacific, and the Solomon Islands in particular, provided the outlet for his need to exercise power and act independently and he repaid this debt with the total commitment of his personal resources to his vision of the Solomons' future. His approach to administration was always pragmatic and never theoretical. If his understanding of the problems and effects of colonial rule was limited, he nonetheless staunchly and unwaveringly defended the Solomon Islanders against the more obvious abuses of European contact.
GRIMBLE OF THE GILBERT ISLANDS
Myth and Man
Barrie Macdonald

In the past two decades Arthur Grimble has emerged as something of a legendary figure in the modern history of the Pacific Islands—a status he achieved, not during his service in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony from 1914 to 1933, but after his retirement from the colonial service in 1948. His accounts of life in the colony, as published in A Pattern of Islands and Return to the Islands, and the series of BBC talks on which they were based, have made Grimble and the Gilbert Islands inseparable in the minds of a wide public.

A Pattern of Islands brilliantly describes the charms of the Gilberts and the Gilbertese and the privations suffered by the handful of Europeans living amongst them before World War II. As autobiography, history and anthropology, however, it leaves much to be desired. The reader gains an impression of Grimble as a benevolently paternalistic official; one who, despite his mishaps and social blunders, was universally loved and trusted to the extent that he was initiated into secret clan lore. This aura of semi-reverence which Grimble created for himself, together with his version of Gilbertese history, has been perpetuated by other writers and accepted into the popular mythology of the Pacific.

Despite his frequent disparaging remarks, Grimble had a genuine affection for the Gilbertese; in the face of missionary opposition, he fought vigorously for their right to preserve traditional pastimes. Yet his writing on Gilbertese traditional life and history was often tailored to meet his own romantic perception and literary needs—a practice that led to a casual disregard for accuracy and chronology. For example, his account of fighting a large octopus may be dismissed as a figment of a fertile imagination; while Tem Binoka,
High Chief of Abemama, was preserved by Grimble to see the arrival of the British Flag and cause discomfort to its bearers when death had removed that vigorous personality some months before the Protectorate was declared. On several occasions, too, Grimble made himself the leading actor in dramas in which he played an insignificant role or of which he had only secondhand knowledge, though none of this reduces his stature as a writer of magnificent fiction.

Son of a manufacturer of marine engines, Arthur Francis Grimble was born in Hong Kong on 11 June 1888. From 1898 to 1906 he was at Chigwell School in Essex and then went up to Magdalene College, Cambridge, where he read law, literature and languages. He was President of the Pepysian Literary Club at Magdalene and at least in his own estimation, was ‘not unknown as a poet’. After coming down from Cambridge he travelled on the Continent for almost three years before returning to England at the end of 1913 to apply for a cadetship in the Western Pacific. He married Olivia Jarvis before sailing for Ocean Island in 1914.

Grimble was employed in the administrative service of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony for almost nineteen years, a continuous term exceeded by only one expatriate official either before or since. After two years as a clerk in the Resident Commissioner’s office he was posted to District Administration, first to Tarawa and subsequently to the central and southern islands of the Gilbert group. In 1920 he was made the first Native Lands Commissioner for the Gilbert and Ellice Islands—a position he held until he left the Colony in 1932. He had only a little more than two years concentrating on lands work, however; in the 1920s he spent most of his time at Ocean Island on special duties and, from 1926, as Resident Commissioner.

Before World War II the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony was one of Britain’s most remote and neglected dependencies. It comprises small scattered coral islands which, except for Ocean Island, have none of the resources which might attract European settlement. Socio-political structures and languages vary considerably both within and between the two groups of islands; culturally, they are divided by the line of convenience which separates Micronesia from Polynesia. The nineteenth century saw the arrival of a few beachcombers and traders and fewer missionaries, all of whom influenced indigenous society to a degree out of proportion to their numbers. Protectorates were declared over the Gilbert and Ellice groups in 1892 as part of a reluctant expansion of the formal British frontier in the Pacific. Then, more than two decades later, these
islands were combined with Ocean Island, the Line Islands and the Tokelaus to form the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony. Of these additions, Ocean Island was by far the most important. Following the discovery of phosphate deposits, the island became a British possession in 1900 and, eight years later, the site of the colony's administrative headquarters. From that time the phosphate industry became the primary concern of the administration and determined official policy towards the colony as a whole.

Communication between Ocean Island and the Gilbert and Ellice groups was spasmodic and infrequent. Policies as laid down in the Colonial Office, by the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific in Suva, or even by the Resident Commissioner, bore little relation to the realities of life on the outer islands. For as long as he remained on an island the word of a District Officer was law, but with only three, or perhaps four, touring officials for twenty-four islands and poor communications, supervision tended to be ineffectual. For the most part the Gilbertese and Ellice Islanders were left to regulate their own affairs in accordance with traditional ideas modified to varying degrees by contact with missions and government.

With the increasing colonial commitment of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, dependencies which were strategically unimportant and of limited economic potential received a lowly rating in the distribution of finance and personnel. In the Pacific a partial solution was found in the recruitment 'off the beach' of traders, planters and labour overseers to take up the White Man's Burden on remote islands. A few such men—for example Sir John Thurston, a merchant seaman who became Governor of Fiji and High Commissioner for the Western Pacific; and in a minor key, George Murdoch, a trader who became District Officer in the Gilbert Islands—proved able and perceptive administrators; most were mediocre, insensitive and arrogant in their dealings with indigenous peoples. Of the latter type the Gilbert and Ellice Islands had more than its share and the administrative establishment, seldom more than ten in this period, usually had less than half that number of professional careerists.

Although Grimble with his superior education, undoubted ability and driving ambition was destined to rise quickly in such a service, he was seldom content with his lot in the islands. He did not rise quite fast enough. In the early years it rankled with him that men with lesser formal qualifications should be regarded as his seniors on the basis of age and experience. His early applications for promotion and transfer were declined or deferred. The personal cost of remaining in the islands was considerable. For health and family reasons (four
daughters had been born between 1915 and 1920) his wife remained in Europe and between 1920 and 1930 he spent less than nine months with his family. Moreover, his constitution was not adapted to the rigours of island life and the local diet on which he had to live for long periods. In particular he suffered from chronic amoebic dysentery which kept him bedridden for weeks at a time, often without medical treatment. He also felt the intellectual isolation, not simply on the outer islands where at least he had the compensation of his anthropological studies but on Ocean Island as well, where he considered himself to be surrounded by inferior minds. He thought of himself as a member of an elitist world of intellectuals suffering from mental and metaphysical starvation. Although he could be charming, Grimble did not get on easily with his colleagues, resenting the instructions of his seniors and then, in later years, the advice of his juniors. To complicate matters he also had to suffer the ill-will of those he bypassed—men of less education than himself who disliked his intellectualism and aloofness.

With his ability to learn foreign languages Grimble quickly became fluent in Gilbertese and thereafter, despite a lack of formal training in the subject, was able to indulge his interest in anthropology. He published some of his findings in learned journals, but most remained in manuscript. He was extremely proud of his achievements in this field and paraded his Fellowship of the Royal Anthropological Institute as a high academic accolade. It would also appear from his application for the Foundation Chair of Anthropology at Sydney University and his compilation of material for what he hoped would become a D.Sc. from Cambridge University that he either nursed academic aspirations or used this work in an attempt to boost his promotion prospects. Although he had a tendency to dramatise in his serious writings, his unpublished papers remain as monuments to a pioneering effort in the observation and analysis of Gilbertese society.

By 1920 when he had been in district administration for four years, Grimble had become the colony's resident expert on 'native custom'. With the isolation of colony headquarters on Ocean Island 240 miles to the west of the Gilberts, and the appointment of Resident Commissioners who knew little and saw less of the other islands under their charge, Grimble's voice became dominant in determining policy in matters relating to island administration, customary law and land—a position that he guarded jealously, giving the impression that he alone understood the issues involved. As Resident Commissioner from 1926 to 1932 he legislated from Ocean Island for the Gilbert and Ellice groups and retained the title
of Lands Commissioner, refusing to allow District Officers to deal with land matters except under his direct supervision.

Grimble had responded enthusiastically to his first taste of district administration in 1916. He had been sent to Tarawa, the former administrative headquarters, with responsibility for the nearby islands of Marakei, Abaiang and Maiana. Tarawa boasted a medical officer (spasmodically) and one, or occasionally two, other European officials, along with a handful of traders. Grimble was less interested in his fellow Europeans than in the Gilbertese living in their semi-autonomous villages along the narrow strip of land encircling the lagoon. There was the appearance of unified island administration in the form of a Native Government and a Native Court, but traditional rivalries were still fundamental to island politics. There were colony laws and local regulations to be enforced but in practice day-to-day affairs were left to the old men of the villages meeting in their maneaba as an informal council. With Grimble's presence the number of convictions in the court more than doubled—the Gilbertese accepted a more rigorous local government in the presence of a District Officer as part of the colonial game; imprisonment was regarded as a welcome holiday from the obligations of village life and for most 'crimes' it carried no social stigma.

His interest in land matters ensured an entrée into local society for Grimble, albeit as a guiding father to the 'children, and at bottom very well-disposed children' under his care. The arrival of HMS Royalist to declare the Protectorate in 1892 had brought an indecisive end to the last of a series of major wars between the northern and southern districts of Tarawa. The first two Residents, C.R. Swayne and W.T. Campbell, had 'frozen' land tenure as at 1892 but their successors and, in their absence, the local government, had constantly revised the registers with most changes favouring the moral victors of 1892. By 1917 land tenure was totally confused and unresolved disputes were causing dissension. It was through the adjudication of these disputes, the necessary tracing of genealogies and inheritance, and the analysis of custom, that Grimble developed his interest in Gilbertese land tenure. To his first District Annual Report he appended a lengthy analysis of the Tarawa situation and suggested a lands commission to produce a definitive settlement. The report was well received and from that time Grimble's future appointment to head the commission, the need for which had already been recognised, was assured.

During this first year on Tarawa, Grimble developed a lasting affection for the northern Gilbertese. He enjoyed his job and the
respect it carried. But there was more to his reaction than this. Effective local power was still vested in traditional leaders and the rugged individualism of the Gilbertese was very much to the fore. Grimble admired these traits and the whole situation appealed to his sense of romanticism. Further, he found that, intellectually, he had much in common with many of the Catholic missionaries and that they, like he, were liberal in their views of Gilbertese custom.

During this period Grimble conducted a running battle with E.C. Eliot, Resident Commissioner from 1913 to 1920. Grimble's isolation on Tarawa had delayed his law examinations and, as a consequence, the confirmation of his status and a rise in salary—issues on which he was extremely sensitive. Then, when Eliot expressed doubts as to whether a third official had the nerve to assist at an execution—a task accepted with equanimity by Grimble—he disclosed the contents of Eliot's letter and provoked another storm in a minute service already split into almost as many camps as there were individuals. It was hardly surprising that when Grimble found himself posted to Abemama in the central Gilberts, and replaced at Gilbert Islands headquarters by a slightly more senior colleague without formal qualifications, his letter of protest was couched in terms sufficiently strong to earn him a reprimand. But with the prospect of the lands commission and a further posting to the southern Gilberts—a 'difficult' district worthy of his talents—his wounds healed and he concentrated on establishing government control over his new district.

The London Missionary Society had first sent Samoan pastors to the Gilberts in the 1870s. Within two decades the pastors had become all-powerful because of Gilbertese demand for their monopoly, education; their leadership in opposition to labour recruitment; and their manipulation of island politics. The pastors gradually acquired dictatorial powers and many traded at their converts' expense until 1900 when W.E. Goward, the first resident European LMS missionary in the Gilberts, re-established some sort of control over their activities. Although he curtailed the more flagrant abuses Goward, like his pastors, believed in controlling the community through the church. There were minority groups of Roman Catholics and pagans but the five most southerly islands were strongholds of evangelical Protestantism. The arrival of G.H. Eastman, Goward's successor, more or less coincided with that of Grimble. Eastman was less extreme in his views than Goward but
became as dogmatic in his stance in the face of an increasingly aggressive government.

The government’s position in the south had been weakened, before Grimble’s arrival, by the exploits of H.S. Newton, an acting District Officer. Newton was an ill-educated, bullying officer who tried to break mission power by dismissing all Christian government officials and imprisoning most, by encouraging and even insisting on public dancing, and by ruling the south without the benefit of law. At Arorae there was eventually an attack on his life thwarted, ironically, by the LMS pastors; shortly afterwards Newton, in a ‘mentally disturbed state’, attempted suicide and was later permitted to resign.12

For twenty-five years, local government in the southern Gilberts had been supervised only spasmodically and the Administration had thus, by default, permitted the unimpeded expansion of church influence. Apart from brief incursions by Campbell around the turn of the century, the first serious attack on this situation came from Newton, which made it difficult for a government that had dissociated itself from his actions to pursue even a moderate campaign of similar intent.

Although there were grievances on both sides concerning appointments to island governments in particular, the focal issue in the whole controversy was ‘native dancing’. For half a century Protestant missionaries had attacked all dancing as a manifestation of ‘native decadence’, especially as some of the dances were closely tied to extramarital sexual relations. Dancing, the missionaries argued, promoted jealousy, sorcery, adultery and drunkenness. They were appalled not simply by the sexual connotations of the dances and the state of sobbing hysteria to which many of the dancers were reduced, but also by the time ‘wasted’ in hours of practice as well as performance.13 The opposition to dancing was closely related to the advocacy of ‘decent’ dress — mother-hubbards for the women, shirts and lavalavas for the men — monogamous marriage, curfews and the control of the faithful (or those who professed to be so) through church regulations.

For many years the government had found it convenient to distinguish between ‘proper’ and ‘improper’ dances, with all except the most blatantly sexual falling into the first category. In a further, and similarly paradoxical, attempt to counter the mission’s ban, it went so far as to specify times of the day and days of the week at
which groups in excess of four persons could practise and perform their dances—a step that drew from Goward the complaint that these prescribed times were regarded as compulsory by many Gilbertese and thus hindered the ‘work’. In practice, Goward, Eastman, and their well-schooled pastors had established an effective ban amongst all church members.

To Grimble, dancing was a healthy, harmless recreation and ‘the sole historic document of the islands, the sole common bond of sympathy between them . . .’. Dancing was also an art-form, a beautiful spectacle:

After practice . . . the Ruoaia becomes a magnificent harmony of bodies, eyes and arms—even of hands and fingertips—swinging, undulating and poising in perfect attunement, through a thousand graceful attitudes to the organ-note of fifty voices chanting in absolute rhythm.

And it was not paganism or dancing that was responsible for the moral decline of the Gilbertese, he argued, but rather the LMS and its obsession with ‘decent’ clothes:

The Mission has taught a certain number of natives to harbour evil thoughts about the female body. It has planted a seed of corruption where once there was only innocence. The spread of overclad Protestant Christianity disseminates the disease of prurient thinking, with its concomitant vices of sexual curiosity, fornication amongst juveniles, and (worse than all else) self-abuse. The morals, the cleanliness and the health of the Group are being wrecked by the fanatic dogma of clothes.

Grimble’s vehement identification with the traditionalist Gilbertese, his lyrical defences of dancing, the fact that he had dancing marks tattooed on his arms (he later displayed these marks as a sign of rare clan initiation) and his intransigent attitude towards the mission hardly made him an impartial observer. But to him, dancing was not so much an issue in itself as symptomatic of the whole state of affairs in the southern Gilberts. His romantic view of the Gilbertese and his paternal concern for their welfare—both cultivated by his spell in the largely pagan north—led him to deplore the changes that were taking place:

That the work of the Protestant Mission has been valuable is very evident, since it prepared the way of Government in the South, and has since supplied whatever traces of education one may observe among the people. But it has attempted by education to do the work of evolution. It has endeavoured in a single span to bridge the abyss between savagery and modernism, and succeeded only in wrecking the native character . . . The most painful results of this abortive attempt are (a) the disappearance of the native gentleman with his primitive yet perfectly clean cut standards of conduct; (b) the birth of the native snob; a being ashamed
of his ancestry, ashamed practically of everything that ever happened to his race outside the chapel and the classroom.\textsuperscript{17}

In the early decades of the twentieth century there were two broad schools of thought on the type of education that should be provided in dependencies. In the Pacific, as elsewhere, this issue was closely tied to overall administrative policies. It was believed that most islands had little scope for economic development and this, combined with the prevailing British colonial policy that dependencies should 'live of their own', automatically restricted the ability of British colonial governments to finance comprehensive education. Many administrators believed, therefore, that government education should be elitist and strictly related to governmental employment capacity while mass education should be in the vernacular, restricted to 'useful' agricultural and industrial subjects, and left to the missions. The opposing view was that change and 'progress' were inevitable in some degree, that elitism was undesirable, that the intellectual horizons of peoples destined for eventual self-rule should not be circumscribed and that education in English was the sole effective means of conveying new concepts and 'improving' society. Controversy tended to be concentrated, therefore, on the place of English as a subject and as a medium of instruction.

Grimble belonged to the first of these schools. As well as objecting specifically to the character of mission education, he also wanted a restricted government education program which would be in accord with his desire to seal off the Gilberts and the Gilbertese from external influences that would encourage social change. The King George V School at Tarawa and the Ellice Islands School at Vaitupu had been established in the 1920s to provide clerks and interpreters (no higher appointments were envisaged); after five years, it had met the government's basic requirements. Therefore, Grimble argued, the schools should be restricted to such a level as to ensure no more than replacement personnel. As Resident Commissioner in the early 1930s he reversed the policy of teaching in English at the Ellice Islands school on the grounds that widespread English education would 'be dangerous inasmuch as it would tend to inspire the natives with ambitions which they could never fulfil, and thus become the potential cause of political unrest' and would 'produce a class of youths both economically useless and socially dangerous'.\textsuperscript{18} He had already rejected the argument put forward by the colony's teachers that an educated minority could act as 'torchbearers' for social change in the community; he commented rather cynically that a
trickle of graduates from government schools 'would produce no appreciable effect whatever upon the collective dirtiness, inertia, imprudence, and domestic unenlightenment of the people'. This revised policy continued until after the war, except for spasmodic and largely unsuccessful attempts to improve the standard of village education through the training of mission teachers in government schools.

After his period in the southern Gilberts, where he developed many of his ideas on colonial policy, and a year's leave in England, Grimble was finally given his lands commission. All land in the Gilbert Islands was subdivided into plots (each known as a 'land') which could be inherited by both men and women and could also be transferred in many other ways—for example, in return for services, on adoption or marriage, or a compensation for certain crimes. Because land was such a scarce commodity, and plots had been fragmented over time, it was common for an individual's holdings to be scattered throughout several islands. Lands varied in size from a few square yards to several acres, with an average size on most islands of between one and three acres; babai (coarse taro) pits, fish weirs and ponds were also regarded as real property. On Tarawa, for example, an island of some 5000 acres with a population in 1920 of 2500, there were 2000 lands and more than 5500 babai pits. Each land was named but boundaries were not always clearly defined—identification depended on natural landmarks, trees and marker-stones. The latter could easily be shifted, resulting in conflicting claims, and there were disputes within and between families over inheritance, ownership and usufruct. The Lands Commission had the task of determining, island by island, the local system of land tenure and then relating these principles to the ownership history of disputed lands, the genealogies of the disputants and, in many cases, a hundred or more years of local history. On each island the Commission worked with a court of old men who were the acknowledged authorities in land tenure.

For a little more than two years in the early 1920s Grimble was in his element. Freed from the petty chores of district administration, he was able to indulge his predilection for spending long hours in the maneaba of the northern Gilberts investigating the fundamental principles upon which Gilbertese society rested. And it is for his lands work that Grimble is best remembered in the Gilberts—though not for the hundreds of cases he heard and settled on the islands from Marakei to Maiana, but rather for the disputes which, for half a century, followed his settlement on Butaritari and Makin in the far north.
These islands were dominated by one of the two strong centralised dynasties which survived into the colonial period. Society was more rigidly hierarchical than elsewhere in the Gilberts, with principal divisions of 'royal' family, chiefs, and worker-caretakers, the latter being the slaves of former times. Most land was owned by the high chief, who allocated portions to the lesser chiefs, mostly his relatives; they then supervised its management and the collection of produce. Grimble's land settlement on these islands was regarded by him as an interim arrangement on the way to individualised tenure in conformity with the remainder of the group. The high chief's lands were arbitrarily divided, one-quarter being left to the high chief and the remainder given in joint tenure to the families of the lesser chiefs and workers who occupied it.

This settlement caused more bitterness at the time than any other, and accelerated the socio-political changes already taking place in response to contact with the West. The position of the high chief slowly but inexorably declined. The land rights given the former caretaker class facilitated marriage with those higher in the social scale and thus helped to blur the earlier distinctions. Moreover, problems arising from this settlement, as on other islands, were exacerbated by the government's often haphazard approach to land matters in later years. But the settlement on Butaritari and Makin caused special problems because Grimble's solution, which had no foundation in traditional society, lacked legitimacy in the eyes of those most affected by it.21

In the five years preceding his appointment as Resident Commissioner in 1926 Grimble was kept increasingly at Ocean Island. He was the most senior administrative officer after the Resident Commissioner and certainly the most experienced in local conditions—the obvious person to advise his superior, and act in his absence. Further, his health had deteriorated to the point where prolonged absences from European food and medical attention would ensure weeks if not months of illness. He was also becoming increasingly alienated from his surroundings and despondent about his chances for promotion. When applying for the position of Resident Commissioner (or for transfer should his first application prove unsuccessful) he lamented that after twelve years' service in the Gilberts he was 'left with a depressing sense of talents gradually atrophied for lack of exercise' and complained that one in his position found 'no alleviation of his lot in the illusion that his duties could not be performed by one of baser intelligence'.22 He was soon found more onerous duties. With negotiations pending on the acquisition of additional phosphate lands on Ocean Island, an
officer of local experience was preferred. Grimble was the obvious choice though perhaps not the ideal one from the native landowners' viewpoint.

Apart from the phosphate industry, 'Native Administration' was the Resident Commissioner's primary concern. Grimble had had long service in the Gilbert Islands but none in any other dependency. He had been isolated and out of touch with developments elsewhere in the Empire and had not had his horizons broadened by working in a larger territory. He tended to see the solutions to any of the colony's problems relying on making the existing system more uniform and in exercising closer control from above. His conservative approach suited the Colonial Office which, with the onset of the depression, began paring down the already miserly colonial budgets. Grimble constantly acted as if the Islanders were children in need of firm patriarchal control. He was jealous of missionary influence where virtual monopolies had been established and impatient with sectarian strife where the missions were in conflict. In practice, partly of necessity but largely by inclination, he sought this same control that had been achieved by the missionaries.

The best guides to Grimble's ideas on colonial administration are to be found in the GEIC Colony Annual Report for 1924-6, which he wrote, and in his Hints and Instructions to District Officers, District Commissioners, and Sub-Accountants (1929) and Regulations for the Good Order and Cleanliness of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands (1930). All reveal an interesting paradox in Grimble's thinking. While he was fond of Gilbertese on an individual, personal basis he had a jaundiced view of their collective capacity. He was engaged in the semi-scientific study of Gilbertese culture and urged his junior staff to act in accordance with custom in their dealings with the Gilbertese, yet he over-estimated the degree of change taking place in society and under-estimated its ability to survive and adapt in a changing world. In A Pattern of Islands, for example, he wrote that customs concerning maneaba government had decayed to such an extent by 1935-40 that 'most people had forgotten the entire system of sitting-places in the maneaba'. In fact, thirty years later the system, although not used except on special occasions, is well remembered and understood by most adults. Again, in Hints, and Instructions, he stipulated that the Native Courts should be compelled to define incest according to English law — though the Gilbertese considered much more distant relationships than those prescribed by this interpretation to be incestuous — on the grounds that 'It is . . . doubtful whether there are now living a dozen natives with the knowledge of custom necessary for the full application of
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this [the traditional] code'. Again, this was a misrepresentation of the true situation and a reflection of Grimble's desire to override variations in local law in favour of an alien norm. These trends were even more clearly illustrated in the Regulations. Under longstanding legislation local governments had the power to make island regulations. In practice, however, the supervisory role of District Officers had become one of initiation and direction. Grimble took the process one step further and issued a uniform code on his own authority but supposedly with the concurrence of the Native Governments.

The upbringing of children, and the care of aged parents, adoptive parents, dogs, pigs and fowls were all the subject of regulations. Feasts to celebrate birth, puberty, betrothal, marriage and death required special permission. The dancing regulations still applied. Most families had separate buildings for sleeping, where social activities also took place, eating, and food storage; eating in a sleeping house or sleeping in an eating or food house earned a fine of 1s. to 10s. All houses were to be inspected weekly. A 9.00 p.m. curfew was imposed. All adults were to clean their houses before 6 a.m. daily and to work their land on Fridays. Many of the regulations were concerned with traditional practices for which standards of behaviour were clearly defined and understood. For example, the reciprocal soliciting of goods and services was prohibited but it is doubtful whether the practice was curbed or the regulation enforced. Adoption procedures were similarly specified but ignored.

It quickly became evident that the regulations—described by the Chief Judicial Commissioner in Fiji as '“Spartan” in character . . . [and] draconic in their severity'—were unenforced and unenforceable. They made no concessions to customary variations in law and society within the Gilbert Islands and totally ignored the fundamental differences between Gilbertese and Ellice. Little in the way of revision could be achieved in Grimble's time and his successor, J.C. Barley, showed little inclination for change until a younger generation of District Officers began to take a more positive approach. They turned a blind eye to many infringements of the regulations. Then H.E. Maude, who was also Lands Commissioner and a future Resident Commissioner, had a copy of the regulations sent to Josiah Wedgwood, an opposition Member of the House of Commons. Substantial and rapid amendments were made when 'that truculent upholder of the Individuals Right to Live', as Barley described him, threatened to table them for debate in Parliament.

Apart from an occasional flurry of this nature, the administration and welfare of the Islanders seldom aroused much interest in
London. When large-scale commercial enterprise and the 'welfare of the Empire' were at stake, it was a different story. Phosphate had been discovered on Ocean Island in 1900 by Albert Ellis, an employee of the Pacific Islands Company (later the Pacific Phosphate Company). Then, at the behest of Lord Stanmore, the company's Chairman (and formerly, as Sir Arthur Gordon, High Commissioner for the Western Pacific), the Colonial Office issued a licence which granted the company exclusive mining rights. Later the island was included for administrative purposes within the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Protectorates. By somewhat dubious means Ellis secured from the Banabans, the indigenous inhabitants, exclusive mining rights for 999 years in return for an annual payment in foods to the value of £50. The conditions were subsequently revised but the company was still able to return an annual profit in excess of its capital investment and to claim preferential treatment for operating in the interests of the 'farmers of the Empire'. In 1920, the British Phosphate Commissioners were appointed under an agreement amongst the governments of the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand and assumed responsibility for operations at both Ocean Island and the former German dependency of Nauru. Whereas the company had minimised costs to maximise profits, the BPC did so in order to subsidise the farming industries of Australia and New Zealand and, ultimately, British consumers.

For a time the Banabans had found Resident Commissioners at Ocean Island to be their closest allies in their attempt to secure redress for past wrongs and fair prices for the future. But J. Quayle Dickson, Resident for a stormy period before World War I, was transferred to a more junior post in the Falkland Islands for his trouble and his replacement, E.C. Eliot, came from a promising career to languish in the colony for seven years before moving on to relatively minor posts. Arthur Grimble, Eliot's successor but one, learnt from their experience. He was prepared to consider Banaban interests but not to the undue detriment of the BPC and certainly not in a way to jeopardise his own career.

It was one of the facts of the Colony's life that the phosphate industry had a dominant role in local affairs, along with a guarantee of sympathetic treatment in London; it was inevitable that the Resident Commissioner would become embroiled. He was the intermediary between implacable foes, one of whom had the ear of his masters and provided the lion's share of the colony's revenue. As well as being involved in land and royalty negotiations and disputes over the revenue contribution, the Resident Commissioner had to act
as arbitrator in the frequent disputes involving the BPC's labour force.

It was in this latter connection that Grimble, as Acting Resident Commissioner, faced the first major crisis of his career. By 1925 the BPC was employing about 400 Chinese and 600 Gilbertese labourers. Although they were separated as much as possible on the mining site and housed in separate locations, there was constant friction between the two races—disputes over relative housing and working conditions, petty personal animosities, and resentment amongst the Chinese at the practical joking of the Gilbertese. In general, labour relations were poorly handled, contracts were not strictly adhered to, and co-operation was lacking between the government and the BPC with neither effectively enforcing what few labour and disciplinary regulations did exist.

Full-scale riots involving about a thousand labourers erupted at the end of November 1925 after a brief skirmish between a Gilbertese and a Chinese; the speed with which the Chinese mobilised and the organised nature of their attack on the Gilbertese quarters suggested that this incident was the occasion rather than the cause. In the actual fighting, which lasted less than a day, the Chinese's homemade spears, dynamite bombs, and antique firearms were no match for the sticks, stones, physical strength and numerical superiority of the Gilbertese.

It was Grimble's responsibility to restore and maintain order. He had at his disposal fourteen Gilbertese and Ellice police and perhaps fifty European employees of the BPC and government. Negotiations, threats and pickets were sufficient to keep an uneasy armed truce for ten days until HMS Laburnum arrived with troops to search for weapons and to supervise the repatriation of most of the Chinese. Although he may have overstated the murderous intentions of the Gilbertese after the initial attack and may have exaggerated the possibility of mass slaughter, Grimble was in an extremely difficult position. He had insufficient means to maintain order by force, and any direct action could well have precipitated violence. As usual, the Secretary of State was more impressed with the BPC's interpretation of events (which blamed government officials at Ocean Island) than with that offered by the Resident Commissioner: he expressed reservations regarding Grimble's handling of the situation, appointed a commission of inquiry, and held over the appointment of a substantive Resident Commissioner until the Commission's report (which justified and praised Grimble) had been received.31
In this incident, as in another disturbance within the Chinese ranks in 1931, Grimble showed a degree of personal courage bordering on foolhardiness. He reacted quickly to crisis, took decisive action and was not afraid to face a seething crowd of several hundred labourers alone and unarmed. He had an implicit belief in his own ability to solve problems and great faith in the value of authority personified facing a recalcitrant mob.

But he found the Banabans rather more difficult to handle. After their initial and traumatic 'education' at the hands of the Phosphate Company, the Banabans had quickly learnt the value of their land and the implications of having a mining enterprise in their midst. By the time of the 1909-13 negotiations they were not so readily exploited. But from 1920 their bargaining position was weakened; no longer dealing with a company that was sympathetically regarded by government, they faced a multi-government agency one of whose principals could, and did, legislate in its interest.

At the end of 1925 the BPC sought 150 acres more mining land. Significantly, the first approach was made to the Colonial Office rather than the High Commissioner's Resident. When finally consulted, Grimble suggested that the terms offered—£100 per acre and a total of 9d. per ton in royalties—would not be accepted by the Banabans and suggested £200 per acre and 1s. 6d. per ton. Then, after discussions with A.H. Gaze, the Chief Representative of the BPC, he recommended as a minimum, and the BPC accepted as a maximum, £150 per acre and 10½d. per ton. These terms represented, he argued, 'the extremist limit to which the Administration can go to meet the Commission without becoming a party to the definite sacrifice of Banaban interests. The terms do not, however, approach the limit of the Commission's capacity to pay without prejudice to itself or its customers.' From this qualified acceptance in July 1927 he moved, just a month later, to the point where in a letter to Gaze he described these same terms as 'a fair basis for the transfer of 150 acres' and lamented that 'in spite of all my coaching to date, no party [amongst the Banabans] is so convinced of the excellence of those terms that it will take a definite stand against the energetic speakers on the other side'.

It is hardly surprising the Banabans were unimpressed. When negotiations opened in 1925 they were asking for £5000 an acre, which prompted the High Commissioner to comment:

If one takes into consideration the fact that the sale price of the land now held by the Commission was £60 per acre, and that an acre of phosphate land produces, on a conservative estimate from 25 to 30,000 tons of
phosphate at a nett value of 30/- per ton, ... the proceeds being thus £37,500 to £48,000 per acre, the reply made by the Banaban ... does not appear to me to be an unreasonable one.36

By 1927 the Banabans had dropped this demand in favour of '£5 a carload'—with a 'car' holding about a ton of untreated phosphate this would have meant an annual return in the vicinity of a million pounds.37

Once it became clear that the Banabans would not accept the initial offer Grimble tried to persuade them in the hope, it would seem, of earning himself credit-marks at the Colonial Office. He attempted to divide and rule the Banabans, meeting them individually and in small groups, trying to build up a 'party'—as he called it—in favour of acceptance of the proffered terms. In his official correspondence he gave the impression that a settlement was always imminent and expressed some resentment at the differences between Banaban views as expressed in the 'exhaustive intimate discussions' he had with them and in the public meetings.38

In 1928 Colonial Office impatience and BPC pressure led the Secretary of State to suggest legislation for compulsory acquisition. Grimble promptly agreed, adding that he had already come to the conclusion that such a step was necessary. Despite the existence of 'Phosphate and Trees' purchase agreements from the early 1900s and the 1913 agreement, both of which had explicitly acknowledged the Banabans' possession of both surface and mineral rights, the Secretary of State ruled that, henceforth, land rights would consist of surface rights—and would be paid for as such—and that mineral rights would be vested in the Crown.39 Thus the Banabans lost their only effective weapon—a refusal to sell—and, in addition, became dependent on the benevolence of the Crown for royalties. The Mining Ordinance specified that when a licence-holder was unable to come to an agreement with landowners, compulsory purchase could be effected so long as the Resident Commissioner was satisfied the terms offered were fair.40

In accordance with this procedure the BPC made an even lower offer, which Grimble accepted as equitable. Compared with the earlier terms, and in the light of a projected increase in production from 300,000 to 400,000 tons a year, the new terms would have meant a drop of £15,000 in the BPC's contribution to the Banaban Provident Fund, a reduction of royalties of £3000 a year, an early arrival at the maximum reserve fund agreed, and a consequent elimination of one-third of the royalties. Again, in the absence of any initiative from the Resident Commissioner, it was left to the High
Commissioner and his staff to defend Banaban interests. Grimble's justification of his concurrence—that short-term protection was needed against the possibility of a cessation of mining—was disregarded in the light of the planned increase in production; the £15,000 could not be salvaged but the royalty payments reverted to the levels previously agreed. The Banabans still refused to accept the ruling and resisted any occupation of their land. In accordance with the terms of the Ordinance, there followed arbitration over compensation—in practice a mere formality conducted by a colonial official from Tonga and the BPC's manager at Ocean Island. The terms accepted by the Colonial Office were confirmed.

Having failed to obtain his promotion and transfer by securing this early settlement, Grimble tried to achieve his ambition by pleading Banaban discontent. 'General opinion of Banabans is that I am their enemy and have deliberately failed to represent their interests', he cabled and some time later he claimed that a majority of landholders was obstructing possession in the belief that he and the arbitrator had acted in collusion to mislead the Banaban community: 'My conviction is that... my presence here is a definite hindrance to peaceful settlement. Banabans will only realise [the finality of arbitration] if restated by a Resident Commissioner from elsewhere'. This too was rejected by the High Commissioner on the grounds that it would be a display of weakness. Far from adding to the foundations Eliot had laid for the protection of the Banabans' future, as he claimed to have done, Grimble undermined them to the long-term detriment of Banaban interests.

Another factor in Grimble's handling of the whole phosphate issue may have been his general lack of expertise in financial matters. Certainly he was no match for the BPC in this regard, but he also lacked the ability to 'read' the economic circumstances of the colony with accuracy. After Grimble's eventual departure in 1932 H. Vaskess, Chief Secretary to the WPHC, conducted a review of the colony's financial situation as a prelude to a commuted taxation agreement with the BPC. In comparing estimated and actual expenditure between 1923 and 1932 he noted that:

These figures show reasonably accurate estimating up to 1926-7. After that year they show rather appalling miscalculations and obvious failure on the part of the local administration to appreciate the position and make proper allowances for conditions. This period, incidentally, coincides with that of Mr Griimble's regime.

In Grimble's defence it might be noted that his Treasury Department was understaffed and chronically in arrears, but this was normal rather than unique.
Grimble left the colony for long leave in August 1932. His health had been declining for some time, and the delaying of his leave because of the land negotiations had worsened an already serious condition. By this time he was embittered towards the colony and disillusioned with the Colonial Service which had, in his view, denied him advancement commensurate with his abilities. With time, the strain of office and his attitude had alienated him from most of his colleagues. It is significant, perhaps, that the BPC manager was one of his few close friends on Ocean Island.

Grimble's discontent is easy enough to understand. He was employed by a service that had scant regard for the wives and families of its officers, whom it posted to remote and (for them) inhospitable environments. As well as being separated from his wife and daughters for years at a time and physically unsuited to an atoll existence, he was deprived of the intellectual stimulation on which he thrived and found so necessary. As a District and Lands Officer he showed greater understanding and ability than most; as the youngest Resident Commissioner ever to be appointed to the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony, and with twenty years of service ahead of him, he chose the path most likely to ensure a successful career. Once he left the colony, his promotion was rapid. He was appointed Administrator of St Vincent in 1933, Governor of Seychelles three years later, and was knighted in 1938. From 1942 until his retirement in 1948 he was Governor of the Windward Islands. He died in London in 1956.

More than half of his career had been spent in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony. Arthur Grimble's legacies to it were two largely fictional works which gave to the world a stereotyped and romanticised view of the Gilberts and Gilbertese society, a land disputes settlement system which is still in operation, a paternalistic system of local government that was authoritarian even by the standards of the 1930s and, with an inevitability that was not necessarily of his own making, an alienated Banaban community.
13

HIPOUR AND THE STAR PATH NAVIGATORS
of the Central Carolines

David Lewis

A UNIQUE voyaging culture persists to this day on the Carolinian atolls of Satawal, Puluwat, Pulusuk and Pulap. Whether the present Carolinian ua or the Marianas 'flying proas' of Anson's day are the most beautiful and efficient outrigger canoes ever built is debatable. In any case the question is unimportant since both craft are virtually identical—single outriggers that change ends and reverse direction when coming about instead of tacking like Western sailing boats, so that they always keep the outrigger to windward. These speedy seaworthy canoes have a very ancient pedigree. The first report of such a vessel is that by Pliny, who saw a Sumatran ship with a 'prow at each end' that had made the long passage to the Red Sea. Indeed the type of voyaging vessel still in use in the Carolines seems to stem from Indonesia and to have been diffused over western Polynesia and Melanesia in prehistoric times.

Today's red and black Puluwat sailing canoes, up to 27 feet in length, carry half a dozen voyagers and are capable of taking on two or even three 250-pound turtles in addition. The massive, beamy 30-foot craft of Satawal can take aboard eight of the great turtles without overloading. On any point of sailing the Caroline canoes can average some 4 to 4.5 knots in choppy open sea conditions. Beating to windward, their performance is less impressive; in 1973, for instance, eight Puluwat canoes took seventy hours to cover the hundred miles from Tik to Puluwat against the trades.

In these islands voyaging remains the preferred way of life for a man; the trained and initiated navigator, ppalu, stands at the peak of the social pyramid, above even the chiefs. All season long he and
his crew will be sailing to other islands, tarrying ashore for weeks maybe, then moving on.  

Not only do the vessels of these Islanders provide a window into the remote past of seagoing mankind, their methods of navigation stem from antiquity and often seem to have their origins in oceans other than the Pacific. The navigational stock-in-trade of Bronze Age seamen in the Indian Ocean and Mediterranean seems to have included both wind and star 'compasses'. The Greeks' wind compass had twelve points, their star compass eight. Wind compasses were known throughout the Pacific from Tahiti to the Carolines and probably Tonga. That extant in Satawal today has sixteen points.

The 32-point star compass is, however, the primary orientation framework for the Carolinian navigator. The star names given to the points of the compass by Persian-Arab seamen suggest that a star compass antedated the magnetic instrument in the Indian Ocean as it did in the Pacific. These directional concepts and latitude finding by measuring the height of the Pole Star in finger breadths most probably entered the Pacific from the Indian Ocean via Indonesia. The height of the Pole Star as judged by eye and expressed in ee-yass — conceptual breadfruit-picking poles—still has a place in Satawal navigation. South of the equator (the axis of the Carolines runs through about 80° north latitude) the Pole Star is invisible, and we must credit the Polynesians with the substitution of zenith stars as latitude indicators.

To judge by the fragmentary data that have come down to us, Micronesia, Polynesia, the Polynesian Outliers and Fiji shared an ocean-wide system of navigation in which every significant concept and method was part of the common heritage of the seafarer. It is not surprising, then, to find zenith star latitude techniques reported from the Carolines by a nineteenth-century sea captain. Even in their heyday, neither the voyaging range nor the even larger geographical known world (in terms of sailing directions expressed in characteristic indigenous terms) of the Carolinians was unlimited. But they were certainly impressive. The latter stretched 2000 miles in an east-west axis between the Philippines and the Marshalls and 900 miles from Kapingamarangi in the south to Saipan and the rest of the Marianas chain in the north. The Carolinian voyaging zone overlapped with the Marshallese to the eastward, which in turn was linked with the Gilbertese, as was the Gilbertese with the Ellice and Tongan seas beyond the equator, 1000 miles to the southward. Similarly in the far west, New Guinean sea raiders penetrated the Caroline archipelago and in the centre Fijians more than once reached up to Nukuoro across 1800 miles of ocean.
Map 8 The Caroline voyaging sphere.
Today Hipour, an initiated navigator of the *warieng* navigational school on Puluwat (the companion school is named *fanar*), would be capable of navigating his canoe without instruments over a good part of the huge Carolinian 'home ocean'; even across long untraversed sealanes—as he was to prove dramatically in 1969. One word more about navigation, particularly the role played today by magnetic compasses and charts, before we turn to the lives and accomplishments of Hipour and his distinguished Satawal counterparts, Repunglap, Repunglulug and Piallug. Only in 1973 have charts begun to be sought for. Previously they were artifacts incompatible with Carolinian sailing directions, which are invariably in terms of *etak*, a dynamic conception of islands moving to and fro beneath unchanging star points past a stationary canoe.14 Today a few navigators, like Beiong, chief of Pulusuk (though not Hipour), have become familiar with the static European representation of the sea and islands and, by a process of parallel thinking, can visualise their voyages in both conceptual systems.

Compasses have been carried on Puluwat canoes for years, often ancient Spanish instruments like Hipour's; its alcohol was drunk long ago, rendering it useless. They are used, when they work at all (Repunglulug's does not either), for secondary orientation only, as being a more convenient method of steering when the stars are hidden than by the changing bearings of the sun or the characteristic but complex directional ocean swells.15 They also have the character of a talisman. It seems significant that a Satawal navigator's tattoo painfully inscribed on my left hand by Tawermai in 1973 includes in its traditional symbolism, together with the shark bite pattern and the homing birds, part of a magnetic compass rose.

Hipour was born about 1920. From the first the sea drew him. He would listen round-eyed to his 'fathers' in the *ut*, or canoe house, as they sat cross-legged in their breech-clouts, endlessly rolling sennit cordage against their thighs, discussing navigation and telling tales of voyaging and strange lands—just as they do today. And just as small boys do now, he would eventually fall asleep on the mats, while the torchlight flickered over the grave faces of the heavily muscled men and the high sheer of the tall canoes.

He still remembers the excitement of his first sea voyage. He must have been about 8 years old then. The pandanus-mat-sailed canoe covered the 100 miles to the uninhabited turtle island of Pik (or Pikelot) in a night and a day, coming in over the 14-fathom-deep reefs that, together with homing white terns and noddies, make this 500-yard-long island impossible to miss—even for a navigator drunk on *tuba* or palm toddy. After days spent fishing, they went on to
Pigalow (West Fayo on the charts), another spot without permanent inhabitants, devoted to the harvest of the sea ecosystem—fish, turtles and unlimited coconuts. Again they tarried and swam in the lagoon and gorged on fish thrown ungutted on the fire. On to Satawal then, fifty-five miles to the southward, where they received a correct but stilted welcome, for the men of Satawal have no love at all for the arrogant Puluwatans. Finally came the 130-mile beat to windward against the trade winds back to Puluwat. There had been no magnetic compass aboard that canoe. No one knew about them then, says Hipour.

There was a Japanese school on Puluwat at that time but the future navigator did not attend it. He still cannot read. After puberty he began serious study of navigation under his maternal uncle and his first sea trip under the uncle's guidance was the forty-eight miles to Pulusuk, a simple enough trip except for a course correction that must be made to avoid Maithun, 'the reef that eats canoes'. Then his study was interrupted and very nearly brought to a premature end.

They were swimming outside Puluwat's north-western reef, Hipour and his uncles, spearing fish. His job was the one customary for a boy, to swim along trailing the string of fish his elders had caught. The white-tipped reef shark was only four feet long but it came in like a torpedo, ripping away with one bite much of the muscle from the front of his right thigh. The men pressed hard on the lacerated thigh as they towed the boy ashore through the red-stained water, until they could stop the bleeding by binding on pads of leaves. It is a tribute to the efficacy of the local herbal remedies that a great puckered scar is all that remains to remind Hipour of his ordeal.

Resumption of navigational training in the ut was not long delayed. When stars were being studied, stones were placed in a circle (pafeu) to indicate their points of rise and set. To show the lines of ocean swells, both those of the open sea and the ones refracted by islands, the 'star-point stones' were set out in a square and sticks were laid across them to represent the swells. This figure was not a chart. No islands were shown upon it. It was a teaching device named pugulaw. Prodigious feats of memory were involved. The bearing of every known island, not just from one starting point but from every possible starting point, had to be memorised, all in terms of star points. Sometimes Hipour's uncle and his other teachers would draw the shape of a trigger fish in the sand (a quadrilateral figure) and ask their pupil to name the islands that would mark its head, tail and fins. At other times he was told to visualise a gigantic
hooked breadfruit-picking pole. Stretch it out, they would say, in the direction of the setting Altair (or the rising Southern Cross on its side) and draw back in turn the islands you will come to under that star.

At last, shortly before World War II, Hipour was considered mature and responsible enough to undergo the months of initiation. Only when enough candidates were considered absolutely ready could initiation begin, for the rites involved considerable effort for a fair part of the 500-strong island community. Ceremonial gifts of adzes and wooden boxes had to be specially made. A good 200 lava lavas—often as many as 400—were laboriously woven out of hibiscus fibre on back strap looms.

On the appointed day the young men repaired to the ut. They might not return to their own homes nor go into the woods. Water was taboo. They could drink coconut milk but not water, nor must the forbidden liquid be used to wash their hands or to rinse out their mouths. As when building a canoe, or prior to a voyage, they must remain celibate. Two large fires were lit beside the ut on which breadfruit was cooked by the men and women separately. When the food was ready it was piled into an oolong, a great bowl made from Ulithi mahogany, and sweet purple taro was heaped on top. From a little gourd-shaped coral receptacle called a rokeyok red tumeric was taken by the head navigator and spread over the taro in the oolong. A valuable and versatile object, this rokeyok. When faced by a thunder storm at sea one smears the tumeric over one's face and commands the squall to depart. It is similarly effective when faced with human hostility ashore. But the present tense is not applicable here. 'Once I would not go to sea without it', says Repunglap regretfully. 'Now I am a Christian and it doesn't work any more'.

The yellow and purple lava lavas were now spread over the huge food bowl and the initiated and the head navigator joined hands across them and chanted invocations. Then they were removed and, after portions of breadfruit and taro had been set aside for the guardian spirits of warieng and fanur (the two navigational schools), the young men plunged their hands into the oolong and ate. Now was the time for the people to depart, with the exception of a few high status navigators, for the secrets of the sea were about to be expounded.

All night long and all next day the head navigator continued his discourse, beginning with the story of the magic seabird that flew out of the mists to a woman of Pulap bringing the arts of navigation to mankind. But this tour de force of learning was a mere introduction. Serious instruction now began and went on day after day for almost four months, conducted by relays of navigators.
Study was stimulated by the drinking of a series of safei or magic potions. The first was safei seram, the medicine that brings light. Every three weeks or so another safei was substituted. After the fourth they could visit the village and after the fifth they might sleep at home, but must still remain celibate. This three and a half months of study completed the first part of the training program. The remainder would be conducted at sea, for a man might learn the sacred chants only on salt water. These pwernapwern, or ocean chants, were against meeting sharks, for good weather and fair winds, and would in future be regularly recited before undertaking a voyage. This seaborne instruction completed the course. Hipour had now passed through po, the whole of initiation; he was a qualified ppalu.

How soon after going through po a young navigator would be permitted to captain a canoe to another island depended upon his informal learning and sea experience in childhood and adolescence. In Hipour's case the additional period of instruction would have been brief, for he had already been studying assiduously for more than six years, but Japanese squadrons thundered out over the mountain spine of Oahou. War intervened.

Hipour was in Truk, separated from his newly married wife Carmen. Patriotically he had the rising sun and the crossed flags of Japan tattooed on his shoulder. He was conscripted as a (paid) labourer to shovel coal on ships in the 35-mile-wide Truk lagoon, headquarters of the Imperial Eastern Fleet and, according to regulations, had a number tattooed on the web between the first finger and the thumb of his right hand. When Hipour was showing me this number in the men's house, one of his contemporaries broke in. 'I had my number tattooed on my backside. At roll call when the others stuck out their hands, I turned round and bent over. It got me a lot of slaps on the face, but I had a lot of laughs too.' And the gallant humourist subsided in chuckles.

When devastating American air raids began hitting Dublon Island in Truk, Hipour took refuge in caves. He was lucky enough to get back to Puluwat in a Japanese ship before the American blockade spread famine through the Truk garrison and the island population. He took part in canoe trips to the fertile neighbouring island of Pulusuk for food but not until the US Navy had taken over and the war was virtually ended did Hipour have the opportunity to put to sea as captain of his own wa. He sailed to Pik. Aircraft and warships were forgotten. He was reasserting in his own seafaring practice traditions that were already venerable when Claudius disembarked his seasick elephants in Kent.
Every year since then Hipour has sailed, ranging through the central Carolines, visiting at one time or another, and time after time, every island in the Namonuitos and in the Halls of north Truk; Truk itself; the nearby Pulusuk, Pik, Pulap, Tamatam; the more distant Satawal, Pigailoe, Lamotrek, Olimarao and Elato, which last is 200 miles west of Puluwat.

Once only in all these years has Hipour been close to disaster. Somewhere around 1950 he was returning home from Pik carrying two turtles and a load of drinking coconuts, when his canoe was driven helplessly westward before an easterly gale. There were eight men and two little children aboard the 26-foot outrigger. His old compass was on board but Hipour neither trusted nor used it. Storm and overcast continued unabated week after week. When the turtles had been eaten the only food was the occasional fish the party managed to catch. Fortunately rainwater could be obtained when the drinking nuts were all gone. On the thirty-ninth evening, Hipour’s keen eyes spotted some tiny specks that he knew to be a flock of terns and nodies. They flew off southward at dusk. Land could be no more than 20 to 25 miles away in that direction. He steered south until darkness hid possible dangers ahead, then hove-to until daylight. At first light he let draw the sheet again and continued down the track of the birds, until two hours later Elato, 200 miles west of their point of departure, came up over the tossing sea horizon.

Carmen and Hipour have seven children. Their oldest son, who has lost a hand to a shark and therefore is unfitted to become an active voyager, is the radio operator for Puluwat. The youngest child is about four years old. The family are Roman Catholics and Hipour’s trained memory has enabled him to learn by heart an impressive volume of Latin prayers. ‘We make church’, he announced one Sunday at sea, and proceeded to intone for the next three hours.

But in spite of the general acceptance of Christianity many old attitudes remain unchanged. Puluwat has long dominated its neighbours, imposing its will by savage raids and massacres. One of the subject islands is Pulusuk. Some time in the late 1950s the American administration decided to introduce democracy, specifically the election of chiefs. A Coastguard cutter carrying the supervisory officials came eventually to Pulusuk, where the people were delighted to learn that their chief need no longer be the junior clan ‘brother’ of the chief of Puluwat. They enthusiastically elected one of their own men.
Hipour and Beiong, chief of Pulusuk, are both understandably vague about the events that followed. As I understand the story, no sooner was the Coastguard cutter hull down when ten Puluwat canoes that had been lying just over the horizon hoisted sail and bore down on Pulusuk. Every man had an axe honed to the sharpness of a razor. They would offer no violence, they explained when they landed, provided the regrettable mistake was corrected. Fresh elections were promptly held and the startled administration informed by radio that the younger clan 'brother' of the chief of Puluwat had been unanimously re-elected. He has been returned unopposed ever since.

Like all celebrated navigators, Hipour is of course himself a teacher. In 1973 he had three pupils and was also giving less formal instruction to several young relatives. More indicative of recent developments, the deputy chief Taworu, another navigator, was teaching classes in traditional navigation to the pupils of Ulul High School. How did this resurgence in an apparently dying art come about? Hipour himself is largely responsible for having triggered off the revival by navigating my ketch Isbjorn to and from Saipan in 1969 by star path sailing directions handed down by word of mouth for three generations. The story has been told elsewhere and the navigational techniques analysed so it will only be summarised here.16

All instruments and charts aboard the yacht were stowed away. Beyond Pik the 450 miles of unbroken ocean to Saipan was virgin territory to Hipour, his contemporaries or his father's generation. But he had learned the star courses (geographical, with current allowance, with allowance for certain strength of wind) so well that we cut the Marianas chain obliquely just where he had intended. The return to Pik, or rather to its homing bird zone, was even more dramatic. Hipour remained perfectly oriented during the four-day, 450-mile passage, despite the total absence of external navigational references, save for the stars, the ocean swells and the birds. As we nosed at dusk into the Puluwat lagoon, a mile-long line of coconut rib torches and bonfires suddenly blazed into life as the whole island payed tribute to his success.

The proud navigators of Satawal were shamed by Hipour's exploit. They decided to go one better and succeeded in doing so.

In April 1970 five men of Satawal headed by the celebrated navigator brothers Repungulug and Repungalap set out by sailing canoe for Saipan. The star course and auxiliary sailing directions had been given them over thirty years previously by their father, who
had not himself been to Saipan. Neither brother had any acquaintance with Western seamanship or navigation. There was no memory on Satawal of the voyage having been made in the present century. The first stage was to uninhabited Pigaloe, fifty-two miles from Satawal, where favourable winds were awaited. The remaining 422 miles to Saipan were covered in under four days. After an enthusiastic welcome and weeks of being feted, they made a successful return voyage, to be greeted by an unprecedented welcome from people and chiefs.

Since that day Ikeeliman, the most respected of all Puluwat navigators, has sailed a canoe via Pik to Guam, also in the Marianas. Then in 1973, two Satawal canoes crossed to Saipan. A feature of the voyage was that the chiefs had decreed a group of high school boys should be included in the crews, so that they might learn the meaning of the ancient seafaring arts by actual participation in the great venture. The head navigator was again Repungulug.

Another Satawal navigator, Piailug, now enters the story. Piailug was studying modern fishing methods in Hawaii when news of the voyage reached him; he gave away his clothes, filled a case with fishing equipment and that same evening boarded the plane for Saipan to take part in the return voyage. Piailug is a very celebrated navigator indeed, but there has been a lighthearted note to some of his achievements.

For instance, the island of Lamotrek is senior to Satawal, so that when Satawal comes to Lamotrek they must do so paddling their wa, having lowered sail at the reef pass. Irked at this restriction, one day when rather the worst for palm toddy, Piailug not only swept up the Lamotrek lagoon under all sail but shot up the village with an old Japanese rifle. Not unnaturally, he was forbidden the island in future.

Brooding upon his exclusion, Piailug hit upon a plan. Four-foot monitor lizards had been introduced by the Japanese to kill the rats on the atolls. However, Satawal had found to their dismay that the reptiles much preferred chickens. Lamotrek had refused the lizards, because they had considered their appearance disgusting, and so were free of their depredations. This time Piailug's canoe ghosted into Lamotrek lagoon at first light propelled by muffled paddles. The mouths of four sacks were untied and four great monitors were pushed into the lagoon. Alas for Piailug's revenge: a boy saw the lizards swimming for the shore and gave the alarm, so that the men had time to club them to death on the beach.

But this was long ago and the inhabitants of Lamotrek were the first to acclaim Piailug and Repungulug when they brought their two
canoes back to Satawal in 1973 after a particularly arduous voyage from Saipan. The travellers had dallied too long amid the delights of Saipan, until the north-east trades had become spent and the late summer south-east season had set in. The canoes set out but came back to Saipan after a few days, mainly because they were overloaded with the gifts they had received. Then about 27 June they set out once more. Conditions were no better and they were forced to tack. Even so they were set down wind of Pigaloe. After nearly three weeks at sea they made Satawal—and they sailed direct, a distance of 470 miles in a straight line and much further by the zig-zag route they were compelled to follow.

It must only be a matter of time before the meticulous practice of the millennia-old arts of non-instrumental navigation, which first gave mankind the freedom of the open ocean, comes to be abandoned. Meanwhile, thanks to Hipour's voyage to Saipan, it is enjoying an Indian summer of revival, during which its concepts and methods may be studied and recorded for posterity.
ABBREVIATIONS

ABC  American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
AJCP  Australian Joint Copying Project
ANM  Archives Nationales, section Marine, Paris
ANOM  Archives Nationales, section Outre-mer, Paris
APM  Archivio Padre Mariste, Rome
CO  Colonial Office Records, Public Record Office, London
COCP  Colonial Office Confidential Print
CUL  Cambridge University Library
DKB  Deutsches Kolonialblatt
FCSO  Records of the Colonial Secretary's Office, Fiji
FO  Foreign Office Records, Public Record Office, London
FOCP  Foreign Office Confidential Print
GBPP  *Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers*
Hambruch I  Paul Hambruch, *Ponape, Ergebnisse der Südsee Expedition* . . Vol. 1
HEA/MM/Nanpei  Hawaiian Evangelical Association, Micronesian Mission, Henry Nanpei
LMS  London Missionary Society
MH  *Missionary Herald*
ML  Mitchell Library, Sydney
MMP  Micronesian Mission Papers, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Houghton Library, Harvard University
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<td>NAF</td>
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<td>Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm</td>
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<td>Riesenbe, Native Polity</td>
<td>Saul H. Riesenbe, <em>The Native Polity of Ponape</em></td>
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<td>RKA</td>
<td>Reichskolonialamt, German Central Archives, Potsdam</td>
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<tr>
<td>RNAS</td>
<td>Royal Navy, Australian Station, National Archives, Wellington</td>
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<tr>
<td>WP</td>
<td>Westbrook Papers, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington</td>
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<tr>
<td>WPHC</td>
<td>Records of the Western Pacific High Commission, Western Pacific Archives, Suva</td>
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Notes

1 The Fortunes of the Naisilines

1 Loyalty Islands socio-political organisations are examined in detail in M.J. Dubois, 'Papers relating to Mare', n.d., typescript; and Jean Guiart, Structure de la chefferie en Mélanesie du Sud (Paris 1965), chapters VII, VIII, IX. For a detailed study of the Loyalty Islands see K.R. Howe, The Loyalty Islands. A history of culture contact (Canberra, 1977).

2 M.J. Dubois, 'Les Eletok de Mare d'après la tradition. Etude d'ethnohistoire', these de doctorate de 3e cycle [Sorbonne 1971], typescript. Guiart, Structure, chapter VII.

3 There is some debate as to whether or not the Naisilines assumed the chiefship before or at the time of the massacre of the eletok: see Guiart, Structure, 320-8.

4 A.W. Murray, Missions in Western Polynesia (London 1863), chapter XI.

5 Ibid., 300.

6 Charles Piged, Voyage dans l'Océanie Centrale (Paris 1846), 90. For an account of sandalwood trading activities in the Loyalty Islands see Dorothy Shineberg, They Came for Sandalwood (Melbourne 1967), chapters 4, 5.

7 Thomas Slatyer, 'Journal of a Voyage in the Camden, 1842', MS. A1770, ML.

8 William Gill and Henry Nisbet to LMS, 28 October 1846, SSL.

9 [Ta'unga], The Works of Ta'unga, ed. R.G. and Marjorie Crocombe (Canberra 1968), 79.

10 Ibid., 80-1.

11 George Turner, Nineteen Years in Polynesia (London 1861), 404-7.

12 Murray and Turner, 'Samoa 1845 . . . Deputation to New Hebrides', SSJ.


15 Ibid., 374; Jones to Resident, 13 June 1876, Jones Mission Papers, ML.

16 Murray, Missions, 305-7.

17 The New Zealand Church Almanac (Auckland 1852), 18.

18 Murray, Missions, 311.


20 Jones, 26 April 1856, Diary, Jones Mission Papers, ML; Taka to Gill, January 1864, SSL.

21 Jones to LMS, 6 June 1861, 6 May 1863, to September 1880, SSL.

22 F.A. Campbell, A Year in the New Hebrides, Loyalty Islands, and New Caledonia (Melbourne 1873), 139.


25 Creagh to LMS, 15 February 1860, SSL.
26 Jones to LMS, 6 June 1861, SSL.
27 Ibid.
28 Jones to Resident, 13 June 1876, Jones Mission Papers, ML.
29 Jones to LMS, 6 May 1863, SSL.
30 Francois Beaulieu, 'Notes sur l'Ile de Maré—Etat de l'Ile de Maré en 1866', MS. in the private collection of M.J. Dubois, Paris. I am grateful to Father Dubois for allowing me to consult his extensive and invaluable collection of Marist mission documents from Maré.
31 A full though biased account of this expedition is in MacFarlane, *Story of the Lifu Mission*.
32 Beaulieu to Depoix, 1 August 1878, enclosing 'Guerre de 1869', Archives du Vicariat apostolique de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, Nouméa; Creagh to LMS, 10 December 1869, SSL.
33 Creagh to Guillain, 24 March 1870, SSL; Beaulieu, 'Guerre de 1869'.
34 Beaulieu to Poupinel, 27 February 1871, IV ONC, APM.
35 A copy of the Maré text dated 24 November 1875 is in the private collection of M.J. Dubois. See also 'Rapport sur les affaires de Maré', enclosed in Guillain to Ministre des Colonies, 7 October 1876, correspondance générale 1877-1884, carton 86, ANOM.
36 'Rapport sur les affaires de Maré', ANOM.
37 Gaide to Mulsant, 9 March 1877, IV ONC, APM.
38 Jones to LMS, 25 September 1876, SSL.
39 Dillon, notebook, 14 August 1879, in the private collection of M.J. Dubois.
40 Jones to LMS, 10 September 1880, SSL; Gaide to Poupinel, 10 July 1880, IV ONC, APM.
41 Campbell, *A Year*, 134.
42 Jones to LMS, 18 January 1886, SSL.
43 Gaide to Poupinel, 3 September 1880, IV ONC, APM; Jones to LMS, 18 November 1880, SSL.
44 Ministre des Colonies to Courbet, 25 August 1882 (draft), correspondance générale 1877-1884, carton 86, ANOM.
45 Dupénil 'Compte-rendu de ma mission à Maré', 28 September 1880, correspondance générale 1877-1884, carton 86, ANOM.
46 Walter Coote, *The Western Pacific* (London 1883), 155. See also Gouharou to Pallu de la Barrière, 4 December 1883, correspondance générale 1877-1884, carton 86, ANOM.
47 Jones to LMS, series of letters in May and July, SSL.
49 Le Boucher to Ministre des Colonies, 15 January 1886, correspondance générale 1886, carton 85, ANOM.
50 Ibid., 5 February 1886.
Notes chaps. 1 and 2

51 See e.g. ‘Correspondence Respecting the Expulsion of the Rev. J. Jones from Maré’, GBPP 109 (1888), 75–139; and newspaper cuttings from over forty different Australian and British newspapers, Jones Mission Papers, ML.

52 Guiart, Structure, 320–49.

2 Charles St Julian

1 Illustrated Sydney News, January 1875, 10.
2 The People’s Advocate, 18 May 1850.
3 ‘The Latent Resources of the Pacific’, The Australian Era, no. 2, 2 September 1850, p. 27 (later revised and published as Notes on the Latent Resources of Polynesia, Sydney 1851).
5 Charles St Julian to James Jarvis, 29 April 1848. Hawaiian Archives, Foreign Office Executive File.
6 Merivale to Addington, FO 58/72.
7 St Julian to Robert C. Wyllie (private), 4 April 1851; St Julian to Wyllie (private), 8 November 1851 (HN, FO Ex. File in which file see all his letters to Wyllie).
8 St Julian to Wyllie, 20 December 1851.
9 Ibid.
10 St Julian to Wyllie (private), 4 October 1854.
11 St Julian to Wyllie, 20 December 1854.
12 St Julian to Herbert St Julian, 14 July 1872 (in the possession of the St Julian family, Sydney).
13 St Julian to Wyllie, 2 October 1854.
14 Ibid.
15 St Julian to Wyllie, 3 March 1854, encl. 2.
16 St Julian to Wyllie, 1 April 1854.
17 Lātūkefu, Church and State, 299.
21 In Charles St Julian, Official Report on Central Polynesia; with a Gazetteer of Central Polynesia, by Edward Reeve, and other documents appended (Sydney 1857).
22 Lätukefu, Church and State, 302.
24 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 January 1858.
25 John Eggleston to Editor, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 January 1857 [sic]—should, from the context, be 1858.
26 St Julian to Eggleston, 13 January 1858 (both letters in AS 60, Mitchell Library).
27 St Julian to Wyllie, 23 June 1854.
28 St Julian to Wyllie (private), 7 November 1854.
29 St Julian to E. Deas Thomson, 20 January 1854. NSW Archives, A 1531-3, 495.
30 Eggleston to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonial Department (copy), ML Uncat. MSS. set 197, item 2.
32 St Julian to Wyllie (private), 11 May 1855.
33 Labourchère to Sir William Denison, 13 November 1857, NSW Archives, Colonial Secretary's Despatches.
35 St Julian to Wyllie, 1 March 1855.
36 Horn, Primacy, 30-1.
37 Ibid., 33.
38 St Julian to Minister of Foreign Relations, 25 March 1870 (Hn. Archives. FO Ex. File).
39 St Julian to Charles P. Harris, 3 May 1871, 26 October 1871 (Hn. Archives. FO Ex. File).
40 Colonial Secretary's Department, Special Bundles, Fiji 1871-5, 4/788.3. NSW Archives.
41 St Julian to Lord Bethune, no. 1, 26 April 1871, encl. in St Julian to Harris, 3 May 1871 (Hn. Archives, FO Ex. File).
43 Horn, Primacy, 37: Harris to St Julian, 19 September 1871 (original in the possession of the St Julian family, Sydney).
44 St Julian to Harris, 29 September 1871 (Hn. Archives, FO Ex. File).
45 Harris to St Julian, 19 September 1871.
46 Charles St Julian, *The International Status of Fiji and the Political Rights, Liabilities, Duties, and Privileges of British Subjects, and other Foreigners, residing in the Fijian Archipelago* (Sydney 1872), Preface.
47 Thurston to Hope, 5 July 1872, Letter Journals of Capt. Charles W. Hope, Turnbull Library, Wellington, NZ.
48 *Fiji Argus*, 4 December 1874.
3 Bouarate of Hienghène

5 Ibid., *passim*.
7 Douglas, New Caledonia, 14-34.
8 Leenhardt, *Langues et dialectes*, 442; information from Roch Bouarate, Hienghène.
11 The chief of a clan which claimed and exercised the rights of earliest inhabitants of a particular area. He was generally not a tribal chief, but enjoyed great influence through his control of land and command of the rites associated with it. Leenhardt, *Notes*, 45; Maurice Leenhardt, *Vocabulaire et grammaire de la langue houaïlou* (Paris 1935), 140; Guiart, *Chefferie*, 35, 41.


19 Jules Garnier, *Voyage autour du monde. La Nouvelle-Calédonie (côte orientale)* (Paris 1901), 222. All French quotations have been translated by the present writer and are signified thus: (trans.).

20 Patouillet, *Voyage*, 50. (trans.).

21 Du Bouzet to Ministre de la Marine, 10 June 1855 (trans.), ANOM, Carton 40, Correspondance générale (CG) 1855; see also Philip D. Vigors, *Private Journal of a Four Month's Cruise through some of the ‘South Sea Islands’, and New Zealand in H.M.S. ‘Havannah’* (typescript), 255, Library of the Auckland Institute and Museum.


28 Leconte, 'Notice', 850-2.
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31 Leconte, ‘Notice’, 854 (trans.).

32 [Jules Besson] ‘Naufrage de la corvette la Seine dans les parages de la Nouvelle-Calédonie’, Revue de Rouen et de Normandie, XV (1847), 412; Montrouzier, Notice historique, 8–9; C.M. Léopold Verguet, Histoire de la première mission chalcatholique au vicariat de Melanesie (Carcassonne 1861), 63.


34 Leenhardt, Gens, 151.


37 Leenhardt, Notes, 96 (trans.).

38 Douarre to Colin, 6 January 1850, APM, ONC 418.1; Erskine, Journal of a cruise, 356; Rochas, Nouvelle-Calédonie, 246.


40 Montrouzier to his brother, 15 May 1859, APM, ONC, General correspondence 1859; see also du Bouzet to Le Bris, 4 March 1856, NOM, Carton 40, CG 1856; Testard to Selwyn, 19 June 1858, ANOM, Carton 26, CG 1855–64; Montrouzier, Notice historique, 9.


42 Towns to Rule, 23 January 1849; Towns to Lewis, 27 February, 26 April, 15 September 1849; Towns to Ross, 26 August 1853, Towns Papers, Items 58 & 62.

43 Shineberg, Sandalwood, 77–8.


45 Towns to Cooper, 2 March 1848, Towns Papers, Item 58; Goujon, Journal, entry for 10 June 1849; Douarre to Colin, 6 January 1850, APM, ONC 418.1; Erskine, Journal of a Cruise, 359, 394; E.S. Armstrong, The History of the Melanesian Mission (London 1900), 38.

46 Garnier, Voyage autour du monde, 312 (trans.).

was unable to meet Bouarate's requests for a resident missionary, since no suitable European clergyman was available. He took several young men from Hienghène to St John's College, Auckland, including one as late as 1857 (Selwyn to his sons, 17 October 1857, Letters from the Bishop of New Zealand and others [typescript], I, 384-5, Library of the Auckland Institute and Museum; Dégénine to Poupinel, 14 July 1858, Archives of the Province of Oceania, formerly at Villa Maria Monastery, Sydney, now in APM: Armstrong, History, 38).


49 Viard to Colin, 27 October 1845, Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, XXVIII (1846), 418; Berard to Ministre de la Marine, 1 August 1846, ANM, BB4 1011; Leconte, 'Notice', 854; Montrouzier to his brother, 8 March 1859, APM, personal file, Montrouzier.

50 Rougyron to Poupinel, 7 December 1859, Archives of the Province of Oceania; Mathieu to Durand, 22 July 1861, ANOM, Carton 42.

51 Leconte to Ministre de la Marine, 31 March 1847, ANOM, Carton 40.

52 Montrouzier to his brother [1846], APM, personal file, Montrouzier; Leconte, 'Notice', 850, 854; Dégénine to Poupinel, 14 July 1858, Archives of the Province of Oceania; Saisset to Ministre de la Marine, 10 August 1860, ANM, BB4 1036; Montrouzier, Notice historique, 8.

53 Montrouzier to his brother, 8 March 1859 (trans.), APM, personal file, Montrouzier.

54 Leconte, 'Notice', 854.

55 Roudaire to Poupinel, 12 October 1848 (trans.), APM, ONC, General correspondence 1845-9; see also Goujon, Journal, entries for 23 July, 19 November, 10 December 1848; Douarre to Conseil de la propagation de la foi, 11 December 1849, APM, ONC 418.1.


57 Douarre to Conseil de la propagation de la foi, 11 December 1849 (trans.), APM, ONC 418.1.


59 Goujon, Journal, entry for 20 January 1850; Berard, 'Campagne de... l'Alcimène', 98.

60 Encl. Oliver to Admiralty, 25 November 1856, PRO, FO 27/1161.

61 Montrouzier to his brother, 8 March 1859 (trans.), APM, personal file, Montrouzier; see also Dégénine to Poupinel, 14 July 1858, Archives of the Province of Oceania; Montrouzier to ?, 15 May 1859, APM, ONC, General correspondence 1859.

62 Tardy de Montravel to Ministre de la Marine, 8 July 1854, ANOM, Carton 40, CG 1854; du Bouzet to Ministre, 10 June 1855, ibid., CG 1855; du Bouzet to Ministre, 25 November 1857, ANOM, Carton 42; Saisset to Ministre, 14 September 1859, ANM, BB4 773; Testard to Selwyn, 19 June 1858; Durand to Ministre, 31 December 1860, 12 August 1861; Ministre de la Marine to Commandant des Establissements francais de d'Océanie, 22 November 1861 (draft), ANOM, Carton 26, 1855-64.
63 Tardy de Montravel to Ministre de la Marine, 8 July 1854, ANOM, Carton 40, CG 1854; see also Tardy de Montravel to Ministre, 15 January, 20 December 1854 (trans.), ANM, BB4 701.

64 Testart to du Bouzet, 14 January 1856 (encl. in du Bouzet to Ministre de la Marine, 12 June 1856), ANOM, Carton 40, CG 1856; Rougeyron to Favre [1856], 10 October 1856, APM, ONC 418.1; Laurent to Ministre, 15 January 1857, ANOM, Carton 42; J.M. Villard, Rapports sur les bienfaits et grâces recus de la Très Sainte Vierge, 9 September 1889 (typescript), APM, ONC.


66 Du Bouzet to Saisset, 25 October 1858, ANOM, Carton 231; Mer to Ministre de la Marine, 4 October 1860; Ministre to Durand, February 1861 (draft), ANOM, Carton 42.

67 Laurent to Ministre de la Marine, 13 January 1857, ANOM, Carton 42.

68 Tardy de Montravel to Ministre de la Marine, 27 April 1854 (trans.), ANOM, Carton 40, CG 1854; see also du Bouzet to Ministre, 14 February 1855, ibid., CG 1855.

69 Rougeyron to Favre [1856], 10 October 1856, APM, ONC 418.1; Vigouroux to Poupinel, May 1859, Archives of the Province of Oceania; Saisset to Ministre de la Marine, 1 February 1860, ANM, BB4 723.


71 Du Bouzet to Ministre de la Marine, 25 November 1857 (trans.), ANOM, Carton 42. Even if true, this gives a distorted impression of the extent of Bouarate's influence, since strong traditional ties existed between Hienghène and Balade and between Hienghène and the Loyalty Islands, especially Ouvéa. These were areas most likely to be susceptible to his influence.

72 Garnier, *Voyage autour du monde*, 313 (trans.).

73 Testard to Ministre de la Marine, 23 April 1858, ANOM, Carton 42; Guillon to Ministre, 10 August 1863, ANOM, Carton 26, CG 1855-64; Garnier, *Voyage autour du monde*, 313.


75 Du Bouzet to Ministre de la Marine, 25 November 1857, ANOM, Carton 42; Testard to Selwyn, 19 June 1858, ANOM, Carton 26, CG 1855-64; Saisset to Ministre, 14 September 1859, ANM, BB4 773; Garnier, *Voyage autour du monde*, 31; Montrouzier to ?, 15 May 1859, APM, ONC, General correspondence 1859.

76 Durand to Ministre de la Marine, 31 December 1860, 12 August 1861, ANOM, Carton 26, CG 1855-64; Ministre to Commandant des Etablissements français de l'Océanie, 22 November 1861 (draft); Ministre to Durand, 22 November 1861, ANOM, Carton 26, CG 1855-64.

77 Villard, 'Rapports' (trans.); see also Gagnière to Poupinel, 3 December 1859, 12 May 1860; Rougeyron to Poupinel, 7 December 1859; Gagnière to Rougeyron, 13 December 1859; Vigouroux to Poupinel, 23 February 1860; Villard to Poupinel, 15 May, 16 August 1860, Archives of the Province of Oceania; Saisset to Ministre de la Marine, 1 February 1860, ANM, BB4 723.
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78 Forestier to Poupinel, 7 August, 3 September 1861, 5 September 1862; Rougeyron to Poupinel, 23 October 1862. Archives of the Province of Oceania.

79 Rougeyron to Poupinel, 12 July 1860, 23 October 1862; Forestier to Poupinel, 7 August 1861, Archives of the Province of Oceania; Forestier to Poupinel, 4 December 1862, APM, ONC, '1862–1916 Relations'.

80 Garnier, *Voyage autour du monde*, 314 (trans.).

81 De la Richerie to Guillain, 3 July 1863 (encl. in Guillain to Ministre de la Marine, 10 August 1863) (trans.). ANOM, Carton 26, CG 1855–64.

82 Anon., 'Rapport particulier à l'Empereur', 23 October 1867, ANOM, Carton 166. The missionaries, of course, were totally opposed to such ideas (Favre to Ministre de la Marine, 7 September 1864 [not sent], APM, ONC, 'Documents concernant . . . le Gouverneur Guillain'; Rougeyron to Poupinel, 23 November 1862, Archives of the Province of Oceania.).

83 Guillain, 'De la Mission Catholique en Calédonie . . .', 6 April 1865, APM, ONC, 'Démêles avec le Gouverneur Guillain, 1863-9'.


85 Hardy to Guillain [1862] (quoted in Guillain, 'De la Mission Catholique en Calédonie . . .') (trans.).

86 *Le Moniteur de la Nouvelle-Caledonie. Journal officiel de la colonie*, 14 February 1869 (trans.).

87 Guillain to Ministre de la Marine, 30 April, 31 May 1863, ANOM, Carton 26, CG 1855–64; Guillain, 'De la Mission Catholique en Calédonie . . .'; Guillain to Ministre, 3 September 1865, ANM, BB4 847; Conseil d'administration, 28 February 1867, ANOM, Carton 90.

88 Rougeyron to Poupinel, 1 April 1863; Forestier to Poupinel, 1 June 1863, Archives of the Province of Oceania; Rougeyron to Favre, 21 October 1863, APM, ONC, 'Rapports, I'.

89 Guillain to Ministre de la Marine, 10 August 1863 (trans.), ANOM, Carton 26, CG 1855–64; see also de la Richerie to Guillain, 3 July 1863 (encl. in ibid.).

90 Forestier to Poupinel, 1 August, 11 October 1863; Rougeyron to Poupinel, 18 August 1863, 24 March 1864, Archives of the Province of Oceania.

91 [Forestier], 'Notes sur la mission de la Nouvelle-Calédonie' [1865] (trans.), APM, ONC, 'Documents concernant . . . le Gouverneur Guillain'.

92 For details of Guillain's campaign against the Marists, see Douglas, 'New Caledonia', 172–92, 225–87 passim.

93 Patouillet, *Voyage*, 54.

94 [A. Emprin], 'Notes particulières (Bonde)', [1869], APM, ONC.

95 Douglas, *New Caledonia*, Appendix III.

96 'Etat de proposition pour des recompenses en faveur de deux chefs de tribus' (encl. in Guillain to Ministre de la Marine, 31 August 1864), ANOM, Carton 171.

97 *Moniteur*, 7 March 1869 (trans.).

98 Ibid., 3 October 1864 (trans.).

99 Patouillet, *Voyage*, 51 (trans.); see also Garnier, *Voyage autour du monde*, 225 (trans.) ('He is one of the very small number of existing chiefs who have been able to keep their authority over their subjects').
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1 Moniteur, 29 January 1865 (trans.).

2 Ibid., 30 October 1864, 24 February 1867; Guillain to Ministre de la Marine, 3 September 1865, ANM, BB4 847; Courrier du Havre, 14 January 1866; Guillain to Ministre, 4 December 1867, ANOM, Carton 26, CG 1865–9.

3 Patouillet, Voyage, 50 (trans.).

4 'Etat de proposition pour des recompenses en faveur de deux chefs de tribus' (encl. in Guillain to Ministre de la Marine, 31 August 1864), ANOM, Carton 171. The medal is still in the possession of Bouarate's descendants.

5 Ministre de la Marine to Ruillier, 30 May 1870 (draft); de la Richerie to Ministre, 30 December 1870; Anon., 'Nelle Calédonie. Situation au 23 7bre 1870' (draft); Ministre to de la Richerie, 13 April 1871 (draft), ANOM, Carton 26, CG 1865–9.

6 Moniteur, 30 July 1873 (trans.).

7 Gautret to Poupinel, 1 February 1876; Barriol to Poupinel, 27 February 1876, APM, ONC, General correspondence 1876–7.


10 Guiart, Mythologie du masque, 112.

4 A Yankee Trader in Yap

1 Holcomb to his mother, Mrs Betsy Dean, 15 May 1867. C.P. Holcomb's correspondence is in the possession of Mr Louis Gutierrez of Buffalo, NY, who kindly made available to the author photocopies of all letters.


3 Starbuck, History, 512–46, gives particulars of the two voyages of the Chandler Price. Crayton's older brother, Jay Newton Holcomb, was also at sea aboard a whaler at this time. Family records relate that he was lost overboard on 21 June 1859 while serving in the Java.

4 Holcomb to mother, 12 January 1864.

5 Holcomb to sister, Mrs Arlesta Holcomb Gutierrez, 24 March 1870.

6 Holcomb to sister, 22 August 1871.

7 Holcomb to mother, 11 April and 26 November 1872; Holcomb to sister, 19 April 1872.

8 Holcomb to sister, 23 March 1873.

Spanish ships had evidently visited Yap even earlier, for William Cary reports meeting three Yapese living in Fiji in 1825. The three, who had been recruited at Yap some years before, took part in a mutiny against the captain of their Manila brig and saw him killed. William S. Cary, *Wrecked on the Fijies* (Nantucket 1928), 44. I gratefully acknowledge the help of Dr Saul Riesenberg of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, who first brought to my attention many of the sources cited in this essay.

Alfred Tetens, *Among the Savages of the South Seas* (Stanford 1958), 12.


Tetens, *Savages*, 64.

Ibid., 98.

Holcomb to sister, 27 January 1874.

Holcomb to sister, 10 May 1875; Holcomb to mother, 12 July 1875.


Godeffroy's extensive holdings at this time included a cotton plantation—which failed a few years later—and a slip for repairing ships. H.B. Sterndale, 'Memoranda by Mr Sterndale on some of the South Sea Islands', New Zealand, *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (Wellington 1874), A-3B, 24.

Holcomb to his brother Nelson, 29 June 1877; Holcomb to sister, 12 November 1879.

F.W. Christian, *The Caroline Islands* (London 1899), 262. Christian, who spent two months on Yap in 1897, notes that 'as white women in these parts are as rare as snowflakes in summer', the preference of traders ran towards Chamorro girls. Not only were they in good supply—for the female population of the Marianas far exceeded the male then—but they were reputed to make excellent housewives and were considered more attractive than the swarthy Yapese.

Holcomb to sister, 10 May 1875.


O'Keefe to US Consul in Manila, 24 June 1887, Buffalo, Gutierrez Collection.

Holcomb to sister, 12 November 1879.
29 Emilio Butron y de la Serna, 'Memoria Sobre las Islas Carolinas y Palaos', *Boletin de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid*, XIX (1885), 106.


31 Terry is implicated in the seizure of the *Inga* according to the journal of Frederick Mallard, 'A Two Years' Cruise in the South Pacific, 1853–1855', MS; Dunedin, University of Otago Library. Other accounts of the incident, however, make no mention of his part in it: G.D. Jones, *Life and Adventures in the South Pacific by a Roving Printer* (New York 1861), 257; L.U. Hammet, 'Narrative of the Voyage of *H.M.S. Serpent* in *Nautical Magazine and Naval Chronicle*, XXIII (1854), 66 and 190–1; 'Diary of Thomas Bowles, aboard *Early Bird*, Tanna to Hongkong, 28 October 1853 to 13 February 1854', Canberra, National Library of Australia, MS. 2264.

32 'Testimony of John McGuiness regarding charges against O'Keefe and others trading in the Caroline Islands', 5 August 1882, WPHC, 152/82.

33 Robertson, *Caroline Islands*, 49; LeHunte to Des Voeux, 'Report of the Cruise by *H.M.S. Espiegle*'.

34 *El Conflicto Hispano-Aleman sobre la Micronesia* (Madrid 1886), 134.

35 'Testimony of John McGuiness', WPHC 152/82; Statement of O'Keefe, 19 August 1883, encl 'Report of the Cruise by *H.M.S. Espiegle*'.


37 An account of one such trial appears in *Hongkong Telegraph*, 17 April, 25 April and 2 May 1885. Clippings of this and other court proceedings are preserved in Madrid, Archivo Historico Nacional, Ultramar: Filipinas, Leg. 5354.

38 Kubary's testimony on O'Keefe's fair treatment of the natives was corroborated by James Gibbons, a West Indian who had taken up residence on Palau in 1850 and who was 'by no means on terms of friendship' with O'Keefe. 'Report of the Cruise by *H.M.S. Espiegle*', 25.

39 Ibid., 31.

40 Regina v. Amery and Shaw, in Judicial Proceedings, 'Report of the Cruise by *H.M.S. Espiegle*'. The episode is also recorded with other observations on Yap in R.S. Swanston Journals, VI (entries 4–11 March 1883), Fiji Museum.

41 Holcomb to sister, 24 August 1883.

42 Holcomb to sister, 11 October 1884.

43 'Statement of O'Keefe', encl. 'Report of the Cruise by *H.M.S. Espiegle*'.

44 *Hongkong Telegraph*, 14 May 1885.

45 Holcomb to brother, 7 July 1882.

46 Holcomb to mother, 10 July 1881.

47 Ibid.

48 Holcomb to sister, 6 November 1884.

49 Holcomb to sister, 11 October 1884.

50 O'Keefe to US Consul in Manila, 24 June 1887, Buffalo, Gutierrez Collection.
51 Madrid, Museo Naval, No. 785, ff 72-3, 'Instanica que promueven los habitantes de Yap y Palaos, juzgando se estableciera en aquellas Islas una autoridad espanola'. The petition, dated 29 September 1884, was brought by Holcomb to Manila the following month.

52 El Conflicto Hispano-Aleman sobre la Micronesia, 89.

53 For a published account of the Velasco's voyage see Butrón y de la Serna, 'Memoria sobre las Islas Carolinas y Palaos'.

54 El Conflicto . . ., 88-9; Jose Montero y Vidal, El Archipielago Filipino y las Islas Marianas, Carolinas y Palaos, su Historia, Geographia y Estadistica (Madrid 1886), 485-7.

55 Jan Kubary, who was residing on Yap at this time, described these events in a letter to A. Bastian, 30 August 1885, quoted in W. Müller, Yap, I, 5-6.

56 Analecta Ordinis Minoris Cappuchinorum, III (1887), 365-7; Manila, Philippine National Archives, Carolinas Islands: 1884-98, Leg. 12, ' Expediente promovido por el Gobierno General nombrando a Dona Bartola Garrido Interprete . . 8 May 1886'. Bartola lived on in Yap well into the period of Japanese administration (1914-45), when she died a very old woman. She was reputedly buried on Yap, although no trace of her grave can be found today.

57 The account of Holcomb's last voyage and his fate was retold for years by Yeloth, the Yapese native who served as boatswain of the Bartola on this cruise. Fr John Condon, SJ, to Louis Gutierrez, 22 January 1970, Buffalo, Gutierrez Collection. The commanding officer of the USS Ossipee, which had been sent to Yap to investigate the charges made against Holcomb by O'Keefe and Amery in Hong Kong, there learned the details of Holcomb's death from Yeloth and another Yapese crew member of the Bartola. Cmdr John McGlensy, USN, to Mrs Manuel Gutierrez, 14 September 1886; Official communication from US State Dept. to Mrs Manuel Gutierrez, 18 June 1886, Buffalo, Gutierrez Collection.

58 Manila, Philippine National Archives, Carolinas Islands: 1884-98, Leg. 7, Mariano Torres to Governor General of Philippines, 19 August 1887.

59 Bartola Garrido to Mrs Betsy Dean, 26 August 1886, Buffalo, Gutierrez Collection.

5 Kirisome and Tema

1 [G.R. Le Hunte], Six Letters from the Western Pacific (Colombo n.d.), 16. The major single source for this portrait are the South Sea Journals of the London Missionary Society which appear below in an abbreviated form. Unless otherwise stated, general comments about the Ellice Islands are intended to apply only to the five southern islands of Nukulaelae, Funafuti, Vaitupu, Nukutetau and Nui.


8 R.L. Stevenson, *In the South Seas* (London 1900), 230.


11 W.H. Maxwell, *Report on Gilbert, Ellice, and other islands* [in 1881], 2, RNAS XV.


13 Hiram Bingham Jnr [Voyage of the *Morning Star* in 1867], 1-8, MMP no. 88 of vol. 508.

14 S.J. Whitmee, 'Recollections of a long life', 87-8, SSO; Logbook and diary of Captain James Fowler, 1868-1871, 92-4, PMB 415.

15 Powell, 1871 Journal, 77, SSJ 160; Vivian, 1871-2 Journal, 97-8, SSJ 159.

16 W.W. Gill, Diary of a tour of the Gilbert, Ellice, Union and Loyalty Islands . . . 1872, 72, ML B1444; Pratt, 1872 Journal, 29, SSJ 163.


18 Davies, 1873 Journal, 3, SSL 34/2/D.

19 Turner, 1876 Journal, 7, SSJ 168. The Thompson affair is documented in WPHC Inwards Correspondence, General, encl. in 77/7, 78/8, 78/30; Funafuti, Ellice Group: case between Mr Thompson a British subject and Chief and natives, RNAS XIII; Complaint of Messrs Thompson and Ohlsen abt. People of Funafuti, 14 October 1878, CO 225/1 (AJCP 2277); George Winchcombe, Diary, 21, Louis Becke Papers, ML. See also Deryck Scarr, *Fragments of Empire: a history of the Western Pacific High Commission, 1877-1914* (Canberra 1968), 38-9.

20 G.E.L. Westbrook, 'South Sea Island Traders', WP (84).

21 Newell, Diary, 3 November 1885, Newell Papers, SSO.
260

\[ \text{Notes chap. 5} \]


23 Phillips, 1881 Journal, 7-8, SSJ 178. Phillips supported the Islanders in their resolve not to give land to the traders but a few days later at Nukufetau the missionary was only too willing to accept in the name of the LMS the lands on which mission buildings stood. Ibid., 11.

24 Bridge, Report on Islands, 2.

25 Davies, 1880 Journal, 6, SSJ 176; Newell, 1885 Journal, 44, SSJ 182; W.U. Moore, Reports of Proceedings of H.M.S. 'Dart' in the Fiji, Ellice, Gilbert, Marshall, New Britain, \&c., Groups from May to September 1884, 13, WPHC Inwards Correspondence, General, encl. in 87/172.


27 G.R. Le Hunte, Report of proceedings of H.M.S. 'Espiégle', 12, WPHC Inwards Correspondence, General 83/159.

28 Turner, 1876 Journal, 15, SSJ 180.


30 [Le Hunte], Six Letters, 16.


32 Reports of Commander Eustace Rooke, H.M.S. 'Miranda', of proceedings when visiting the Islands of the Union Group, the Phoenix Group, Sophia and Rotumah Islands, the Ellice Group, the Gilbert Group, April to July, 1886, 10, WPHC Inwards Correspondence, General, 87/84.

33 Davies, 1882 Journal, 9, SSJ 179; Wilson, 1886 Journal, 6, SSJ 183.

34 Bridge, Report on Islands, 2.

35 Frederick J. Moss, Through Atolls and Islands in the Great South Seas (London 1889), 116-17.

36 Marriott, 1883 Journal, 15, SSJ 180.

37 Hedley, 'General account', 46, 56.

38 Marriott, 1887 Journal, 15, SSJ 185.

39 Wilson, 1886 Journal, 10, SSJ 183.


41 Reports of Commander Eustace Rooke, H.M.S. 'Miranda', . . ., 11.

42 White, Kioa, 42.

43 Moss, Through Atolls and Islands, 118; see also Mrs Edgeworth David, Funafuti or three months on a coral atoll: an unscientific account of a scientific expedition (London 1899), 193.

44 Charles H. Townsend and H.F. Moore, Ethnographic notes on Albatross cruise, 110, PBM 121. In 1878, by contrast, the presence of dogs on Funafuti is referred to by B. von Werner, Ein deutsches Kriegsschiff in der Südsee (Leipzig 1889), 226.
Notes chaps. 5 and 6

45 G.B. Smith-Rewse, Annual Report for the Ellice Islands for the year 1912, 5, WPHC Inwards Correspondence, General 14/1442.

46 Dana, Gods Who Die, 175-9; Cyprian Bridge, 'Cruises in Melanesia, Micronesia and western Polynesia . . .', Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, 9 (1886), 554; [Le Hunte], Six Letters, 16.

47 Newell, 1885 Journal, 19, SSJ 182.


50 Marriott, 1887 Journal, 12, SSJ 185; see also Dieter Christensen and Gerd Koch, Die Musik der Ellie-Inseln (Berlin 1964), 188.

51 Hedley, 'General account', 42.


53 Mrs David, Funafuti, 86.

54 Ibid., 296.

55 Papers Respecting the Declaration of a British Protectorate over the Gilbert Islands by Captain Davis, of Her Majesty's ship 'Royalist'; . . ., FOCP 6269; H.W.S. Gibson, Report on the visit of H.M.S. 'Curacoa' to the Ellice Islands in 1892'; by courtesy of Keith and Anne Chambers.

56 J.B. Thurston, Journal kept . . . during his cruise to inaugurate the British protectorate over the Gilbert and Ellice Islands . . . 1893, 1-10, NAF.

57 W.T. Campbell to High Commissioner, 10 January 1900, WPHC Inwards Correspondence, General 99/185.

58 W.T. Campbell to High Commissioner, 15 December 1896, ibid., 97/68.

59 W.T. Campbell to High Commissioner, 10 January 1900, ibid., 99/185; French, 1899 Journal, 29-30, SSJ 193.

60 Marriott, 1898 Journal, 2-3, SSJ 192.

61 Goward, 1897 Journal, passim, SSR 4/241; Goward, 16 July 1894, SSL 43/5/C.

62 Powell, 1871 Journal, 10, SSJ 160.

63 Powell, 1879 Journal, 3-4, SSJ 175.

64 Goward, 1892 Journal, 5-6, SSR 2/142.

6 John Bates Thurston

1 Sydney Morning Herald, 10 February 1897.

2 Ratu Lala to Governor, 31 March 1897, FCSO 99/1195; J.B. Thurston, 'Diary of a passage from Rotuma to Fiji On board the Brig John Wesley', Thurston Papers, NLA.

3 Swanston to Langham, 14 April 1875, Brewster Papers, CUL.
4 Speech reported Melbourne *Argus*, 3 February 1888.
5 *Arabia* journal, Thurston Papers.
6 Sydney Shipping Master, Inward Passenger Lists; *Kestrel* journal, Thurston Papers.
7 'Journal of a voyage from Ovalau Fiji to the New Hebrides . . .', 10 May 1871, NAF.
8 Encl. Simpson to Thurston, 13 October 1873, F1/11.
10 Commonplace Book, Thurston Papers.
11 Thurston to FO, 2 February 1869, F4/1.
12 Thurston to Emily Burrows, 31 January 1882, Burrows Papers, NAF.
13 *Fiji Times*, 2 April 1870.
14 Thurston to Hope, 6 September 1871, Letter-Journals of Captain C.W. Hope, TL; Thurston to March, 9 September 1871, F4/10.
15 Thurston to Lang, 23 October 1870, ML A2229.
16 Letter-Journals; Cakobau to Thurston, 9 March 1872, encl. CO to Gordon, 3 March 1875, CO Despatches to Governor of Fiji, NAF.
17 Letter-Journals; Minutes on Thurston to Knatchbull-Hugesson, 24 June 1872, CO 83/2.
18 *Fiji Times*, 24 July 1872.
19 D'Este to Woods, 25 August 1872, F1/31; Berry to Burt, 23 September 1871, F1/31.
20 Thurston to Granville, 16 December 1872, F1/23.
22 *Fiji Times*, passim.
23 *Fiji Gazette*, 2 November 1872.
25 Diary of G.H.W. Markham, 20 February 1873, ML; Thurston to Layard, 18 February 1874, im Thurn Papers, NAF.
26 Thurston to Chapman, 19 March 1873, F1/23.
27 *Fiji Gazette*, 2 August 1873.
28 Statement encl. Stirling to Admiralty, 13 August 1873, Adm. 1/6261.
29 *Fiji Gazette*, 31 December 1873.
30 Thurston to Swanston, n.d. (early September 1873), M9, NAF.
31 Thurston's annexation journal, passim, Thurston Papers.
32 Thurston to Layard, 9 June 1874, im Thurn Papers.
33 Annexation journal.
34 Cutting in Goodenough's MS Journal, ML.
35 Nasova meeting, 17 March 1874, im Thurn Papers.
36 Thurston to Robinson, 29 September 1874, NSW 4/1633.
37 Encl. Gordon to CO, 16 February 1876, CO 83/9.
38 Thurston to Des Voeux, 25 November 1878, FCSO 78/1748.
39 FCSO 82/2397.
40 Thurston to Gordon, 16 March 1880, Fiji, IV, 251.
41 Minute 18 December 1893, FCSO 92/1380.
42 Encl. Thurston to CO, 28 April 1884, CO 83/36; quotation from FCSO copy.
43 Thurston to Gordon, 24 January 1881, BM Add MSS 49204.
44 Fiji Times, 9 May 1888.
45 Thurston to CO, 13 December 1894 (confidential), CO 83/59.
46 FCSO 91/2023, 2123.
47 FCSO 90/961.
48 E.g. Thurston to Carew, Saturday, Carew Papers HL.
49 Fiji Times, 13 November 1889.
50 Memo. for Des Voeux, 24 July 1884, loose FCSO paper.
51 Fiji Argus, 28 January 1876.
52 FCSO confidential papers.
54 E.g. FCSO 89/1218.
56 Thurston to CO, 25 June and 16 July 1894, CO83/59; FCSO: Deportations of Natives, Case 12.
57 Thurston to CO, 31 December 1883, CO83/34.
58 Thurston to Thiselton-Dyer, 30 November 1890, Kew Letters.
59 See, generally, Noel Rutherford, Shirley Baker and the King of Tonga (Melbourne 1971).
60 Thurston to Des Voeux, 29 September 1884, COCP Australian No. 106.
61 Thurston to CO, 22 May 1884, CO 83/37, and his letters to the Aborigines Protection Society, RH.
62 Thurston to Granville, 29 April 1885, COCP Australian No. 113.
63 Thurston to Pauncfote, 15 October 1886, FO 58/218; and to Herbert, 1 October 1886, FO 58/158.
64 Thurston to Hervey, 26 October 1888, FO 58/240; and despatches ibid.
65 Thurston to Mrs Bates, 30 April 1893, George Handy Bates Samoan Papers, University of New Delaware.
66 Thurston to CO, 28 December 1892, CO 225/39; to Cusack-Smith, 3 March, 1 June 1892, BCS 2.
67 Thurston to Mrs Bates, 30 April 1893.
68 BCS 2.
69 Thurston to Meade, 24 May 1894, CO 83/59.
Notes chaps. 6 and 7

70 Thurston to Gordon, 12 August 1883, BM Add MSS 49218; New Zealand Times, 27 June 1883.
71 Thurston to his sister Eliza, 12 August 1883, Perrins Papers, NAF.
72 Thurston to Moss, 28 October 1890, Moss Papers, Auckland Museum and Institute.
73 Ibid., 18 May 1893; Minute 9 June 1893, WPHC Inwards Correspondence General, 93/112.
74 Gilbert and Ellice Islands Journal, NAF.
75 Ibid., and letters to Moss.
76 Solomon Islands Journal, Thurston Papers, NLA.
77 Thurston to CO, 22 October 1895, CO 225/49.
78 Ibid., 15 August 1896, CO 83/64.
79 Thurston to Emily Burrows, n.d. Burrows Papers NAF.

7 Captain Hernsheim

2 Sanders to Goodenough, 11 January 1875, in RNAS 13.
3 Ibid.
5 Private journal, 8 July 1876, Papers of J.L. Young (PMB 21).
6 Ibid., 24 June 1876.
7 Pease and Whitney to Clark, 20 March 1880, in Letters and Papers of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Reel 5 National Library of Australia, G4128. (I am indebted to Mr Doug Munro for drawing my attention to this.)
8 F. Hernsheim, Südde-Erinnerungen (1875-1880) (Berlin 1883), 99-100.
9 Im Bismarck-Archipel (Leipzig 1887), 40.
11 Rooney to Emberson, 20 December 1881, ML: Papers of Isaac Rooney.
13 Report on cruise of Habicht, 19 October 1881, in records of the Reichskolonialamt (hereinafter RKA), vol. 2828, German Central State Archives, Potsdam.
14 Romilly to Acting High Commissioner, 15 September 1883, in Reports Concerning the State of Affairs in the Western Pacific Received From Deputy Commissioner Romilly During the last 12 Months, August 1884 (Command Paper 4126).
Notes chaps. 7 and 8

15 Ibid., Romilly to Acting High Commissioner, 24 August 1883 and enclosures.
16 Romilly, *Western Pacific*, 189.
17 Stuebel to Bismarck, 26 April 1884, RKA 2298.
18 Stuebel to Oertzen, 5 June 1884, encl. in Stuebel to Bismark, 16 June 1884, RKA 2791.
19 Kusserow to Bismarck, 20 August 1884, RKA 2790.
20 Oertzen to Bismarck, 3 December 1884, RKA 2797.
21 Oertzen to Bismarck, 4 December 1884, RKA 2797.
22 Robertson and Hersheim to Auswärtiges Amt, 18 August 1884, RKA 2719.
23 Robertson and Hersheim to Bismarck, 14 July 1885, RKA 2395.
24 *Der Bismarck-Archipel und seine Zukunft als deutsche Kolonie* (Hamburg 1886), *passim*.
25 Knorr to admiral, 21 June 1886, RKA 2976.
26 Hersheim to Krauel, 27 March 1887, RKA 2977.
27 von Prittwitz to admiral, 18 September 1889, RKA 2978.
28 Rooney to Kelynack, 12 June 1886, Rooney Papers.
31 Auswärtiges Amt to Reichskanzlei, 14 May 1928, Records of Reichskanzlei R43 1/626, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz.

8 Henry Nanpei

1 Conversation with Sehni Nanpei, 8 September 1974.
2 Sehni Nanpei, 8 September 1974. This is also confirmed by William R. Bascom, 'Ponape, a Pacific economy in transition', *Anthropological Records*, vol. 22, Berkeley 1965, 34. Bascom probably got his information from Oliver or Thomas Nanpei, Sehni's older brothers.
3 American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (hereinafter cited as ABC), 19.4, vol. 5, no. 245. Sturges to N.G. Clark, 30 September 1873. See also ABC, 19.4, vol. 3, no. 268, 'Facts concerning the Island of Bonabe [sic] or Ascension by one of the Micronesian Missionaries for the Puritan Recorder', 69–70.
4 Conversation with Ersin Santos, 16 August 1973.
5 For a detailed description of Spain's acquisition of the Carolines and Marianas see Hildegard Baaken, *Die Karolinenfrage 1885* (Köln 1963), *passim*.
7 Luelen Bernart, 'The Book of Luelen', 66.15. See also ABC 19.4, vol. 10, no. 146, 'The Spanish and our Mission in Micronesia' (Providence, R.I. 1891). The Wasai was the highest ranking chief in Sokehs. There was no Nanmwarki but the Wasai was treated as Nanmwarki.


10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid., letter from Nanpei, 30 July 1893.

13 Ibid. Nanpei states further, 'The Germans are to be held responsible for about two-thirds of the liquor imported to Ponape: This is about the only article of commerce they never run short of.' He was probably referring to the Jaluit Gesellschaft which was stationed on Langer Island in the northern harbour.

14 HEA/MM/Nanpei. Nanpei to Emerson, Kiti, October 1893.

15 Ibid., Kiti, 1894.

16 'Book of Luelen', 67.8.

17 Hambruch, I, 287-8. See also 'Luelen', note 66.5.

18 HEA/MM/Nanpei, letter from Beaumont to Emerson, 28 November 1898. This letter is written in a similar hand to those of Nanpei in this collection. While I believe Nanpei probably drafted and penned his own letters, I would not claim to be sure of it.

19 Ibid., Nanpei to Emerson, 22 October 1894. See also Nanpei to Emerson, 18 June 1897.

20 Ibid., Nanpei to Emerson, 18 June 1897.

21 Hambruch, I, 227.

22 Ibid.

23 HEA/MM/Nanpei, Beaumont to Emerson, 28 November 1898.

24 Ibid.

25 Ibid.

26 Missionary Herald (hereinafter MH), April 1900, 147. 'From Ponape a Remarkable Letter', Nanpei to Charles Lamson, D.D., Ponape, 1 November 1899.

27 Ibid., MH, 147-8.

28 Ibid., 148. The ordinance was printed in DKBI, XI Jrg., no. 13, 1 July 1900, 496. It was promulgated on 17 October 1899. Nanpei attributed it to Hahl, though van Bennigsen signed it.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid., February 1901, 62.


34 DKBI, XVI Jrg., no. 27, 1905, 657.

35 DKBI, XVI Jrg., no. 18, 1905, 561.

36 Hambruch, I, 253 gives nearly the same description but adds that the Germans valued rifles at 35 Mk and cartridges at 10 Pf apiece.

37 Ibid., 284. Hambruch provides the numbers. Margarita of Enipein states that her father wrapped his guns in oiled rags and buried them, and that many others did the same: conversation in Enipein, Kiti, 13 December 1973.

38 The Germans reported it was 'Hitzschlag' (heat-stroke) DKBI, XVII Jrg., no. 15, 1907, 724. I have met no Ponapean who believes this theory.


40 Fritz, AdM, 41.

41 Peter Hempenstall generously provided me with his notes from the Deutsches Zentralarchiv Potsdam, Reichskolonialamt (hereinafter PH/DZAP/RKA). PH/DZAP/RKA 3005, Fritz-Hahl, Ponape, 21/7/08, 91 3. Considering Fritz arrived just three months earlier, he had a remarkably good understanding of the situation on Ponape.

42 Ibid., 91.

43 Ibid., 92.

44 The Catholics had begun to extend their influence into Enipein. Margarita reported, 13 December 1973, that her family was the first to become Catholic. And see P. Kilian Müller, Ponape im Sonnenlicht der Öffentlichkeit (Köln 1912), 32.

45 PH/DZAP/RKA, 3005, Fritz-Hahl, 95.

46 Fritz, PH/DZAP/RKA, 3005, 26/8/08, 100. Fritz knew Sigismundo was black Dpwenmen as was the Nanmwarki, but did not indicate that he understood the complex sub-clan problem. Fritz AdM 50-51 indicates his awareness of the Awak war.

47 Fritz, PH/DZAP/RKA 3005, 94.

48 Archives of the Kapuziner Mission (Muenster), File no. 70, Ponape, Aufstand 1908, Originalbericht, 8. (I am grateful again to Peter Hempenstall for his notes, hereinafter PH/AKM.) See also Fritz, PH/DZAP/RKA 3005, 26/8/08.

49 Fritz, AdM, 55.

50 Conversation with Prens in Diadi, Kiti, 8 February 1974.

51 A song commemorates this event. It is called 'Kadapwadapw en Sigismundo'. Recorded in Enipein on 9 December 1973.

52 Fritz, PH/DZAP/RKA, 3005, 26/8/08, 103.

53 Fritz, AdM, 59-105. Fritz continued to have problems with the Catholic priests and felt that their ambitions were responsible for the rebellion in Sokehs. There is little evidence to support such charges.

54 Hambruch, I, v. describes how the tension impeded his research.

55 Conversation with Ersin Santos, 7 January 1974.
56 Hambruch, I, 309.
57 PH/DZAP/RKA 2590, Winkler to Kersting, Korror (sic), Palau, 8/2/14.
58 Conversation with Etwet at Leak, Madolenihmw, 4 October 1973. Etwet was 90 years old at the time of the interview and had a remarkable memory.
59 This information exists in the original Kiti land register which is located in the Office of Lands and Surveys in Kolonia, Ponape. I am particularly grateful to William Norman for his generous assistance in explaining that book and the technicalities of the German deeds.
60 John L. Fischer, 'Contemporary Ponapean Land Tenure', *Land Tenure Patterns, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands*, I, Office of the Staff Anthropologist, Guam, part 2, 87-96. This short section of Fischer's article explains the significance of the German deeds. Ersin Santos showed me documents which explained in detail the system of indirect rule which grew out of the land law of 1912. These documents were typed in Ponapean and dated 7 April 1913 and 30 January 1914. Fischer translated them into English on 3 November 1951.

9 The Last Opportunity

3 See R.L. Stevenson, *In the South Seas*, 7-8. This book is a collection of the travel letters mentioned below.
4 Ibid., 4-17. McClure paid RLS $10,000 for fifty of these letters, but the venture was unsuccessful for both of them; for McClure because RLS was determined to keep them serious, for RLS because he resented the tyranny of deadlines forced on him. Nevertheless, once the task was terminated he and McClure remained on friendly terms.
7 *In the South Seas*, chapter V, part 1, 'Depopulation', 32-9. This view of the bad effect of creating a vacuum in Samoan culture was shared by Stevenson's missionary friend, W.E. Clarke. See his letter to the Acting Home Secretary of the LMS, Spicer, 23 June 1891, *SSL*, 41-6/C.
8 RLS to Bishop, 1890, Beinecke Collection, 2891. This collection, at Yale University, is the most complete of original Stevenson material.
9 *In the South Seas*, 275-6.
RLS to The Times, 10 February 1889 (printed 11 March 1889). The tone of this letter was extremely anti-German, and RLS paid a heavy penalty for this throughout his years in Samoa. Germans proved to have a long and bitter memory.

See the report of the correspondent of the New Zealand Herald, 6 January 1890, paying tribute to his energetic application is journalism.

For the best description of this episode see H.J. Moors, With Stevenson in Samoa, (London 1911), 84-8. (See RLS to Baxter, 20 March 1890, Balfour Papers, Box 1.)


RLS to Colvin, Letters, Vol. 4, 197.


RLS to Lloyd, September 1890, Beinecke Collection, 3210.


Ibid.

British Weekly, 30 June 1892.

Westminster Gazette, 7 March 1893.

The missionaries did not enjoy the responsibility of the Foreign Church, as it diverted them from what they considered to be their only duty — administering to the Samoans, none of whom worshipped there. See the Rev. W.E. Clarke, 'Personal Recollections of Robert Louis Stevenson', Chronicle of the London Missionary Society, LXXIII, No. 863-4, April-May 1908.

Lloyd to the Reverend James Chalmers, 21 March 1894, Balfour Papers, Box 2, 289.

See Graham Balfour, 'Vailima Memories, 1892-4', in R. Masson, ed., I Can Remember Robert Louis Stevenson (Edinburgh 1922), 283, for a small instance of their appreciation.

Cusack-Smith to the Foreign Office, 16 August 1892, FO 58/267.

His letters for the period November 1891 to March 1892 are full of his determination to produce this book speedily, for this political purpose. See especially that to Colvin of 25 November 1891, Letters, Vol. 4, 118-24, from which the quotation is taken.

RLS to Burlingame (his American publisher), December 1891, ibid., 125.


RLS to Cusack-Smith, 1 March 1892, encl. in Cusack-Smith to FO, 2 March 1892, British Sessional Papers, (1893-94), CIX, 118.

As recognised by the FO official, who noted on them 'a carefully prepared scheme' (C.B. Richardson memo, 24 June 1892, FO 58/266).
Cedercrantz to FO, 7 December 1892, FO 58/262.

RLS to Whitmee, 24 April 1892, *Letters*, Vol. 4, 170–1. A slightly embellished version of this letter was published in the *Glasgow Citizen*, 10 and 11 January 1895. It is also interesting to read Whitmee’s explanation to his superior in London as to how RLS had won him over to his (Stevenson’s) way of thinking on the topic. (Whitmee to Thompson, 2 March 1892, SSL 4201/C and 25 April 1892, SSL 42–2/A).

RLS to Colvin, May 1892, *Vailima Letters* 19. This letter (which is printed in part in *Letters*, Vol. 4, 172–87) describes vividly the efforts RLS took at this time.

RLS to Colvin, ibid. The threat of deportation from Samoa hung over the family for more than a year.

*Manchester Courier*, 8 September 1892.

Colvin to Charles Baxter, 8 November 1892, in the possession of Ernest Mehew.


RLS to Cusack-Smith, 16 January 1893, BCS. 11/86. Cusack-Smith turned down the suggestion. (Cusack-Smith to RLS, 17 January 1893, BCS. V/112).

RLS to Lord Rosebery, 30 January 1893, Rosebery Papers, Box 65.

RLS to Graham Balfour, January 1893, Balfour Papers, Box 4, 438.

See for example the minute, 24 April 1893, in CO 225/44.

Grey to RLS, 30 March 1893, Beinecke Collection, 4491.

RLS to Maben, 25 April 1893, encl. in RLS to Cusack-Smith, 2 May 1893, BCS. 11/86.

RLS to Cusack-Smith, 2 May 1893, ibid.

Malietoa Laupepa to the three Consuls, 5 May 1893, BCS. 11/86.

RLS to Colvin, June 1893, *Vailima Letters* 32.


RLS to Mata’afa, 17 July 1893, enclosed in Cusack-Smith to FO, 12 August 1893, FO 58/277.

RLS to Pall Mall Gazette, 30 July 1893, printed 4 September.

Reminiscences of Graham Balfour, prepared for Colvin 1895–96, Balfour Papers, Box 2, 290. Balfour, Stevenson’s cousin, was with the family much between 1892 and 1894, and shared Stevenson’s involvement in Samoan politics. He later wrote what is still one of the best biographies of RLS.


Ibid.

RLS to Colvin, August 1893, *Vailima Letters* 33.

See for example RLS to Ide, 18 November 1893, Beinecke Collection, 8047.

Lloyd to Balfour, 29 December 1893, Balfour Papers, Box 4, no. 434.


See Cusack-Smith to FO, 19 June 1894, FO 58/285, and President Schmidt to RLS, 18 August 1894, Beinecke Collection, no. 5433.
Notes chaps. 9 and 10


64 RLS to Colvin, September 1894, *Letters*, Vol. 5, 161. Regrettably, because Colvin had complained bitterly to RLS of his continual political reports, RLS wrote him no details on this occasion.

65 Scrap of a plan, undated and unsigned, in Beinecke Collection, 3121. See also the press release on 'E.W. Gurr of Samoa', prepared on the occasion of Gurr's retirement as A.P. representative in Apia, 2 February 1927, Turnbull Library, MS. Papers 56 Folder 51/.

66 RLS to Colvin, November 1894, *Letters*, Vol. 5, 178. This was Stevenson's last letter to his old friend.

67 RLS, 'Address to the Chiefs', loc. cit.

10 Apolosi R. Nawai

1 Fijian report of Apolosi's words at the wedding of Tom Sorby, Suva, June 1917, restricted file, Colonial Secretary's Office (CSO) National Archives of Fiji. All sources unless indicated come from these archives, or those of the Methodist Mission in Fiji (MM). For access to the latter I am indebted to the Rev. S.G. Andrews of Suva.

2 This paragraph is based on oral evidence from old men at Lutu and Vatukoula. Mitieli was a chief and ex-Buli Lutu, later to become district manager of the Viti Company. It is part of the style of Fijian storytelling to specify an exact time of day while the year is not mentioned. Apolosi spoke of beginning his work in 1911, but the government only became aware of it in 1913.

3 Ratu J.L.V. Sukuna, memorandum, 12 March 1917, CSO 17/2286.

4 *Na Mata*, January 1914, 1 June 1914, 82-3.

5 Joni Kuruduadua to the Provincial Commissioner Colo East, 28 January 1914, CSO 14/1975.

6 Sweet-Escott, minute, 3 June 1914, and other papers at CSO 14/4758.

7 May to CO, 3 May 1911, CO 83/101.

8 Ratu A. Finau to the Colonial Secretary (CS), 18 February 1914, CSO 14/2413.


10 Rankine's minute, 11 June 1914, CSO 14/4712. The collection of money was eventually regulated in 1928.


12 Apolosi and Kiniviliame Nawai to Ilaya (manager on Naviti), 19 June 1914, CSO 14/9384.

13 Akuila Tuivuna, 'Clerk of the Viti Company', to Buli Kavula, 21 August 1914, CSO 14/9385.

14 Baker to CS, 1 December 1914, CSO 14/10313.
15 Stewart’s minute, 7 December 1914, CSO 14/10287.
16 Registrar of Companies to CS, 25 November 1916, CSO 16/9253.
17 Adi S. Gaunavou, R. Nawai and David L. Toma’s, At Tukutuku Bibi e baleti Ratu Avelosi R. Nawai (Nadi 1966?), 8–9.
18 Apolosi to Bulis of Nadroga, 17 March 1915, CSO 15/2851.
19 Fiji Times, 30 March 1915.
20 Fijian text supplied by the company and printed ibid. See also Gilchrist Alexander, From the Middle Temple to the South Seas (London 1927) 72.
21 Small to Amos, 8 April 1915, MM F/l/1915.
22 Barrow to governor, 5 April 1915, CSO 15/3130.
23 Sweet-Escott to CO, 7 December 1917, CO 83/139 encloses a long account of these incidents and defence by Apolosi himself.
24 Tuisawau and others to governor, Na Mata, January 1916.
25 Text of a personal warning from Sweet-Escott read to Apolosi in Korovou gaol, September 1916, CSO 16/6390.
26 Encls. Hutson to CO, 22 March 1916, CO 83/130.
27 Sweet-Escott to CO, 19 April 1917, CO 83/134; Lelean to Small, 16 November 1916, MM F/1/1916.
28 Unless otherwise indicated, reports of Apolosi’s words cited hereafter are located in restricted files, and my translations from the Fijian seek to give some of the flavour of the original.
29 CO to Sweet-Escott, 11 July 1917, encl. CSO 17/7208.
30 Apolosi to governor, 27 November 1917, encl. Sweet-Escott to CO, 7 December 1917, CO 83/139.
31 Long’s minute, 28 February 1918, CO 83/139.
32 Ibid. I have not seen the Fijian original of this long document professing his loyalty to the government and quoting from his speeches about the use of time and the need for Fijians to work their land rather than accept labouring for 2 shillings a day—‘less than the cost of the food of a horse’.
33 Fell to CO, 12 May 1924. Apolosi even talked of proselytising the Ra Circuit of the Methodist Church—see Lelean to McDonald, 30 September 1924, MM F/1/1924.
34 Lelean to McDonald, 31 March 1930, MM F/1/1930.
35 Luke to CO, 4 June 1940, and enclosures.

11 Charles Morris Woodford

1 Woodford, A Naturalist Among the Head-Hunters (London 1890), 188.
2 Woodford to Colonial Office, 11 January 1894, CO 225/46.
3 Woodford, A Naturalist, 21n.
4 S. Rivington, *The History of Tonbridge School from its foundation in 1553 to
the present date* (London 1869), *passim*; D. Somerville, *A History of Tonbridge
School* (London 1947), *passim*; Somerville 63. See for example Woodford to
Collett, 3 May 1897, WPHC Inward Correspondence, General, 97/297, for
Woodford boasting about his constitution.

5 Information about Woodford at school and the influence of Dr Welldon upon
him was contained in an anonymous article in the *Gravesend Journal, Dartford
Observer and County Intelligencer*, 7 April 1888, cutting in the Woodford
Papers.

6 Woodford to Thurston, 5 April 1883, FCSO 83/678.

7 Minute by Des Voeux on (?) Hodges to Colonial Secretary, 1 November 1884,
FCSO 84/2548; Thurston to CO, 30 March 1894, CO 225/45.

8 Revised version of Woodford Diary kept while on board the *Patience* (on internal
evidence revised in 1893), Woodford Papers.

9 Woodford Diary, 29 April, 30 April and 5 May 1884, Woodford Papers.

10 Woodford Diary, 28 April 1884, Woodford Papers.

11 Woodford to Thurston, 30 June 1884, copy in Woodford Papers.


13 Woodford to R.H. Meade, 8 August 1893, CO 225/44.

14 See for example A.G. Butler, 'A collection of butterflies from the Fiji Islands',
*Annals and Magazine of Natural History*, May 1884; and Butler, 'On the
lepidoptera collected by Mr. C.M. Woodford in the Ellice and Gilbert Islands',
*Annals and Magazine of Natural History*, March 1885.

15 See correspondence between Woodford and Dr Gunther, Letterbook of the
Keeper of Zoology, British Museum (Natural History).

16 Woodford Diaries, Woodford Papers; and Woodford, *A Naturalist, passim*.


18 Woodford Diary, 12 May 1886, Woodford Papers.

19 Ibid., 14 May 1886.

20 Ibid., 17 May 1886.

21 Ibid., 28 May 1886.

22 Ibid., 25 June 1886.


24 Ibid., 46.

25 Ibid., 42.

26 Ibid., 44.

27 Woodford Diary, 25 June 1886, Woodford Papers.

28 Ibid., 1 August 1886.

29 Woodford, 'Exploration of the Solomon Islands', *Proceedings of the Royal
Geographical Society*, March 1888, 375.


31 Ibid., 21n.

32 Woodford to CO, 7 September 1893, CO 225/44.
Woodford, *A Naturalist*, 45.

Ibid.

Woodford to Meade, 8 August 1893, CO 225/44.

Woodford to CO, 11 January 1894, CO 225/46.

See correspondence between Woodford and the Royal Geographical Society, *Correspondence of the Royal Geographical Society*.

Woodford to CO, 7 February 1897, CO 225/54.

Thurston to Berkeley, 7 April 1896, WPHC Inwards Correspondence, General 96/115.

Berkeley to CO, 21 April 1896, CO 225/50.

Berkeley to Woodford, 20 April 1896, encl. ibid.

'Report on the British Solomon Islands by Mr. C.M. Woodford', *Colonial Reports — Miscellaneous*, April 1897, 16.

Woodford to Thurston (private), 5 July 1896, WPHC Inwards Correspondence, General 96/292.

Governor of NSW to Thurston, 2 October 1896, WPHC Inwards Correspondence, General 96/399, forwarding a telegraphic message from the Colonial Office.

Minute by Anderson on Thurston to CO, 21 August 1896, CO 225/50.

Woodford to Collett, 3 May 1897, WPHC Inwards Correspondence, General 97/297.

Im Thurn to Woodford, 17 December 1906, encl. in Thurn to CO, 17 December 1906, CO 225/73.


Woodford to Jackson, 16 April 1904, WPHC Inwards Correspondence, General 98/91.

Woodford to im Thurn, 13 March 1907, WPHC Inwards Correspondence, General 05/175.

Woodford to Berkeley, 8 June 1897, WPHC Inwards Correspondence, General 97/300.

Woodford to O'Brien, 25 September 1897, WPHC Inwards Correspondence, General 97/508.

Woodford to Thurston, (?) November 1886, copy in Woodford Papers.

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Notes chaps. 11 and 12

59 Stanmore to CO, 23 February 1899; Stanmore to CO, 22 September 1899; Stanmore to CO, 6 October 1899; and minutes, CO 225/58.

60 Woodford to O'Brien, 15 May 1900, WPHC Inwards Correspondence, General 98/91.

61 See the whole file of WPHC Inwards Correspondence, General 98/91.

62 Woodford to im Thurn, 5 May 1905; filed in WPHC Inwards Correspondence, General 05/61.

63 Woodford to Sweet-Escott (Confidential), 29 November 1913, WPHC Inwards Correspondence, General 14/183.

12 Grimble of the Gilbert Islands

1 A Pattern of Islands (London 1952) (published in the USA as We Chose the Islands: A Six-Year Adventure in the Gilberts (New York 1952); Return to the Islands (London 1957).

2 See, for example, Austin Coates, Western Pacific Islands (London 1970); C. Hartley Grattan, The Southwest Pacific Since 1900 (Ann Arbor 1963); Rosemary Grimble, Migrations, Myth and Magic from the Gilbert Islands: Early Writings of Sir Arthur Grimble (London 1972).

3 In justifying this claim, made in an application for promotion and transfer in 1926, Grimble cited Aelfrida Tillyard, Cambridge Poets 1900-1913 (Cambridge 1913). Two of his short poems, both examples of trite, sentimental Georgian verse, were included in this anthology. For the application see WPHC Inwards Correspondence, General, 26/432.

4 The published articles include: 'From birth to death in the Gilbert Islands', Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, LI (1921), 25-54; 'Canoe crests of the Gilbert Islanders', Man, XXI (1921), 81-5; 'Myths from the Gilbert Islands', Folklore, XXXIII (1922), 91-112; 'The sun and six', Man, XXII (1922), 54-6; 'Canoes in the Gilbert Islands', Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, LIV (1924), 101-39; 'Gilbertese astronomy and astronomical observations', Journal of the Polynesian Society, XL (1931), 197-224; 'The migrations of a Pandanus people, as traced from a study of food, food traditions and food-rituals in the Gilbert Islands', Polynesian Society Memoir no. 12 (incomplete), issued as Supplements to the Journal of the Polynesian Society, XLII-XLIII (1933-4).

5 Comments regarding Grimble's attitudes and character are based on discussions with people who knew or worked with him, his official correspondence and his career files in the Western Pacific Archives—in particular, WPHC Inwards Correspondence, General, 14/527; 24/2776; 26/423; 30/2771; 81/685; WPHC, Series 3, Confidential Minute Papers, 25/20; 26/91; 28/17; 29/32.

6 Grimble to Eliot, 10 November 1918, encl. Eliot to Rodwell, Confidential, 1 February 1919, ibid., 19/531.

7 For Grimble's period at Tarawa, see his District Annual Reports for 1915-16 and related correspondence, ibid., 17/1027.

8 Ibid., 18/147; 22/817.
9 Grimble to Eliot, 28 March 1916, encl. Eliot to Hutson, 15 April 1916, WPHC Inwards Correspondence, General 16/1488; Grimble to Eliot, 8 March 1917 (copy to High Commissioner), ibid., 17/1008.

10 Eliot to Sweet-Escott, Confidential, 26 February 1917 and subsequent correspondence, ibid., 17/1053; 17/2176.

11 Grimble to Eliot, no. 8, 11 February 1917; Eliot to Grimble, no. 14, 21 February 1917; Eliot to Sweet-Escott, Confidential, 5 July 1917; Sweet-Escott to Eliot, Confidential, 6 September 1917, ibid., 17/2177.

12 Ibid., 19/170; 19/173.

13 ‘Description of the evils of the Ruoaia in its unclean aspects . . .’ (prepared by the Beru Committee of the LMS); Eastman to Eliot, 4 August 1919; both encl. Eliot to Sweet-Escott, Memorandum, 18 September 1919, ibid., 19/1865.

14 Grimble to Eliot, Confidential, 3 February 1919, encl. Eliot’s Memorandum, ibid.

15 ‘Memorandum on the Gilbertese Ruoaia . . .’, encl. Grimble to Eliot, Confidential, 3 February 1919, ibid.

16 ‘Memorandum on the decisions and proposals, concerning native dancing, framed by a Committee of the London Mission at Beru . . .’, encl. Grimble to Rodwell, 1 June 1922, ibid., 22/1674.

17 Grimble to Eliot, no. 27, 20 November 1918, encl. Eliot to Rodwell, 1 February 1919, ibid., 19/531.

18 Grimble to Fletcher, no. 318, 15 October 1930; no. 353, 17 December 1931, ibid., 30/1950.

19 Grimble to Hutson, no. 277, 20 December 1926, ibid., 27/179.


21 Grimble did not write a general report on the Butaritari-Makin settlement; the best accounts of the settlement and subsequent problems are to be found in the reports of later District Officers and Land Commissioners, GEIC, Secretariat, 2nd Series, F48/2/1 (Western Pacific Archives).

22 Grimble to Hutson, 24 January 1926, WPHC Inwards Correspondence, General, 26/423.

23 Both GEIC publications, Suva, Government Printer.

24 A Pattern of Islands, 159.

25 Hints and Instructions, 5.


27 Minute by A.K. Young, Chief Judicial Commissioner, WPHC Inwards Correspondence, General, 28/939.

28 Barley to Barton, semi-official, 7 June 1936, ibid., 36/1467; H.E. Maude, personal communication.

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For relevant correspondence see WPHC Inwards Correspondence, General, 25/2663; for the Commission’s report and related correspondence, ibid., 26/173. See also Grimble, Return to the Islands, 175–80.

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