PACIFIC ISLANDS PORTRAITS

EDITORS

J. W. DAVIDSON & DERYCK SCARR

Till the beginning of the nineteenth century the Pacific Islands had known Europeans mainly as transient visitors. Before it ended they had been drawn within the frontiers of the Western world.

The changing way of life of the Pacific is shown through this series of portraits of men and women who lived in the islands between the early years of the nineteenth century and the outbreak of the First World War. Five of the portraits are studies of islanders: King George Tupou I, of Tonga; Cakobau and Ma'afu, of Fiji; Baiteke and Binoka, of Abemama, in the Gilbert Islands; Kwaisulia, of the Solomon Islands; and Lauaki, of Samoa. Two are of missionaries—Bishop Patteson and Father Montrouzier—and one of a missionary family, the Henrys of Tahiti. One is of a trader and adventurer, Peter Dillon. And three are portraits of groups of people: settlers in the 'beach communities'; planters in Fiji; and labour recruiters and the islanders they recruited. Together they constitute a gallery of great interest, revealing the colour and texture of life in the Pacific.

Only one of the writers is himself a Pacific islander; but all have lived in the islands and responded to their spell. They have thus been able to present their subjects with sensitivity, against an intimate knowledge of the local background, as well as with scholarly accuracy, derived from thorough study of the documentary sources.

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PACIFIC ISLANDS PORTRAITS

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PACIFIC ISLANDS PORTRAITS

J. W. DAVIDSON
&
DERYCK SCARR

Editors

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PREFACE

THIS book seeks to show what life in the Pacific Islands meant to a number of people who lived it between the early years of the nineteenth century and the outbreak of the First World War.

A brief introduction—'The Pacific and its Peoples'—sets the scene. Six of the twelve essays that follow are studies of individuals; one is of a father and son, one of a family, and one of two rivals. Three are portraits of groups of people. The coverage, in terms of human interests and of geography, though incomplete, is as broad as seemed feasible within the limits of a single volume. The members of one important group—colonial administrators, consuls, and naval officers—have been omitted, since they have not failed to receive attention elsewhere; but most other interests are touched upon. And the men chosen for study are as representative of their time and place as any are likely to be who are worthy of detailed biographical attention. Tahiti, Fiji, Tonga, Samoa, Hawaii, New Caledonia, the Gilbert Islands, New Hebrides, and Solomon Islands fall within the compass of their lives.

The central characters of five studies are islanders, only one of whom—George Tupou I of Tonga—is part of the cultural heritage of his biographer. Each of the contributors who has written of the actions and states of mind of Pacific Islanders has been conscious of the difficulty of understanding, and even more of communicating, thoughts and feelings deriving from experience in an island society. Moreover, except for Lauaki, none of the islanders studied left any substantial account of his opinions in his own words. In each case an attempt has been made to meet the first of these problems—that of understanding—by reading documents from European sources in association with others in the vernacular language, and by supplementing both with a critical examination of oral tradition and of genealogies. The second—that of communication—cannot perhaps be fully met within the limits of a single essay; but contributors have sought to make clear the local connotation of English terms relating to subjects such as politics, or war, or kinship by relating them to their particular context. Given this care, we do not believe that the late R. G. Collingwood was right for all time when he wrote: 'We cannot talk in English

about the way in which a Negro tribe thinks and feels without making them appear to think and feel like Englishmen . . .'. But we recognise the danger.

A book such as this necessarily lacks the thematic unity possessed by a monograph or the biography of a single person. Indeed, it has been our purpose to show the diversity of situations existing in the Pacific and the diverse responses to them of men of varying backgrounds and interests. Yet the separate essays create, we believe, a coherent picture of a region and of a period. Moreover, some of the men studied are mentioned in more than one essay. Their reappearances, as secondary characters, throw further light on their personalities and involvements; cross-references have not been given, however, since recourse may be had to the index.

J. W. Davidson
Deryck Scarr

August 1969

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THE contributors to this book have drawn upon a wide range of public and private papers in the custody of a large number of institutions and individuals. They wish to express their thanks to all who have made material available and, in particular, to those who have allowed them to use documents not generally accessible to the public.

The particular obligations of individual contributors are made clear in the references to each essay.

A NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHY

LOCAL usage has been followed, wherever possible, in the spelling of names and other words in island languages. Some of these languages possess well established, though—to the outsider—idiosyncratic, orthographies.

In Fijian

b is pronounced as *mb* in *number*

c is pronounced as *th* in *that*

d is pronounced as *nd* in *end*

g is pronounced as *ng* in *singer*

q is pronounced as *ng* in *finger*

In Samoan

g is pronounced as *ng* in *singer*

In Samoan and Tongan

An inverted comma or apostrophe marks the glottal stop. This represents a break, or catch, in the voice similar to that found in the Cockney pronunciation of *letter* as *le'er*.

A macron marks long vowels, e.g. *mālō*.

For some other languages—particularly in Melanesia—orthography is less well established. In these cases, the spelling used in the Geographical Handbook *Pacific Islands* (Admiralty, Naval Intelligence Division, 1943-5) has generally been adopted.

CONTENTS

		<i>page</i>
Preface		v
A Note on Orthography		viii
The Pacific and its Peoples	J. W. Davidson	1
PORTRAITS		
1 Peter Dillon: the voyages of the <i>Calder</i> and <i>St Patrick</i>	J. W. Davidson	9
2 The Deviations of a Missionary Family: the Henrys of Tahiti	Niel Gunson	31
3 King George Tupou I of Tonga	Sione Lātūkefu	55
4 The Beach Communities	Caroline Ralston	77
5 Cakobau and Ma'afu: contenders for pre-eminence in Fiji	Deryck Scarr	95
6 Xavier Montrouzier: a missionary in Melanesia	Hugh M. Laracy	127
7 Evanescent Ascendancy: the planter community in Fiji	John Young	147
8 John Coleridge Patteson: missionary bishop of Melanesia	David Hilliard	177
9 Baiteke and Binoka of Abemama: arbiters of change in the Gilbert Islands	H. E. Maude	201
10 Recruits and Recruiters: a portrait of the labour trade	Deryck Scarr	225
11 Kwaisulia of Ada Gege: a strong- man in the Solomon Islands	Peter Corris	253
12 Lauaki Namulau'ulu Mamoe: a traditionalist in Samoan politics	J. W. Davidson	267
References		301
Index		335

MAPS

		<i>page</i>
	The Pacific	endpapers
1	Tonga	59
2	Fiji	97
3	The Gilbert Islands and the State of Abemama	202
4	The New Hebrides	227
5	The Solomon Islands	235
6	North Malaita	255
7	Western Samoa	269

Each map is placed with the first essay relating to a particular group of islands; but it also shows places mentioned in other parts of the book. That of Fiji, for example, which is placed with 'Cakobau and Ma'afu', also serves 'Evanescent Ascendancy' and, in varying measure, other essays.

Place names mentioned, but not included in maps of particular groups, are shown, wherever possible, on the endpaper map of the Pacific.

PLATES

		<i>facing page</i>
1	The <i>St Patrick</i> at the Firth of Thames, New Zealand	84
2	The port town of Honolulu, 1840	85
3	Ratu Seru Epenesa Cakobau, 1876	100
4	Henele Ma'afu, Tui Lau	101
5	King George Tupou I of Tonga	180
6	Xavier Montrouzier	180
7	John Coleridge Patteson	181
8	A plantation homestead, Taveuni	196
9	The brigantine <i>Meg Merillies</i> lying in Suva Harbour	196
10	Lauaki Namulau'ulu Mamoe	197

THE PACIFIC AND ITS PEOPLES

J. W. Davidson

THE Pacific Ocean, bounded on the east by America and on the west by Asia and Australia, covers a third of the earth's surface. The distance from Manila to Panama is ten thousand miles, and that from the Bering Sea to Antarctica is but slightly less. Within the tropics, the Pacific contains no major land masses. North of the Equator there is little land apart from the Hawaiian Islands and the scattered archipelagoes of Micronesia. To the south almost empty seas stretch westward from the American coast for nearly four thousand miles; but between the longitude of Pitcairn and the coasts of Australia and New Guinea there are thousands of islands.

Men of diverse racial origins and cultures reached these islands—in both the North and the South Pacific—over a period of many centuries. In most of Polynesia and Micronesia intermittent contact was maintained between adjacent island groups; and not infrequently canoe voyagers, leaving their homes because of population pressure or after defeat in war, or driven out to sea by winds or currents, reached islands far distant from their point of departure. In the larger continental islands of Melanesia, and in parts of New Guinea not too distant from the sea, inland people maintained trading contacts with their neighbours on the coast, and some coastal people regularly made long canoe voyages for a similar purpose. But, despite the existence of these contacts, the degree of isolation of most areas from their neighbours was sufficient to produce marked divergences of language and culture between groups of people of similar origin. The size of the areas within which these divergences developed depended, primarily, upon geographical circumstances and the characteristics of particular cultures. In the interior of the Melanesian islands and New Guinea, the inhabitants of adjoining valleys, or of even smaller areas, commonly evolved separate cultural identities. In Polynesia and Micronesia, on the other hand, the people of a group of contiguous islands generally retained a high degree of cultural and linguistic uniformity. For Polynesians and Micronesians, indeed, the existence of contact between island groups enhanced consciousness of cultural identity. The people

of Tonga and those of Samoa, for example, were each made more aware of the coherence of their own social system by knowledge of its difference from that of their neighbours. Similarly, there were differences in the degree of divergence that had been reached, differences related to the time at which separation from the parent group had occurred and to the completeness of subsequent isolation. Thus the people of the Ellice Islands, who migrated relatively late from Samoa, with which they never completely lost touch, possessed a culture very similar to that existing in their ancestral home. By contrast the Nauruans, who lived on an island separated from its nearest neighbours by broad stretches of empty ocean, had evolved a language and a culture markedly different from those of the islands in the Carolines from which most of their ancestors had come long ago.

The Pacific was thus a region of great diversities. But within the cultural groups into which its peoples are conventionally divided—Polynesians, Micronesians, and Melanesians—there were also important similarities. Moreover, this conventional division is, in itself, no more than the product of a modern exercise in abstraction. Polynesian voyagers, in former times, penetrated most of the Pacific; and many Micronesian and Melanesian cultures bear the imprint of their influence.

In the whole of Polynesia—from Hawaii to New Zealand, from Easter Island to Tikopia—not only did the people speak languages that had a common origin but they also had social systems based on lineage organisation of great genealogical depth. Lineages derived their structure from the possession of a common ancestor, real or supposititious. Since they tended to divide over the course of time, as population increased or dispersed, or when family disputes occurred, they caused the emergence of a complex social hierarchy. A lineage that could trace its history back through many generations had a higher social standing than one of more recent origin. Its head was likely to hold, or have access to, a chiefly title of importance.

Some titles of particular eminence were considered to have been created in the time of the gods. And a chief, whether his title was of great antiquity or not, possessed well defined rights in relation to his contemporaries. He was addressed with deference. His house was commonly built on a special site and to a design that reflected the status of its occupant. He exercised control over the allocation of land and the distribution of goods. His words were received with respect because he was a chief, rather than because of his personal talents.

Upon the basis provided by lineage organisation and the institution of chieftainship, a variety of forms of social structure developed in dif-

ferent parts of Polynesia. Although Polynesian society was basically patrilineal, for example, matrilineal connections were never without significance. In some areas, however, they were a relatively minor factor in relation to succession, whereas in others an individual's connections through his mother might, on occasion, be of preponderant importance in determining his eligibility for a chiefly title. Again, where titles were conferred after some form of deliberation among those concerned, the weakness of a candidate's claims on grounds of kinship might be largely overlooked if he were a man of personal distinction.

Moreover, the circumstances of corporate activity—whether within a lineage or a group based on locality, such as a village or district—produced a further range of variations. Chiefly titles became differentiated in terms of function, as well as of status. In Samoa and Tonga, for example, important titular chiefs were served by executive chiefs, known as *tulāfale* and *matāpule* respectively, who spoke and negotiated on their behalf. Again, the bonds of kinship and locality combined to produce councils of varying form and function. The habit of conciliar discussion was most highly developed in the *fono* of Samoa; but throughout Polynesia the practice of oratory, controlled by elaborate and sophisticated conventions, was highly valued. Religion, too, though in many diverse forms, lay behind a great part of social activity; and both the organisation and the consequences of war frequently imposed lasting changes on the disposition of authority.

Upon the common elements in the Polynesian heritage, the peoples of the different island groups thus erected a great variety of social and political institutions. But, in all these divergent lines of development, there was one characteristic of predominant significance. The basic forms of Polynesian society had facilitated the bringing together of large groups of people within a single social organisation. And, wherever sufficient numbers of Polynesians lived in proximity to one another, such a development had, in fact, occurred.

In Micronesia leadership similarly depended upon inheritance rather than personal effort; but the small size of most of the Micronesian islands, and their dispersion over a vast tract of ocean, inhibited the development of social organisation on the Polynesian scale. None the less, in many parts of Micronesia, and also in some parts of Melanesia (particularly Fiji and New Caledonia), social groups with a relatively large and dispersed membership, effectively controlled by chiefs, had come into being.

But in most of Melanesia the position was far different. Similarities to Polynesia, indeed, existed. In some areas, certain lineages seem to have possessed a recognised seniority to others, though they could make

no claim to the genealogical depth characteristic of Polynesia. In many places, important men possessed some of the attributes of chieftainship, though they lacked the authority and sanctity attaching to Polynesian notables. Melanesian societies, too, like Polynesian, commonly were divided into a number of social grades; but entry to the higher of them was gained by age or attainment. The feasting and ceremonial slaughtering of pigs that accompanied, for example, the initiation of an individual into a men's club in Malekula represented, in effect, a payment for admission, whereas in Polynesia such overt actions were primarily a reflection of the facts of genealogy and social structure. 'Big-men' in Melanesia were social climbers rather than aristocrats.

In Melanesia, the structural requirements for the growth of large-scale political systems were thus generally lacking. The 'big-man' owed his success to his ability to accumulate wealth, to his professional skills—in magic, for example, or in war—and to his capacity for persuading others to do his bidding. His position was not sanctioned by custom; though he commonly taught his sons his professional skills, he could not pass on to them his personal authority. Over most of Melanesia, therefore, single villages or small clusters of contiguous hamlets were largely autonomous. Within these communities, authority was diffused, rather than institutionalised in the Polynesian manner. And even those linked by trade or marriage frequently made war on one another.

The traditional cultures of the Pacific Islands did not produce a static social order. The different developments that had occurred in communities which shared a common origin are sufficient proof of this. But, even in the short run, the balance of authority in any community was always, to some extent, in a state of flux; and relations between communities were frequently transformed as a result of war. Moreover, the way of life of the people was, in some degree, changed whenever, for example, an improved type of canoe was built or a new food plant introduced. But, till Europeans became participants in the life of the Pacific, the overall pattern of society remained relatively stable.

Europeans first entered the Pacific in 1520, seven years after it had been sighted by Balboa from the isthmus of Panama and been named by him the South Sea. Between Ferdinand Magellan's pioneer crossing—from the straits now named in his honour to the Philippines—in 1520-1 and the death of James Cook in Hawaii in 1779, European knowledge of the ocean and of the lands it contained was slowly built up. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries navigators were primarily interested in the search for the continent of *Terra Australis*

Incognita, which it was believed must lie in the southern half of the ocean and which might contain riches even greater than those that had been found in Asia and America. When exploration was resumed, on a more thorough and scientific basis, after the close of the Seven Years' War in 1763, they were concerned with a further objective: the building up of exact knowledge of the ocean, its lands, and its peoples. Even when the narratives and the scientific and other results of these later expeditions were published, there were still great gaps in European knowledge. But sufficient was known for Western men who were not explorers to contemplate voyaging, or even settling, within the borders of the Pacific.

Some of the explorers had remained in particular islands for substantial periods, resting their crews, obtaining provisions, and repairing their ships. Visitors and islanders had learnt to communicate, through gesture and the development of a limited common vocabulary; members of both groups had been killed, on occasion, in the course of desultory combat; and European men had fathered island children. The balance of power in indigenous society had sometimes been temporarily disturbed. But, except in the Marianas, where Spanish officials and Catholic priests established themselves, the visitors had all been transients.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, however, the situation changed dramatically. The visit of William Bligh to Tahiti in 1788 and the arrival of Protestant missionaries in that island and in Tongatapu and Tahuata (in the Marquesas) nine years later were the most significant signs, within the islands themselves, that a new age was opening. The purpose of Bligh's visit was economic—the transplantation of the breadfruit tree to the West Indies to supplement the existing diet of the slaves—and its result, following the mutiny of part of the *Bounty*'s crew, was the foundation on Pitcairn of a mixed community of Europeans and Polynesians. The members of the London Missionary Society came as permanent settlers in fulfilment of Christ's charge to the Apostles: 'Go ye forth into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature.*' Their purpose directly involved them in an attempt to shift the centre of gravity of Polynesian society.

But developments of no less importance were occurring round the borders of the Pacific. In 1788 Britain founded the settlement of New South Wales. At about the same time fur traders began to visit the American north-west coast and to call, in the course of their voyages, at Hawaii and occasionally at other island groups. Several years later whalers commenced to fish the waters off the Australian and Chilean

* The London Missionary Society was known during its first years as 'The Missionary Society'. It is generally referred to in this book as the L.M.S.

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coasts. When the outbreak of war between Britain and Spain in 1796 made the South American coast unsafe, British whalers moved westward; and a few of them began calling at islands such as Tahiti and Tongatapu for rest and refreshment. From this beginning the use of island ports increased rapidly, so that during the earlier part of the nineteenth century a large fleet of whale-ships—mainly British and American—frequented many of the islands.

The peoples of the Pacific were affected profoundly, and in a variety of ways, by the existence of New South Wales. Missionary activities were supervised from the colony, and convicts escaped from it to settle in the islands as beachcombers. Of far greater importance was the fact that the colony became the centre from which the natural resources of the islands were first exploited commercially. In 1801 a government vessel was sent to Tahiti for a cargo of salt pork; and this initial venture led colonial merchants into the establishment of a regular trade. In 1804 it became known to a few people in Sydney that sandalwood was growing in Fiji. The first ships were despatched in great secrecy; but, when knowledge of the discovery became general, vessels from India and America joined those from the colony in exploiting the highly profitable trade. Sandalwood, however, was a wasting asset. As cargoes became more difficult to obtain in Fiji, traders began to prospect other island groups. Within a few years the trade had shifted to Hawaii and, for a short period, to the Marquesas. Sydney merchants and mariners were also active during these early years in exploiting the deposits of pearl-shell in the lagoons of the Tuamotus, and they were hopeful of developing a trade in bêche-de-mer.

Fiji and a number of island groups in Polynesia were thus brought within the frontiers of Western commerce. In the second decade of the nineteenth century, however, there was a temporary decline in most forms of commercial activity. This was caused, in part, by the conduct of the traders and of the islanders themselves. Masters of trading vessels not infrequently opened fire on islanders and destroyed their villages and canoes. They commonly treated Polynesians employed as sailors or pearl-divers with brutality. The islanders, in turn, retaliated. But, to the latter, the presence of a trading vessel was itself a source of temptation. They often stole what they could of its equipment and, on occasion, seized the vessel and massacred members of its crew. There was, however, another reason for the interruption of trade: the coming of Europeans had created disorder in many island communities.

Traders and whalers, and even missionaries, had supplied islanders with firearms. They had enhanced the position of those who enjoyed

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their favour by providing them with iron tools and a wide range of other manufactured goods. They, and the beachcombers, had given assistance—by advice or active participation—in the conduct of local wars. The ambition of island leaders had been aroused by stories of the military prowess of Napoleon and the power of George III. The entry of the Pacific Islands into the European Age was marked not only by the arrival of trade goods and the Bible but also by increased bloodshed.

The first missionaries in Tongatapu left the island in 1800 after three of their number had been killed during a local war. Tahuata had been abandoned even earlier. And a majority of the missionaries in Tahiti retired temporarily to New South Wales in 1798 and again in 1809. On the latter occasion they departed because of a war that involved the whole of the Society Islands. By 1815, however, the chief Pomare and his allies, whom the missionaries regarded as their supporters, had emerged triumphant; and their victory was followed by mass conversion to Christianity and the promulgation of written codes of law. The pattern of events in the Society Islands was eventually to be repeated, with variations, in many other parts of the Pacific.

By 1820 therefore European penetration of the Pacific had affected the traditional social order, in greater or lesser degree, in many Polynesian islands and in parts of Fiji. Further to the west, however—in New Caledonia, the New Hebrides, the Solomon Islands, and New Guinea—relatively few people had yet met the invaders; and those who had done so had known them, with few exceptions, only as passing visitors. In these areas men's conduct and their aspirations, continued to be wholly guided by the institutions and values of the traditional cultures.

As the nineteenth century advanced, the whole of the Pacific came within the ambit of Western enterprise, economic, missionary, and political. But the modern societies that have emerged are only in small part the product of foreign endeavour. Changes have been far more radical than any that could have been comprehended in the period of Pomare and of the Fiji sandalwood trade; but they have been far less complete than those that the missionaries and other European residents hoped to impose. The lives of George Tupou, of Cakobau, of Binoka or of Lauaki are at least as relevant to an understanding of the contemporary Pacific as are those of Montrouzier, of Patteson, or of Peter Dillon.

PETER DILLON

The voyages of the *Calder* and *St Patrick*

J. W. Davidson

IN 1823 Peter Dillon had known the Pacific Islands for fifteen years. The owner and master of the brig *Calder*, as he had then become, was himself a familiar figure in many parts of the Pacific. Six feet four in height, heavily built, with a mop of red hair, he was physically impressive. His manner was confident, even arrogant, his mind acute, his sense of humour ribald and boisterous. He had a fund of stories that he told with flamboyance and wit, in an Irish brogue. He enlivened parties with his singing of Irish songs. He mixed easily with men and women of the most diverse cultural backgrounds and social positions and had a great number of firm friends among both Europeans and Pacific Islanders.

This was his public face. His family and those who worked with him were also conscious of a less pleasing side of his character. He had a violent temper that sometimes led him into momentary acts of violence. He could be unscrupulous in pursuit of his interests and ruthless towards those who he thought might endanger his ship. But his associates also knew that in a time of crisis he would remain calm and decisive.

Peter Dillon had arrived in the South Seas, as a young man of twenty, in October 1808.¹ He seems to have landed from an Indian 'country' ship on the 'sandalwood coast' of Fiji; and he remained in those islands for some months, living with the Fijians, learning their language, and working in the sandalwood trade. In 1809 he moved on to Sydney. During the following years, serving first as a seaman, then as a mate, and finally as a master, he gained an intimate knowledge of many parts of Polynesia, as well as of Fiji. Between October

1810 and March 1812 he was left ashore in the Society Islands to purchase pigs and prepare cargoes of salt pork for shipment to New South Wales. But it was his service as third officer of the snow *Hunter*, of Calcutta, in 1813 that brought him a measure of immediate celebrity among Europeans in the Pacific and, by a strange series of coincidences, provided the basis of his later fame.

When Dillon joined the *Hunter*, at Norfolk Island, she was bound for Fiji to load sandalwood. This was her captain's third voyage to Fiji. As on his previous visits, he agreed to assist his Fijian suppliers in making war on a nearby community, in return for a promise that his ship would be filled within a specified time. On this occasion, however, as the wood came in far more slowly than had been promised, he eventually directed his men to attack his Fijian associates. In the ensuing encounter, the chief mate and a number of others were killed and the remainder of the landing party, including Dillon, cut off from its line of retreat. Dillon led the survivors to the top of a small hill. There, by his courage and self-control, he maintained their morale and fended off attacks, as fires were prepared below for the cooking of their dead bodies. Finally, by a bold ruse, he found a way of leading his tiny party through the enraged Fijians to safety.

Those on board the *Hunter* now included two men who had been living in Fiji—a Prussian, Martin Buchert, and a lascar, known as Joe. Since they could not be landed at the scene of the fighting, they were placed on board a cutter accompanying the ship. Dillon was given command of her; and he landed the two men on the island of Tikopia, on the outskirts of the Solomons. This action had consequences that finally determined the character of his later career.

Peter Dillon was born, according to his own statement, in Martinique on 15 June 1788, 'the son of Peter Dillon Esqr. of Meath'. Three years later—at a time when the negro slaves had risen against their French masters—he was taken home to Ireland. As a youth, he later wrote, he entered the Royal Navy, 'in which I had the honour to serve at the battle of Trafalgar'.² In 1806 he sailed to the East, probably as a civilian.

Dillon was a name well known in Martinique when Peter was born there. Arthur Dillon, who possessed an estate on the island, was a son of Henry Dillon, who had served as a colonel in the French army before he succeeded to the title of Viscount Dillon and settled in Ireland. Arthur himself served the French as an army officer and colonial governor; his elder brother succeeded to the family's Irish title. Arthur Dillon's daughter Fanny became the wife of Marshal Bertrand, the

friend of Napoleon and companion of his final years on St Helena.³ (Peter Dillon admired Napoleon more than any other European leader of his time.)

This background, and these associations, were important to Peter Dillon in his private imaginative life. They probably lay behind his essentially aristocratic conviction that it was his role to command and that he was at least the equal of all whom he met. He claimed a connection with the Martinique Dillons; and, in his later years, he was in touch with the Bertrands and with Fanny's Irish relatives. But he was reluctant, except when it was unavoidable, to mention his descent; and even then he was markedly evasive about many of its details. His asserted aristocratic connections—which seem likely, though not certain, to have existed—were probably remote and perhaps soured by illegitimacy at no distant point in his ancestry.

Superficially, Peter Dillon was an Irish Catholic with little formal education. His hand-writing was ill-formed, his spelling atrocious; he preferred to dictate to an amanuensis. He owed his rapid rise as a merchant seaman primarily to his innate ability, not at all to influence. Yet, in many ways, he was quite unlike most of the largely self-taught skippers who commanded trading vessels in the Pacific. He possessed unusual skill, for example, as a navigator and surveyor—a fact that gives added credence to his statement that he was trained in the navy. But his most notable qualities were of a wholly different kind.

Pacific mariners, in Dillon's time, used the narratives of the explorers in place of formal pilot books. For Dillon, the writings of the explorers were a stimulus to his imagination and sense of inquiry, as much as an aid to the safety of the vessels in which he served. He built up an encyclopaedic knowledge of the history of exploration. He sought to re-create, in his own mind, the experience of his predecessors. But, for him, the history of the Pacific was far more than the record of European endeavour. He was interested no less in the canoe voyages made by Polynesians and in the cultures evolved by island peoples. He acquired an intimate, and disciplined, knowledge of the traditions and way of life of many different islands.

Dillon was more, however, than a mere observer. He was a man of passion, driven by his joys and desires to involve himself in the lives of those with whom he dwelt. To many chiefs he became a friend and confidant, to young women in many islands a paramour. In the Pacific this readiness for self-involvement has always been the surest way by which a European can bridge the cultural gulf between himself and his island hosts. Dillon (or 'Pita', as he was known) was thus accepted as an individual; and he, in turn, valued his island associates for their

personal qualities, rather than for the mask of conformity that their culture had imposed upon them.

In the port towns that he frequented, Dillon was welcomed, in part at least, for the tales he had to tell of his Pacific experience and for the vividness with which he told them. In Sydney, which was his base for some years after 1809, he soon came to know the principal merchants, as well as men like the Reverend Samuel Marsden, who represented both the London and Church missionary societies in New South Wales. In September 1814—shortly after he had acted for Marsden as master of the *Active* on the first missionary voyage to New Zealand—he married Mary Moore, the daughter of an emancipist businessman.

Dillon's marriage cut him off for some years from the life of the islands. In 1816 he moved to Calcutta. Three years later, with the assistance of the firm of Joseph Barretto and Sons, he became the owner of a ship and began trading on his own account between Bengal and the Australian colonies. Mary Dillon accompanied him on these voyages. By the time he arrived at Sydney in the *Calder* in September 1822, the Dillons had become the parents of a daughter and two sons—the elder, Peter, named after him; the younger, Joseph Napoleon (known as 'Nap'), after his hero.

The *Calder* was the third vessel Peter Dillon had owned. She was a brig of 250 tons, 'a very strong teak-built vessel' (according to George Bayly, who served in her) and 'one of the finest . . . [of her class] that has entered this port' (in the words of the *Sydney Gazette*).⁴ Dillon acquired the *Calder* in Calcutta fairly early in 1822 and sailed for Hobart Town and Sydney at the end of June with several passengers and a cargo of merchandise. In each of the Australian ports he advertised a sale of his cargo, 'by Wholesale and Retail': clothing and piece-goods, foodstuffs and Indian tea, silverware, 'good strong Bengal rum', 'superior brandy' and 'real Irish whiskey'.⁵ In Sydney he remained for many months before clearing for the South American coast on 16 July 1823.⁶

Dillon intended to sail direct to Chile before the strong and steady westerlies that blow in the 'Roaring Forties'. In Chile and Peru he would dispose of the remainder of his Indian cargo. Then, after taking on a return cargo for the Australian colonies, he would use the south-east trades to cruise through the islands of the tropical Pacific.

When the *Calder* was a week out from Sydney, Dillon discovered four stowaways, three of whom he believed to be convicts. He therefore decided to call at the Bay of Islands in northern New Zealand. A Church Missionary Society settlement had been founded there

shortly after Dillon's previous visit in the *Active*. Its existence had led mariners to regard the Bay as a safe port of call; and whalers, in increasing numbers, were putting in to rest their crews and exchange muskets and powder for pork and potatoes. At this time two of the missionaries held commissions from the Governor of New South Wales as Justices of the Peace. Dillon hoped to surrender his stowaways to them so that they could be placed on the first ship bound for Sydney. The missionaries, however, declined to co-operate, since they possessed neither a lock-up nor funds from which to pay for prisoners' food. As Marsden was then visiting the mission, Dillon placed the problem before him. Ships were not properly searched before leaving Sydney, he wrote; and, as a result, the number of 'desperadoes' at the Bay of Islands was steadily increasing. They were likely, he added 'to apprehend seize upon and carry some vessel off very shortly . . .'.⁷ But, in the circumstances, he was able to do no more than leave the four men in the charge of a local chief, the son of an old friend of his and Marsden's.

When this business had been disposed of, the voyage to South America was resumed. A call was made at Talcahuano, in Chile, where a cargo of wheat, wine, and timber was taken aboard. The *Calder* then sailed northward and reached Callao, in Peru, on 18 December.⁸ This visit to Callao—the port from which Mendaña had sailed over 250 years before—brought Dillon an unexpected reward.

One of the mysteries of Pacific history that had interested him was the evidence of two Spanish voyages to Tahiti between Cook's several visits there. It seemed, too, that Roman Catholic ceremonies had been performed on shore. What had been the purpose of the visitors and whence had they come? Cook himself had wondered, and so had the L.M.S. missionaries, and so had Dillon. Now he heard that in the city of Lima an old woman was still living whose husband had gone on those two voyages. He therefore set out for the capital.

A contemporary traveller has described the route, thronged with pack-mules escorted by muleteers in 'immense brimmed hats'.

The approach to Lima, especially by the gate of Callao, is very inviting: the bright spires and towers of various churches and public buildings are seen rising from the bosom of orange and lime groves, and contrasting beautifully with their verdure. The summit of the cathedral, the dome of San Augustin, and the towers of San Francisco and San Domingo, are most conspicuous. In the background are the Andes, which seem in some situations to approach so near the city as to block up the principal streets.⁹

Dillon was impressed by much that he saw in the city;¹⁰ but he was most excited by his meeting with the widow of Máximo Rodríguez.

Dillon himself, in the *Calder*, seems to have made a trip round the Horn and to have visited the Falkland Islands. The purpose of this

visit is not clear. He may have called in the course of a voyage to Montevideo or Buenos Aires; or he may have gone specifically to the Falklands—perhaps for a cargo of livestock. But, whatever the circumstances, he obviously spent some little time there, for he ‘sketched out a Chart’ of the islands. And, from this time, the tangled history and the future prospects of the Falklands became one of his minor interests.¹³

After his return to Valparaiso, Dillon sailed for the islands nominally ‘in search of sandalwood’. In fact, he was embarking upon the kind of voyage in which he delighted. There was to be little profit in it in terms of money, but much in terms of experience. With the narratives of the explorers open before him he lived again the lives of Wallis, of Bougainville, of Cook. He followed the movements of sun and stars, inhaled the breezes blown off island shores with the concentration and excitement of the Polynesian navigators of many centuries before or of their modern successors who were spreading Christianity through the eastern islands.

Land was first sighted in the Tuamotus,* the chain of atolls that stretches through nearly ten degrees of latitude and fifteen degrees of longitude on the eastern border of Polynesia. Narrow, low-lying strips of land prolific in coconut palms enclosing placid lagoons, they resemble gigantic wreaths flung upon the ocean. Some of the lagoons can be entered by ships; and in one of these the *Calder* stopped for rest and refreshment before continuing her voyage to the Society Islands.

Tahiti was reached on 13 September 1824. Dillon was now back among friends of his youth. But much had changed in Tahiti and the remainder of the Society Islands since his departure in 1812. After long years of warfare, the islands were at peace; the people had become Christian; and modern systems of government, guided by missionaries of the L.M.S., had been established. Dillon had previously had close associations with both islanders and missionaries. One of the latter, William Pascoe Crook, had also been Mary Dillon’s teacher during a period in which he had temporarily withdrawn from the islands to Sydney. When Crook learnt of the Dillons’ arrival, he hastened to Matavai, where the *Calder* was anchored, and found them at the house of his colleague Charles Wilson.¹⁴ But it was Dillon’s old friendship with still another member of the mission, Henry Nott, that proved most fruitful.

* Before this the *Calder* may have visited Pitcairn. The *Bengal Hurkaru* (5 September, 20 October 1826) refers to a visit by Dillon to the island, which, if made, could have been only at this time. However, the knowledge of events there in the early twenties which Dillon certainly possessed could equally well have been gained from contact with other mariners.

Dillon was informed that Teehuteatuaonoa (or Jenny), one of the women who had accompanied Fletcher Christian on the *Bounty* in 1789, had returned home. The settlement that the mutineers and their Polynesian companions had formed on Pitcairn had been discovered by an American sealing captain in 1808; and, after its re-discovery by H.M.S. *Briton* and *Tagus* in 1814, the outlines of its history had become widely known. But, except for one narrative based on a discussion with Jenny, the accounts that had been published all depended on the testimony of John Adams, the only one of the mutineers to have survived the first ten years of violent disputes. Jenny had been the wife of Adams himself and, subsequently, of Isaac Martin. In 1817 she had obtained a passage to South America, whence she had eventually returned to Tahiti. On 23 September Dillon and Nott arranged a meeting with her, during which she recounted her experiences. This narrative which was taken down by Nott is the best account that exists of events between the departure of the *Bounty* from Tahiti and the discovery of the Pitcairn settlement nineteen years later. It was published by Dillon in Calcutta in 1826 and, later, elsewhere.¹⁵

About the beginning of October the *Calder* sailed for the Leeward group of the Society Islands. It was there that Dillon had lived between 1810 and 1812, when he was assembling cargoes of salt pork for shipment to New South Wales. A daughter of the chief Fenuapeho, of Tahaa, had been a friend of his at that time. Before leaving Sydney in 1823 he had sent her some presents and a message that he would be visiting the island to buy pigs, and she had duly prepared for his return.¹⁶ But his experience in the pork trade had also convinced him that the islands could become producers of beef. He had therefore brought from South America two cows and a bull, together with horses and donkeys. This livestock was landed on Tahaa, where, in the course of time, it greatly multiplied.¹⁷

When the *Calder* sailed from the Society Islands late in October, she was bound for Fiji. But two calls were made *en route*: at Atiu, in the Cook Islands, and at Tongatapu. The first of these provided Dillon with interesting evidence on the range of Polynesian drift voyages. At Raiatea, the neighbouring island to Tahaa, the missionary John Williams had told him that, some six months before, his boat had disappeared while returning from a visit to Tahiti. He believed its crew must have perished. At Atiu, however, Dillon found the boat and its crew. They had been, he wrote, 'drifting about at sea for three months' before they finally made land 500 miles from their starting point.¹⁸

At Tongatapu, Dillon took on board two interpreters: Takai, a

minor chief of Lakeba, in the Lau group of Fiji, and Langi, a Tongan. On the voyage towards the 'sandalwood coast' of Vanua Levu, Takai guided the *Calder* to a fertile island which, he said, had never previously been visited by Europeans. Dillon named it 'Joseph Barretto's Island', in honour of his sponsor in Calcutta. It was Ono Levu, the major island of Ono-i-Lau, which had, in fact, been visited by a Russian expedition, commanded by Bellingshausen, four years earlier.

At Bua, in Vanua Levu, Dillon was unsuccessful in his quest for sandalwood. Even in 1813, when the *Hunter* had failed to obtain a full cargo, supplies were heavily depleted. '. . . after a stay of three weeks [I] procured about 500 lbs. of Sandal Wood', Dillon wrote, 'whereas I had in the same space of time in 1808 procured 150 Tons of that valuable wood.'¹⁹ But Fiji, like the Society Islands, had a firm place in his affections. 'The Fejee islands . . .', he said, 'leaving Christianity out of the scale, make the nearest approximation to civilization' of any of the South Sea Islands. And during this visit he was treated with 'the utmost attention and kindness'.²⁰

The Vunivalu of Bau, Naulivou, whom Dillon had known during his earlier periods in Fiji, sent his three brothers on a hundred-mile journey to greet him. As its paramount chief, Naulivou had raised Bau—a small island off the coast of Viti Levu—to a position of greater power than any other state in Fiji. His brothers brought a message that he wished Dillon to live with him and would give him his daughter as a wife. Dillon relates that he declined this proposal, explaining that he was unable to remain in Fiji at that time, but said that he would like some land, so that he might return later. He was then given, he states, the island of Makogai, with its people and its products.²¹

When Naulivou's brothers returned to Bau, they were accompanied by a young American, David Whippy, who had joined the *Calder* on the South American coast. Whippy carried presents from Dillon to Naulivou. It was intended that he should remain at Bau for some months collecting bêche-de-mer and tortoise-shell for Dillon, after which he would rejoin the latter on his next visit. But, in the event, it was thirteen years before Dillon was again in Fiji. Long before his return, Whippy had decided that he did not wish to leave the islands. He was well received by the Vunivalu; and, over the years, he enjoyed the support of many other chiefs. He founded the settlement of Levuka and came to exercise a considerable influence over relationships between Fijians and foreigners. When he died, in 1871, he left a large family of part-Fijian descendants.²²

At about the time Whippy landed at Bau, on 6 January 1825, the *Calder* sailed for the New Hebrides. On the fourth night out from

Bau, the island of Futuna was sighted. The following day the brig anchored at Port Resolution, on the east coast of Tana. Dillon had not previously visited the New Hebrides. He arrived therefore as a seeker of knowledge, with Cook's narrative of his visit in 1774 as his guide.

At Port Resolution he noted: 'It appeared to me that no Ship had been there since Captain Cook left it . . .'.²³ He obtained two of the medals Cook had distributed and persuaded himself that 'a few of the old natives' could still pronounce 'the memorable name of Cook', as well as those of Wales, the astronomer, and Forster, the naturalist. He compared the scene that lay before him—the lush surroundings of the sheltered harbour and the gaunt volcanic peak of Yasur rising behind them—with Cook's account of it. The volcano was 'sending forth throughout the day and night immense columns of fire and smoke', as it had been when Cook was there.

Dillon concluded that Tana was 'more numerously inhabited than any of the islands' he had previously visited in the Pacific. But, from the time when a canoe came out from Port Resolution as the *Calder* approached, he was somewhat disenchanted with New Hebridean culture.

The canoe contained fourteen naked young men, armed with formidable clubs, bows, arrows, stones, and slings; both the canoe and arms were far inferior to those of my friends the Fejees . . ., and bespoke the inhabitants of this island to be many years behind them in point of civilization.

Later, after he had left the New Hebrides and compared his observations with 'the collateral testimony of others', he reached an even more unfavourable conclusion.

I may safely assert without incurring the hazard of contradiction, that the Natives of the New Hebrides are by many shades further removed from civilization, and that their general disposition indicate[s] a more permanent attachment to barbarous feelings and habits than has hitherto been found in any part of the South Sea.

He supported his contention by citing two examples chosen from the 'many curious facts' that had come to his knowledge. The people lacked delicacy, since 'those parts of the human body which are almost always concealed from view are completely exposed by the males'. And they had failed to develop beyond a primitive level of material culture, since 'holes in the earth or caverns amongst the rocks serve for their habitations, and this in a country beautifully supplied by nature with every requisite for the construction of comfortable habitations'.

But the New Hebrideans were not altogether lacking in likeable traits. Dillon described an incident whose outcome revealed one of these. Soon after the *Calder's* arrival in Tana, the cook's mate, 'a very small Chinaman', rushed to him in terror exclaiming 'the savage want kill me, take my clothes, want pull me in canoe'. Accepting the story, Dillon fired at the retreating canoe and wounded one of its occupants. When he learnt that the visitors had merely attempted to steal shirts that the Chinese was hanging on a line, he 'regretted exceedingly' his rash action. A little later, the wounded man returned to the brig. 'I then probed and dressed the wound,' Dillon wrote, 'and sent my patient on shore, who, to my great surprise and joy returned ten days after completely recovered, and presented me with some baskets of fruit and fine fowls . . .'. Nowhere else in the Pacific, he considered, would such an incident have had so happy an outcome.

Another characteristic of the people of Tana that Dillon noted was a fondness for anything highly scented, like flowers or herbs. One day he was visited by a Tanese with a piece of sandalwood tied to one arm. Dillon's purpose in coming to the New Hebrides had been to search for sandalwood; but his early inquiries had been fruitless. Now he learnt from his visitor that it was abundant on the neighbouring island of Eromanga.

The *Calder* sailed for Traitor's Head, on the east coast of Eromanga, where 'Captain Cook anchored, and had a fight with the natives'. But, as the wind was blowing from the east into the open bay, Dillon decided to sail to the lee side of the island. When the brig was off the lava cliffs and broad fringing reef that make much of the south-west coast inaccessible, a large open bay was seen to the northward. The boats were sent in and found good anchoring ground. Next morning an attempt to move the *Calder* into the bay—subsequently named Dillon Bay—was foiled by lack of wind. A party was sent ashore, however, armed and carrying axes, to look for sandalwood. Towards noon it returned with a substantial quantity and a report that the tree was growing plentifully close to the shore. In the afternoon a watering party was landed, and Dillon made a sketch of the anchorage.

Dillon Bay, with a vigorous stream flowing into it and thus inhibiting the growth of coral, is the only good anchorage on the west coast of Eromanga. By discovering it and the existence of sandalwood nearby,²⁴ Dillon had opened up the possibility of a new development in Pacific trade. None the less, he decided to sail next day; and he never returned to the New Hebrides. The reasons for his decision were several. He had found the people 'not to attach the least value to any of our goods', so that they had no incentive to cut sandalwood

for him. Moreover, while the watering party was ashore, it had been attacked with spears and arrows and with stones thrown from slings. But, as was not infrequently the case, Dillon seems to have been influenced not only by sense but also by sensibility: he was a warm-hearted man who had always thought of Pacific Islanders as his friends, and he did not like the New Hebrideans.

From Eromanga, the *Calder* sailed for New Caledonia, but it is doubtful if she did more than skirt its eastern coast. On 9 February she reached the Bay of Islands, in New Zealand. As soon as the anchor was dropped, a crowd of Maori clambered aboard. This was the usual practice at the Bay. But, on this occasion, the visitors 'began to steal and take away everything they could lay hold of',²⁵ and only intervention by a chief's son saved the vessel from serious pillaging. During the following days stealing continued. Dillon, whose temper seems often to have been frayed towards the end of a long voyage, finally retaliated. Two men caught stealing a chain from the rudder were brought to the quarter-deck and, after examination before Maori witnesses, sentenced to two and three dozen lashes respectively.

At the Bay of Islands Dillon narrowly missed meeting the *St Patrick*. She had sailed for Valparaiso a few days before his arrival, with a full cargo of spars and with Thomas Kendall and his family as passengers. Kendall, who had accompanied Dillon on the pioneer missionary voyage to New Zealand in 1814, had now been dismissed for adultery and trading in firearms.

The *Calder* arrived back in Sydney on 25 February. The *Sydney Gazette* warmly welcomed the return of Dillon, 'this old Commander out of Australia', and reported his voyage and the news that he brought at some length.²⁶ It showed a continuing interest in Takai, whom Dillon described as a Fijian admiral, and his Tongan companion, Langi. In successive issues it described Takai's entertainment by some of 'the most respectable inhabitants', his visit to 'Mr. Dickson, of the steam engine' (whose wondrous machine he regarded with awe), and his quest for goods that would be useful to him when he returned home. For the latter purpose, Takai and Langi made their daytime headquarters at Robert Cooper's store, and Dillon had cards printed for distribution to well-wishers.

I, the undersigned, Thaki [Takai], *Fejee Admiral*, beg leave to inform the inhabitants, that I am about to depart from this Colony, and I shall be extremely thankful and grateful for any articles that can be spared me—such as old cutlery, ironmongery, gunpowder, &c. &c. Should any of my friends be kind enough to spare me a few of these articles, I shall thank them to be so good as to leave them with my

friend, Governor Cooper, the King of Botany-bay, opposite the old Burial-ground.²⁷

In the event, however, Takai and Langi were compelled to stay considerably longer in New South Wales.

Dillon did not intend to sail immediately for the islands. He tried to find a vessel bound for Tonga or Fiji; but, as he was unsuccessful, he left the two men at the house of a Sydney friend.

The *Calder* cleared the port of Sydney again towards the end of March. Her destination had been variously stated by Dillon as being Batavia or Calcutta.²⁸ In fact, it was Valparaiso.

For this voyage Dillon had engaged as third officer a young man of good education, George Bayly, who had been stranded in Sydney when the ship on which he was serving was seized by the navy. Bayly kept a journal in which he described the day's events and the character and actions of his captain. Sixty years later, looking back from old age, he published a book based upon it but excluding his earlier account of a few incidents reflecting the anguish sometimes caused to those on board by Dillon's intemperate conduct.²⁹

Bayly's first impression of Dillon was a favourable one.

When I went on board the *Calder*, the captain was walking the quarter-deck . . . He was dressed in spotless white, and wore a very broad-brimmed straw hat. He came forward, and with a pleasant, smiling countenance welcomed me very graciously.³⁰

After inquiring about Bayly's attainments, he introduced him to his fellow officers. These were George Ross, the first officer, 'a quaint-spoken American from Boston', and Jack Mossman, the second, who had learnt his seamanship in English colliers. Ross had spent some years in the Marquesas trading for sandalwood on behalf of a merchant in Canton. His life in the islands, Bayly later concluded, had eroded his sense of urgency and his inclination to effort. Mossman was a fine practical seaman, alert and knowledgeable, but he could neither read nor write.

The crew, apart from the Chinese cook and Bengalee steward and khansamah, was made up in almost equal numbers of Europeans and Polynesians. The latter were mainly Tahitians, of whom several appeared in the ship's muster under exotic names clearly devised by Dillon—'Governor Macquarie', 'Major Goulburn', 'Buckgarow Riley', and 'Salt Fish'.³¹ Bayly noted that Dillon 'always treated [them] with great kindness, and they in turn were devoted to him'.

On the voyage to Valparaiso the weather harassed those on board far more than Dillon's stormy temper. A course was set for the South Cape of New Zealand. From there the *Calder* ran before the westerlies

in forty-eight to fifty degrees south latitude. The brig rolled and pitched unceasingly, and mountainous seas not infrequently broke over her decks. Working under difficulties, the Bengalee steward continually incurred Dillon's wrath as he broke the cabin crockery or 'shook silver spoons overboard out of the table-cloth'. Dillon kept a sheet headed 'Crimes' on which he noted these misdeeds. Whenever the number reached twelve, the steward received a dozen lashes with the cat-o'-nine-tails.

The rough weather also made the *Calder* difficult to control. She steered badly when running, as a result of the design of her stern. One evening, when the gale was particularly boisterous, she was brought by the lee, when a Polynesian assisting the helmsman misunderstood a direction that was given to him. While remedial action was being taken, she dived ominously into the trough of the sea and, as she rose again, shipped a great quantity of water over her bow. Ross seized the wheel and ordered the helmsman to 'get out of the way, quick'. A moment later Dillon appeared, pistol in hand, shouting: 'Where's the villain who was at the wheel?' 'I guess he's just gone forward', Ross replied. 'I sent him out o' this, for fear you'd shoot him.' As the night advanced, the wind rose further, so that only with great difficulty could the brig be steered. One violent gust that struck her caused a movement of the chain cable and some of the ballast, and she developed a marked list to port.

Several days later, after more damage had been done, the *Calder* turned northward. Better weather was encountered, and she reached the South American coast in the middle of May without further trouble, forty-eight days out from Sydney.³² On arrival in Valparaiso the European members of the crew and the steward were paid off. Dillon himself moved to lodgings on shore. He was occupied with the affairs of the *St Patrick*, which had arrived about a fortnight earlier, and with assembling a cargo for the *Calder* to carry back to Sydney—'wheat, wine, flour, plums, raisins, almonds, tobacco, &c. &c.'³³ At the beginning of June he was offered a cargo for Callao and agreed to make the voyage. But within a few days these plans were destroyed.

On the morning of 11 June a heavy swell entered the exposed bay, accompanied by a rising wind. The *Calder's* stern cable was slipped so that she could ride head to wind. Mossman, Bayly, and the Polynesian seamen were on duty, and Ross—who had been dismissed for drunkenness—was still aboard. The *Calder* would probably have ridden out the gale if the crew of a Chilean brig lying to windward of her had not, in Dillon's words, 'abandoned their vessel to the mercy of old Neptune'. As it was, the latter drove against her and snapped her cables. By this time Ross was lying dead drunk on the floor of

the cabin. Since he had been the only officer who spoke Tahitian, Mossman and Bayly were severely hampered in their efforts to control the brig. That night she was driven ashore on the beach. The bay of Valparaiso, Dillon sourly commented, was 'such as no man but an obstinate Spaniard would think of making the principal port of so fine a country'.

Dillon had lost the best ship he had owned. But though he was ill he set to work at once to repair his fortunes. The hull of the *Calder* was sold at auction for \$500, and a considerably larger sum was received for her sails and other gear and for Dillon's collection of South Sea Islands weapons. Moreover, the *St Patrick's* cargo of spars had returned him a good profit. In August therefore he bought his partner's share in her. Though larger than the *Calder*, she was less stoutly built and a slow sailer, with her best years of service already behind her. But Dillon had been encouraged by the results of her previous voyage and planned to load her again in New Zealand—this time for Calcutta.

Dillon himself stated his intention of taking a direct passage to Calcutta, where he would await the *St Patrick's* arrival. John Florence was therefore to remain as master. Mossman and Bayly were appointed first and third mates, and Ross, who was partially forgiven, became second mate. The Polynesians from the *Calder*, whom Dillon had cared for since the wreck, were employed as seamen, together with several others who had found their way to Valparaiso. Twenty British sailors were engaged, most of whom, according to Bayly, had served in the Chilean navy under Lord Cochrane. And Miguel Zenteno, the young son of Dillon's friend the governor, joined the ship's company for experience.

Before the *St Patrick* sailed the European members of her company were all entered in the port records as 'naturalised Chileans'. By this time Dillon had changed his mind and assumed command. He was listed as 'Don Pedro Dillon, capitán primero', and Florence as 'Don Juan Florentio, capitán segundo'—a relationship that remained an uneasy one throughout the voyage. On 8 October 1825, with the Chilean colours at the peak and 'an enormous green flag with yellow Irish harp in it' at the main, the ship left for Tahiti.

Bayly was well liked by Dillon. In port he had been employed as a private secretary taking down the long and flamboyant letters that Dillon delighted to dictate. Now, as the weather became warmer, they began working together on deck. A large number of old muskets, some barrels of gunpowder, and a quantity of lead for bullets had been taken aboard for use as 'trade' in New Zealand and among the

islands. The refurbishing of the muskets, to make them look as new, was the work of the armourer. But one day Dillon said to Bayly: 'Mr. Bayly, do you know how to make musket cartridges?' When Bayly admitted to ignorance, he added: 'Sit down, then, by me, and I'll soon tache ye.' Day by day, using the logbooks and other manuscripts of a deceased mariner as cartridge paper, they worked together at this task. Sometimes Dillon talked of his experiences in the islands, and sometimes Bayly read aloud from the narratives of the explorers, each adding by his words to the knowledge of the other.

The atoll of Pinaki, in the Tuamotus, was reached on 9 November and those of Vairaatea and Manuhangi on the two succeeding days. At each of these a landing was attempted unsuccessfully in the hope of obtaining forage for some horses and donkeys that Dillon was taking to Tahiti.

After a call at Mehetia, the easternmost of the Society Islands, the ship reached Tahiti on 15 November. She remained there for three weeks. Dillon's first concern—to the satisfaction of his crew—was the purchase of provisions. Large quantities of fresh fruit and vegetables, and of pork, were obtained from the Tahitians. Goats were bought from Mrs Nott and barrels of salt pork from Captain Samuel Pinder Henry, the trader son of a missionary.

Dillon's associations with individuals were seldom limited, however, to the matter of buying and selling, but tended to range as widely as his, or their, interests would carry them. On this occasion, he was surprised to find that Samuel Henry had brought his friends Takai and Langi to Tahiti. Henry had met them during a visit to Sydney. They disliked the cold weather, regretted the lack of yams and coconuts, and were nostalgic for the islands. Since their arrival in Tahiti, Dillon learnt, they had become Christians and were now preparing to return home, with Tahitian teachers, to attempt the conversion of their peoples.³⁴

It is likely that Dillon also discussed with Henry his discovery of sandalwood in Eromanga. Henry and his brother-in-law, Thomas Ebrill, were already interested in the trade in sandalwood and had been trying to find it in commercial quantities in the Austral Islands. There is evidence that suggests that either one or both of them visited the New Hebrides in the years immediately following Dillon's visit to Tahiti. But the strongest reason for believing that the two men discussed the discovery derives from Henry's actions in 1829, when he organised an expedition of two vessels to Eromanga for sandalwood.

As on his visit a year earlier, Dillon renewed his contacts with the Tahitian leaders. One day, Bayly records, the Regent, Queen Pomare Vahine, and 'all the Royal Family' were invited on board.

They were received with a salute of musketry, and escorted down to the state-room. Here I was instructed to exhibit all our treasures. They took a great fancy to the Jew's-harps, and Peter (he was only known by his Christian name amongst these islands) at once presented one to each of them, and showed the way to use them. Their Royal Highnesses all squatted down with their backs to the bulkhead and their harps at their lips, making all manner of faces in their vain attempts to follow the captain's instructions. Peter meanwhile sat on the table with a large Jew's-harp, and twanged away at some lively Irish jig, whilst the queen, princes, and princesses continually burst into roars of laughter at the sight of each other's grimaces, apparently unconscious that they looked just as absurd themselves.³⁵

The *St Patrick* left Tahiti on 6 December. She called at Huahine, Raiatea, and Tahaa. At the last island, where Fenuapeho and his daughter came aboard and were given presents, Dillon found the people in revolt against the mission because of the harsh punishment that had been meted out to a woman of high rank.

From the Leeward Islands they sailed westward to the Cooks. A call was made at Aitutaki. There, a Polynesian mission teacher whom Dillon had known in the Society Islands greeted him warmly, and a throng of young men sought permission to join the crew. The Polynesian seamen who had joined the *St Patrick* at Valparaiso had left her at Tahiti, which was the home of most of them. Another group, including a Marquesan, had been engaged there. But, after discussion with the teacher, Dillon agreed to add two Aitutakians. They were the first men from their island, he later noted, to travel beyond the Pacific.

Dillon was an intense man. Though still in his thirties, he had already suffered an attack of apoplexy. His creative role in the Pacific and his personal excesses reflected two facets of a consistent character. Retrospectively, Bayly concluded:

Capt'n. D. was the most passionate man I ever saw. His wife lived on board and he very frequently gave her a thrashing, sometimes striking her to the deck, and once broke his Telescope to pieces about her head.

On the voyage south from Tahiti, he claimed, the captain was drunk for eleven days. The period in New Zealand obtaining *kauri* spars was to prove a trying one and, during the course of it, the censorious Bayly noted, Dillon 'cursed and swore in such an abominable manner that he was more like an infernal Spirit than a human being'.³⁶

The North Cape of New Zealand was sighted on 24 December. As the *St Patrick* was beating down the east coast towards the Firth of Thames, she was prepared for defence against possible Maori boarders.

Eighteen-pounders were mounted in each doorway of the round-house, in which the main store of arms and ammunition was located, and a chest containing muskets and pikes was hoisted into each top. The members of the crew were allocated to particular stations and instructed in their duties. Since nearly all the Europeans had previously fought in the Chilean service and the Polynesians were 'ready to die for Peter', the safety of the ship, Bayly felt, was in good hands. When Bayly mentioned that he was himself without experience, Dillon commented: 'What could yer parrints have been thinking of, that they didn't tache ye how to fire a musket?'

At the beginning of January 1826, they anchored on the landward side of the islands shown on Cook's chart as the 'West Isles'—apparently in, or near, Kawakawa Bay. Here, some spars that the *St Patrick* had been unable to carry on her previous voyage were lying ready to be loaded. Florence, in the ship's whale-boat, went up Tamaki Strait in search of Maori workers and returned with two chiefs. One of these men was an old friend who had travelled to Valparaiso in the *Calder* in 1823. He explained that his people had retreated inland because they lacked sufficient firearms for effective resistance to the marauding army of the chief Hongi Hika. 'Why,' said Dillon, 'we've come for the very purpose of supplying you.'

The chiefs accepted Dillon's offer of a musket, or its equivalent in gunpowder, for every twenty spars cut, stripped, and brought out to the ship. Several days later they returned with a working party of nearly a thousand men, along with many women and children. Work continued for three months, both near the ship and at a point some miles further up the strait. Canoes were kept employed bringing food for the Maori workers and the ship's company. Bayly recorded the purchase of 'eight hogs, none less than 130 pounds weight, and about three tons of potatoes—all for one musket'. As cabbages and other vegetables, as well as peaches, were discovered growing wild on one of the islands, the crew lived well.

Each Saturday the ship's company was drilled and firing practice held. The significance of this routine was not lost on the chiefs. But, when they suggested that it showed lack of confidence in their goodwill, Dillon simulated an air of injury. He emphasised that his men could easily destroy any hostile fleet of canoes but gave an assurance that he was thinking only of a possible visit by a less friendly party. 'By this treatment'—to quote Bayly—'he kept the natives in good humour, at the same time being always prepared for action.'

During the daytime there was much petty thieving from the ship, and at night a careful watch was kept. But serious trouble was not met with till a party led by the chief Pomare, of the Bay of Islands,

arrived on a visit. When Pomare came aboard without Dillon's permission, he cut his hand on a cutlass held by a sailor guarding the gangway. Demanding vengeance, he ordered his followers to enlist the support of the working party. The ship's company was ordered to action stations; and, not long afterwards, twelve canoes, each containing seventy to eighty armed men, moved out from the shore. As the canoes approached the ship, Dillon pointed a pistol at Pomare and compelled him to shout to the warriors that he had made friends with Peter. The ruse failed; and the canoes came alongside. 'Don't fire unless they try to board', Dillon shouted. 'If they do, blaze away at 'em.'

The savages stamped all together from side to side of their canoes, rolling them with a tremendous splash either way, till the gunwales were within two or three inches of the water. They uttered diabolical threats; with frantic gestures and the most hideous contortions of countenance, they yelled out their war-cries. They thrust out their tongues like thirsty dogs . . .³⁷

But not a shot was fired. As Bayly wrote, 'every man had caught the spirit of the master'. The canoes returned to the shore. Next day friendly relations were restored, and confirmed by an exchange of presents.

Dillon still had cause for anxiety as to Maori intentions; but he was perhaps more worried by the arrival, towards the end of February, of H.M.S. *Larne* in quest of spars. He was certain to lose the allegiance of his working party when the newcomers offered a higher rate of payment. But he turned the situation to his advantage by supplying the *Larne* from his own stock, at a substantial profit.

By the beginning of April the *St Patrick* was fully loaded. She had also taken on a large supply of potatoes and 'pigsties full of pigs'; and two young men had been given passages, so that they might see the world and obtain muskets and gunpowder in India. One of these men, the son of an important chief, was named by Dillon 'His Royal Highness Prince Brian Boru', the other 'Morgan McMurragh'.

Three weeks were spent at the Bay of Islands repairing the ship. Dillon planned to call next at Tongatapu—to buy Tongan artefacts for sale in Calcutta and food for the voyage—and then to visit Fiji. Presumably he intended to collect the *bêche-de-mer* and tortoise-shell that David Whippy would have acquired and to take Whippy aboard. But two days out from the Bay the *St Patrick* ran into a gale. Old and ill-made as she was, she developed a leak. When the gale had passed, Dillon tried to make for Sydney, but the wind failed him. He then decided to take the Northern Passage to India, round the

north of New Guinea. This course brought the ship to Hunter Island on 7 May and six days later to Tikopia, where Martin Buchert and Joe, the lascar, had been landed thirteen years before. Dillon decided to call, in the hope both of purchasing yams and of hearing news of his former comrades.

Canoes came out to the ship. In the first of them was Joe, who—when he recognised the captain—‘gave a shout, fell on his knees before Peter, and kissed his hands and feet’. In another was Buchert. Round his neck Joe was wearing a silver sword-guard. Dillon observed it with excitement. Where had it been obtained? What other European articles were possessed by the Tikopians? The story was soon told: ‘when the old men now in Tucopia were boys’, two large ships had been wrecked on the island of Vanikoro; Joe had been there in a canoe; he had seen large quantities of wreckage; he had talked with two survivors. Could there be any doubt as to the discovery Dillon had stumbled upon?

As Dillon and Bayly had worked together making musket cartridges, Dillon had talked of the strange and tragic story of La Pérouse, and he had confessed to the desire he had cherished for years to solve the mystery. In 1785 Jean François de Galaup de La Pérouse had sailed from France; in 1786 and 1787 he had carried out valuable and skilful surveys of the North American and Asian coasts; and then he had sailed south through Polynesia to Botany Bay, where the first shiploads of convicts had recently arrived. From the coast of New South Wales he went north again intent on solving the one great geographical puzzle of the South Pacific that remained—the identity of Mendaña’s Solomon Islands. Then there was silence. Neither he nor his expedition had been heard of again. The disappearance of this brilliant and much beloved man had grieved his contemporaries and mystified his successors. In 1791 the French Constituent Assembly voted a reward to anyone throwing light on the mystery; and an expedition was despatched under Bruni d’Entrecasteaux to make an organised search. But d’Entrecasteaux failed; and for over thirty years the problem of La Pérouse’s fate had remained unsolved. Now the Pacific was at last yielding up its long-hidden secret: La Pérouse’s ships had been cast away on Vanikoro. The more Dillon racked his brain for alternative explanations of what he had just heard, the more certain he became of the correctness of his first surmise. Taking Buchert on board they sailed towards the west, but winds hindered them; and the leaky state of the ship and the shortage of provisions forced them to give up the search.

This was the turning point in Dillon's career. When he reached Calcutta, he persuaded the British administration in Bengal to send him out again to the Solomons in command of one of its own ships. He found that neither of the survivors whom Joe had met was still alive on Vanikoro: one had died and the other left the island. And he was told that the men from the ships had built a two-masted vessel from the wreckage. It was likely that those who had sailed in her had perished somewhere in the surrounding ocean. But the evidence he obtained proved, without doubt, that the two ships had been those of *La Prouse*.

Europe had a taste for the exotic. It was reflected in the public demand for new books of travel and for new editions of the narratives of the eighteenth-century explorers. Among educated Europeans, Dillon's discovery aroused considerable interest. He returned to Europe himself to receive the recognition that he felt was due to him.

In February 1829 Charles X carried into effect the decree of 1791: Dillon was granted an indemnity for his expenses on the expedition and an annuity of 4,000 francs. He was also created 'Chevalier de l'Ordre royal de la Légion-d'Honneur' and presented to the king. Later in the year he published a two-volume account of his voyage, *Narrative and Successful Result of a Voyage in the South Seas . . . to ascertain the Actual Fate of La Pérouse's Expedition . . .* It was translated into French and Dutch and favourably noticed by the reviews.

In 1834 Dillon returned to the Pacific and remained there till 1838. He spent a year in New Zealand as a flax trader. He made a leisurely voyage through the islands between Tahiti and Fiji, renewing innumerable friendships, castigating the more narrowly self-righteous of the missionaries, and trading for island products. In Sydney the Chevalier Dillon—to give him the title by which he was now generally known—was treated as a famous man. These were probably the happiest of his later years.

But, after the voyage to Vanikoro, he lived mainly in Europe. Through his standing as a navigator and an author he met many influential men—politicians and Catholic leaders, scientists and philanthropists—and these contacts stimulated his desire to be involved himself in public affairs. He presented both the French and Belgian governments with proposals for settlements in the Pacific. In 1832 he published a pamphlet advocating British colonisation in New Zealand. In 1829 he had prepared a plan for the establishment of Roman Catholic missions in the islands; and, after his return to Europe in 1838, when Catholic mission work had begun, he bombarded the head of the Marist order with advice and offers of help.

During the 1840s he took an active part in the proceedings of the Aborigines' Protection Society. In pamphlets, and in letters to ministers and civil servants, he made known his views on matters concerning the Pacific.

Dillon saw himself as a public figure, and he played his new role with all his old exuberance. In dress he seems to have become something of a dandy. His language often possessed a courtliness far removed from his cursing and swearing on the deck of the *St Patrick*—for example, in a letter he wrote in 1834 to Eugène Chaigneau, who had represented the French government on the voyage to Vanikoro:

I regret exceedingly that the shortness of my stay at Paris prevented my having had the pleasure of having you to dine with me . . . However, . . . if I can be of any use to you here [in London] with the Prince de Talleyrand pray command me and I will instantly obey.³⁸

But his sense of aristocracy, which had stood him in good stead among Polynesian and Fijian chiefs, became tinged, in Europe, with fantasy. Till almost the end of his life he hoped for a government appointment, from the British or the French, preferably as a consul somewhere in the Pacific. He thought of himself as a man of superior birth and attainments and believed that it was therefore the duty of those who controlled patronage to look after him. He had, indeed, been commissioned as a consul by the government of Charles X; but, when it was overthrown in July 1830, the appointment had lapsed. And his later solicitations were all ignored.

In Europe Dillon was always short of money. Whatever fortune he may have accumulated during his years of trading had been lost when the firm of Joseph Barretto and Sons had collapsed while he was on the voyage to Vanikoro, and his pension could not support him in the style he considered appropriate. He came, in time, to regret the events that had transformed his career. In a letter to Lord Normanby in 1846, he wrote: 'I am the Captain Dillon . . . who was so unfortunate as to discover the fate of the French Expedition commanded by the unfortunate but far famed Count de la Perouse'.³⁹

Peter Dillon died in Paris on 9 February 1847. His daughter Martha, who had cared for him since the death of her mother, was with him. Helped by the French government, she returned to New South Wales—by the route he had followed in the *Calder* and *St Patrick* over twenty years before, from Valparaiso to Tahiti, and from Tahiti to Sydney.

THE DEVIATIONS OF A MISSIONARY FAMILY

The Henrys of Tahiti

Niel Gunson

THE missionary party which arrived in the South Seas in 1797 in the ship *Duff* included among its number William Henry, an Irishman of forceful character, who was to celebrate his jubilee in the service of the London Missionary Society. Between 1797 and 1847 he occupied mission stations at Matavai and Tiarei on Tahiti, Papetoai and Afareaitu on Moorea, and on Huahine, besides serving as an itinerant preacher at various times in New South Wales. Henry was not the most distinguished missionary in the Society, but his long service and the peculiar problems which he faced in raising his large family single him out as being both representative and exceptional.

Little is known about Henry's early life other than that he was born at Sligo, according to his own belief on Midsummer Eve in 1770.¹ By trade he was a carpenter and joiner in the shipbuilding industry. His parents, George and Sarah Henry, probably belonged to the Church of Ireland. Three years after Henry was born the English Methodist, Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, was to write of the spiritual condition of the Irish:

Poor wicked Ireland, I trust shall yet have a Gospel day. I can't yet see how or when—but it must be; and till I find that opportunity, my eye is only waiting darkly for its accomplishment.²

It was a lament that Henry himself would make over his own progeny, and his adopted land, Tahiti.

The Evangelical Revival had done much to change the social attitudes of the English-speaking people in the last three decades of the eighteenth century; but it had limited success in Ireland, where it

was vigorously promoted by the Countess of Huntingdon, and helped by several Evangelical clergymen in the Church of Ireland. This Methodist party was early nicknamed 'a party of Swaddlers' and its itinerant preachers were the victims of considerable horseplay: as in England, stoning the preacher was fairly common.

William Henry was an early convert to the movement. He had been one of the active persecutors of the Swaddlers and appears to have joined in the attempt to destroy the chapel at Sligo, one of the preaching places of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, in 1791, shortly after its opening. The iron bars were forced from the windows, the glass broken and the sashes torn; the next day the 'Sligo Bucks', as the 'push' was known, held a mock sacrament and announced that they intended to burn the chapel to the ground. One of the principal members of the chapel, a merchant named Albert Blest, attempting to disperse the mob, was seriously attacked. Henry's role in this affair is not clear, except that he and a number of the others attended the services 'for the purpose of ridicule and derision' but were 'compelled, by the powerful efficacy attending the declaration of divine truth, to retire to meditate and pray'.³ Henry's conversion followed.* He appears to have become as keen in supporting the Swaddlers as he had been in persecuting them, but throughout his life, like many early Methodists, he insisted on being a Churchman rather than a Dissenter.

The other principal formative influence in Henry's religious life was the Reverend John Walker, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin.⁴ Henry moved to Dublin where he probably worked in the shipyards. He became a preacher in the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion and in that capacity he received tuition in several subjects from Walker, who was already the acknowledged leader of the Methodist party in the Church of Ireland, being one of five Swaddlers forbidden to preach in the diocese of Dublin by the Archbishop. Like most Calvinistic Methodists Walker adhered to a hyper-Calvinist theology: belief in the twin doctrines of election and reprobation. For Walker, as for his pupil Henry, it was already irrevocably decreed that the elect were sealed for heaven and all others would have to endure the 'eternity of hell's torments'. Such a theology frequently bred an atmosphere of permissiveness exemplified in the heresy of Antinomianism. If God was to save souls he would intervene in his own good time. The doctrines of hyper-Calvinism were, however, balanced by the more positive love-to-Christ motif emphasised by the Evangelicals. It should also be noted that Henry acquired his theological training from a man of acknowledged intellectual capacity in other fields, indi-

* Albert Blest's influence on his life was later commemorated in his naming the Papetoai village on Moorea after him, Blest Town.

cated by Walker's publications in trigonometry and the classics. In 1804 Walker was to dissociate himself from the Church of Ireland and form his own sect, the Church of God, more popularly known as 'Separatists' or 'Walkerites'.*

It was possibly through Walker's influence that Henry was one of the first to volunteer for service with the 'Missionary Society' founded in London in 1795, since Walker served as a director for Ireland before founding his own sect. The Calvinistic Methodists, particularly the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion to which Henry belonged, formed the largest component of this society, the other members being Congregationalists and Presbyterians. Dr Haweis, one of the founders of the Society, had been chaplain to the Countess and was the principal advocate of a South Sea mission.

On 28 July 1796 Henry, who was apparently already married, and the other approved candidates were designated missionaries at Lady Huntingdon's Zion Chapel in London. Two months later they sailed for the South Seas in the *Duff*.

Both his Calvinist dependence on providence and his Methodist zeal impregnate Henry's first letter to Samuel Pinder (one of the lay members of the Society) in which he stated that he was willing 'by grace, to do or suffer anything' for the missionary cause, even though others would think them 'Enthusiasticley mad' or suppose them to have 'some future Secular Emolument in view'.⁵ During the voyage Henry took a prominent part in the affairs of the society. He was elected to a committee for regulating their affairs and he was asked to serve as a regular minister with the four ordained men. He declined to accept ordination, however, on the ground that it was not necessary for him to administer the sacraments. He was prominent in exposing and excommunicating two of the missionaries on board the *Duff* for doctrinal error.

Throughout his missionary career Henry was to assume an inquisitorial role, taking a leading part in investigating the doctrines and morals of those missionaries who showed signs of weakness. His relentless attitude towards deviant missionaries contrasts almost dramatically with the indulgent attitude he was to show to his large and frequently wayward family. His fellow missionaries, in his later years, were to portray him as an 'old Eli' figure weighed down with the guilt of the sins of his children. The problems inherent in the missionary contact situation take on a personal significance in the story of the deviations

* The views of this sect were very similar to those of the later Plymouth Brethren who fully accepted Walker's writings. Amongst other things the Walkerites revived the practice of holy kissing, a custom which broke up their Dublin church when a newly married gentlewoman objected to the rather too ardent kiss of a blacksmith who happened to share her pew.

of this family from the missionary norm. Jehovah and Jesus become relevant in the pantheon of Oro and Tane in the conflicts of conscience and desire.

The arrival of the *Duff* at Tahiti coincided with a major earth tremor and a tropical storm. Despite the superstitious awe these produced, the mission was to remain without converts for almost twenty years, during which time the missionaries itinerated and exhorted. Sarah Henry was the first child to be born in the mission on 24 May 1797. Her father, in dedicating her, hoped that she would eventually marry the eldest mission child, Thomas Hassall. In 1798 a large party of missionaries quit the mission for New South Wales. The motives of the single men for leaving were varied, but the three families, the Hassalls, Covers, and Henrys, claimed that the womenfolk were not safe. The only woman to remain behind was Mrs Eyre, who was thirty years older than her husband and consequently not regarded as being in danger. After a brief preaching and teaching ministry in Sydney, Henry decided to return to Tahiti. During this time he had won the friendship of the two chaplains, Johnston and Marsden, who approved of him as 'a studious serious young man'.⁶ In January 1800 the family arrived by the *Eliza*, bringing with them several parrots as presents for the chiefs, two pairs of tame pigeons, a pair of rabbits, two rams and two ewes, four muscovy ducks, one turkey cock, several fruit trees, some Norfolk pines, and various seeds. On 30 January the Henrys were formally received back into the mission society.

Samuel Pinder Henry was born on 8 February and christened on the 16th. Early in 1801 the Henrys added a foster child to their household, Nancy Connor, born about 1795 and eldest child of an Irish seaman. The chiefs permitted the child the privileges allowed to Europeans, saying that she was a 'foreigner'. Henry also attempted to adopt Connor's second daughter but was frustrated by the child's Tahitian relatives. The second Henry daughter, Eleanor, was born on 6 July 1803. In 1808 the Henrys again left the islands when the majority of the missionaries decided to abandon the mission. Nancy Connor went with them to Sydney as a member of the family. While they were living in near destitute circumstances a second son, William Ebenezer, was born in Sydney in 1811. The Henrys were amongst the first to return to the islands in the same year. Mrs Henry had been continually ill since the birth of Samuel and died at Papetoai in 1813, as Marsden expressed it, 'literally worn down in the work of the Mission'. He hoped she would be resting from her labours in Abraham's bosom together with some of the Tahitians whom she had influenced.

Shortly after his bereavement Henry returned to Sydney to look for another wife. His family, except Samuel who boarded with Davies, the mission schoolmaster, was left in an open-style Tahitian house. The missionaries were scathing in their comments both about the intended marriage and the arrangements made for the children.

So Davies informed Rowland Hassall in February 1813, while Bicknell remonstrated that Henry should have 'attended to the advice of the brethren and not given way to lustful desires as soon as his wife was dead'. Nott supposed he had no alternative, for 'to live here in a state of celibacy is an ordeal which I believe few will ever stand for long together'.⁸ Nott was justifying his own earlier connection with a pagan Tahitian woman. However, he did not expect Henry to find anyone suitable in New South Wales. The only unmarried woman of piety who could be found in Sydney was Ann Shepherd, a girl of fifteen years, who was already fully occupied bringing up her brothers and sisters. Her parents had come out as convicts but were eminent for their piety as members of St Ann's Church at Kissing Point, as

Ryde was then known. William and Ann were married by Marsden at Parramatta on 1 June 1813.

On returning to Moorea Henry found his family in bad repute. Samuel, who had been left with Davies 'for the purpose of teaching him Arithmetic, and the elements of Geography' had, according to his tutor, 'behaved exceedingly ill, did not mind his lessons at all' and had been reproved 'sharply, both for his neglect of his lessons and other bad conduct'.⁹ The principal scandal had been supplied by Sally (Sarah) who had been seduced by one of the young Tahitian chiefs. When Marsden learnt more about this affair he was inclined to the view that some of the missionaries had been too severe with her and that there were extenuating circumstances in her case. 'She ha[d] no mother nor Father on the Spot to advise and protect her', he informed the directors of the Missionary Society. 'She had been brought up from her Infancy with the natives—They were the same to her as her own people and the young Chief was a young man of some Influence and Authority . . . I think some of the Missionaries, especially Mrs Nott were too violent against her. Had she remained at the Island, from their Conduct to her, she might have been of great Injury to the Mission, as she would most probably have gone amongst the natives, and turned against them'.¹⁰

Something of the missionaries' disturbed reaction to the situation is captured in a letter written by Bicknell to Rowland Hassall in November 1813. He said that Henry should have built his family a proper house before he left for Port Jackson and 'taught them to work and their duty to God and man'.

But those that are groon up are ungodly for Nance Conner is a drounkard a whore a blasphemer a deist and a liar and Sarah Henry has been drunck and is a horred blasphemer as if she had been used to it for 50 years. She wishes the Bibbel in the fire and all us in hell and her father too and herself and Jesus Christ, has cursed the King and the King of Huaheine to his face in such a way as we thought ourselves much exposed to their resentment, we intreated their forgiveness, so it was winked at for the present. She also told a great many natives that we deceived them that Jehovah was not the true God but that Oro and Tane was the true God and much more. It is said that she hath don more harm then ever her father did good in this mission. She also played the whore in her father's house. Samuel is a bad boy, he has no employs, he geets drunk &c. I hope the young people will be better now their father is come. Keep yours always at work or at their books.¹¹

Henry decided to send Sally to Sydney under the care of ex-missionary Shelley. Hayward assumed that Thomas Hassall would be

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no longer interested in her but hoped that she 'might not be totally lost to society'.

She is but young and may reform. I hope she will be cautious and more moderate in the Colony with other peoples characters than she has been here and have a deeper sense of duty on her mind than to injure her connections thereby.¹²

Unfortunately Sally's character was already the subject of gossip in the colony so that she was eagerly scrutinised. Mrs Macquarie, who exercised near-episcopal authority in the Church of England, is said to have 'declared that it was her opinion she would become a common prostitute' and missionary Crook, who rarely agreed with the governor's lady, gave it as his opinion in May that Sally was 'lost and gone'. He based his views on 'her behaviour at Mr Shelley's in [his] presence'.¹³

Marsden found Sarah a good position in Parramatta. He afterwards admitted that 'her habits were bad, she was not industrious, nor had she those modest Ideas which adorn the female character'. However, he felt it his duty 'to take Care of her as long as her conduct is correct' and besides she was 'a very fine handsome young woman'.¹⁴ Her propriety was such that Thomas Hassall actually proposed to her in 1816, but she declined. It is possible that she already had an understanding with Dr William Bland, the notable emancipist surgeon. Bland was probably the surgeon who treated Sarah for filariasis shortly after her arrival—as he was to treat other members of the family for the same disease. Sarah was living with ex-missionary Eyre and his wife when she and Bland decided to elope. They were married in Sydney on 7 April 1817. Despite Bland's high social standing the Parramatta Evangelicals disapproved on the grounds of his known deistic opinions. Missionary Platt afterwards referred to Bland being 'in high reputation in his professional capacity, but of infidel principles' which 'unhappily corresponded too much to her own'. He believed that the new circle of acquaintance with its 'sundry parties' 'did not tend to improve her morals'.¹⁵

The marriage did not survive the year. In July 1817, Richard Drake, an officer of the East India Company, arrived in his brother's ship, the convict transport *Chapman*. He was soon on intimate terms with the Blands and accompanied them on their visits to Parramatta. In November, while Bland was in Sydney, Sarah accompanied Drake 'with a very respectable party to . . . the place called New Jerusalem'. She returned to Sydney in a chaise with her escort which led Bland to censure her conduct. Some days later Bland returned from Parramatta to discover that Drake had 'spent the whole of the night from

11 until day light' with his wife. The whole matter was soon public. Rowland Hassall at once informed the missionaries that Mrs Bland had 'made a sad breach in the Marriage bed—which caused Mr Bland to challenge the man he found in Bed with her and as the man . . . refused to meet him, Bland has entered an action against him at £2500'. It was in fact £3,000 and Bland was awarded £2,000. Drake successfully eluded the law, leaving a letter addressed to Bland containing 'the most injurious and insulting ribaldry on the subject of the disaster' in the hollow of a tree.¹⁶

Henry next received news that his daughter was 'living under a feigned name with another gentleman'. At one time she was living with Colonel Morisset, the commandant at Newcastle. Although she was ostensibly Morisset's housekeeper the Reverend George Augustus Middleton, the most worldly of the chaplains, complained of the relationship. Throughout her adventures Sarah alternated between passion and conscience, seeking for pious consolation from her father's friends, the Reverends William Cowper and Thomas Hassall. At last, early in 1822, she decided to return to Tahiti. From New Zealand, in April, she warned Hassall concerning his sister's suitor: 'as you value her happiness enquire into the youth's character, *Beware*. Now what I have seen and heard I am sure . . . he will not make a good husband . . .'. And no doubt she knew.¹⁷

Although she had received her father's pardon and also that of Bland, living in Tahiti became intolerable. Her father confided to Thomas Hassall:

For some time after her arrival here her conduct was highly gratifying to us and to the pious natives in general—but latterly she occasionally shewed an unbecoming temper and spirit, indeed at times seemed slightly deranged and insane and at other times under very strong convictions; and there began to be circulated some unpleasant reports of her manifesting a disposition to make unbecomingly free with certain natives, and manifesting a partiality and under attachment to one in particular. Her being made acquainted with these reports so affected her mind that she nearly lost her senses altogether; and on recovering a little she came to the determination of quitting the Island entirely and proceeding to England.

Henry did not expect to see her again. She went to London armed with letters to various churchmen and a promise of £50 per year from her husband. When she finally wrote to the directors of the L.M.S. in 1838 she was in a wretched state. She could not find employment at needlework and had no church-going clothes. She confessed that her conduct had been 'very incorrect'. Her address was Saffron Hill—a locality described by Dickens in that year in *Oliver Twist* as being the

most wretched place in London 'where drunken men and women were positively wallowing in filth'—and no doubt her looks had gone.¹⁸

Samuel's story more properly belongs to the islands. Dedicated by his father to missionary service, he showed little inclination in that direction. His familiarity with Tahitian pagan culture enabled him to think and act like a Tahitian. In his later years it was commonly said, 'You are a native and like one of ourselves'. However, until he was fourteen, Samuel was always under the strict discipline of the mission. In 1814 he received his full initiation into the Polynesian way of life. In that year, together with Pomare II, the missionary Wilson, and the settler George Bicknell, he was on board the whaler *Matilda* when it was carried in a storm to the Leeward Islands. They spent three months in the Leewards, mostly at Huahine, during which time Pomare strengthened his dynastic alliances. Samuel appears to have become a favourite with the chiefs and his father afterwards spoke of his great influence there. Rumours of his conduct appear to have reached New South Wales and Thomas Hassall wrote to William Henry about the matter. Samuel wrote to Hassall informing him that he bore him no ill will and was suffering from 'growing pains'. The missionary decided to send his son to Sydney to be apprenticed to a mechanic. He left the islands about October 1816 and was boarded with the Eyres at Parramatta for eight months.¹⁹

Although Marsden believed that Samuel's education had been 'much neglected' he felt that he was good material to implement his long cherished scheme to support the island missions by a trading schooner. Samuel was accordingly taught navigation to prepare him to take command of such a vessel. By May 1817 Marsden reported that he had 'improved very fast'.

It is my intention to put him into the *Active*, as I think he will be of infinite service to the mission should he become pious and steady, as he can speak the Language of the Islands, and has formed his Acquaintance amongst them.²⁰

All spoke well of him, particularly of his 'affable manners'.²¹ He made friends with the party of new missionaries going to the islands in the *Active*, including Williams and Threlkeld, and assisted them in compiling a vocabulary. However he also took occasion to revenge himself on his old schoolmaster, Davies, who had been mainly responsible for the stories about himself and his sister circulating in the colony. He revealed, for instance, that Davies was known to the Tahitians as 'baldhead', insinuating that it was 'on account of girls or women'. Threlkeld was to become obsessed with proving these stories.²²

Samuel's first job was to be mate of the *Haweis*, which had been built by the missionaries for the use of the Tahitian mission and Pomare II of Tahiti, who had a large share in the venture. According to Davies, who obviously had no love for Samuel, when the *Haweis* was being fitted for sea Samuel was 'guilty of great misconduct' and when the ship went round to Afareaitu to fetch the printing press Samuel 'behaved so towards the native females, as that some of the Chiefs came to me, earnestly requesting me to write to the Capt'n. not to let any woman whatever to go on board'. On discovering this a bottle of rum for the captain he found a woman in Davies's room. Davies maintained that Samuel was 'a *known liar*' and that he was abetted in his schemes by another 'lying vagabond' that had 'been to Port Jackson, and, was privy to S.H.'s tricks at Tahiti and elsewhere' and by 'two other men of like description'.²³

Marsden, however, continued to have high hopes for his protégé. He instructed the master of the *Haweis* 'to treat Mr. Henry's son with every attention consistent with his Duty as a Sailor'. When the missionary evinced displeasure that Samuel 'did not live in the Cabin *always*', Marsden argued that to do so would 'injure him in his Nautical Improvement'. 'He is a very promising youth, and I hope will soon be able to command the *Haweis*'.²⁴

Samuel told the missionaries that when he went to Davies's house for

Samuel Henry's role in the expansion of the Tahitian state and the story of island trade is a subject for more detailed study. He belongs, with Thomas Ebrill and Peter Dillon, to a generation of sea captains who made a profound impact on the development of the South Sea island communities. Henry possessed qualities which indicated to the islanders that he was not like other Europeans. He spoke and thought as they did and he was noted for his good manners, both in observing Polynesian etiquette and in his European relations. Besides winning the complete confidence of Pomare II and the other principal Society Islands chiefs, he was also trusted and received as a friend by Malani, the Tui Nayau who sought after European teachers, and Tāufa'āhau of Tonga. Europeans were also impressed by him. Robert FitzRoy commented that although Henry had never visited England, he had seldom encountered 'a more English countenance, or more genuine English ideas'. Joseph Smith, afterwards his brother-in-law, referred to him as 'a fine, tall, and stout man' and found him 'simple and open-hearted' in his manner.²⁵

By 1820 the triumvirate consisting of Pomare II, Samuel Henry, and George Bicknell, known to the missionaries as Pomare & Co., had come into being. Pomare was anxious to extend his hegemony through eastern Polynesia and his advisers believed he should exploit

the trade resources of his empire. Rumours were rife that the missionaries wished to prevent the islanders from obtaining trade goods. Pomare obtained most of the shares of the missionaries who had built the *Haweis*, and the remaining two were held by Bicknell and Henry. They also planned to take over the sugar machinery left by the missionary planter, Gyles, plant sugar and tobacco, and send salt pork to Sydney. Besides commanding the *Haweis*, Samuel was expected to carry out numerous commissions for Pomare both in the islands and at Port Jackson, in return for the lands on Moorea known as Urufara. Pomare wrote a number of letters to his friend Teari'itahi, as he had always called Samuel, in June 1820. He instructed him not to engage any more than two European crewmen.

You are to seek out Polynesians in Port Jackson; it is to be a Polynesian who directs you, when we get our ship.

The special items he was to obtain for Pomare included sheepskins for a sleeping mat, table napkins, large bowls, and Jew's harps. The intimate nature of the correspondence is highlighted by the king's query:

Is your woman in Port Jackson? You don't mean to tell me that good people can acquire mistresses. Now don't go spreading this around. I am just poking fun at you. It had better be a good woman you are sleeping with, if she is not, but just an old hag, you will be the laughing stock here. Do not stay too long in Port Jackson.²⁶

Although the missionaries gave instructions that the *Haweis* was to be given up to 'the young Mr. Henry' on its arrival at Port Jackson, Robert Campbell, acting on behalf of the L.M.S., maintained that the ship would be retained in missionary service and refused to fit out the ship for Pomare. Samuel then took his commissions to Edward Eagar, the emancipist merchant, who was at that time a prominent Wesleyan and not yet found out in either his financial or matrimonial affairs. Eagar purchased the *Governor Macquarie* on behalf of Pomare. Samuel engaged a sugar expert named Scott, and sailed to Tahiti in November 1820. He appears to have discovered Rimatara on this voyage,* and touched at Raivavae in January 1821, afterwards reporting favourably on the work of the native teachers there.²⁷

In Tahiti the missionaries viewed with concern the pork monopoly which the king and his company imposed. They disapproved of a boxing match on board the *Governor Macquarie* and the revival of

* Due to an apparent printing error in J. A. Moerenhout's *Voyages aux îles du Grand Ocean* (Paris, 1837) later writers such as Andrew Sharp have placed Henry's discovery in 1811, an absurdity since the captain himself would have then been only eleven years old. The missionary Orsmond, who took teachers to the island in 1822, claimed to be the first European to set foot on Rimatara soon after its discovery.

Tahitian wrestling. Crook preached on the theme of covetousness, which Samuel Henry regarded as a personal criticism and cause for him to cease attending the services. In May 1821 Samuel took his first cargo of pork to the colony. Eagar was not satisfied with the arrangements and repossessed the ship. His exorbitant claims and threats were to frighten the already ailing Pomare. While in Sydney in June 1821 Samuel married Sophia Wood, a young woman with pastoralist connections. They returned to Tahiti in the *Westmoreland* which Marsden had chartered on behalf of the king and the two missionary societies. Samuel had already gone to Sydney to purchase another ship for Pomare when Eagar actually arrived at Tahiti on his way to England. The king was convinced that Eagar intended to kill him, and when he saw the ship from his bed he fainted and soon afterwards died.²⁸

With Marsden's assistance Samuel had purchased the *Queen Charlotte* for Pomare in December 1821. He made a number of voyages to the pearl shell fisheries of the Tuamotus and to the Australs. On his first voyage he captured the Chilean pirate brig *Araucano* at Tubuai, largely through the daring and enterprise of his first mate, Thomas Ebrill. He probably discovered the Actaeon group, which he named the Sophia group after his wife. By 1824 he had settled at Mairipehe where he had a 30-acre sugar plantation and employed Polynesian labour. His residence at Atinua had the appearance of a 'respectable English farm'.²⁹ He also acted for some years as agent for Solomon Levey of Cooper & Levey in Sydney, and had branch stores at Moorea and Raiatea. In 1825 Ebrill, who conducted the store at Raiatea, married Eleanor Henry. He also had a sugar plantation on Tahiti. Henry, Ebrill, and George Bicknell, the other planter, employed European carpenters, smiths, coopers, and sawyers. Samuel Henry appears to have been the first person to introduce and employ expatriate Polynesian labour, mainly from New Zealand and Tonga.

From 1828 onwards Henry was actively engaged in the sandalwood trade. He was probably the first person to exploit the new field discovered at Eromanga by Dillon in 1825. The account of his recent voyage which he gave in Sydney in December 1828 suggests that he had called at the New Hebrides but was anxious to conceal the fact.³⁰ Certainly he was there in 1829, though he continued to trade in Fiji and Tonga for both sandalwood and tortoise-shell. Never an efficient businessman, he appears in the records as an alleged insolvent in 1831. In that year he would have been thankful for the £50 which he received from the New South Wales government for assisting in the resettlement of the Pitcairners at Tahiti. In 1832 he informed John Williams that he was thinking of settling in Tonga. Throughout the

thirties he appears to have been upset by domestic worries. The missionaries pointed to his wife's bad temper, but there is a hint that alcoholism was the trouble. In 1842 Henry was engaged in the most spectacular of his sandalwood voyages to the New Hebrides.³¹ Thereafter he appears to have acted as pilot at Papeete until his death, allegedly of alcoholism, in 1852.

Throughout his adventurous career, Samuel Henry always maintained his missionary connections. He frequently conveyed native teachers to their appointed stations, sought new openings for them, and also assisted the missionaries and their families. Between 1826 and 1832 he was concerned in several attempts to engage him as a 'pious Captain' in the service of the London and Wesleyan societies, with a view to fulfilling Marsden's object of teaching the islanders the benefits of civilisation through trade.³² In 1835 his father believed that Samuel had undergone a 'saving conversion'. Yet, despite his nominal confession and an occasional display of piety, Samuel's behaviour all too frequently departed from the accepted mission standards. The most vocal missionary critic was the artisan Elijah Armitage who had a personal quarrel with William Henry. Armitage reported in 1826 that Samuel sold rum at Tahiti for either money or barter and was 'living in hopen sin with the native wemin though a wife & children & she traviling with him'. He echoed the older missionaries by saying: 'He is likely to do more harm in a short time than his Father has done good th[is] last thirty years'. Samuel also disturbed the missionary consciences by travelling between Tahiti and Moorea on the Sabbath, and by landing barter and casks during chapel hours. When the judges threatened to judge the men so employed, Samuel's old father took umbrage. A church member is supposed to have said:

Whell Mr. Henry is preaching to us to be good & keep the Sabath & hear is his Son sending his casks to by our Oil. These remarks Mr. Henry's servant heard & told Mr. H. that such a Chief had said so. In the afternoon he gave them such a Scolding sermon that the people said he was very angry indeed & told the man in the Sermon that if he had not been a member of the church he should have been judged.³³

Obviously the double standards accepted by the missionary were an undermining influence to his work.

The Pitcairners also alluded to Samuel's deviant behaviour. When he visited them in company with Ebrill in June 1834 they criticised him for his overbearing attitude. They also claimed that during the two days of his visit he 'tried all he could to corrupt our women, both married and single, he being a married man himself'.³⁴

Samuel's recruiting methods and the treatment of the New Hebrideans by his labour force earned even more widespread recriminations. The stories of the atrocities committed in 1828-30 and again in 1842 have been frequently told. The Wesleyan missionaries obtained their versions from the Tongans and believed that the murder of Williams was in revenge for an earlier atrocity.

The Reverend John Thomas of Tonga placed most of the blame for the 1842 atrocities on Henry rather than the other two captains involved, as he had used his friendship with Tupou to obtain such a large number of recruits. Thomas's informants reported that they had cut down and taken the sandalwood by force without attempting to purchase it and that they had destroyed all those who resisted them. It was said that Ma'afu had suffocated a large number of Efate in a cave and that he had taken absolute control of Efate for two months. In November 1842 Thomas informed Henry that he had 'acted very wrong and very wickedly before God and man'. It was apparently Henry who replied, 'But, *seriously*, you do not mean to say these Eromangans are *men*?' and then 'Ah well! we paid them out for killing Williams'. When Henry's eldest son, William Ebenezer II, was killed shortly afterwards with Thomas Ebrill at the Isle of Pines, it was generally held to be a judgment on the father. According to George Turner of Samoa, the curse of God went further. 'Of the three Captains . . . one soon after died at sea, another [Henry] died a drunkard, and the third, if he is still alive, is in a United States prison for life'. The L.M.S. missionaries in Samoa and Tahiti were soon apprised of the affair and used the episode to denigrate the entire sandalwood trade.³⁵

There is little to be said concerning the other members of William Henry's first family. Eleanor appears to have responded favourably to her pious stepmother and remained at home till her marriage with Ebrill. Nance Connor married the Tahitian Haumani and had a large family. Henry referred to her in 1825 as the 'half breed female' raised by the former Mrs Henry. He believed she amply repaid 'the trouble & expence' of their effort. Both Nance and her husband were church members and she taught a female class in the adult school. Her eldest daughter Marae later married Thomas Bambridge, a pious ex-convict who had served as an artisan missionary in Tonga from 1826 to 1832. Both were active church members and supported such exotic causes as the relief of Christians in Madagascar. Their descendants have been prominent in Tahitian civic life.³⁶ William Ebenezer Henry (the first of the name) was probably the most indigenised of the first family. The last of the family to grow up in a pagan Tahitian society, his education had probably been more neglected than that of the older

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members of the family. Whereas Sarah and Samuel had grown up surrounded by adults, William belonged to a larger group of mission children.

In 1818 Threlkeld reported the great privations of the missionary families. The children they saw on their arrival were 'running about the sea shore without hats, shoes, or stockings, sometimes naked, boys and girls 6 or 7 years old who mixing together with the naked native children learn all those practices which stop the peace of a parent's breast'. The younger missionaries commented on the parental indulgence of the older missionaries. Certainly they seemed indifferent to the 'native habits' of their children.³⁷ Even in the thirties the missionary schoolmaster complained that his charges were 'permitted to hear all kinds of native conversation, and to go abroad and return at their own pleasure'. They were 'not taught, even to read words of 1, and 2 syllables, until at the age of 7 years' they were sent to school. Twelve-year-old boys were allowed to roam in the bush in search of cattle and returned to school with 'depraved and filthy minds'.³⁸ Like Brazilian plantation children in a similar climate, their sexual energies brooked little restraint, though mainly inter-cultural, heterosexual, and occasionally inbred. Continence in the boys was said to be exceptional. Some girls, however, were over-protected into professional spinsterhood. Everyone knew about Sarah Henry and her craving for men.

To colonial society the missionary children appeared like sawney country children. According to Crook, even Samuel Wilson, who was trained for the ministry in New South Wales, had 'a certain manner about him, in consequence of his being brought up at Tahiti, that is noticed by all discerning persons'. Marsden said one boy was 'exactly like a Native of the Islands, dirty, idle, and stubborn'. Others were 'vile, and vicious characters'.³⁹

When the South Sea Academy was established for the children of the mission families in 1824 William Ebenezer I was the first pupil. Despite his obvious backwardness, after a year's schooling he could repeat five chapters of the Epistle to the Hebrews, a catechism called *Milk for Babes*, sixteen pages of Pinnock's catechism on chronology, ten pages of a catechism on the 'Arts and Sciences', fourteen hymns by Dr Watts, twenty pages of the Assembly's catechism 'with Proofs', the multiplication table, and sixty pages of Murray's English grammar. In 1826 William was sent to New South Wales to be treated for filariasis by Dr Bland. He was apprenticed to a shipbuilder named Cunningham and placed under the spiritual supervision of Dr Lang. Orsmond reported that he had returned to Tahiti in January 1829.

‘He is at least $\frac{3}{4}$ of a native in habit and a whole one in moral action’. During the next twelve years he appears to have looked after his father’s cattle, taught in his father’s schools, and engaged in sugar planting. That his habits remained much the same is suggested by a reference by Thomas Blossom (an artisan missionary) to another missionary’s daughter, Mary Anna Bicknell, who had had three husbands by 1841, all of whom were then living. ‘Wm. Henry was the middle one. And they are all three pretty much like herself.’ William died of dysentery in 1842, the year in which his nephew and namesake was killed in the *Star* massacre at the Isle of Pines.⁴⁰

Despite the exhausting program designed to preserve pure morals at the South Sea Academy, the ten children of Henry’s second marriage followed the same pattern as the first family. The boys broke bounds and had themselves circumcised in the Tahitian way. Both boys and girls got tattooed. In August 1829 Orsmond discovered ‘a little tatooing’ on James Henry’s ‘person’ which provoked further inquiry.

The natives send out many rumours, one says that both Ann and Elizabeth Henry have been tatooed since they left school last March. While here last year Elizabeth it seems obtained a little of the tatoo powder unknown to us and in the bedroom with a needle punctured her skin and marked herself. She says it looks very handsome, and especially so on white persons. Oh God what will become of us and ours.⁴¹

Discipline of the boys was effected by flogging them ‘on the bare bottoms with a little cat, the tails of which are of whipcord, 12 ins. long and six in number’.

Henry’s daughters do not seem to have benefited from Sarah’s experience. In August 1828 Crook reported that Ann Henry, ‘a very tall and stout young lady of 14 years’, was spending some time with them ‘for improvement in her education, needlework, house keeping etc.’. She was then ‘very attentive’ to his eldest daughters and made herself ‘very agreeable’. However, in November she went home, ‘her time being up’. Orsmond regarded her as ‘Ill informed, half a native, very proud & an enemy to God & his Christ’.⁴² Matters had reached a climax when the Reverend Aaron Buzacott, missionary at Rarotonga, visited Tahiti in 1832. He observed that ‘Mr. Henrys grey hairs’ would be ‘brought down with sorrow to the grave’.

His two eldest daughters by his present wife are very bad no better than common strumpets, a little previous to our arrival, the younger of them was delivered of a child, by a native lad, who had been in the habit of cohabiting with her for a very long time, and by many is supposed to be still in the habit of it.⁴³

Elizabeth, the second daughter, may well have been part-Tahitian herself, as younger members of the family recalled that she had particularly dark skin and they believed her to be Nance Connor's younger sister. A number of illegitimate children were born into the mission families over the years and Orsmond is known to have brought up his son George's daughter Cecilia as one of his own family. Elizabeth Henry was probably a daughter of S. P. Henry or even Sarah's daughter. In 1835 she married a pious young sugar planter named Joseph Smith, afterwards an official in the Hawaiian government. She was to take her sister Ann with her to Hawaii where Ann married a coffee planter named Wundenberg. Both sisters accommodated themselves perfectly to the Boston-type society of Hawaii and their children intermarried with the local established families.

Except for 'our dear little Josiah',* who was sent to his grandfather Shepherd at the age of five,⁴⁴ the boys of the second family rivalled their elder brothers in their deviant behaviour. Most of them, at some time or other, were sent to Sydney to serve an apprenticeship. One at least had to leave the colony to escape the consequences of forgerly. The same one had to leave Tahiti when details of his incestuous relationship with his sister were revealed.⁴⁵ The eldest son, George Matthew, earned a reputation for sharp business practice in Tahiti and, according to one observer, 'compromised the good name of the missionaries' by selling 'vile spirits' to the crews of visiting ships. He was to abandon his cattle dealing in Tahiti for land speculation in Fiji after his arrival there via Australia in 1857. As Captain Henry (the second with this designation) he was the genial trader mentioned by Thomas Trood and others. He settled at Lomaloma, bought Vanua Balavu (with G. Winter) from Tui Cakau, though he was unable to retain it, and extended his negotiations to Taveuni, Cakaudrove, and northern Viti Levu. The way in which he acquired Adavaci illustrates his 'bush' methods. He told the owners that 'the only way in which they could retain their land in the event of British annexation was to sell it to him'.⁴⁶ Despite his extensive land claims George was no more successful than his brother Samuel in consolidating his fortune. He lived much from day to day, linked to customary affairs by the presence of a Fijian wife, involved in quarrels over labour recruiting and domestic matters. Beyond these affairs George was unable to cope, and in 1881 he was to declare himself bankrupt.

The reports of the missionaries who arrived in Tahiti in 1839

* According to later members of the Henry family, Josiah became a trader in Tongan waters and was known to them as 'the King of Tonga'. He left descendants and was possibly 'the King of Tonga' with 'royal' Tahitian connections recently claimed as an ancestor by a Fijian family (*Pacific Islands Monthly*, August 1968, p. 87). Josiah was a name used by the Tupou family in Tonga.

concerning the morals of the children of several of the mission families led the directors to pension off the older men. For a time Henry took the younger members of his family to New South Wales. However, early in 1845, he returned to the islands, settling at Papetoai. The Reverend Alexander Simpson, missionary at that place, reported that Henry 'with his family of 3 idle sons, and as many daughters' had taken up their residence in 'this hitherto peaceful town'. Simpson had previously been suspected of seducing some of the girls at the Academy, and the Henry boys excelled in telling stories about their erstwhile schoolmaster and his assignations with Tahitian women in the bush. It was the old story of Samuel and missionary Davies repeated. The old missionary used the influence he had gained with the people in earlier days to muster their support in exposing Simpson. Mrs Henry was particularly vindictive, as the Simpsons had refused to allow their daughter to enter the Henry house 'excepting in the presence of her parents'. When accused of seducing the girls at the Academy Simpson had been defended by Isaac Henry, regarded as the most pious of Henry's children. However, in 1845, both Isaac and his father-in-law Orsmond had changed sides, and believed themselves justified when Stevens, the missionary surgeon, belied his profession by revealing the secret of Simpson's relations with his wife and the medical necessity for these to cease.

Simpson charged Isaac and Daniel Henry with defamation of character and the hearing was held at Papetoai on 7 and 10 February 1845 before the president of the court, Teremai. Simpson did not charge the missionary, referring to him as 'a good man led astray by an artful and designing woman, and by a family who would disgrace even the worst of the Tahitian community'. The Henry sons were reproved by the judge (as no libel action was involved) and 'the parties . . . left the court with their mother who said e pohe a Timitoni ia matou. Mr. Simpson will yet be dead by us, ie. vanquished.'⁴⁷

There were other than personal morality issues in the Simpson affair. To Simpson, brother-in-law of that martyr of Exeter Hall, George Pritchard, the Henrys were guilty of political deviation, collusion with the French. Most of the older missionaries and their families established in Tahiti accepted the benefits of a French protectorate even if they disliked what the French stood for. John Davies, David Darling, and William Henry all opposed active resistance to the French, and J. M. Orsmond was to be dismissed for being positive about his passive resistance. Members of the older missionary families all took positions in the French service: Henrys, Darlings, Orsmonds, Barffs, and Wilsons. Joseph Smith, Henry's son-in-law, was appointed a *juge-de-paix* at Papeete though he left for Hawaii after a year in

office. Captain S. P. Henry was director of native affairs and also acted as pilot. In 1845 it was also generally believed that Isaac was receiving French pay. William Henry wrote in 1847 that Isaac had been made 'port officer and government agent' on Moorea but that he had only accepted the office after consulting the missionaries at Tahiti. While Simpson's statement in 1845 that the whole family were 'thoroughly devoted to the Gallic interest' is misleading, it is certain that they had a more realistic view of affairs than most of the younger missionaries. The fact that the arch-villain of the French occupation, Moerenhout, was a personal friend of S. P. Henry and had social intercourse with the whole family was also anathema to the missionaries.⁴⁸

The directors, who were influenced unduly by the younger missionaries and the egregious Thomas Heath of Samoa, had dismissed Orsmond for his political views and were anxious to get William Henry off the island. However, in justice to the missionaries on Tahiti, they wrote to the directors recommending that they should not press their resolution regarding his removal as it would 'only involve an aged and faithful servant of the society in personal trouble'.

The members of Mr. Henry's family who are obnoxious to the Tahitians are altogether independent of their parent, and would not remove even if their parent was to proceed immediately to Sydney. There is also in the resolution a principle which we regret to observe, viz. that of punishing a parent for the errors of his child. Mr. Henry himself views it in this light, and you will be sorry to hear that it has pained his mind. He declines removing, in consequence of his health.⁴⁹

In the meantime, Daniel Henry, the principal witness in the case of Simpson's alleged fornication, had been publicly tried for the same offence and 'adjudged privately to pay a sum for pig stealing'.⁵⁰

In 1847 Henry celebrated his jubilee in the mission, and decided to withdraw. He was old and infirm, and conditions in the islands had worsened. In addition, Mrs Henry's father, James Shepherd, had died and left them property. The family returned to New South Wales early in 1848 and lived at Ryde until the missionary's death in 1859.

Yet a third type of deviation, a religious one, took place in the islands with the baptism of one of the missionary's grandsons by the Roman Catholic bishop early in 1856. This was almost certainly Alfred, who had been sentenced to one month's imprisonment for a drink offence in 1855. In December 1856 Alexander Chisholm, the missionary at Raiatea, reported that this member of the Henry family was at Borabora, 'a secret agent, I suspect, of the popish Bishop . . . he tries to conceal that fact however at Porapora, but speaks against

Rev. WILLIAM HENRY (1770-1859) = 1. Sarah Maben (1774-1812)	1. GEORGE (d. in infancy) 2. Sarah (1797-?) = (1817) Dr William Bland (1789-1868) 3. Capt. SAMUEL PINDER I (1800-52) Trader, planter, and pilot = (1821) Sophia Wood (? 1851) 4. Eleanor (1803-41) = (1825) Capt. Thomas Ebrill (? 1842) killed in <i>Star</i> massacre 5. WILLIAM EBENEZER I (1811-42) Planter in Tahiti = Mary Ann Greilly (née Bicknell) (1815-?) (adopted 1801) Nancy Connor (1795-?) = Haumani	1. WILLIAM EBENEZER II (1822-42) killed in <i>Star</i> massacre 2. SAMUEL PINDER II (1824-65) Planter in Tahiti = (1846) Isabella Brine Ormond (1826-96) 3. ALFRED (1828-?) 4. Sophia (1830-1906) = James Greer 5. Lucy Sarah (1840-1921) = Joseph Love 6. Sarah Rosannah (1843-1911) = Edward Bruyeres 7. Caroline (1846-1906) = (1868) William Ebenezer Henry III 1. dau. (living 1846) = Moore of Tahiti 1. Marae (1814-81) = Thomas Bambridge (1801-79) (formerly artisan missionary in Tonga) Other issue	1. Julia Avearii (1847-1919) = (1883) James Sherrard 2. Antoinette Cecilia (1838-1931) = (1877) William Stuart Planter at Atimaono 3. Blanche Clara (1860-1914) = (1883) Rev. Ebenezer Vicesimus Cooper (1852-1902) Missionary in Society Islands and Samoa 4. SAMUEL PINDER III (1862-1939) Planter in Tahiti till 1894 = (1885) Mary H. Mellsop (1864-1934) Descendants in N.Z. 5. Grace Adeline (b. & d. 1865) Bambridge family of Tahiti

—	6. Ann Moorea (1814-78) = (1845) Gottfried Frederick Wundenberg (1819-?) — in Hawaii Coffee planter on Kauai	1. JOHN WILLIAM (1841-?) = Cornelia Dunn
—	7. Elizabeth (1816-?) = (1835) Joseph H. Smith Planter in Tahiti	2. THOMAS (1843-4) Teura (1847-1915) unmarried Teacher in Papeete and Honolulu. Polynesian scholar
—	8. Capt. GEORGE MATTHEW (1817-?) Planter and boatbuilder in Tahiti Boatbuilder, trader, and planter in Fiji = Marama	4. Isabella Brine (1848-76) = (1867) R. Brennand, Marquesas
—	9. JAMES SHEPHERD (1820-91) ——— in Sydney Architect and building inspector, Sydney	5. WILLIAM EBENEZER III (1845-1904) Cotton planter in Fiji, 1869-72 = (1868) Caroline Henry
—	10. JOSIAH RICHARDS (1822-?) ? Trader in Tonga	6. Sarah Eliza (1851-85) = (1882) George Gustave Brodien (1850-1921) Planter
—	11. ISAAC SHEPHERD (1823-1905) Port officer and govt agent, Tahiti Citrus planter and boatbuilder = 1. (1840) Eliza Charlotte Orsmond — (1823-60) 2. Emily Ann Pelletier (? -1926)	7. Emmeline Frances (1854-1913) = (1874) Capt. Wm F. Walker (1835-1908) ——— Walker family
—	12. DANIEL TYERMAN BENNET Descendants (1825-91) ——— in Sydney	8. Ann Elizabeth (1856-1918) of Tahiti = (1886) G. G. Brodien (above)
—	13. Sophia (1827-1904) unmarried	9. GEORGE MOODY (1858-78)
—	14. PHILIP HITOTI Descendants (1829-1909) ——— in Sydney = Sarah Graves	10. Harriet Mary Tevarua Vahine (1860-?) unmarried (adopted) Tefaveroarii a Hehe (1844-74) = (1860) Adolphe Maroua a Poroi (1844-1918) (adopted) Teioatua Orimai Henry (1852-1918) = (1875) A. Poroi (above) Poroi family of Tahiti
—	15. Henrietta Nott (1831-81) = John Greer	(adopted) Eliza Teumere Opea Orsmond (1855-1919) = (1873) Capt. Walter Parker (1830-?) ——— Parker family of Tahiti (adopted) Emily Fraser = Tom Ling Sing (adopted) dau. = Brothers of Raiatea ——— Brothers family

Rev. WILLIAM HENRY
(1770-1859)
= 2. (1813) Ann Shepherd
(1797-1882)

our translation of the Scriptures, as not to be depended on'. Chisholm believed that he would have little influence as 'his character for falsehood and wickedness of every description is so notorious that there is not much fear of his leading any astray and one only wonders that the Popish Bishop should employ such a character'.⁵¹

The deviations of the Henry family reflect in a very real sense the course of the South Sea Mission in Tahiti. Its success and failures were exemplified in the lives of this senior missionary family. Notwithstanding the decay and compromise, there was another side to the story. The old missionary had taught his lesson well. Over each member of the family loomed the presence of a hyper-Calvinist fate: if men were saved God would call them in his own appointed time. The measure of their depravity could be the measure of God's grace. However indifferent to religious values the family appeared, their indulgent father had provided them with antinomian consciences. For those who heeded the warnings and underwent a conversion it was possible to break effectively with a sinful past. Samuel and several of the daughters apparently testified to a saving conversion.

In 1852 Daniel Henry was studying for the Congregational ministry at Dr Lang's Australian College in Sydney with a view to becoming a missionary. The Reverend Aaron Buzacott reported in February 1852 that Daniel had been to see him.

I was pleased upon the whole with his conversation but strongly urged him not to think of the South Sea Islands as a sphere of labour . . . Since coming here his name & desire being mention[ed] among some of the Miss^s. an opinion was expressed that no one *bearing that name* would do to labour in the South Seas. Their characters had been so notorious for licentious conduct, that even this same Daniel Henry had seduced a respectable native girl by whom he had two children. The girl is the daughter of a respectable chief & was led astray by his promise to marry her. I thought it my duty to mention this as I heard while in Sydney that he intended making application to the L.M.S.⁵²

So Buzacott, who had been Simpson's most ardent supporter in the early affairs, had his revenge. Another member of the family was to suffer for the reputation of her family. The Reverend Leopold Mohn, sent out by Gossner's Society as a missionary to the Austral Islands, became engaged to Sophia Henry. That the marriage never took place suggests that Mohn was cautioned about entering into an alliance with the family. However, when Blanche Clara Henry married the Reverend Ebenezer Vicesimus Cooper in 1883 the family had achieved a degree of respectability again.

It was probably no accident that the two members of the family who restored its moral and social equilibrium both married daughters of the Reverend J. M. Orsmond. Isaac Shepherd Henry and his nephew Samuel Pinder II were the same age and attended the South Sea Academy together. Both went to the goldfields in California. Isaac left in January 1849 and Samuel followed in March. Isaac was always regarded as the most 'steady' member of the Henry family, though never immune to participation in island intrigue. His government position with the French no doubt helped to put him on his feet and in the fifties he was engaged in citrus cultivation, trading with California. Following his conversion he assisted the considerably reduced L.M.S. mission staff by preaching. However, that he was not greatly changed in his natural inclinations is clear from his daily journal, for example:

I write these things though ashamed of the depravity of my own heart, to show to myself or to any into whose hands these writings may eventually fall, that there is no dependence to be placed upon an arm of flesh.⁵⁴

By the seventies Isaac had done much to re-establish the family in mission circles. In addition to his own family he brought up at least five part-Tahitian children. Two were said to be the daughters of his brother Hitoti, though a romantic tale believed by Henry descendants suggests that they were the two already ascribed to Daniel. Eliza Teumere Opea Orsmond was a daughter of Isaac's brother-in-law, John Griffin Orsmond. These children were given the best educational opportunities available and married well according to Isaac Henry's standards.*

At least two of Isaac's daughters, Teuira and Annie, were teachers in the Protestant Girls School at Papeete, emulating their Orsmond rather than their Henry relations in their strict deportment. They followed events and ideas in the world at large, dabbling in theosophy and more scientific studies. Teuira shared her life between her teaching profession and the study of ancient Polynesian culture, almost certainly bowdlerising her grandfather Orsmond's valuable researches which she used as the basis of her publication *Ancient Tahiti*. Of the sons, William Ebenezer III married his cousin Caroline, and was a cotton planter in Fiji from 1869 until he moved to Australia in 1872. George Moody, the youngest son, died at the age of twenty in 1878. His death preceded by a few months the announcement in the

* John Moore Parker, Eliza's son, who has only ever spent two years outside Tahiti (on an American whaler), speaks a refined English such as the missionaries may have spoken. He was taught to read and write by his mother.

KING GEORGE TUPOU I OF TONGA

Sione Lātūkefu

TAUFA'AHAU, who was later to be known as King George, was the son of one holder of the Tu'i Kanokupolu title and the grandson of another. He grew up in the midst of bitter, bloody political struggles in which the chiefs of Tonga were involved towards the close of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. During a political career which lasted from 1820, when he assumed the rulership of the Ha'apai group, until his death as ruler of the whole of Tonga in 1893, he transformed the small, fragmented, and largely autonomous political units of Tonga into a modern state. He greatly assisted the replacement of the traditional religion with Christianity and established the rule of law and constitutional government in his country. He encouraged and hastened the transition to a monetary economy and promoted education and health measures. He achieved more for his people and his country than any other ruler in the Pacific, and he has been appropriately called by historians the 'Maker of Modern Tonga'.¹

The success of this remarkable career may be attributed to several factors, among which the most important were that he held legitimate rights to the position of Tu'i Kanokupolu, that he was personally endowed with outstanding qualities of leadership, and that a favourable combination of historical circumstances brought him and the Wesleyan missionaries together. Without this conjunction, the course of political development in Tonga and King George's own career might have been very different, and perhaps Tonga would have suffered the same fate as the other small kingdoms of the Pacific during the nineteenth century.

The Tongans were polytheistic and possessed a hierarchy of gods, the principal of whom were the *Kau Tangaloa*, who lived in the sky.

One of these was, according to legend, the father of the first Tu'i Tonga, who thus embodied in his person both spiritual and temporal power.

Authority in Tonga had a direct link with the concept of *'eiki*, which was the term used both for those possessing a chiefly title and for the ranking of individuals throughout the whole society. Every person had some authority over those others to whom he or she was *'eiki*, but, lacking a title, a person's *'eiki* merely gave ceremonial precedence. Administrative, judicial, and even personal powers were confined to the title-holding *'eiki* who was the head of a socio-political unit, and whose degree of authority increased with the size of the unit to which he was *'eiki*.*

While Tonga was occupied by a relatively small population, the Tu'i Tonga was the sole ruler of the whole of Tonga; but, as the population increased, it was necessary for the Tu'i Tonga to send some of his close relatives to act as his representatives in different parts of the group. In time, the descendants of these chiefs, particularly title holders, began to accumulate and consolidate their own powers among the people of the districts of which they were in charge. A period of political instability followed as evidenced by frequent assassinations of Tu'i Tonga.

Gradually it became evident that the task of controlling both spiritual and temporal spheres had become too much for one person. The position of *hau* was then created to take over the administrative duties, and the Tu'i Tonga's position was thus transformed into that of sacred chief. The *hau* was first occupied by the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua dynasty about the end of the fifteenth century, and later by the Tu'i Kanokupolu line early in the seventeenth century.²

Although the *hau* was supposed to be the temporal ruler of the whole of Tonga, in practice his authority became largely nominal and ceremonial in nature. The power of the local chiefs continued to grow and certain chiefs became powerful enough to challenge the authority of both the Tu'i Tonga and the *hau*. Consequently, the real power in Tongan society prior to the rise of King George rested with the local chiefs, who held absolute and arbitrary powers over their subjects in their respective villages. Whereas, in the Samoan *fono*, the *matai* of a village discussed matters affecting it, the Tongan *fono* was an assembly of the people of the village to be told what their chief wanted them to do.

* There were four socio-political units in Tonga. The smallest was the *api* (household); then came the *fa'ahinga* (extended family), headed by an *'ulumotu'a* who was either a chief, petty chief, or *matāpule* (chief's attendant). Next was the *kāinga*, headed by a ruling titled chief; the present-day equivalent is a village. The largest unit was the *ha'a*, a loose confederation of genealogically related, but autonomous, chiefs and their *kāinga*.

During the period of turbulence in which King George grew up—and which in part resulted from contact with the European world—the *hau*, now occupied by the Tu'i Kanokupolu line, tried several times to establish itself as the supreme authority throughout Tonga. King George's grandfather, Tuku'aho, was the first Tu'i Kanokupolu to try to assert his own authority over the other chiefs. His ambitions were cut short by his assassination in 1799, which plunged Tonga into the bloodiest civil war in its history. Tuku'aho's son, Tupouto'a, who was also Tu'i Kanokupolu, from 1812 to 1820, continued the struggle. His most formidable opponents were the Ha'a Havea chiefs, who were the most powerful in Tongatapu at this time. He failed to subdue them and his dying words to his son, Tāufa'āhau, were that if he wanted to become ruler of the whole of Tonga, he must destroy the Ha'a Havea.³

Tāufa'āhau was born in 1797, the year of the arrival of the L.M.S. missionaries in Tonga on board the *Duff*. It is said that in her pregnancy his mother, Houmofaleono, developed a craving for human blood. Her father, Ma'afu, was so alarmed that he gave instructions to kill the infant at birth if it were a boy, for he would be a danger to Tonga.⁴ When Tupouto'a heard of Ma'afu's decision he had Houmofaleono brought to 'Uiha in Ha'apai, where he resided. She was on a pleasure trip round the neighbouring islands when labour pains began; they were unable to reach 'Uiha in time and landed on the south-western side of Lifuka where, near the beach, she gave birth. They found a *nginingini* (coconut shrivelled inside) in one of the canoes, which they had brought from Ofolanga, the island where her pains had begun. With this *nginingini* they made a *namoa* (baby food) for the baby who was then called Nginingini of Ofolanga (Nginingini of Ofolanga).⁵ His name was later changed to Tāufa'āhau, for he was supposed to have been cured of sickness by the god Tāufa'itahi of 'Āhau.

As a young man Tāufa'āhau witnessed and shared the struggles and wars of his father. Upon the latter's death in 1820 he assumed the rulership of Ha'apai and methodically set about achieving what both his grandfather and father had failed to accomplish: namely, to make the Tu'i Kanokupolu supreme in authority throughout Tonga. Step by step he eliminated potential rivals and, in the process of doing so, established his own authority, first in Ha'apai in the middle 1820s, then in Vava'u in the early thirties, and finally in Tongatapu in the forties and fifties.

There is no doubt that Tāufa'āhau's success was partly due to his possession of traditional rights to the position of temporal ruler of

Tonga, in which he had the advantage over his counterparts in other Pacific Islands groups, such as Kamehameha I of Hawaii, Pomare I of Tahiti, and Cakobau of Fiji. But more important than his traditional rights were his remarkable gifts for leadership. He was a born leader. As he grew, it became obvious that nature had endowed him generously in body, mind, and disposition. He was above average height, strong and athletic, with a commanding presence. Charles Wilkes wrote of him in 1840:

When he made his appearance, I could not but admire him; he is upwards of six feet in height, extremely well proportioned, and athletic; his limbs are rounded and full; his features regular and manly, with a fine open countenance and sensible face.⁶

Apparently none of his contemporaries was his match either in sport, seamanship, or fighting. Coupled with this outstanding physical prowess was a mind which was alert and progressive, sensitive to the prevailing forces of his time. He was a man of few words, but they were carefully chosen and once he spoke people listened. His incisive, clear, and comprehensive mind enabled him to see the advantages of new and useful ideas and made him eager to learn and adopt them both for his own and his country's benefit. He had a strong will which enabled him to make bold decisions and innovations in spite of strong opposition from his opponents, a quality which even his severest critics could not help admiring. In addition, he knew how to hold his plans in check until the time was ripe,⁷ and this proved to be of great advantage to him in later years.

Tāufa'āhau was a man of great ambition and lofty vision, and throughout his long political career he showed that he would tolerate no opposition. He used tricks, cunning, and force quite ruthlessly, when he thought it necessary. When his ambitions were achieved, he then showed a great capacity for clemency, generosity, and benevolence, which helped him to win and maintain the loyalty, respect, and affection of his people—even of many of those who had formerly opposed him. Furthermore, his ambitions appeared, in most cases, to be intrinsically bound up with the interests of his country as a whole. Consequently, it was not difficult for him and his supporters to identify his own interests with those of the country and then pursue them vigorously, with the conviction that it was done for the sake of the country and its people.

Initially, Tāufa'āhau's ambition was to unify Tonga under the supreme authority of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. For some time the Tu'i Tonga family had indicated that they wanted to reassert the temporal power of the Tu'i Tonga. Accordingly they resented his assumption

DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN GEOGRAPHY, A.N.U.

of the rulership of Ha'apai in 1820. The situation was made worse by Tāufa'āhau's decision to persuade the elders of his family not to give his sister as *moheofo* (principal wife) to Laufiletonga, heir to the Tu'i Tonga. According to custom the eldest daughter of the *hau* was given as a *moheofo* to the Tu'i Tonga and her son became heir. The Tu'i Tonga family viewed this action of Tāufa'āhau as an attempt to put an end to the Tu'i Tonga line by depriving it of an heir. The leading chief of the Tu'i Tonga family in Ha'apai, Tokemoana, invited Laufiletonga to Ha'apai in 1824, promising him his support and that of the other chiefs to put a stop to Tāufa'āhau.⁸ Laufiletonga moved to Ha'apai and took up residence at Hihifo in Lifuka, close to Tokemoana, and a few miles from where Tāufa'āhau lived.

Soon the confrontation between the heirs of the two royal dynasties took place. Laufiletonga built a fortress at Hihifo, and Tāufa'āhau erected one at Pangai. The chiefs of Ha'apai and their subjects were divided between the two opponents. Laufiletonga received more support, and Tāufa'āhau and his followers were defeated in the skirmishes that followed. Laufiletonga's army was stronger and better equipped with guns and powder.

Tāufa'āhau immediately retreated to Tongatapu, obtained a few guns from a kinsman at the island of 'Eua, and returned to Ha'apai. He recruited some warriors from Tongatapu and many more from the southern islands of the Ha'apai group, particularly Nomuka, Ha'afeva, and 'Uiha. These warriors played a decisive part in the final battle which took place in 1826. Laufiletonga was forced to surrender. His life was spared and he was permitted to remain as long as he caused no more trouble. He decided, however, to return to Vava'u with Fīnau 'Ulukālala. Next year he attended the installation of Tāufa'āhau's paternal grandfather's brother, Aleamotu'a, as Tu'i Kanokupolu in Tongatapu, and was himself made Tu'i Tonga the same year. He lived at Lapaha (Mu'a) until his death in 1865.

The defeat of Laufiletonga was of crucial importance, for it decided once and for all the political future of the Tu'i Tonga. Tāufa'āhau had eliminated one of his most formidable rivals and had brought his ultimate objective of uniting the whole of Tonga a step nearer. Some of Tāufa'āhau's subsequent actions indicate how he was planning to take on for himself, and for the Tu'i Kanokupolu line, all kingly authority. In 1833 he eloped with Laufiletonga's principal wife, Lupe Pau'u, and they were married by the missionaries later in 1834.⁹ Subsequently he gave his own daughter, who was another potential *moheofo* for the Tu'i Tonga, to Tu'i Pelehake, one of the leading

chiefs in Tonga and, on the death of Laufiletonga in 1865, he terminated the title Tu'i Tonga, thereby ending the rival line to the throne of Tonga.

Tāufa'āhau's rank, strong personality, and gifts of leadership were vitally important to his achievements, but it is doubtful whether he would have been as successful as he was if he had not received the whole-hearted backing of the Wesleyan missionaries. They became his strong allies and gave him valuable moral support. His association with the missionaries aided his intellectual development, broadened his experience, and gave him deeper insight into the ways and means of dealing with the increasingly complex problems which he and his country had to face.

It appears, however, that Tāufa'āhau's initial acceptance of Christianity was only a part of his general desire to adopt the ways of the white man, his wealth, superior knowledge and weapons of war, and also his religion, to achieve his ambitions. Like several of his predecessors and contemporaries among the Tongan chiefs, Tāufa'āhau had become sceptical of the Tongan gods and the traditional religious practices. He had reason to doubt his family gods, for they had failed to come to his father's aid in his vain attempts to subdue the Ha'a Havea chiefs. They had not assisted him, either, in the initial struggle against Laufiletonga. He had only been wounded once during his long career of fighting, and this occurred during the battle at Velata. According to tradition, Tāufa'āhau left his back to the protection of the gods and a chief named Faka'iloatonga speared him from behind. Though he was only slightly wounded on his left calf the failure of the gods to protect him on this occasion only intensified his doubts. Increasing contact with Europeans and the superiority of their weapons helped to undermine his beliefs in the traditional gods. With a little encouragement from his great-uncle Aleamotu'a,* he resolved to find out as much as he could about Christianity. After several trips to Tongatapu in 1827 and early in 1828, when he met the missionaries and some of his relatives who had adopted the new religion, he began to imitate some of the ways of the Christians. He also tried to make his people learn them. One of the early missionaries wrote:

from that time, he voluntarily abandoned various heathen amusements to which he had been addicted; and he began to observe, in some measure, the sanctity of the Sabbath day, by ceasing from all

* According to one account, after accepting Christianity, Aleamotu'a sent Ulakai to Tāufa'āhau, urging him to accept Christianity. '[Ulakai] explained that Tonga was ruled by the Ha'a Havea, and Ha'a Ngata . . . "and the rest, and if they fight us on account of the Lotu, we will have the British to help us". Tāufa'āhau thereupon lotued, and agreed to smash up the confederacy.' (Hettie G. Moulton manuscript notes on Tongan history—in the possession of the writer.)

his ordinary occupations. So anxious was he to make a beginning in the service of God, and to initiate the instruction of the people under him, after the example of the Missionaries in Tongatabu, that he employed the services of a rough, ungodly sailor, then residing under his protection, to trace the letters of the alphabet upon the sands of the sea-shore, for the benefit of those who wished to learn; and he ordered the same man to conduct prayers to the God of the foreigners, in a house which he devoted to that purpose.¹⁰

In October 1828, while in Tongatapu, he told Nathaniel Turner of his desire to have a missionary sent to him in Ha'apai. However, the missionaries had to be certain that Tāufa'āhau was not just interested in their trade goods, as were many of the other chiefs. Consequently, when Tāufa'āhau visited Tongatapu again in July 1829 in quest of a missionary, the Reverend John Thomas spoke to him freely on this matter. Tāufa'āhau replied that he did not want him for his property. He wanted only his person and he offered to clothe him with native cloth if he were willing to wear it, to feed him and to build a house for him free of expense. He said he would build a chapel, and he and all his people would come to be taught by him, and if Thomas wished to go away he could take whatever he wanted. Thomas continued in his journal, 'From all I can see and hear respecting him, he is a free honest open hearted man and that his request calls aloud.'¹¹

The missionaries were not slow to recognise that the future of Tonga lay with Tāufa'āhau. Ata, the chief of Hihifo where Thomas had worked since the reopening of the mission in 1826, consistently refused to accept Christianity or allow his people to do so. A few individuals of high rank were converted, but they had to move to Nuku'alofa where the mission work was carried on by Turner and William Cross. By the latter half of 1829, the missionaries concluded that it would be best to abandon the mission at Hihifo and send Thomas to Tāufa'āhau at Ha'apai. However, because they had to get approval from mission headquarters in London for their decision, they decided to send Pita Vi, one of the first to be baptised in Tonga, to teach Tāufa'āhau till Thomas himself was able to go. Tāufa'āhau revisited Tongatapu in August and expressed deep disappointment at the missionaries' decision to send him merely a Tongan teacher. He refused to take Pita Vi with him to Ha'apai. On their way back he and his men ran into an exceptionally severe storm and with great difficulty they reached Ha'apai. Thinking that the storm was divine retribution for his refusal to take the teacher offered him by the missionaries, he presently returned to Tongatapu, apologised, and took Pita Vi with him.¹²

With typical enthusiasm and determination he applied himself

to his new faith. Peter Vi reported that he led the way for his people in learning to read and write. Vi must have told him stories from the Bible, probably the stories of the Children of Israel and the Ten Commandments in particular.

As a man of action, Tāufa'āhau wanted to test the validity and power of the old gods and to discover by experiment whether Jehovah was the only true God. He began by destroying a large canoe which had long been kept as sacred to their gods. Then one day he took Peter Vi and others with him to test the power of the god Haehaetahi. On their arrival at the house of the god's priestess, Tāufa'āhau asked her to let the god come and they would have kava together.

Hereupon [narrated Peter Vi] the old priestess became inspired by Haehaetahi; and, in the meanwhile, Tāufa'āhau had prepared a great drinking-cup, . . . The cup was then filled and handed by Tāufa'āhau to the priestess; but, while her face was turned upwards, in the act of drinking off its contents, Tāufa'āhau struck her a great blow on the forehead, which sent the god (or priestess) rolling on the ground. He then gave another blow, and, raising a shout of victory cried out that the god was slain.¹³

Soon afterwards he and Vi went out to the bush and collected objects used for worship in the old religion and burned them all. Then they went to the beach and Tāufa'āhau swam out to the deep, calling the names of the gods, Haehaetahi (a shark), Tāufa'itahi and others to come to him if they were really gods, but none came.

By way of testing the power of the Christian God, whilst on a canoe voyage, he cast his spear at a shark, which he suspected was Haehaetahi, and, missing it, threw Pita Vi and another man overboard to fetch the spear and bring it to Hā'ano. He reasoned that if Jehovah were really God, he would save Pita Vi and his companion from the sharks. They arrived safely on shore with the spear.

Convinced by what he had learned and by the results of his tests that the Christian God was the only God, Tāufa'āhau became an ardent crusader for his new-found faith. He wasted no time in beginning a campaign to eradicate heathenism in Ha'apai. He burned down god-houses and destroyed effigies on other islands, persuading and even forcing his people to give up their traditional beliefs and accept Christianity. When Thomas arrived in 1830, only three islands in the whole of Ha'apai (Nomuka, Tungua, and 'Uiha) had not yet accepted the *lotu*.

Tāufa'āhau had merely accepted the new God on the same terms on which he had accepted or served the traditional ones, and he had not fully grasped the meaning to Christians of such concepts as mercy

and forbearance. He was the ruler of Ha'apai, desperately seeking what was best for himself and his people, and there was no other way to find this out than by applying drastic measures to prove whether his scepticism of the old gods was justified and his acceptance of the new faith was right. After becoming convinced himself, he went on to demonstrate to his people that infringements of the old religious taboos brought no penalties. His rank and position as ruler entitled him to do what he did.

Tāufa'āhau was baptised in August 1831. Prior to this he had chosen for himself the name 'King George' because of his admiration for what the missionaries told him about King George III of England. In the same year he managed, with considerable difficulty, to persuade Finau 'Ulukālala Tuapasi, ruler of Vava'u, to be converted. With 'Ulukālala's assistance he extended his crusade to Vava'u. Eighteen god-houses with their gods were burnt down. Peter Turner relates how King George and some of his warriors went to the god-house at Makave, a small village near Neiafu, the capital of Vava'u. When the priest saw them he thought they had come to consult the god, and he entered the house of the god and proceeded to pray for inspiration. The sight of this so exasperated King George that:

He rose, went into the god's house, dragged out the priest, and anointed him plentifully with mud from the gutter—and threw him on one side telling him as an old deceiver 'to have done with his foolishness'. He then went into the house, brought out the god, wrapped in a bundle of native cloth and fine mats; and to the astonishment and dread of some began to disrobe the god, fold after fold was taken off until the great god was seen in the form of a small spotted shell, which fell to the ground, to the surprise of some—the shame of others, to see how they had been deceived, and some laughed out right. Fire was set to the house, and its glory ascended in flame and smoke.¹⁴

The action of 'Ulukālala and King George sparked off a rebellion in Vava'u against 'Ulukālala, led by his half-brother, Lualala. The destruction of the places of worship was given as the pretext for this uprising. While there was genuine provocation in these acts, the rebellion cannot be viewed in isolation, for it was an extension of the general power struggle in Tonga at this time. Lualala had his eyes on the rulership of Vava'u, for 'Ulukālala was ageing and his son, Matekitonga, was still very young. 'Ulukālala appealed to King George for help. The latter responded immediately and he and his warriors from Ha'apai promptly put down the rebellion with a minimum loss of life. Soon after nominating King George as his successor, 'Ulukā-

lala died in 1833, and King George was now ruler of both Ha'apai and Vava'u.¹⁵

Under his influence Christianity had been accepted by the whole of Vava'u and practically all of Ha'apai. The majority did not dare to oppose King George but some, such as Malupō of 'Uiha and his sons, were able to resist, largely on account of the close kinship ties and political affiliation which they had with him. King George's paternal grandmother was of the Malupō family, and both he and his father had been brought up by Malupō and the people of 'Uiha. Furthermore, Malupō and his sons had supported him in the struggle against Laufilitonga in the war of Velata.

King George, for his part, was not seriously disturbed by 'Uiha's resistance, and sought no armed reprisal against its people. At the time that he became ruler of Vava'u, it was well known that there was some dissatisfaction among a few of the chiefs in Vava'u, particularly the former supporters of Lualala, concerning the issues of religion and the succession to rulership of Vava'u. King George used this situation as a means of tricking Malupō and his sons into terminating their resistance to Christianity.

Before departing on a visit to Vava'u, he sent a message to Malupō, calling upon him to send the warriors of 'Uiha to Vava'u for his protection from the rumoured plot to assassinate him. Malupō sent his warriors to Vava'u immediately to protect King George, but on their arrival, King George had them arrested. He then spoke to them on the falsehood of heathenism and exhorted them to become Christians. They were kept in Vava'u until he and his men had sailed to 'Uiha to level its fortress and burn down the god-houses and all the effigies. The 'Uiha warriors were converted in Vava'u and, when they returned to 'Uiha, they built the largest and most beautiful chapel in all Ha'apai. Thus the last resistance in Ha'apai was settled without bloodshed.¹⁶

Apparently when King George took over the rulership of Vava'u in 1833, after Finau 'Ulukālala's death, he decided to take some of Finau's attractive wives for himself. His missionary friends had to dismiss him from church membership. Soon, however, he repented and resumed his church membership. After his marriage in the following year, 1834, he became an ardent evangelist. He was a local preacher and class leader and became instrumental in converting many of his people to Christianity. Many of his actions subsequent to his acceptance of Christianity clearly demonstrate that he was deeply influenced by the ethics he had imbibed from the missionaries.

News of the desecration and destruction of sacred places of Ha'apai and Vava'u enraged the heathen chiefs of Tongatapu, particularly the

Ha'a Havea chiefs who had opposed Christianity for religious and political reasons. They did not share the Tu'i Kanokupolu family's scepticism of the traditional gods, for the gods appeared to them to be on their side, helping them to win their wars and to maintain their power and influence on Tongatapu. More seriously, they saw King George's crusade to spread Christianity as a design to extend his own political influence. Furthermore they realised that a victory for King George and Christianity would deprive them of many of their privileges and mean the end of their arbitrary powers over their subjects. Undoubtedly they were confident of their own strength, remembering how both Finau 'Ulukālala II and Tupouto'a from the northern groups had failed to defeat them earlier in the century. Consequently they decided to resist any attempt by King George to extend his crusade to Tongatapu.

The leading Ha'a Havea chiefs were the most influential members of the 'electoral college', the body of chiefs who were responsible for choosing the successor to the Tu'i Kanokupolu. Their reluctance to choose a successor who would take up the cause pursued by Tuku'aho and Tupouto'a is evident in their failure to elect one for almost eight years after the death of Tupouto'a in 1820. They finally decided to choose Aleamotu'a, Tuku'aho's younger brother, in 1827; he was a weak old man by then. Tāufa'āhau was at the time thirty years old and much more capable.

One of the conditions for selecting Aleamotu'a was that he would not accept Christianity. In spite of this understanding, Aleamotu'a decided to become a convert after his installation as Tu'i Kanokupolu. This action angered the Ha'a Havea chiefs very much. They were further aggrieved by the conversion of one of their members, William Tu'ivakanō, in 1835. They deposed him, drove him and his followers out of his fortress of Hule, and gave his title to another member of the family. Christian converts were driven out of heathen villages, and rumours were circulated that the heathen chiefs were planning to depose Aleamotu'a and replace him with someone loyal to their cause. Aleamotu'a became alarmed and appealed to King George for help. The latter arrived in Tongatapu with his warriors from Ha'apai and Vava'u on 1 January 1837. Seven days later war broke out. The Christians led by King George destroyed two heathen fortresses, killing several hundreds of men, women, and children. They burnt down and destroyed god-houses, objects of worship, and sacred places. Pea, the stronghold of the Ha'a Havea, was attacked several times and, with more than two hundred reinforcements arriving from Vava'u, the heathens lost heart and gave a promise, as a condition of peace, that

they would desist from further persecution of Christians. In April the warriors from the north returned home.

In 1840, however, fighting broke out again between the heathens and the Christians, this time at Hihifo, the western part of Tongatapu. Once again Aleamotu'a appealed to King George, who promptly returned to Nuku'alofa with his warriors from the north. He persuaded Aleamotu'a to depose the two leading heathen chiefs of Hihifo, Ata and Vaha'i, and to replace them with two Christian members of their respective families. He then led his men to Hihifo and besieged the fortress of Kolovai into submission.¹⁷ Fighting continued at Pea. Meanwhile, Captain Croker arrived in H.M.S. *Favorite* on 21 June and, at the missionaries' request, decided to intervene on behalf of the Christians. He grossly underestimated the opposition, and he and two of his officers were killed; the first lieutenant and nineteen seamen were wounded, some seriously.¹⁸

Although the death of Croker appeared to be a triumph for the heathens, it actually caused them great alarm, for they feared that more ships would be sent from Britain to avenge his death. In addition they began to grow tired of being confined to their fortress and they were easily persuaded to accept peace. Fighting ceased on 26 June 1840.

One conclusive outcome of these wars was the end of further hostility from the heathens towards the Christians. It amounted to a triumph for the Christians on Tongatapu, but it also brought about the consolidation of King George's political position. His leadership during these wars made it impossible for the members of the 'electoral college' to ignore his claims to the position of Tu'i Kanokupolu as they had done in 1827. From his death-bed, Aleamotu'a nominated King George as his successor and, upon his death, King George was installed Tu'i Kanokupolu on 4 December 1845.¹⁹ He immediately assumed the rulership of the whole of Tonga, taking the title of King George Tupou, Tu'i Kanokupolu. This was exactly what the Ha'a Havea chiefs had feared.

Opposition to King George and his Wesleyan missionary advisers and supporters was heightened, however, by the establishment in Tonga of the Roman Catholic Mission in 1842. Consistent with their expressed aim of destroying the influence of the heretics, the Roman Catholic priests viewed with great disfavour a Tonga united under King George, the avowed champion of the Wesleyan cause. Five years previously, he had refused to let Bishop Pompallier station two of his priests in Vava'u.²⁰ In order to achieve their objectives, the priests were obliged to support dissident elements in Tonga and to promote a rival to King George for the kingship of Tonga. They established

their headquarters at Pea, the fortress of the Ha'a Havea chiefs. After King George became Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1845, the Roman Catholic priests concentrated their efforts on trying to win the Tu'i Tonga, Laufilitonga, who had consistently refused to accept the Wesleyan Mission. They claimed that he was the legitimate ruler of all Tonga. One Wesleyan missionary wrote that the priests secretly encouraged the 'spirit of disaffection, which the termination of the war of 1840 had not removed from the minds of several important heathen chiefs'.²¹

Encouraged by the advice of the priests, who offered them their support and that of French men-of-war, the Ha'a Havea chiefs decided to rebuild the fortresses of Pea and Houma, announced their complete independence of King George, and offered protection to those who opposed his rule. King George declared war on Pea and Houma on 1 March 1852. He besieged the fortresses and starved them into submission, taking care that the priests and their properties inside the fortress of Pea should not come to any harm. Houma surrendered in July, but Pea held out a little longer. In August it, too, surrendered, and on the following day the fortifications were levelled.²² Thus ended the last civil war in Tonga, and the position of King George as the ruler of the whole of Tonga was firmly secured.

The Ha'a Havea chiefs were pardoned and allowed to return to their various places. They all became Wesleyans and ardent supporters of the King and were later made nobles after the promulgation of the Constitution in 1875. In his actions during this conflict King George displayed wisdom and political sophistication. He could see that with clemency he could win the gratitude, loyalty, and even the affection of his former enemies and their people. He also realised that he could not afford to give the Roman Catholic priests any grounds for complaint which might become a pretext for interference with his government. He was well aware of what had happened in Tahiti and other places in the Pacific.

In 1847 King George's position had been strengthened somewhat by the departure for Fiji of Aleamotu'a's son, the capable young chief Ma'afu, who had legitimate rights to the position of Tu'i Kanokupolu and could have become a rallying point for dissident elements in Tonga. King George's subsequent support of his cousin in his political activities in Fiji was probably part of an imperialistic design by King George to revive the Tongan empire. This could account for his intervention in the Fijian wars in 1855, the Tongan conquest of more and more of the Fiji group under Ma'afu's leadership during the late 1850s and early 1860s, and King George's demand for compensation of £12,000 after Cakobau appealed to Queen Victoria for

annexation in 1859. The Tongan teachers sent to both Samoa and Fiji by King George also could not refrain from meddling in the politics of the two groups. However, after his two trips to Samoa in 1842 and 1847 he must have realised the futility of attempting to impose Tongan influence in Samoa.

Another important factor in consolidating King George's position was his introduction of a code of law. With the guidance of the missionaries he promulgated in Vava'u in 1839 the first written law in Tonga. With some additions borrowed from the Huahine Code of the Society Islands it was reissued in 1850. Adultery, fornication, theft, murder, and sale of liquor were named among the offences. Customs associated with the old religion were also forbidden and Sunday was declared sacred. The chiefs were to encourage the people in industrious habits by giving them land for their use, and owners of pigs had to fence them in to safeguard the gardens.

The most striking feature of these codes, however, was their limitation of the powers of the chiefs. They were, for instance, prohibited from appropriating belongings or forcing anyone to work their lands without due compensation. A further provision to end the despotic rule of the chiefs was the setting up of a court, which was to sit once a month and had jurisdiction over chiefs and commoners alike. And by limiting the power of the chiefs they consolidated the new position of the King.

The law referring to the King (1850 Code) reads:

1. The King, being the root of all government in the land, it is for him to appoint those who shall govern in his land.
2. Whatever the King may wish done in his land, it is with him to command the assemblage of his chiefs, to consult with him thereon.
3. The King is the Chief Judge; and anything the Judges may not be able to decide upon, shall be referred to the King, and whatever his decision may be, it shall be final.

The law concerning taxes reads:

Whatever the King deems proper, shall be done by the people for the King.²³

With the favourable resolution of Tonga's internal political struggles by the end of the 1852 civil war, King George focused his attention on establishing and maintaining Tonga's independence by trying to secure its recognition by the major Powers. This objective now became his main ambition, for his own political position, by this time, appeared quite secure. His growing contact with higher class non-missionary Europeans, friends and foes alike, further widened his

experience and vastly improved his political sophistication. In 1853 he left Tonga for Sydney in order to see how the people of civilised countries lived and managed their affairs.²⁴ Towards the late 1850s and during the 1860s European settlers began to establish themselves in Tonga, and King George became closely associated with them. He met and received advice from friendly sea captains and British consuls.²⁵ Correspondence took place between him and Sir George Grey, Governor of New Zealand, who exhibited much interest in the affairs of Tonga.

This increasing contact with non-missionary Europeans also made King George less dependent on the exclusive advice of the Wesleyan missionaries. By the early 1850s a rift had begun to develop between King George and the older missionaries. Their reaction to the conflict with the Roman Catholic Church and the French government had accentuated this rift, which continued to increase over the years. The English missionaries had begun to lose confidence in the ability of King George's government to remain independent and free from interference by the great Powers; they felt that if Tonga had to lose her independence she would be better off under British rule. The Reverend John Thomas 'advised the King to apply to the English Government for protection—to offer themselves to be the friends—or subjects of the English (for England has no slaves)'.²⁶ Later, in 1856, when a missionary was employed to write to Queen Victoria on behalf of the King, he represented the King as wishing to cede Tonga, when the King only desired to establish friendly relations with the sovereign of Great Britain. This was regarded by King George and his chiefs as a deliberate imperialistic design by the missionaries to enable the government of their home country to annex Tonga, and it was greatly resented.

King George had also begun to resent the paternalistic attitudes of the older missionaries, who remembered what he had been when they first converted him and still treated him accordingly. When John Thomas finally returned to England in 1859 after almost thirty years of missionary work in Tonga, he lamented that King George would not come to see him off.²⁷

The Roman Catholic priests did not withdraw their opposition to King George's rule easily. They successfully involved captains of French warships in the conflicts. One captain, for example, demanded the dismissal of the Governor of Ha'apai for alleged breaches of the treaty which King George had been forced to sign by the Governor of Tahiti, at the instigation of the priests, in 1855. Another threatened to take King George to New Caledonia if his demands were not met. One important lesson which King George had learned from these

encounters was the need for religious tolerance. The threat of French naval strength had also made him more aware of the need for a reliable and efficient government for Tonga which would be acceptable to the powerful nations with interests in the Pacific.

One of the most penetrating non-missionary influences on King George's political thinking came as a result of his correspondence with Charles St Julian, law reporter of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, and, later, Hawaiian Consul in Sydney. Towards the end of 1854 the Reverend Thomas West received an official document from St Julian, who asked him to translate it for King George. It contained three main suggestions: that Hawaii and Tonga should enter into political and commercial relationships; that the King should take steps to secure a formal recognition of his independence by foreign Powers; and that he should establish a constitutional government. This document, together with a copy of the Hawaiian Constitution of 1852, was accordingly translated and presented to King George.²⁸ In the following year St Julian wrote him several other letters containing a comprehensive outline of the system of government which he suggested might be adopted by King George, and advice on matters relating to foreign relations, military defence, public revenue, and economic development.

On 4 June 1862, amid great celebrations, King George promulgated a new and more elaborate code of laws which contained much of what St Julian had suggested. Customs duties were imposed on certain goods, the sale of spirits was licensed, and every male over sixteen was to pay a poll tax. Government officials were to be paid from the State Treasury, and criminal offenders were to work for and pay fines to the government. Land was to be divided among the people and its alienation was made punishable by life imprisonment and the expulsion of the offenders' progeny from the land.

The provisions concerning land were directly connected with King George's experiences abroad. In Sydney he had seen many poorly dressed people, obviously ill-fed, sleeping in the parks. This sight of poverty in a land so obviously large and wealthy had made a lasting impression on him and he had resolved never to allow such a situation to arise in Tonga.²⁹ He had also seen the leasehold system of land tenure in New South Wales and had made up his mind that the land in Tonga should be distributed among his own people along similar lines.

This code of 1862 contained important new provisions with regard to the power of the King. Hitherto his power had been absolute, but it was now laid down that: 'Whatsoever things are written in these laws, it shall not be lawful for the King to act contrary thereto . . .'³⁰.

Perhaps the bravest radical change King George made was the inclusion of a legislative assembly with equal representation of nobles and commoners. Prior to this there had been only a council of chiefs with advisory powers. This was a remarkable innovation in a land where commoners had been in complete servitude to the chiefs and were regarded as mere tools.

The Constitution, with all its limitations, achieved for King George and for Tonga the objectives for which it was drawn up. Its unqualified acceptance and reverence by the Tongan people assisted in the maintenance of internal stability, thereby ensuring slow but peaceful and continuous development. It generated a sense of pride and a feeling of security, particularly in respect to Tonga's independence as a nation. Internationally, it persuaded some of the civilised nations to regard Tonga as having a government capable of managing its own affairs, and they accordingly gave formal recognition to its independent sovereignty. Finally, its mere existence provided a means of political education for later generations.

In his quest to obtain recognition for the independent sovereignty of his country King George was ably helped by one of the Wesleyan missionaries, the Reverend Shirley Waldemar Baker who arrived in Tonga in 1860.³³ Baker was not highly educated but was quite able, vigorous, and very ambitious. He appeared to be less hide-bound in his outlook than the other missionaries, and while the rift between the older missionaries and the King continued, the latter turned to Baker for advice and assistance. Despite a warning from the mission committee in Sydney not to meddle in politics, Baker, upon the King's request, helped to draw up the Code of Laws of 1862 and, later, the Constitution of 1875. He obtained for King George a crown, flag, coat of arms, and national anthem. A few years after he had become chairman of the mission in 1869, Baker became King George's political and financial adviser, arguing that it was within his rights as a Wesleyan missionary to offer advice whenever the King and his chiefs wanted it. He also became King George's personal physician.

In 1876 King George under Baker's direction signed a treaty with Germany, and Britain, which had persistently refused to recognise Tonga's independence, was forced to negotiate and signed a treaty in 1879; the United States did the same in 1888.³⁴ This was the culmination of the King's struggle to obtain the major Powers' recognition of his country's independence.

Towards the latter part of his life, King George became increasingly dependent upon Baker who, after resigning from the mission, became Premier in 1880 and also held several other portfolios in the government. The close connection between the King and Baker, which had strained relations with the missionaries, led ultimately to a complete severing of the King's ties with the Australian mission body and to the creation of an independent church in 1885, the Free Church of Tonga. There ensued a bitter struggle between the two Wesleyan factions which led to active persecution of followers of the original mission by the Tongan government. In January 1887 an unsuccessful attempt was

made to assassinate Baker; he blamed the Wesleyans and managed to convince the King that they were behind it. This was the pretext for armed reprisals against the mission followers which forced some Tongans to leave for Fiji; among them was the King's own daughter, Sālote Pilolevu. Baker went even further and tried to implicate the British Vice-Consul in the assassination plot. These wild accusations, among other things, led to Baker's deportation from Tonga in 1890.

In 1893, King George died of a chill which he supposedly caught after bathing at daybreak in the sea, as was his regular habit. The whole group was stricken with grief and for months most activities ground to a halt as the Tongans mourned the loss of a truly remarkable leader. While King George was a man of his age, in many ways he was ahead of his time. Though he had been willing to adopt cunning, or even ruthless, tactics in his struggle to establish his authority, he had early come to identify his own interests with those of the country and to use his power for the benefit of all his people, including former enemies. The teaching of the missionaries no doubt influenced him greatly in this respect. He successfully transformed Tonga from its traditional warlike factionalism into a united, peaceful, and independent state where Christian civilisation, as he understood it, was blended with what survived of the old order. His ability to maintain a balance between his conservative and radical political advisers, the courage he exhibited in the face of opposition both from Tongan conservatives and European critics who ridiculed his policies and rule, and his maintaining an independent course without becoming a puppet of more powerful European interests as happened in Hawaii, Fiji, and other Pacific islands, are lasting tributes to his remarkable gifts of leadership.

Tongan unity was not a mere empty phrase, for King George created among his people a truly national feeling and pride in their country. Tongans with their national pride and sense of independence from political domination never developed the intense anti-European sentiments which have been such a regrettable legacy of colonial rule. The long period of his reign, with the political stability which the rule of law had introduced, greatly strengthened his hand in his tireless and eventually successful struggle for the recognition of Tonga's sovereignty by the great Powers; while the other Pacific monarchies crumbled, the Tongan kingdom survived into the twentieth century. For these reasons his admirers have honoured him as the greatest of Tongans, and styled him the 'Grand Old Man of the Pacific'.

THE BEACH COMMUNITIES

Caroline Ralston

WITH the spread of commercial activity throughout the Pacific, a number of port townships came into existence in several island groups. They provided refitting and supply services, skilled workmen, pilots and interpreters, and depots for mail. Honolulu in Hawaii and Kororareka in northern New Zealand were the earliest to develop, but they were soon followed by Papeete in Tahiti, Levuka in Fiji, and Apia in Samoa.

These townships had certain common characteristics. The dominant groups in their populations were Europeans and Americans, who, in varying degrees, lived in contact with indigenous people. Engaged in Western economic activities, these foreigners were largely independent of the local inhabitants and were more closely identified with European work habits and mores than island ones. The mixed settlement patterns that evolved, and the contact between residents and visiting ships, gave both races opportunities for economic advancement and social change. They also created novel problems in the maintenance of law and order. Beyond the fringe of Western judicial control as they were, these ports had no recognised sources of justice, which in the circumstances had to be supplied in partial and *de facto* forms by the residents themselves. In Kororareka, those with property to protect formed themselves into an association that promulgated laws to regulate the whole community. The better-established settlers in other beach communities also found that the depredations they suffered from the ruffian white and island elements and the sharp practices they used among themselves made such organisations necessary. None of them was free from lynch-law methods. However, the violence that occurred in all settlements was closely related to the quantity of alcohol consumed by foreigners and islanders; and major crimes were

not numerous. The Europeans in beach communities had to rely on their own initiative and ingenuity to create a tenable and tolerable existence. But life in Polynesia and Fiji was not without compensations; island women were happy to join foreigners in these townships and the conditions and hours of labour endured by working-class men in Europe were unknown to port-town residents.

Before European penetration, Polynesia and Fiji had evolved an essentially non-urban civilisation. The early explorers, traders, and beachcombers had no occasion and usually no power to change the existing settlement patterns; trade for supplies was conducted from ships' decks or tiny outposts on shore, while none of the first traders, either sandalwooders in Fiji or pork traders in Tahiti, found it necessary to establish a base. The beachcomber, who had to accept the *status quo*, found all his needs well catered for with one of the island chiefs and his people. But with the depletion of the first exploitable resources and the development of trading procedures and patterns, port centres within the Pacific basin became necessary. The nineteenth-century ports of the Pacific periphery, on the west coast of North and South America, at Port Jackson, Manila, and Canton, could not meet the immediate and multifarious needs of the sandalwood trade in Hawaii, the *bêche-de-mer* trade in Fiji, or the general provisioning trade to whalers. Many men pursuing the former trades were left in the islands for considerable lengths of time collecting their cargo and distributing trade goods. For them a central depot was essential. Honolulu and Levuka, with adequate harbours and commanding positions for the trade in their respective groups, rapidly grew into prominence. Papeete and Apia, lacking large-scale, marketable resources, expanded under the auspices of the supply trade to whalers. The sites of these towns, which had been of little or no importance to the indigenous population, owed their new-found importance to Western influence.

Levuka on the island of Ovalau was a village largely independent of Bau and its political connections, but it was centrally placed within the Fijian archipelago to serve the *bêche-de-mer* and other minor island trades. Free from most Fijian political intrigues, Levuka offered some security and isolation, while the resident chief Tui Levuka openly encouraged foreigners to settle on his land. One of the first inhabitants was David Whippy, who arrived in 1825 and soon ingratiated himself with the *bêche-de-mer* traders.¹ News spread quickly among these Salem traders that Levuka could supply pilots, interpreters, and skilled workmen. Once established, the centre attracted a number of beachcombers scattered through Fiji and several traders and whalers from beyond.

The origins and growth of the other port towns were influenced by similar economic and geographic factors together with the co-operation or at least toleration of the indigenous populations. Honolulu, at the crossroads of the North Pacific trade, could always boast a greater population than the other communities, which grew or languished with the success of the less stable trades that sustained them. By the 1820s there were never fewer than a hundred foreigners in Honolulu, while in Papeete, Levuka, and Apia at comparable periods in their development, fifty was usually a maximum figure. Some beachcombers, once they had tired of island life, moved into the port settlements rather than quit the region, and there they were joined by a variety of later arrivals, some with capital to be used in the island trades and others, deserters and rebellious sailors, who were attracted by the relative security and ease of beach community life.

In Tahiti few beachcombers from the 1790-1808 period of contact survived the prolonged wars of 1808-15. When the foreign population slowly re-established itself after 1815, the new settlers, including Samuel Pinder Henry and George Bicknell, both relatives of the missionaries, and Thomas Ebrill, were not of beachcomber origins. Later in the 1820s they were joined by Jacques-Antoine Moerenhout and the Valparaiso traders, who were men of capital.

In Samoa the high percentage of convicts among the original settlers reduced the number of beachcombers eligible to move into Apia in the late 1830s²—when the first merchants and craftsmen set up business there—in the wake of the missionaries. John Chauner Williams, son of the Reverend John Williams, established a general store in Apia and initiated the coconut oil trade in 1844. He had been preceded in 1839 by the transient William Cunningham, first British consular representative, as a storekeeper in Apia. The missionaries reported a spirit trader in 1843 without recording his name or nationality. George Pritchard, newly appointed British consul to Samoa and surrounding islands, arrived in 1845 with trade goods. He was followed in 1846 by the French merchant, Chauvel, of the *Société Française de l'Océanie*, an organisation devoted to the propagation of Roman Catholicism and French trade throughout the Pacific. There were a number of other foreigners in Apia by 1846, including the British master mariner W. C. Turnbull, the merchant Bicknell, and the British boat-builder William Yandall.

After 1795 most of the foreigners in Hawaii were attached to Kamehameha I, who lived at Kealakekua Bay on Hawaii Island between 1796 and 1804; but when he moved with his entourage to Waikiki in the latter year, the nearby port of Honolulu soon established its pre-eminence. The king's removal to the island of Hawaii in 1812 had

no effect on Honolulu's status, since the beachcombers were, by then, securely established on Oahu and no longer dependent on his patronage or protection. Once the sandalwood trade began to expand after 1815 Honolulu's permanence was guaranteed.

By 1828 David Whippy and three companions, including his boyhood friend William Cary, were all stationed in Levuka and available to the *bêche-de-mer* traders.³ Another of the companions is believed to have been Patrick Connel, who arrived with the beachcombing settlers of 1804-15. The Salem *bêche-de-mer* traders were the only capitalists attracted to Fiji until the late 1850s when the coconut oil trade began to expand. But shipwrecked sailors and deserters, including William Simpson and William Cusick, who became Whippy's ship-building partners, Thomas Grundy and James Magoun, all found it safer and more convenient to live on Ovalau than with a Fijian tribe.

Most men who inhabited the early beach communities had little education, and even less love for Western society and its standards. Their success in the islands was handicapped more by their indulgence in alcohol and in some cases their proclivity to violence than by any lack of formal teaching. A handful of better-educated men added a leaven to this society. Both Whippy and Jonas M. Coe of Apia found their sound New England educations were an advantage in their respective island careers. In Honolulu Francisco de Paula Marin, a self-educated Spanish settler, spoke more than two European languages as well as Hawaiian, which enhanced his usefulness as an interpreter to the local government. All beach communities also had a number of skilled workmen, particularly carpenters, coopers, and blacksmiths, who played leading roles.

The economic development of the early ports depended on the resources of their respective island groups and on the adjacent trading or whaling routes. However, certain basic skills and trades which required a minimum of capital investment were found in every port. Fully conversant with the hazards of the harbours and of those of the surrounding islands, many foreigners acted as pilots. Dumont d'Urville, in Levuka in October 1838, found that 'all the Europeans I met were provided with certificates' and competed for the job of piloting.⁴ As the whaling industry grew, an increasing number of expatriates and islanders were employed growing and purveying fresh supplies. Even consuls engaged in such activities. Grog victuallers, furnished with raw alcohol bought from vessels or even more dangerous brews distilled from local products, always found ready customers among the sailors, local foreigners, and islanders. Little capital was needed for the initial outlay on such liquor and even less on housing, while the profits gained were substantial and steady as long as missionaries and

local authorities tolerated it. Money earned by island women on board ships or in the shanty areas of the ports was spent almost entirely in the shops of the small traders. In Honolulu these men expected to net a larger proportion of their incomes during the twice yearly whaling visits to the port. Carpenter, cooper, and blacksmith businesses, which were heavily patronised, could be set up with little financial backing. Few of these occupations, however, resulted in a large accumulation of wealth. Two men who employed other skilled artisans while pursuing their own trades were able to make a fortune. After the blacksmith John Colcord had pledged himself to teetotalism, his business flourished and he extended his premises to include a store, with three salesmen, three shoemakers, and a tailor. From a destitute sailor he rose to become a leading Honolulu merchant with sons at school in New England. The ships' carpenter, James Robinson, who was wrecked off Hawaii in 1822, established a shipyard in Honolulu and later controlled a number of taverns and hotels. He died in 1876 worth nearly half a million dollars.⁵ Opportunities for considerable economic gain from the service trades were available but only to men with organising skills.

In order to develop, or even to survive, however, the beach communities were dependent upon the growth of more substantial trades. In Hawaii the exploitation of sandalwood between 1815 and 1822 brought in the first large amounts of capital in trade goods and ships for the chiefs. In the beginning New England companies monopolised the profits, but by the 1820s most agents in Honolulu had become individual entrepreneurs with sufficient backing to change their businesses from sandalwood to the supply trade as the economic scene shifted. Several beachcomber-settlers were absorbed into the new trading complex as agents in Honolulu or the sandalwood areas, although a number continued to pursue their former trades. In Honolulu the supply trade became a major industry, supporting twenty merchant houses, sixteen retail shops, and over one hundred artisans.⁶

The first traders in Tahiti, Henry, Bicknell, and Ebrill, who had no financial backing, were employed by Pomare II in the early 1820s sailing vessels between Tahiti and Port Jackson and organising a sugar plantation in the islands. After Pomare II's death, Bicknell concentrated entirely on sugar, while Henry and Ebrill took part in a number of trading ventures, collecting coconut oil, pork, sinnet, and arrowroot throughout the Society Islands from chiefs and other traders, or trading for more exotic goods in distant groups. Papeete, however, remained an insignificant centre until the late 1820s when the Valparaiso trade, based largely on pearling in the Tuamotus, and the whaling industry brought with them the first large amounts of work-

ing capital. Before this time the handful of foreigners, excluding Henry, Bicknell, and Ebrill, had survived on piloting fees and a small supply trade. In 1824 there was only one forge on the island and 'even the foreigners established here carry on no kind of mechanical trade'.⁷

Between 1820 and 1850 the *bêche-de-mer* traders in Fiji were Levuka's major source of income. From the shipbuilders Whippy, Simpson and Cusick they bought vessels for use as tenders.⁸ The missionaries also relied on the Levuka men for transport between their stations and to build them small schooners. But in comparison with the *bêche-de-mer* traders who employed men at their fishing establishments and on board ships, mission contributions to Levuka finance were small.

In Apia the number of settlers involved in general trading and provisioning led to an over-capitalisation of the slight resources and trading opportunities available. Competition between rival companies resulted in a succession of collapses: Pritchard and Company in 1855, Chapin and Van Camp in 1856. Yandall was financially broken by the later 1850s and the larger Tahitian-based Hort company collapsed in 1862. The Godeffroy company established an agency in Apia in 1857 and soon cornered the inter-island coconut oil and, later, copra trade. Its capital resources and scale of operation stabilised and encouraged economic growth in Apia, which had formerly lacked any steady development, but at the expense of the small firms.⁹

The role of islanders and part-islanders in the development of the island trades is largely undocumented. But expatriates in beach communities relied on them for the making of coconut oil and the collection of *bêche-de-mer*, tortoise-shell, sinnet, pork, and other island products; and they regularly employed them manning boats to bring in such goods to the central depots. George Manini, a part-Hawaiian son of Marin, had a 50 per cent stake in a hotel and a store in Honolulu and undertook many trading ventures in the Pacific, one of which finally cost him his life.¹⁰ David Whippy, junior, captained boats in Fiji and even on the Samoa-Fiji run. Many islanders were concerned in the supply trade, including local alcohol, but their participation was often curtailed by jealous chiefs anxious to monopolise the trade.

In early beach communities, where white populations did not exceed 150 persons, most civil disharmony, before the consuls appeared, was settled in an arbitrary, swift, and often brutal fashion. In the majority of communities, however, some pattern of leadership and recognised authority was established. The continual turnover of population in Honolulu prohibited strict surveillance of all incoming foreigners but, while Kamehameha I was unable to prevent the entry

of undesirables, he made it abundantly clear that only the diligent and useful would be rewarded with land grants and wives of standing.¹¹ Even after his return to Hawaii Island, Kamehameha continued to regulate conduct in Honolulu through his governors, prohibiting alcohol and strictly controlling conditions of foreign land tenure and the right of foreigners to build permanent houses. In Levuka, Whippy was trusted with all land transactions and deeds, and under his guidance the Levuka men maintained a surprising degree of internal harmony. Captain Erskine wrote in 1849: 'the community . . . govern themselves by their own regulations, expelling or refusing to receive persons of dissipated habits or guilty of egregious misconduct'.¹²

Neither Apia nor Papeete evolved comparable leadership patterns. In both, the early arrival of the missionaries, before commercial concentration had occurred, forestalled the development of any lasting indigenous or non-missionary expatriate leadership. In Apia during the early 1850s George Pritchard—temporarily consul for both Great Britain and the United States—won the loyalty of the mechanic and sailor population; but, without missionary or Samoan backing, his position was transient. In 1854 the Apia settlers formed a Foreign Residents' Society ostensibly to protect themselves from the depredations which occurred during the Samoan civil war; but in practice it became an organisation to protect foreigners from one another and to present a united front against the impositions of the Samoan chiefs. Like the Kororareka Association, it was a voluntary organisation which attempted to maintain order in Apia and lay down rules for the conduct of business among its members. But the society never commanded total allegiance from the foreign population; and, lacking any other recognised source of authority, it subsided under the rivalries and disputes generated by the collapse of consular co-operation in 1855-6. When Commodore Mervine visited Apia in 1856 he found

A state of society existing that beggars all description; composed of a heterogeneous mass of the most immoral and dissolute Foreigners that ever disgraced humanity: principally composed of Americans and Englishmen, several of whom have been Sidney convicts. Responsible to no law for their conduct—certainly none that the Natives have the power or disposition to enforce against them—there exist anarchy, riot and debauchery which render life and property insecure. My arrival happened very opportunely, for the suppression of a system of plunder that was beginning to manifest itself to an alarming degree, in depredations by the Natives upon the property of Americans.¹³

In rejuvenated forms, societies of the same nature reappeared in Apia throughout the fifties and sixties but their influence was never lasting.

Commercial activity in Tahiti did not focus on Papeete exclusively until the late 1820s. Before that time ships had refitted, provisioned, and conducted trade from any one of the several harbours between Matavai Bay and Papeete. The dispersion of activity and settlement precluded the appearance of any leader of expatriate society until after 1830 when Papeete, with an increased population, became the centre of trade.

While it was difficult in all beach communities to maintain order and to regulate trade relations, very few crimes of a serious nature were committed, and this despite the presence of riotous sailors at certain times in the year. Dirickson, United States consul in Apia, wrote sympathetically about expatriate attitudes to law and order in 1859.

I have always found them [expatriates] ready and willing to assist, all the Foreign Consuls in their Official Capacity as long as there was no gross assumption of power, and firm supporters of law and order . . . I fully beleive if Consuls appointed here would only attend to their official business as Consul, or if they engaged in business as merchants, would carefully refrain from allowing their private and public business to come in contact, they would have no cause to complain of the Foreign Residents.¹⁴

Punishment for offences was severe. Joseph Navarro was banished from Honolulu to Fanning Island in 1825 for assaulting his wife's seducer.¹⁵ A Fijian and a Hawaiian, convicted of killing an Englishman in Fiji, were hanged in Levuka in 1842.¹⁶ Justice in the case of major crimes was rough; but in a fashion it was seen to be done, and the majority of expatriates respected it.

A foreigner's property and land were subject to the whims of his island hosts as well as the sharp practices of his fellow settlers. Further, his right to remain on the island could be denied by the chiefs. Kamehameha I and Liholiho, his successor, were both suspicious of foreigners' ambitions. In 1815 Kamehameha I's decree went forth that every foreigner not holding land was to depart as soon as possible. He declared 'that he did not like them'. It was not recorded whether any action was taken. Five years later, Rives, Liholiho's hatchetman, arrived in Honolulu with orders to banish all foreigners who were not directly responsible to the King or Kalanimoku. The exiles, predominantly deserters, settled with their Hawaiian 'wives' on Fanning Island, which proved infertile and almost incapable of supporting human life. Fortunately Hawaiian opposition was rarely sustained, and by 1823 Navarro and others were permitted to return to Honolulu.¹⁷

1 The *St. Patrick* at the Firth of Thames, New Zealand. The canoe fleet is preparing to attack the ship.

(From George Bayly's *Journal*, by courtesy of the Hocken Library)

2 The port town of Honolulu in 1840: a panoramic view from Nu'uuanu Valley and beyond in the west (top picture) to Diamond Head in the east (bottom picture)

(By courtesy of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society)

In Fiji exile was much more rigorous. Once the whites had roused Cakobau's anger by defying the understood rules of neutrality in 1844, no special pleading by Whippy or the missionaries could protect them. Without exception every white was driven from Levuka. Simpson and Whippy were forced to leave on the stocks a half-built 70-ton schooner, which was later destroyed when the Lovoni men razed the village in 1846. It was not until early 1849 that a return to Ovalau was effected; even then the foreigners felt so insecure that they built no permanent houses until much later. At all times in Levuka the expatriates were aware of the threat of Lovoni raids and firing.¹⁸

In Apia, the chiefs jealously guarded their rights to the land and their authority over the people, which the foreigners tried to override: a merchant was liable to insult, theft, or personal injury if he offended the dignity of a chief, quarrelled over women, broke the peace, cheated the Samoans in business deals, or introduced discordant elements into the village community. Thomas Trood visiting Apia in 1857 found the Samoans 'excessively impudent and overbearing to foreigners'.¹⁹ Two years previously the chiefs had barred Samoan patronage of Apia stores in an attempt to force them to lower their prices. Many Tahitian chiefs were similarly hostile to encroaching foreign settlement after 1828. However, few Pacific islanders were capable or desirous of prohibiting completely the growth of beach communities. Only on Rarotonga did the *ariki*, under strong missionary pressure, restrict European settlement until late in the nineteenth century. Although most islanders did not stop foreign expansion, they could and did thwart the widespread desire among Europeans for an easy life and quick fortune.

Despite the uncertainties inherent in beach community life many settlers were content to remain permanently in the islands, surrounded in most cases by their native-born wives and part-island children. With limited aspirations and few, if any, demands on their native hosts, these beach patriarchs achieved a status and standard of living that would have been quite beyond their reach in their own society. In 1811 Holmes, one-time governor of Oahu, claimed he had 180 slaves who worked the several estates given him by Kamehameha I, and at dinner Hawaiians waited at his table with napkins. Marin lived in comparable style in a stone house of his own construction. He decorated the drawing room with Chinese pictures and crucifixes, but it was reported that 'on removing a sliding pannel from the opposite side, subjects of a far different nature were represented'.²⁰ In Fiji David Whippy kept a large, Fijian-style house in which lived his wives and part-Fijian children plus the offspring and sometimes companions of former settlers. On beach community standards he justly earned

his title of 'old gentleman'. Phoebe Coe, daughter of Jonas Coe, a man of several liaisons, claimed that her father was a strict disciplinarian, who educated all but two of his children in Sydney or California and insisted that his daughters married foreigners. The image of latent racialism is greatly modified by her further statement: 'I was one of the girls chosen to chew the kava for King Malietoa and my father'.²¹ In both Whippy's and Coe's households past 'wives' visited and lived happily with present 'wives' and the recognised children of the different liaisons, some of them very close in age, were all brought up under the paternal roof.

After the first years no beach community, except Levuka for a limited period, ever lacked grogshops or the accompanying dance halls. In 1834:

The abundance and indiscriminate sale of ardent spirits, as well as the laxity of the laws which permitted the sensuality of a sea-port to be carried to a boundless extent, caused scenes of riot and debauchery to be nightly exhibited at Pâpéte that would have disgraced the most profligate purlieu of London.²²

John Colcord, temporarily a teetotaler, found he had more work than he could handle in Honolulu in 1826 because 'My Brother Blacksmiths continued to carouse sometimes 2 or 3 weeks together & would not work at all'. If weaned from their addiction they 'began to look and act like men',²³ but few remained teetotal long. Stephen Reynolds, a merchant in Honolulu from 1823, considered himself and his fellow traders as a class above the idlers and labourers whom he always referred to as 'the mechanics'. Similar differentiation between would-be-respectable and riff-raff settlers occurred in all beach communities; but, while a merchant was not usually found sitting on the beach helping the sailor-mechanic class to drink a cask dry, his way of living was basically comparable. Pyjamas were the standard daytime dress of all classes in Apia. The taking of *de facto* island wives, hard drinking, and scant respect for the moral values of the Western world were still the core of most settlers' lives. The funeral in Honolulu in 1825 of ex-governor Holmes, for whom the missionaries had held great hopes, underlines the limitations of merchant respectability.

The mourners followed the coffin the females being supported by foreigners. The most decent of the foreigners, those who pride themselves on being above the vulgar, walking in procession arm in arm with their paramours . . . To add to the scene the keepers of grog shops displayed flags, which are hoisted as signals of their traffic, at half mast.²⁴

A foreigner fallen on hard times or a recognised member of one of the amorphous, expatriate, family groups would always find food and shelter and even a plot of land to cultivate in the small beach communities. The holding of land by the expatriates under casual verbal arrangements had much in common with the usage of their Polynesian hosts. Little account was taken of actual ownership during times of peace. At Marin's large compound in Honolulu, the traders, captains, and supercargoes came and went as they pleased, stayed with Marin or just ate meals there, set up Hawaiian houses and installed their entourages. Winship, captain of a sandalwood vessel, frequently stayed in Honolulu and readily fitted into this society with his seven 'wives'.²⁵ Whippy, the guardian of all expatriate land in Levuka, looked after holdings for absent settlers or made certain they were cultivated on behalf of orphaned offspring. In extended family groups land was redivided among its members as required. Charles Wise, a part-Fijian son of James Magoun, who had been adopted by his aunt, explained the changed ownership of a piece of land in Vagadace:

Caroline and James Magoun gave it to my parents, who were always giving presents. It was not a sale but a gift in a relationship sort of way. My mother and Caroline were sisters.²⁶

In all the beach ports, the houses of the expatriates and the islanders were built side by side in one community. The ratio of foreigner to islander differed greatly among the settlements. Honolulu, which attracted large numbers of Hawaiians, always had a predominantly island population. In 1831 the total number of inhabitants was estimated at 5,522, only 180 of whom were foreigners.²⁷ The proximity of such large numbers of Hawaiians did not intimidate the expatriates, who always kept an influential hand on the government. In Apia the island population was also large, but the majority belonged to villages that were in and around the Apia area long before European settlement. The chiefs of these once-autonomous villages greatly resented the intrusion of foreigners on their land and their disruptive social influence. With reason, the Samoans continually hindered the settlers' plans and activities to encroach further and forced them to establish self-protection societies. The early Levuka men lived as their hosts in the Fijian town of Levuka Vakaviti, north of the European township that grew up in the 1860s and 70s. Few Fijians moved into the foreign-created Levuka. Original settlement along the Matavai-Papeete coast was relatively dense but, when Papeete began to expand, few land disputes ensued between the foreigners and Tahitians, who were generally not tempted to move into the township.

The numerous island-style houses built in beach communities were

frequently inhabited by foreigners, while those of European construction were sometimes the homes of wealthy islanders. Superficially life in such a community appeared agreeable to either rich or poor: 'several mechanics and seamen have left their ships here [Papeete, 1828] and have taken native wives and appear to live extremely happy'.²⁸ But some travellers recognised the squalor in which foreigners without property or skills often lived:

The working class are sadly addicted to drinking and lead a miserable and degraded life; indeed the humbler class of white men in all the islands with their careworn faces and haggard looks exhibit a wretched appearance.²⁹

Sordid conditions were not a working-class monopoly; no one had any time or interest to spare on community projects. Burials were casually performed in close proximity to permanent settlement, roads were inadequate, bridges non-existent or precariously temporary, and any system of sewerage totally unknown. There can have been little to attract either eye or nose along the beach fronts littered with rotting animal and vegetable matter.

In all ports mixed-blood groups emerged; but usually it was only the law breakers within them who gained notice in European journals and letters. The unknown numbers who were assimilated into their mothers' culture were rarely distinguished from their full-blood associates. The part-islanders who were not so assimilated found that their standing in the white sector was ambivalent, as were their own attitudes towards it. Few fathers felt any pressing responsibility for their offspring's education and until outside pressure was brought to bear nothing was done. The more affluent and conscientious sent their children away from the contaminating influences of the beach, to school in the United States, Australia, or New Zealand, but the majority had to look to the missionaries for their education. In 1856 the settlers at Apia were finally cajoled into action by the missionaries. A school was built, but its subsequent history of frequent closures due to lack of funds or a teacher exposes their desultory attitude.³⁰ The missionaries in Honolulu opened a school for the children of foreign residents soon after their arrival, but their decision to concentrate all their efforts on the Hawaiians led to its closure. Although the foreigners had supported the venture enthusiastically, they were not prepared to run the school themselves, and so the education of part-Hawaiians was neglected for another decade until the Oahu Charity School was established.³¹ In Tahiti, where the children of mixed marriages were less numerous, the missionaries took some of them in and brought them up with their own families. The rest were ignored.

The Levuka part-Fijians owed much to Whippy, as the Reverend James Calvert in 1861 acknowledged: 'led by his example, they plant—are honest—are opposed to Popery and, when of a proper age, they marry among themselves, and avoid fornication'.³² But Whippy retired from Levuka before the 1860s influx of new settlers who moved into part-Fijian jobs and took over their land without compunction. Given some technical training or education, part-islanders proved good sailors, pilots, and interpreters and some were employed as clerks for the mercantile companies. But apart from Whippy and the eccentric Reynolds in Honolulu, who was largely responsible for the founding of the Oahu Charity School and established a dancing and etiquette school for part-Hawaiian girls, few Europeans were interested in their careers. Once foreigners capable of filling the positions of the part-islander men arrived, the latter found themselves unemployed and with no role to play in either of their parents' societies. Superficially, in a community where there were no expatriate women, the girls were accepted more readily by the foreigners, but the liaisons between expatriates and part-islanders seldom offered any security or dignity to the women involved and they were still subject to social discrimination. This intensified with the arrival of expatriate women and, like their male counterparts, these girls were manoeuvred out of white society and neglected.

Foreigners' attitudes towards religion were as nonchalant and lazy as those towards education, although in Honolulu there developed a bitter, anti-missionary prejudice, which dissolved any interest or co-operation in religious or educational matters for over a decade. The Bethel movement, which aimed at the redemption of souls among sailors and other Europeans in distant lands, appeared first in 1833 at Honolulu, where a seamen's chapel was opened. Later it spread to Papeete and Apia, only to meet with the same lack of success it experienced in Honolulu. Few residents were prepared to join a movement dedicated to the principle of abstinence. Congregations in port town chapels were made up of whaling captains and sailors on temporary visits. In Apia in 1845-6 a flash of interest was shown in a temperance society to which the leading expatriates belonged. Three years later a corrugated iron chapel, twenty feet by forty feet, was built. Interest in it scarcely survived the building period and it soon fell into disuse—but not before the temperance society, which had lasted only a few months.³³

Early Levuka proved an exception to this general picture of improvident, ungodly foreigners. Between 1830 and 1850 a succession of surprised observers commented on the order, industry, and cleanliness of Levuka and, later, of Solevu. Their well-regulated self-govern-

ment was combined with a concern for the education and religious training not only of their children and native wives but even of themselves. Repeated requests, and a deputation, were sent to the missionaries at Viwa in 1842 to send a missionary to Levuka, but only a teacher could be spared. However, the following year Christianity appeared to be flourishing according to the Reverend John Hunt's report:

Levuka Vuna Lovoni. At these three places on the island of Ovalau we have 147 professing Christians. Twenty one of these are white people, chiefly English and the greater part of the rest are their wives, servants and children. Four of the white people have been married to native women during the year. They attend the means of grace at every opportunity when I visit them and some of them attend the native services on the Sabbath . . . They are all anxious that their children should be well instructed, and do all they can to induce them to attend to school and the ordinances of God's house.³⁴

Exile at Solevu in 1844 did not discourage them. The good relations, mutual help, and interchange of visits between the two parties continued. Hunt was welcomed 'with great cordiality' when he visited Solevu. But the foreigners' amiability and exceptional interest in religious and educational matters still left them open to missionary reproof. A few days after Hunt had arrived, he recorded in his journal: 'I had already warned the white men against reading certain books and pamphlets which I had seen among them containing Socinianism and universalism in its most insinuating forms'.³⁵ The situation was not lasting. There was no school in Levuka in 1849 and in 1851 the population was censured for its drunken behaviour, the first of many tirades.

Race relations in beach communities were dependent on a number of interrelated factors, including the rate of European expansion, the ambitions and prejudices of the foreigners, the degree to which islanders in port settlements became Westernised, and their attitudes towards such townships. In a port town, where foreigners were the initiating and controlling agents, most islanders were perforce more tolerant and permissive of European customs than the less acculturated peoples distant from expatriate centres. An islander who wished to succeed in these alien enclaves had to acquire Western skills and work habits, while conversely the lone foreign planter or trader in outer districts found the onus of assimilation fell upon him exclusively. Beach communities were considered to be foreign preserves, often visited by naval vessels and therefore dangerous to attack. Expediency and a combination of foreign and island interests led to fairly stable

and easy relations in the early port towns, but an element of suspicion and instability always remained. In a moment of anxiety or anger the Polynesians and Fijians opposed the foreigners, as they had done in Honolulu in 1815 and 1821 when the alarming increase of unruly sailors on shore frightened the Hawaiians into threatening exile. In Levuka in 1844, Cakobau's displeasure drove the expatriates to Solevu. Frequently the island people appear to have treated the newcomers as just another kinship group or tribe, liable to insult or punishment if they ignored or flouted superior authority. But the whites had certain skills and property irresistible to the islanders, so usually sentences of exile or seizure of goods and land were not irreversible and former relations were re-established. Beach communities were haphazard fusions of expatriates and island women, many of high rank; and in Fiji at least it was possible for a minor chief (Tui Levuka) to marry a half-caste girl (Elizabeth Grundy, widow of an expatriate).³⁶

Social gatherings between chiefs and leading foreigners were frequent and easy. Repeatedly visitors to the islands remarked on the ease with which Polynesians and Fijians acquired Western table manners, their polite but dignified bearing, and their skill in a number of sports, not only swimming:

In the course of the evening the queens [of Kamehameha] played draughts with some of our most scientific amateurs, whom they beat hollow; and such was the skill evinced by them in the game, that not one of our best players succeeded in making a king.³⁷

Polynesians were quick to recognise the personal worth of most immigrants and to respect them accordingly. Once beach communities began to grow, society divided quite naturally into two classes. By 1824 in Honolulu there were numerous shanty grog shops kept by runaway sailors but there were others 'fitted up in a superior style, for the exclusive accommodation of Yeris [chiefs] and ships' officers, admission being refused to Kanackas and sailors'.³⁸ Good relations between foreigners and Polynesians or Fijians were usually not difficult to establish, but to maintain them in a beach community which was a dynamic and rapidly changing centre was not easy. However, it was in the interests of the early traders and missionaries to foster tenable working relations. Neither race had a monopoly in intimidation or sharp practices; and the early residents, with no recourse to a major power, were vulnerable in the face of any retaliation their hosts might inflict. From Marin's journal it is clear that there was a continual interchange of visits between the Hawaiians and the foreigners, bolstered up by a similar two-way stream of gifts but, despite this,

Marin frequently found himself out of favour with the authorities, who seized his land and goods. Notwithstanding the tensions, Europeans and Polynesians had much to offer one another, and the permissive atmosphere of early beach communities, where both groups participated in social and economic activities, provided an advantageous setting for inter-cultural contact. While it was expedient for the traders not to antagonise their potential customers, the affiliations of many with the island people went much deeper than economic considerations.

Later development in beach communities was dominated by the presence of foreign consuls. The selection of these men was largely determined by the non-availability of suitable applicants; but American political intrigues influenced the choice of many United States consuls, while the British representatives often owed their posts to the indifference of the home government. Their lack of qualifications for consular office did not prevent these men from becoming the focus of expatriate complaint and self-conscious national solidarity. The recognised leaders in early beach communities, such as Kamehameha I and Whippy, found themselves displaced by the consuls, most of whom defended their nationals regardless of the merits of the case. At the same time the independence of island states and the susceptibilities of their governments were totally ignored.

In the economic field foreigners singularly or in large companies monopolised all major commercial development. Samoa and Fiji in the 1860s and 1870s attracted many fortune-seekers who believed that land speculation or cotton production would prove immediate avenues to wealth. Such people worked through port towns and brought a motley of land and real estate agents, lawyers, auctioneers, professional swindlers, gamblers, and agitators in their wake. The rapid increase of foreigners with inflated demands led to an emotional pattern of unrestrained enthusiasm followed by morbid frustration as each pet project followed its mercurial course. In an atmosphere of thwarted ambitions, combined with Fijian or Polynesian inability to cope with the situation, filibusters flourished. These men, who arrived with elaborate plans for creating new governments or enterprises, and solving all problems, inevitably overreached the resources available or the goodwill of their recipients and found themselves unceremoniously deposed.

Greater complexity in the social structure of port settlements also caused changes. By the early 1830s a number of American women were living in Honolulu, the wives of the more respectable merchants. Many young agents without wives returned to the States to acquire them. In Levuka and Apia women appeared during the cotton and

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land booms, following their husbands to quick fortunes. Balls, amateur theatricals, and picnics enlivened the daily round in beach communities, and improving clubs and societies were established. But social complexity brought discrimination. Several of the new societies, including the masonic lodges and even some churches, were segregated, while fear of fire led to by-laws prohibiting the construction of native houses in settled areas. Certain fresh-water pools were set aside for the exclusive use of foreigners.

Although there were pressures on the older residents towards greater respectability, many social patterns remained unaltered. Heavy drinking, casual sexual relations, a passion for gossip, and scant interest in education were factors of beach community life into the present century. The mechanics, part-islanders, and islanders still constituted the bulk of port town populations presided over by the leading foreigners and those of chiefly rank. But the ease of earlier inter-racial contacts was difficult to retain. Few islanders were unaware of the growing demands which the settlers were making on their land, labour, natural resources and their economic, political, and social independence. For a period beach communities had offered economic and social opportunities to both races and a place where they could meet and respect each other as individuals. But as expatriate numbers increased and their commercial activities spread throughout the island groups, port settlements became the organising centres for this development. Islanders and part-islanders no longer had a place in these Western preserves, where social and economic avenues of advance were closed to them and their self-respect and equality denied.

CAKOBABU AND MA'AFU

Contenders for pre-eminence in Fiji

Deryck Scarr

THE small island which exercised over a larger neighbour a political influence out of all proportion to its own size was a phenomenon not uncommon in Melanesia. In Fiji, on the borders of Melanesia, it appeared in the history of Bau. An islet of roughly twenty infertile acres, some of them reclaimed from the sea, Bau lies approximately half a mile from the east coast of Viti Levu and is one of many islands within its reef. By the beginning of the nineteenth century Bau had achieved a position approaching pre-eminence in coastal Fiji at large, was known and respected in Tonga, and, in the usage of European cartographers, for a time gave its name to Viti Levu, the largest island in the group.

In the earliest times, according to Fijian tradition, this islet was called Ulunivuaka, the Pig's Head.* It was inhabited by several groups of fishermen who exchanged their catch with the people of the mainland opposite. These, the Kubuna people, proved exacting in their demands upon the fishermen of Ulunivuaka, treating them as their *qali*, or tributaries. One group they expelled from the island and chased to Vuna, at the south-western end of Taveuni, replacing them with others from Viti Levu. These offended in their turn and they too were driven away, to take refuge eventually on Lakeba, the chiefly island of Lau. Ulunivuaka was now occupied by the Kubuna people themselves and came to be known as Bau, the name of the shrine in

* I am indebted to Dr Peter France, Secretary to the Minister for Fijian Affairs and Local Government, for traditional and genealogical information, drawn especially from the *Tukutuku Raraba ni Veitaroqi ni Vanua*, or General Histories reported to the Native Lands Commission, and for many valuable comments on the essay as a whole.

the Kauvadra mountains to whose residing god these people's leading chiefs traced their ancestry.

Even at the time of the Kubuna people's move from the mainland—which from the genealogies may be dated, a little perilously, at somewhat after the mid-eighteenth century in European reckoning—this god-chief, the Roko Tui Bau, was being eclipsed by the executive chief, the Vunivalu, who was responsible for the conduct of war and the disposition of land. Ratu Nailatikau was Vunivalu at the time of the move; Ratu Banuve, his half-brother and successor, began the process of aggrandisement by which the power of his people and his line was spread through much of Fiji. Bauan chiefs married into the chiefly families of Rewa, the neighbouring *vanua*, or land, state; Banuve himself included among his many wives a daughter of the Roko Tui Dreketi, Rewa's principal chief. Banuve's sons by this lady—Naulivou and Tanoa—were thus *vasu* to Rewa and, by virtue of the privilege vested in the sons of a great chief's sister, entitled to take whatever they chose from their mother's people. In several parts of coastal Fiji, as for instance Cakaudrove,* there were soon chiefs who, as sons of Bauan ladies, were *vasu* to Bau; but the power and prestige of Bau became such that the effect of its *vasu* relationships was reversed and its *vasu* were expected to take goods to Bau, not from it.¹

Bauan power grew upon a restless urge for dominance in Banuve and his successors. It depended upon a mastery of the sea which they may have owed to the proficiency of the fisherfolk and seamen who remained on the island when they moved there, the Lasakau and Soso people. Their great double canoes, *drua*, and big outriggers, *tabilai*, beat east, to windward, under Banuve, to considerable advantage. His effective intervention in a succession dispute at Lakeba gave him rights of tribute there and thus over central Lau. Under his son, Ratu Naulivou, the canoes were the means of consolidating Bauan power in the islands of Lomaiviti, nearer home, and they made it felt in raids along the northern and western coasts of Vanua Levu and around Viti Levu as far as Ba and Nadi. Bau's power along the coast of north-eastern Viti Levu was placed on a firm basis when Naulivou conquered the *vanua* of Verata, for with Verata came its own earlier conquest, Viwa, an island near Bau which had great influence on that coast. Viwa remained with Bau when Verata became an enemy again and its chiefs served as right-hand men to the Vunivalu.

When Naulivou died in 1829, Bau was the major power in northern

* The term 'Cakaudrove' is used to mean Taveuni, adjacent islands, and the south coast of Vanua Levu—all of which owed allegiance, in some form or another, to the Tui Cakau at Somosomo, Taveuni; the islands of northern Lau, which also owed allegiance, are not included in the term.

2 Fiji

DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN GEOGRAPHY, A.N.U.

and eastern Viti Levu, though not in the interior. It had taken over the islands of Lomaiviti almost as its private estate. All Moturiki's towns and several on the coast of Ovalau were Bau's *qali*, whilst the inland people of Ovalau were related to Viwa. Through a *vasu* it was

a force to be reckoned with in Cakaudrove and, consequently, in northern Lau, whilst through Banuve's victory at Lakeba Bau was the acknowledged master of central and southern Lau.

From these areas canoes came to load Bau with the riches—in root foods, *masi* or bark cloth, sinnet, wooden and clay artefacts, and human corpses for *solevu*, feasts or ceremonial exchanges—which were the tangible evidence of its authority and on the regular extraction of which, indeed, the continuance of that authority partly depended. Some of these places, particularly those nearer at hand, had made formal submission, presenting the baskets of earth and the whales' teeth, *tabua*, which meant that the land and the people were subject to Bau; there it levied as of right, at will. In others Bau was no more than *primus inter pares* and the coming of its canoes served to remind them of its primacy.

In 1832 a revolt broke out in Bau against Naulivou's brother and successor, Tanoa, who provoked it by protecting European ships against Bauan chiefs who wished to make prizes of them and by selfishness in the accumulation of wealth and wives. Tanoa was planting his yams at Koro when he found himself a fugitive. The Tui Cakau of Cakaudrove received him kindly at Somosomo, Taveuni, and the Tui Nayau would have provided another refuge at Lakeba. After spending some time at Somosomo he went on to Rewa. There he remained until his son, Ratu Seru, organised a counter-coup.

Seru, later to be known as Cakobau, was born to Tanoa of a lady who belonged to his own *yavusa*, Kubuna, the highest-ranking *yavusa* in Bau.* Since the sons of a polygamous chief measured their rank by that of their mother, Seru was thus the most well-born of Tanoa's sons. His mother died soon after his birth and his infancy was apparently passed with the Roko Tui Dreketi's wives in Rewa, some part of his youth perhaps on the islands of Moala or Matuku. Tradition names 1817 as the year of his birth. But the description given of him by a *bêche-de-mer* trader in 1832 hardly fits a fifteen-year-old: he was, recorded Captain J. H. Eagleston, 'a tall and noble looking man, very observing and inquisitive, but proud, with high royal feelings . . .'.²

Whatever his age, Seru dissembled well enough to convince his father's enemies that his continued existence among them constituted no danger. After four years he rallied the Lasakau people on Tanoa's behalf, inducing them to throw up a fence overnight around their part of the town and to fire the rest of it. The exploit won him the

*The *yavusa* is, in theory, the social group which traces its ancestry to the original male occupant of a particular *yavu*, or house-site.

nickname 'Cakobau', literally 'Evil to Bau', though Captain Eagleston writes in 1832 of a chief of that name and it does not seem to be very meaningful in translation.³

His father's return to Bau was followed by a bloody proscription. In May 1836 Tanoa was to be found there, 'living high off his enemies', as Eagleston noted. 'When heads go to the hogs bodies must be plentiful.'⁴ He was not disturbed again, and remained Vunivalu until he died in December 1852; but the power had passed from him to Cakobau, who was himself in no doubt as to who was responsible for Tanoa's return. Until the latter lapsed into senility, his role henceforth was to exert some restraint on a son who, from this time, showed himself restless and ambitious, cunning, skilled in political manoeuvres, in plotting, and in war, eager to assert his power throughout Fiji.

Cakobau was served by his father's comparative longevity, for it deferred the question of a formal successor to the title of Vunivalu, which might otherwise have been claimed by one of Naulivou's sons. Cakobau's position in Bau was further strengthened by his taking for a wife Adi Samanunu, a daughter of the Roko Tui Bau who in Naulivou's time had fought with the Vunivalu. Though he was never without potential rivals in Bau—one of whom, a half-brother, he killed in 1845—Cakobau was able until the early 1850s to devote his main attention to war.

No other pursuit than warfare was of such compelling interest to the young Cakobau, except, by his own account, the enjoyment of several wives.⁵ He was at one with the Bauan priest who, possessed by his god, told the Wesleyan missionary at Viwa in 1841: 'War is the proper exercise of chiefs, it becomes them, there are two things worthy the attention of gods and chiefs, namely war & feasts'.⁶ And he was in agreement, too, with the chief of Bau who, contrasting with the missionary at Somosomo the deities in whom they respectively believed, said defiantly of his own gods: 'They love war—they love evil—they love death—and we love war—we love to steal & to murder—we love to die in the water and in war . . .'.⁷ They would fight until they were dead, Cakobau is reported to have told the Roko Tui Viwa, 'and then our children will fight after us: and it is very good for us to war until all our enemies are killed'.⁸ He seemed—admittedly, to a missionary observer—'to think about nothing else but war, and . . . to desire nothing else but power'.⁹

Amongst Cakobau's enemies were soon included, not only Bau's traditional rival in the neighbouring state of Verata, but also former friends, such as Cakaudrove. Soon after an attack on Verata with forty canoes—from which the Lasakauans came back, in the approved manner, with 'the children of the vanquished tied by the heels to the

most head . . . as streamers'¹⁰—Cakobau went to feast at Vuna. The Tui Vuna was in a precarious relationship with his more powerful neighbour, the Tui Cakau at Somosomo. Tui Cakau's formidable son, Tui Kilakila, resented Cakobau's feasting at what he considered to be an inferior land to Cakaudrove before coming to Somosomo. To save his life Cakobau had to flee, putting to sea in bad weather. He vowed vengeance on his father's former friends; but his fleet reached Vuna, in November 1840, too late to save it from Tui Kilakila's besieging army, and though next year he threatened Tui Cakau's towns along the northern arm of Natewa Bay, he did not attack Somosomo.¹¹

In Fiji a spasm of fighting such as this between a senior state and a junior was not uncommon. It might enable the latter to throw off the former's dominion. In this case, it served to remind Tui Cakau and his son that, though Cakaudrove was a chiefly *vanua* in its own right, it could not match Bau in resources. Late in 1841 Tui Cakau sent to Bau for peace. Tanoa eagerly agreed and Cakobau concurred; but he had not forgiven Tui Kilakila. In 1846, when he came with a great army to aid Cakaudrove in asserting authority over the small *vanua* of Natewa, he stripped his hosts bare and so managed the peace negotiations that Natewa submitted to him, not Tui Kilakila, to the latter's humiliation.¹² In this, Natewa was placing itself under the protection of the victor over Rewa.

Cakobau's war with Rewa seemed, to a particularly good observer, to be different in kind from his other wars. It was 'war in its worst form . . .', wrote the Reverend John Hunt, 'A war of the chiefs as it is called, in which the leading chiefs on either side must be killed before it can terminate'.¹³ The distinction would not appear to hold entirely, for Cakobau pursued his attacks on Verata also with great ferocity. The point may be, however, that between Bau and Rewa there traditionally existed a state of rivalry, in which intermarriage played a large part, but of which the resulting wars were sporting in character, and that in this phase a radical departure from that character took place. It was apparently provoked by Rewa, in several actions—including the destruction of Suva, a town whose chief was *vasu* to Bau—which convinced the Bauans that Roko Tui Dreketi and his brothers despised them. The Rewans expected merely a limited contest of skirmishing and the burning of *qali* towns, to be ended by a conventional offer of submission. They were astounded at the ferocity with which Cakobau went to work when once he was committed to fight. His canoes cut Rewa off from its tributary islands of Kadavu and Beqa. In 1845, by a stratagem, he burnt Lomanikoro, Rewa's

3 Ratu Seru Epenesa Cakobau, Vunivalu of Bau, 1876

(From A. B. Brewster, King of the Cannibal Isles)

4 Henele Ma'afu, Tui Lau. The identity of the lady is unknown.

(By courtesy of the Public Relations Office, Suva)

chief town, and directed the killing of the Roko Tui Dreketi himself.¹⁴

Cakobau's destruction of Rewa, according to Hunt, if secured, 'would not only raise him higher in the scale of honour than any of his predecessors, make him the terror of the whole group, . . . but also raise him in reality to the rank of King of Fiji'.¹⁵ The problem was to secure it. One of the dead chief's brothers, Ratu Cokonauto, was ready enough to be installed Roko Tui Dreketi as the creature of Bau; but another brother and a more formidable man, Ratu Qaraniqio, retreated to the hills with a personal hatred for Cakobau which would never let him submit. By the end of 1846 he had won over several Bauan mainland towns, at one of which Cakobau narrowly escaped death when his canoe was hit by musket balls, and soon afterwards he was back in Lomanikoro, which Bau had rebuilt for Cokonauto. By February 1848 Cakobau had again burnt the town and Qaraniqio had returned to the hills.¹⁶

Events were to prove that while Qaraniqio lived Bau was in danger from Rewa; but by about the year 1850 Cakobau had achieved in a major part of coastal Fiji a primacy which went far to explain, though it did not substantiate, the title 'Tui Viti'. As applied to him, the name had achieved widespread currency amongst Europeans resident in Fiji after the British Consul-General for the Pacific in 1844 sent from Honolulu a letter addressed to him as 'King Seru'. An attack on Somosomo which he was meditating in 1849, to punish it for murmuring against his behaviour in the Natewa war, was rendered unnecessary by the arrival of Tui Kilakila with much tribute next year; in the eyes of Lieutenant Pollard of H.M.S. *Bramble*, and as he told Cakobau, the Cakaudrove people were come 'to pay tribute to you their King'.¹⁷ In April 1850 Bauan forces burnt the town of Verata, and Cakobau was 'elated at an achievement which none of his predecessors could gain'.¹⁸ The Tui Nayau went in fear of Cakobau's displeasure and made haste to load visiting Bauan canoes with tribute. A message to Moala from Cakobau, who himself adhered to his own gods, that he disapproved of the persecution of *lotu*, or Christian, people was effective in relieving the persecuted.¹⁹

To the traditional bases of Bauan power had been added, even in Naulivou's early years, such additional resources as the pre-eminent state was likely to draw from the advent of European castaways and traders. When American *bêche-de-mer* traders began visiting Fiji in the 1820s these resources became considerable, in the form, particularly, of arms and ammunition. Cakobau acquired a huge arsenal in presents received from *bêche-de-mer* traders to win his assistance in working reefs.²⁰ Since *bêche-de-mer* was not to be found in great

quantities on the reefs around Bau but abounded on those off Kadavu, the north coast of Viti Levu, and, especially, the Macuata coast of Vanua Levu, this was to put Cakobau's extended power to the test. And, for about a decade, he met it.

On the Macuata coast in the 1840s Cakobau acquired great influence by interfering in dynastic quarrels. Roko Mamaca, the Tui Macuata of the late 1830s, had killed the previous, and first, holder of the title*—who was apparently his half-brother. He was now troubled by a turbulent nephew, Ritova, who was a son of a chief of Wainikeli, Taveuni, by a sister of the murdered Tui Macuata. His mother's rank gave Ritova considerable standing in Macuata, where matrilineal descent was particularly influential in determining the lines of succession; his force of character translated it into power; and by assisting *bêche-de-mer* traders he became wealthy. One of Ritova's European acquaintances believed that Roko Mamaca's son, Ra Bete, was out-ranked by him because his mother was less well born than Ritova's; according to a good authority, she came from the island of Laucala, so that Bete would have had no standing at all in Macuata through the female line.²¹ A brother of Ritova's was clubbed at Bete's instigation. Ritova appealed to Cakobau, whose fleet aided him in 1841 to drive out Roko Mamaca and his son. For several years afterwards Ritova sent tribute to Bau, and *bêche-de-mer* traders wishing to work the Macuata reefs often came first to Cakobau to ask, and to pay for, his permission. He gave it to a ship in November 1850 in return for six muskets, three kegs of powder, and some rolls of lead. 'Without his sanction, the people durst not have gathered the fish', remarked an observer, 'Tui Viti would have burnt their towns &c & killed many of them!'²²

The hesitation which Cakobau was seen to show in selling his permission on this occasion, however, may indicate an awareness that his hold on Macuata was rapidly loosening. Ritova had been far less amenable since Roko Mamaca was disposed of with the club in 1845, and he was now declining to recognise Bauan claims. At the same time, Cakobau was incurring commitments on the assumption that he controlled the supply of *bêche-de-mer*. In 1851 he had to find 1,000 piculs of the slug in payment to a Salem merchant for an 86-ton schooner which he had earlier ordered, as well as a smaller amount for the would-be sellers of a Sydney schooner to whom he had been induced to give a duplicate order. His emissaries, sent out to scour

*A slightly different *tukutuku*, making Roko Mamaca the first man to be installed as Tui Macuata, is printed in A. Capell and R. H. Lester, 'Local Divisions and Movements in Fiji', *Oceania*, XI (1941), iv. But this account seems to represent the version of events acceptable to Roko Mamaca's descendants and adherents. Other sources incline the weight of evidence in favour of the version given above.

the group for *bêche-de-mer*, mostly returned empty handed. In September word at Lakeba was 'that Thakombau intends either to have *Beche-de-mer* at Mathuata or to fight for it'. He left Bau in January 1852 with about a hundred canoes and was back in March or April, having fought Ritova for the 300 piculs he had obtained.²³

To be obliged thus to fight a recalcitrant tributary was not, in the nature of Fijian politics, a confession of failure. This expedition could have served to reinforce Cakobau's authority in Macuata. But by the time he came home, his position in Bau itself was in danger.

When Cakobau sailed for Macuata he had left behind, apparently in disgrace, the powerful young Bauan chief, Ratu Mara Kapaiwai. Mara was the grandson of a daughter of a Tui Nayau by Banuve, who had seized her after his victory at Lakeba. His mother was also of rank at Lakeba. He therefore had great power in Lau, both as *vasu* and as symbol, as it were, of the Bauan victory. By 1844 he had acquired a reputation for energy in politics and war.²⁴ He was a great seaman and his canoe was constantly seen in Lau, where he exercised his *vasu* privileges to the full.

Cakobau may have been jealous of Mara's consequent wealth. He was certainly uneasy at the possible ambitions of this high-born, vigorous man, who had as wife a half-sister of his; he was given to reminding Mara that his grandmother had been brought to Bau as their mutual grandfather's chattel.²⁵ Fear of Cakobau's displeasure drove Mara to Tonga in about 1846. During the ensuing years he temporarily alienated Lakeba by his turbulence and rapacity; he arrived at Lakeba in 1849 with a fleet gathered from Gau, Moala, and Totoya to enforce his rights with musket and club, but was deflected by the intervention of Tongans gathered there. By the beginning of 1852 he seems to have been in fear of his life. Stripped of his canoe by Cakobau, hearing of plots against him at Bau and unable to get a craft to take him to Lau, he fled to Rewa, where Qaraniqio was now re-installed.²⁶

The effect was, in some degree, to divert Lakeba's wealth from Bau; for though Cakobau took steps to prevent this and Tui Nayau sent a message 'that their Vasu was not going to take away the land from Bau—that Lakeba was not his (Mara's) but the Vunivalu's land', there was coupled with this a plea for Mara's safety. And Mara's relationship with Lakeba proved stronger than either the people's fear of active Bauan displeasure or their resentment against his earlier exactions. He was back there in July 1852, gathering supplies which he sent to Rewa.²⁷

Cakobau's enemies in Rewa were further strengthened in their bid for vengeance against him by an exchange of visits with Ritova.

of Tui Kilakila's murder by an ambitious son was inconsistent with his former belief that to fight, to plot, and to die were the proper parts of a chief; for sons had killed fathers before. And he may have felt, with Tui Nayau, that there was more safety for a great chief in Christianity than under the old gods.³¹

His conversion in some respects was to be a model one; after three years of instruction he was baptised with the name 'Epenesa', underwent Christian marriage to Adi Samanunu, and was for the rest of his life attentive to the observances of his church. But for the primary decision, in which he formally involved the whole island of Bau, there was a political motive, one that outweighed the hardening of opposition amongst his enemies that his conversion seems to have caused: he had hopes of help from Christian Tonga. Tāufa'āhau (King George Tupou I) had passed through Fiji in the *John Wesley* in 1853 and had not failed to urge Christianity upon Cakobau. Cakobau now accepted it, some eight days after receiving from Tāufa'āhau a letter which again urged this course upon him and which promised another visit, ostensibly to collect the gifts offered him in 1853.³²

Tāufa'āhau had political ambitions in Fiji and came with a larger force than was necessary for a peaceful visit. Off Levuka shots were fired at one of his canoes. They were instigated, apparently, by Mara, who had conceived a grievance against the presence of Tongans in Fiji after they kept him out of Lakeba in 1849, and they provided Tāufa'āhau, who valued his reputation as a Christian king, with an excuse for aiding Cakobau. Tongans would not be safe in Fiji, he was reported as saying, whilst Mara was at large. Mara was besieged in Kaba, which fell to a Tongan charge. Qaraniqio was already dead of dysentery, speechless at the end and unable to name his successor as Roko Tui Dreketi. The victors went on a peace-making progress through his domains to Lomanikoro, and then on to levy tribute from Beqa and Kadavu.³³

One result of Tāufa'āhau's intervention—for which he was well recompensed—was to bring to the fore the large question of the Tongan presence in Fiji. In Cakobau's view, expressed in 1853, the Tongans were a strong-minded, purposeful people, in comparison with whom the Fijians were weak.³⁴ He had opportunity to verify this opinion at frequent intervals during the next twenty-eight years, in his relations with Tāufa'āhau's cousin, Henele Ma'afu.

Ratu Mara complained before the engagement at Kaba that the Tongans were wrong in fighting in Fiji;³⁵ but they had been doing so for generations, coming first to build the large double canoes for which their own islands had no adequate timber and then to win the riches—

especially sandalwood to scent their coconut oil—in which Tonga was also poor, and to be feasted by their Fijian allies on a vast scale,³⁶ engaging in Fijian wars. They had assisted Tanoa in his exile, had fought on the side of Cakobau against Tui Kilakila and Roko Mamaca in 1841, and were with Cakobau and Tui Kilakila against Natewa a few years later. Fiji served as a place where young Tongans could acquire a reputation and their seniors find an asylum from political dangers in their own islands. Tongans married into the chiefly aristocracy of Fiji, particularly in Lau. Zephaniah Lualala, a chief of Vava'u, who arrived at Lakeba in 1842 escaping from wars in which Tāufa'āhau had been victorious, was *vasu* to Tui Nayau. Tui Bua of Vanua Levu had a Tongan wife. There were permanent towns of Tongans born in Fiji established, for instance, on Kadavu, and Tongans were settled, often as carpenters, on Vanua Levu, in Lomaiviti, Rewa, and Nadroga. The ruling house of Nadroga was, according to tradition, descended from a castaway Tongan.

The main centre of the Tongans in Fiji was Lakeba, where their towns served for some as a semi-permanent home, for others as a staging-post between the two groups. During the 1840s the Tongan population fluctuated as canoes came and went—the former process to the detriment of local food supplies, the latter meaning loss to their owners of Fijian artefacts. The fifteen big canoes, with perhaps 1,000 Tongans, which sailed late in 1841 or early 1842, were estimated to be taking back with them no fewer than 400 wooden bowls.

In October 1842—a few months before Cakobau came to stay for some time at Lakeba—Tāufa'āhau himself arrived, forced there by contrary winds on his way home to Tonga from Samoa, where he had been placing Tongan teachers for the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. He met at Lakeba the principal Tongan chief then in Fiji, William Lajike, an old enemy and rival who belonged to the 'Ulukālala family of Vava'u and was soon to take the great name of Fīnau. Lajike told him that he thought of remaining in Fiji, that he now, with Tāufa'āhau, worshipped 'the only true God', and that their work was the same, 'to spread true religion'.³⁷ Fīnau died prematurely two years later and Tāufa'āhau took the opportunity to write to Cakobau and Tanoa; he thanked them for their protection of Tongans in Fiji but warned them about the like of Fīnau, whose brother was still in Fiji, and whom Tāufa'āhau had regarded as an obstacle to his own influence at Bau, which he wanted an invitation to visit.³⁸ The turn taken by his earlier reported conversation with Lajike is significant, as indicating an inclination on the part of Tongans to establish permanent power in Fiji and to extend it under the cloak of religion.

When Mara stopped at Lakeba on his way home from Tonga in

1847, several high ranking Tongans came with him. Among them was the son of Tāufa'āhau's predecessor as Tu'i Kanokupolu, his cousin, Henele Ma'afu.³⁹ Some twenty years later, with a great reputation established, Ma'afu was described as 'a fine man physically, being six feet in height, and well proportioned', able and far-sighted.⁴⁰ Already, as a young man, he had made a sandalwood voyage to the New Hebrides in a Tahiti ship, which with its consorts had called briefly *en route* at Lakeba in 1842. As leader, apparently, of the Tongans employed to cut the wood, Ma'afu was prominent in action with the men of Efate who resented the intrusion; he was reported to have had some suffocated by wood smoke in a cave.⁴¹

It is not clear whether, as legend later had it, Ma'afu was urged to go to Fiji by Tāufa'āhau who wished to see a possible rival out of Tonga. The expedition was, after all, part of the education of a Tongan chief and Tāufa'āhau's son came in the same fleet as Ma'afu. Certainly Ma'afu was at this time given no authority over the Tongans in Fiji, nor does he seem to have asserted any precedence. The expedition of twelve canoes which left Lakeba in December 1847 to inquire into the death of a local preacher on Vanua Balavu—and the result of which was many conversions at Mago, Nayau, and Cicia, as well as Lomaloma—was led by Zephaniah Lualala. Significantly, too, Ma'afu was not immediately introduced to Tui Kilakila when the latter visited Lakeba in 1849. They met only when Tui Kilakila begged a canoe which caught his eye, and which turned out to be Ma'afu's.⁴²

This meeting was, however, of considerable importance to Ma'afu. He sailed back with Tui Kilakila to Somosomo—despoiling the church at Lomaloma on the way, in the unregenerate manner of the Tongan chief overseas—and accompanied him to a *solevu* at Bau. Whilst they were at Lomaloma, according to later accounts, Tui Kilakila made over to Ma'afu the right to levy produce from the whole large island of Vanua Balavu, which lay within the ambit of Cakaudrove's authority. Ma'afu was later to represent this grant as a cession to him of all Cakaudrove power over the island. He did, apparently, acquire sufficient influence with Tui Kilakila for the latter's later reported intention of making war on Lakeba to be ascribed to his prompting; but it is unlikely that so vigorous a holder of the proud title of Tui Cakau would have intended more than a generous, hospitable gesture to a visitor of high rank, whose canoe he had appropriated, and who may have represented to him the recurrent food shortage to which Lakeba was subject, with its large, idle Tongan enclave.

Equally, Tui Kilakila may have spoken with abandon to a man who felt strong enough to take his words literally. The concern Tui

Kilakila was shortly showing for his rights in Vanua Balavu—sending canoes there in 1851 to remind the people of their obligations to Cakaudrove—may indicate that, when Ma'afu stopped with three canoes at Lomaloma on his way back to Lakeba late in 1850, he had behaved as though he was the master of the land. Tui Kilakila's emissaries paid particular attention to the Christian minority at Lomaloma, in inculcating sound principles of obedience, and this in turn served to bring Ma'afu thither early in 1852, in company with William Wetasau, son of a former Tui Nayau and heir presumptive to the present one. There is some evidence that Ma'afu left a party at Lomaloma. Raivalita, son of Tui Kilakila, sent there to assert Cakaudrove authority after the canoes from Lakeba left, was soon driven out.⁴³

There was now, indeed, a new power striking out from Lakeba, enabled to do so successfully by the stretching of Cakobau's resources and by Tui Kilakila's troubles with his sons. It was exercised in the name of the Tui Nayau, ostensibly in defence of Christianity, and apparently under the joint leadership of William Wetasau and Ma'afu. At this point the initiative in deciding the place and nature of a campaign seems to have lain with Wetasau, whilst Ma'afu provided leadership in the field.

In 1852-3 they fought together at Moala, Totoya, and Matuku, in a war which, as gradually became clear to the horrified understanding of the Reverend R. B. Lyth at Lakeba, was one in which factions in these islands—including a rebellious son of the Tui Yaroi of Matuku—had become Christians in order to win support from Lakeba. William Wetasau had known of the plot. Ma'afu, by his own account and that of the mission teacher who accompanied the expedition, had not. He fought vigorously. In Lyth's view Ma'afu had sailed 'in a state of mind to become an easy prey—and their tool . . .'; but Lyth did not consider him so much involved as Wetasau and a chief of Moala, whom he expelled from church membership.

Almost at once, however, Ma'afu began making preparations with Wetasau for a similar expedition to Vanua Balavu. Their fleet of six canoes from Lau and two from Tonga was dispersed by bad weather off Lakeba in March, immediately after sailing. Next month Ma'afu sailed for Bau with Tui Nayau's envoy, to condole with Cakobau on the death of Tanoa.⁴⁴ He was, therefore, probably at Bau when Cakobau, whose island of Moala he had lately helped to reduce, was installed as Vunivalu.

The record indicates that during these first seven years in Fiji Ma'afu had simply been following the normal course of the footloose Tongan chief, building a new canoe, paying visits, fighting. The reduction of the Moala group had gained legitimacy from Tui Nayau,

whilst Ma'afu in his adventures had had, as at least an equal associate, the Tui Nayau's heir. Now his situation was to change. Late in 1853 Tāufa'āhau, ostensibly yielding to missionary representations from Lakeba that his people there needed a strong hand to curb their licentiousness, appointed Ma'afu governor of the Tongans in Fiji. He was to hold the position in association with Lualala, but the latter was an old man.

The immediate result was a series of assemblies at Lakeba at which Ma'afu, who underwent several conversions in his time, exhorted his countrymen to cease painting their faces, going bare-legged, and fornicating.⁴⁵ The result was also to bring under one hand many scattered Tongan communities in the group and, of no less importance, many individual Tongan Wesleyan mission teachers. And it was to make Ma'afu in Fiji, like Tāufa'āhau in Tonga, the accredited champion of Wesleyan Methodism. When seventeen Wesleyans were killed on Vanua Balavu in April 1854, Lyth appealed to Ma'afu; he sailed with two canoes, fought at Mualevu, and received the *tabua* and baskets of earth which meant that the people and the land had passed into his control. Ma'afu sent word to Raivalita, Tui Cakau in the place of his murdered father and with many troubles on his hands, that he held Vanua Balavu. Raivalita replied, 'hold it'.⁴⁶ Ma'afu did so, effectively, for the rest of his life.

With the resources of this rich island at his disposal, with five or six canoes and some 800 Tongans at his command—and with his former comrade-in-arms, Wetasau, lost at sea in 1856—Ma'afu in the late 1850s became something of a *deus ex machina* in Fijian politics. He advanced his own power and wealth equally with the tenets of John Wesley. European traders found that Lau—which by 1858 seemed to them to be a Tongan possession—was producing much greater supplies of coconut oil than before and ascribed its economic awakening, as they saw it, to Tongan demands for tribute.⁴⁷ In about 1857 Ma'afu acquired a locally-built schooner. He called her the *Elenoa*, after his wife, and mounted her with swivels. He found considerable use for them in wars on Vanua Levu, supposedly in defence of Christianity.

The Wesleyan mission station at Tiliva, Vanua Levu, existed in a chiefdom, that of Bua, long rent by internal dissension, in difficulties with the neighbouring related chiefdom of Solevu with its ally, Wainunu, and at enmity with Ritova of Macuata. Vakawaletabua, the young Tui Bua who accepted Christianity in 1855, was the son of a Tongan mother. In 1857 he appealed for help to Ma'afu. The latter referred the affair to Cakobau, who did in fact take it up immediately. By May he was reported to have had considerable success at Solevu,

burning several towns. There was no peace. Tui Wainunu attacked, as apparently did Ritova, and Cakobau, who had told Tui Bua to look to Bau again rather than to Ma'afu for help, was unable to provide it; his half-brothers Draunibaka and Savenaca had quarrelled with him and fled from Bau. Ma'afu therefore was sent to again and this time came swiftly, as did Tui Cakau, who had now accepted him as an ally. Together, as Tui Bua later recalled:

we attacked Macuata as far as Udu and Cikobia. They were all heathens round there in those days. We then returned to Bua and attacked Solevu, and burnt Sawana and Korolevu, and all Wainunu and Solevu, and took them prisoners. And Tui Wainunu soro'd [submitted] with 30 whales teeth. Some of us wanted to kill Tui Wainunu, but I interfered. And then the warriors were angry. So I got Maafu to take him on board his vessel. And he took him off to Savu Savu and we took Ritova prisoner, also at Wai Levu. And Maafu gave Ritova over to Tui Cakau. We took all the people from Toga Levu, Sawana, Na Ibi Kavv, and took them down to Bua, and this portion of the country was empty.⁴⁸

The chiefdom of Bua was exalted, those of Solevu and Wainunu much reduced, though Solevu in particular declined to consider itself so subject to Bua as the latter required and cherished Roman Catholicism in protest; for, as Tui Bua said, 'They all lotu'd after that war of fright'.

Ma'afu was, by his own account, fighting 'for the Chief of Bau and for the [Wesleyan] mission'. Cakobau, through the missionary at Bau, was represented as approving of the war and some of his forces seem to have been involved at times. It was always known as the war of the Tongans, however, and Ma'afu conducted it. In the opinion of the Acting British Consul, himself generally a friend of Ma'afu's, he was 'acting the firebrand' with 'a desire to aggrandise himself'.⁴⁹

Ma'afu was soon behaving with considerable provocation towards Bau and, in doing so, may have broken any hope of an understanding with Cakobau. The latter would up to this point have been puzzled how to treat a Tongan who, by his assertion of rights in land, was behaving in a manner in which none of his fellow countrymen had overtly behaved before this. If Cakobau had been tempted to use Ma'afu to fight battles in which Bau had some interest, he now decided this was too dangerous. Ma'afu was in the vicinity of Bau with a large force early in 1859, and was negotiating with Rewa. Towards the end of the year he accepted the Beqa chiefs' offer of their island, which Cakobau liked to regard as one of his spoils from the battle of Kaba. In November Ma'afu's canoes appeared at Kadavu—another

of those spoils, in Cakobau's view—and, presumably by threat and persuasion, induced its leading chiefs not only to *lotu* but also to place themselves under him.⁵⁰

He and Cakobau were now openly at enmity, each seeing the other as a threat to himself. A Catholic missionary thought it probable that Cakobau—now, by several different testimonies, hated in the windward islands for his recent hanging of Mara Kapaiwai, who had surrendered on implied terms—would be killed and Ma'afu rule Fiji. By some reports, Ma'afu looked forward to this and asked the foreign consuls to allow him three months of unhampered fighting in Fiji.⁵¹ The permission was never given, for the consuls feared for the safety of European trading interests.

If truly reported, Ma'afu's request indicates on his part a disinclination to offend the foreigners which may have paralysed him. Along with his Tongan self-confidence in relations with Europeans went a considerable respect for European power and a very accurate understanding of European attitudes, particularly the average European's contempt for coloured people. Some years later Ma'afu was to be reported as saying, sneeringly, that he feared to disobey a white official, for 'he was only a Blackman and might be hanged'.⁵² His far-sightedness may have been a burden; he perhaps saw so clearly the possible results of a decisive course of action that he preferred to await events.

His power reached now from Lakeba to the Yasawas, in both of which places, as well as at Kadavu, he could levy produce. And though, given the fragmented and shifting nature of political alignments in Fiji, Cakobau could perhaps do the same—except at Lakeba, whose riches had been virtually cut off from him since Ma'afu's ascendancy—the Tongan's power to windward was more firmly established than that of Bau had ever been and was exercised, apparently, in a different manner. Bau's authority was exercised through tribute levied to the point of becoming plunder. For his part, Ma'afu did not stint himself, for instance, in coconut oil for the purchase of schooners or in pigs, of which he levied 500 in 1863 to sell at 4 cents per pound to a ship bound for the Californian gold diggings; but his power seems to have been used, in the admittedly biased Tui Bua's phrase, to 'screen the land', and with moderation.⁵³ The political settlement for the windward islands of which he was the author in about October 1859 seems the mark of a man confident of his personal authority and content to exercise it covertly. Tui Bua was to be master of his extended chieftom and Bete, the exiled Ritova's rival, was to be Tui Macuata; both were to owe allegiance to Raivalita, Tui Cakau, under the newly-coined title of 'Tui Vanua Levu'. If the Reverend Joseph Waterhouse was correct in asserting that Tui Vanua Levu's authority

was to extend over Lakeba and Vanua Balavu, it may indicate that Ma'afu was contemplating a permanent return to Tonga.⁵⁴

The extent of Ma'afu's influence to windward was indicated a few months after this proposed settlement when the newly arrived British Consul to Fiji, W. T. Pritchard, solicited chiefly signatures to an offer of cession to Britain. Cakobau had a promise from Pritchard that under a colonial government he would be supreme in native matters and saw such a cession as his salvation, troubled as he was by United States naval commanders demanding payment of the American debt. From Lau came protests that the land there was not Cakobau's but—as the Lomaloma chiefs protested, including in their list several islands besides Vanua Balavu—that of Ma'afu. Neither Tui Nayau, Tui Cakau, nor Tui Bua wished to cede their lands. In the event, it was Ma'afu who persuaded all three to do so.

Ma'afu was against a cession and resented Cakobau's part in the proposal. On the authority of the Wesleyan missionaries, however, he believed that England was determined to take Fiji; and he had personal experience of Pritchard's methods in December 1859, when the consul forced him by threats to sign away Tongan claims in Fiji. He went away from that meeting in a rage, swearing 'That the Wesleyan Methodist religion was bad and that he would turn all his people Catholic'.⁵⁵ But he came back to see Pritchard in January 1860, with the hope that under a colonial government he would be made governor of Lau and Vanua Levu; failing this, he would return to Tonga. With him, at his insistence, came Tui Bua, Tui Cakau, Tui Nayau, Bete of Macuata, and the deposed Ritova. Once at the consulate, Tui Cakau, Tui Nayau, and Tui Bua still declined to sign and Ma'afu had to persuade them. He was bowing to *force majeure*, feeling that they 'were made pitiable' by their attempts to resist the unavoidable. As he told Joel Bulu—the influential Tongan assistant minister whose relations with Ma'afu would repay study—'if we were asked to give and might please ourselves, it would have been well, but this is compulsion'.⁵⁶

It is possible that Ma'afu's action over this proposed cession affected his hold on Cakaudrove. At any rate, although Pritchard received all the blame for returning Ritova to Macuata in 1860, and although the consul's land claims in that chiefdom benefited from his doing so, Tui Cakau's brother and right hand, Ratu Golea, was equally involved. Ritova had, indeed, won over his father's land of Cakaudrove to his side from that of Ma'afu, whose ally, Bete, was soon murdered by Ritova's son. Ma'afu and his lieutenant, Wainiqolo, with all Tongan forces, were ordered to keep out of Macuata for twelve months by a

British man-of-war whose commander accepted Pritchard's representations that they were the aggressors.⁵⁷

Soon after February 1862 Ma'afu sailed from Lakeba to attend the fourth meeting of the parliament of Tonga, at which Tāufa'āhau was to promulgate a constitution and code of laws. Faced, on the one hand, with some likelihood of being named Tāufa'āhau's heir in Tonga and, on the other, with no better prospect, under annexation, than a governorship under Cakobau, he may not have intended to return. Certainly he took with him, not only Tui Bua, on a visit, but also the bulk of the Tongan forces in Fiji. This makes it unlikely that Ma'afu was responsible—as he always denied he was—for the subsequent actions of Wainiqolo. The latter, a notoriously savage fighter, was called in by the Wesleyan party in Cakaudrove who feared Golea, nominally a Catholic; he became allied, too, with Ratu Kuila, another of Tui Cakau's brothers and one of the murderers of their father, Tui Kilakila. Adding to his small Tongan nucleus from Vanua Balavu a force of Fijians gathered from northern Lau and from Rewa, Wainiqolo struck first at Ritova and then at Tui Cakau. He had captured the latter, a sick man, and had burnt several towns on Vanua Levu and Taveuni, when he met his death besieging Golea at Wairiki.⁵⁸

Ma'afu's return was awaited with apprehension in Fiji. Behind him always loomed Tāufa'āhau. The latter at this time was threatening to resent in a signal manner the death of one Tongan in a war in Samoa. He was incensed at Cakobau's offer of Fiji to Britain and, by way of making his displeasure felt, was demanding of him \$60,000 for his help in the war of 1855. In answer to a letter from Cakobau saying that each should allow the other to rule his own islands in peace, he had replied with taunts and threats. What was this Fiji that Cakobau spoke of as ruled by him? Did he rule Cakaudrove, Lau, Macuata, or Rewa? As for Bau itself, he had given that to Britain. The Tongans, wrote Tāufa'āhau, had lands in Fiji, some conquered, others ceded by Fijians for Tongan protection. If it was wrong for Tonga to rule over such lands, 'then it is wrong for England to rule over India & New Zealand—and for France to rule over Tahiti'.⁵⁹

Ma'afu himself, however, appeared to be anxious for peace when, with a schooner and four canoes, he anchored at Waikava, Vanua Levu, late in December 1862. No provision had been made for his succession in Tāufa'āhau's new constitution. Ma'afu had not even been made a governor, at £200 per annum, but only a judge, at £80. This, observed the Reverend James Calvert, was far too little for him, 'after rolling in wealth in Fiji for years, & running into fearful amounts of debt with many who were soft enough to trust him'.

Further influenced, perhaps, by messages from European residents that, if he brought war, they would join with the Fijians to drive him out of the group, he denied responsibility for the fighting. It was ridiculous, he complained, to suppose that he was the cause of the last or any other war in Fiji. 'Whoever heard of Tongans commencing war in Fiji! Fijians get into trouble by themselves, and one party entreats us to help. We have again and again complied, & I have lost many of my best attendants by engaging in Fijian fights when requested.' He wanted now to settle down at Lakeba or Lomaloma and to gather all the Tongans into a community under Tongan laws.⁶⁰

In February 1863 Ma'afu was visited at Waikava by Cakobau, who had lately confessed that 'his days for fighting, in which he had delighted, were over'. Together they crossed the Somosomo Strait to see Golea, who was now Tui Cakau on the death of Raivalita. He—wounded in the arm during one of the battles with Wainiqolo—was equally ready to make terms. And Tāufa'āhau, who had met opposition to his proposed expedition from the Vava'u chiefs, was finally dissuaded from it by a letter from the United States Commercial Agent in Fiji, Dr I. M. Brower. Brower threatened that America would hold Tonga liable for the American debt if by intervention in Fiji he prevented Cakobau from paying it. Tāufa'āhau sent, instead, commissioners to inquire into Tongan claims to land and political power in Fiji.⁶¹ The claims they advanced—some based on deeds of gift already in Tāufa'āhau's hands, others handed to them by Ma'afu—indicated how far Tongan tentacles had reached into Fiji. The list included not merely all Lau and Rabi, but also Taveuni, and all the coastal chiefdoms of Vanua Levu, as well as the Yasawas, Beqa, and Nadroga. Each chiefdom was to rule itself, but to be subject to Tonga.⁶²

The foreign consuls were against the Tongans, however, for Tongan views on the sale of land, for instance, were an obstacle to European economic advancement. Nor would Cakobau agree to these inflated claims. Not until November 1864 was it agreed that Moala, Matuku, and Vanua Balavu, where Ma'afu had ruled for ten years, should go to Tonga, along with Rabi which Tāufa'āhau had won by conquest and cession in 1855. Even though Ma'afu was conciliatory towards Cakobau, freely offering that Macuata should be subject to Bau, Cakobau was at the last reluctant to see all hope of recovering his former power in Lau pass away. He was reluctant, too, to accept the Tongan presence as finally permanent, 'half believing that he might somehow or other get the whole group under his own control, if they went away'.⁶³ But the Tongans made good these more limited claims before the British

Consul. Their flag was raised and, with a commission as governor from Tāufa'āhau, Ma'afu ruled at Lomaloma.

With his ascendancy to windward formally recognised, Ma'afu established in his islands there a state based on Tongan law, as it related to personal conduct—in which it was minatory—and to land. As his *matāpule*, Joni Mafi, later said, now 'commenced the Law, the Making roads, Division of lands and Tax-making'.⁶⁴ Taxes had been paid to Ma'afu by Vanua Balavu since 1855, but no changes had been made in the tenure of land. Ruling as a conqueror and, owing to the strength of his arm, unchallenged, Ma'afu now divided land into individual allotments, each to be held by an adult male who paid taxes to him in coconut oil. Land was made available to Europeans for cotton planting, but on lease only, for he followed the example—or, perhaps, the instructions—of Tāufa'āhau in forbidding the alienation of land. Ma'afu received the rents.

The division—which in years following was to be extended to all Lau—was immediately popular in Vanua Balavu, from whence a Fijian local preacher wrote in about 1865 that it gave commoners security in their land rights.⁶⁵ It has lasted, and remains now a system of individual land tenure unusual in Fiji. It was not, however, so clear-cut or so productive of stability as a simple description suggests. The land of deceased Fijians was given to Tongans; there was often a scramble for land; and some of those who had received plots in the division were turned off to make room for European cotton planters. Ma'afu's principle was that they should have land who could make most profitable use of it. His own estates were worked by the many who infringed his rigid moral laws.⁶⁶

It is likely that he grew rich and that the European firms which opened offices at Lomaloma—such as F. & W. Hennings—prospered in association with him. Much of the capital which, as advances in goods to the European planters, the Hennings brothers invested in plantations to leeward—to their ruin as a great firm by 1874, so it proved—was probably made available to them by their Hamburg and Sydney backers on the strength of their rich trade in Ma'afu's Lau. Many planters swallowed their dislike of leasehold tenure and Tongan self-confidence in order to profit by the security offered under his rule.

Ma'afu's political energies still extended beyond Lau. On Vanua Levu—except in Macuata—and on Taveuni he had all his old influence. Neither Tui Bua nor Tui Cakau, with whom he had repaired relations at a secret meeting in late 1863, had been impressed by the Confederation of Chiefs, with Cakobau as president, which had been established at a meeting held in Levuka in 1865 under the aegis of the then British Consul, Captain H. M. Jones. Ma'afu never attended.

Tui Bua and Tui Cakau went to only two meetings of the Confederation before leaving it. Although they obeyed Cakobau's instructions to install a Tui Macuata—in an attempt to bring peace to that divided chiefdom—they were probably apprehensive of Cakobau's avowed intention of making himself master of the interior of Viti Levu. Their own island of Vanua Levu might follow.⁶⁷ The windward chiefs intended to rule their own lands undisturbed and, if they were to own any other authority, they preferred Ma'afu's. The result was the *Tovata i Lau* of 1867, a defensive alliance in which Tui Bua and Tui Cakau, with Katonivere of Macuata, Bete's son, were joined by Ma'afu. He claimed to represent Tui Nayau also; the latter temporarily broke the alliance within a few months by withdrawing on the grounds that he feared it would weaken his relations with Tonga.

But all Fiji, and Ma'afu with it, were soon to be given up by Tonga. Tāufa'āhau's ambitions towards Fiji had been real and in the late 1860s they still lingered. In 1867, if Brower is to be believed, he was saying that but for American interference he would now be King of Fiji, with Ma'afu as his viceroy.⁶⁸ He was being urged by a mission teacher to seize Fiji, in the interests of Tongan revenue. But an American warship's visit that year reminded him of the danger to Tonga should he involve it with the unpaid American debt.⁶⁹ And it was now only old-fashioned Tongan chiefs who insisted on using sandalwood-scented coconut oil in their toilet; Tāufa'āhau himself, his secretary wrote, 'often uses Salad Oil'.⁷⁰ In 1869, almost certainly against Ma'afu's wishes, the cord was cut. Tongan rights in Fiji were ceded to him personally. And, by agreement with Tui Nayau, the chiefdom of Vanua Balavu was allied with that of Lakeba, and Ma'afu was installed over all, with the newly invented title of Tui Lau.

He was now, in the eyes of Tonga at any rate, a chief of Fiji. If he had entertained hopes of succeeding to the throne of Tonga and taking all Lau with him, those hopes were, according to report from Tonga, not likely to be realised. In the eyes of any Fijian who owed allegiance to Bau, on the other hand, he was an interloper, with no security should it ever be within the power of Bau to dispossess him. But he could still hope for the power in a wider context than Lau that he was thought to desire, if he worked in association with Europeans, who, as he believed, needed Tongans to manage Fijians for them, if Fiji was ever to be at rest.⁷¹ Perhaps this hope lay behind his decision—otherwise a surprising one, for he had lately been intriguing against Bau and, equally, subjected to Bauan intrigues—to join in 1871 a general government for Fiji; he became Governor of Lau, Commander-in-Chief, and Viceroy under King Cakobau.

Cakobau had received the news in 1862 that Britain declined to accept Pritchard's cession of Fiji with a despondency which events during the ensuing nine years seldom lessened.

Bau had not, indeed, ceased to be the major Fijian metropolis. Cakobau's authority in Lomaiviti remained, as also in northern Viti Levu, and Rewa was under his heel. He had influence on the west coast of Viti Levu, where Tui Ba recognised him in some sense as overlord.⁷² The degree to which Cakobau remained a power is indicated by the grievances of Tui Bua, expressed some years later. Cakobau's canoes, he complained, were levying with a high hand at the Yasawas in the mid-1860s, Bauan messengers were at work against him at Solevu and Vuya—saying 'Why do you listen to Tui Bua he is only a foreigner, a Tongan'—and Bauan forces were active in defence of Solevu when he attacked it.⁷³ Nor did Buli Vuya and Buli Solevu submit to Bua, but sent to Cakobau that they wished to be subject rather to him.

The problem, from Cakobau's viewpoint, was that all this did not lead to Tui Bua's sending to him canoes laden with tribute, as might have happened in the 1840s. Instead, Tui Bua obtained a promise from Ma'afu and Tui Cakau that they would assist him if Bau went too far. Bauan political activity to windward was thus hamstrung by the knowledge that Ma'afu could, and would, effectively intervene. Cakobau was cut off, too, from the riches of Lakeba and Cakaudrove, of which some share would in times past have come to him. It would have been especially galling, when the trade in coconut oil was increasing, to see the proceeds go to Ma'afu or stay with Tui Cakau and Tui Nayau.

In the early 1860s he had had to choose between an alliance with the Tongans or with those Europeans who feared Tongan influence. Choosing the Europeans, in his resentment against Ma'afu and Tāufa'āhau, he found himself subjected to uncongenial pressures. Settlers who were carving out plantations up the Rewa River and its tributaries made demands upon him which he was often not able to fulfil. On their behalf, in 1867, he was engaged in wars in the interior of Viti Levu; his lack of success showed how hopeless were his aspirations to be master there. He was set up as 'King of the Bau Dominions' that year, but in the event only to his added despair. For instance, whilst he drew a royalty of one shilling per acre of land sold to Europeans therein, he was, at the same time, conscious of the dangers of alienating large areas. 'There are three bad men in Fiji', he was reported to have told Tui Ba, 'You, Tui Cakau & Tui Dreketi, for you are in the habit of selling lands'. He remained a fervent church member; indeed his assiduity in religious observances sometimes

seemed to be in proportion to his temporal frustrations. But his manner towards visiting warship commanders and resident consuls often showed the brusquerie of thwarted ambition, the consciousness of rank insulted. 'I am not like a man chosen to be Captain of a ship', he found it necessary to remind the British Consul in 1864, 'I was born captain—born a chief.'⁷⁴

He complained to the American Commercial Agent that the Tongans were galling him by their activity at Beqa and Kadavu; and, indeed, a protest from Ma'afu that Beqa was his island prevented Cakobau from alienating it, as he intended, along with lands which he ostensibly ceded in 1868 to a company from Melbourne which undertook to pay off the American debt. But he regretted now that he could not again expect Tongan support as in 1855. Even with this pressing matter of the debt settled, he still wrote to Tāufa'āhau, asking apparently for help of some kind; and a few months earlier, when he met Ma'afu by chance at Moturiki, he had bemoaned his having put his trust in Europeans, instead of joining with him years before when Ma'afu offered to help pay the debt.⁷⁵

Despite this disillusionment with Europeans and their works, the government which in Cakobau's name was declared to be in existence at Levuka in June 1871 had his enthusiastic support. From the beginning he spent much of his time in Levuka 'on state business' and in September that year horrified his spiritual adviser, the Reverend Frederick Langham, by proposing to sail thither from Bau on a Sunday, the first time he had broken God's law in this manner since he became a church member. He was reported to be of one mind with Ma'afu in a desire to establish peace and order in Fiji.⁷⁶

During the short existence—June 1871 to March 1874—of this government which, beginning from a narrow basis, succeeded in attracting a considerable measure of acceptance from Fijian leaders and initially from Europeans, Cakobau's support rarely wavered: understandably, for the power of Bau was, at any rate, consolidated, and had the appearance of being increased. Of the chiefs appointed to govern provinces under the government, Ratu Timoci of Naitasiri had Cakobau's daughter as wife and Ratu Isikeli of Ra and Yasawas was, as Roko Tui Viwa, particularly subject to Cakobau's influence. Bauan officials were requested by settlers even in the windward districts, and were sent to them. Tawaki, Tui Ba, sent word that he recognised no white man's instructions 'and that unless he received direct instructions from Cakobau he will do nothing . . .', notwithstanding which, he was, at Cakobau's instigation, deposed in favour of his uncle, Nabeka. From the centre of military operations in a war in central

Viti Levu in 1873, the Minister for Native Affairs wrote that nothing could be done without the assurance that Cakobau directed it.⁷⁷

Cakobau's reported actions and attitudes during these years are inevitably much coloured by those of the government's European ministers. It became their claim that they stood for a policy of equality between Fijian and European, as against the bulk of their fellow whites, whose leaders were racists. The truth of this the latter, of course, denied.⁷⁸ Any words of Cakobau which support ministers' claims and depend on reports by government officials must, therefore, be treated with care. But the racism of many Europeans is attested both in word in the *Fiji Times* and in some cases in action on their plantations. At Ba and Tavua, for instance, planters as a matter of course shot Fijians from the mountains who ventured on to their land. It is, then, more likely than not to be an accurate statement of Cakobau's views when a government official, reporting Cakobau's interference on behalf of plantation labourers ill-treated by their employer, wrote that he had 'expressed himself in the strongest terms to me accusing the whites of murder cruelty and stating that they regarded the natives merely as pigs and dogs to be shot at beaten starved and ill used by every possible way'.⁷⁹ In holding serious reservations about the attitudes and behaviour of many of the European population, Cakobau was again at one with Ma'afu.

Ma'afu had been active in 1871 in inducing some of the windward chiefs—outside Lau, which automatically followed him—to accept the government. He intervened to end a war in Dreketi, Vanua Levu, and brought the warring chiefs to Levuka.⁸⁰ His adhesion almost certainly secured that of Tui Bua and probably moved the more reluctant Tui Cakau to join. During the next two years he could be counted upon to give public assurances of his loyalty to Cakobau and the government and his dislike of Europeans who abused it.

The latter feeling seems to have been genuine. In June 1872 he offered as a reason for leaving Levuka to return to Lomaloma his wish to escape the Europeans in the former place, who 'greatly harrassed him'. Prevailed on to stay long enough to close parliament next month in Cakobau's absence, he prefaced his official speech—obviously written by the ministers—with a long personal statement attacking Europeans. This was 'an age of good things for Fiji'; he rejoiced at it, for Fiji was united; but he disliked the disunion among the whites. If they did not like the government and the laws, let them leave the group.⁸¹

Again, in August 1873, when the bulk of the Europeans were calling for annexation to Great Britain and the ministers were preparing to govern by the native vote, he spoke in similar terms. As resident

Europeans had abused missionaries in the past—he told a commodore of the Royal Navy who came, reluctantly, to present the views of his countrymen—so now they vilified Cakobau's government: 'I have no rest from their evil speaking . . .'. He and Cakobau were 'of one mind in all these matters, and have one common desire; and that is, the good of Fiji'.⁸² A European demonstration next month at Nasova, the site of the government offices in Levuka, was broken up by his Tongan troops.

Ma'afu's behaviour was more equivocal than his words. It was always doubtful whether he saw 'the good of Fiji' in the same light as Cakobau and the ministers, whether he did not hanker after independent power. So far as Lau was concerned, he still had it. The central government's taxes came from that wealthy province erratically, if at all—for, as Ma'afu later said, 'If a tree is torn up & flung into the sea at Lau it floats to Levuka but it never comes back'⁸³—and the officers sent to Lomaloma from Levuka to assist in its administration were not warmly welcomed by him. He advised other governors against paying taxes. He had doubts now about the viability of a general government for Fiji and mistrusted the ministers, who he felt were 'carrying too much sail', employing too many clerks and spending too much money.⁸⁴

Rumours of Ma'afu's intention to secede were current before his speech of July 1872 and his disavowal of it then did not stop them. He refused to become involved in, or send a Lau contingent to, the wars which were being fought in defence of settlers on Viti Levu in 1873. In May that year he was considering throwing off the government and in July he and Tui Cakau did make the attempt. Tui Cakau was irritated at the central government's holding courts in his territory, while both Ma'afu and he were said to be determined not to own one of Cakobau's sons as king should he die. Ma'afu himself, however, brought the news of their secession to Levuka and, though the two hundred carbines which he then ordered from the firm of F. C. Hedemann & Co. may indicate a long-term intention to fight, he apparently yielded to government threats and went back in his yacht with the Chief Secretary, J. B. Thurston, to assist in persuading Tui Cakau to reconsider. He had, reportedly, hoped to enlist on his side the support of a British warship then lying at Levuka, but had failed to get it.⁸⁵ He had the air of a man on the brink of a decision which might lose or win him all, never bringing himself finally to act. So he was, again, in the early months of 1874, during the discussions with commissioners, Commodore J. G. Goodenough and Consul E. L. Layard, who were sent from England to inquire into an offer to cede the group which the government had made early in 1873.

Goodenough and Layard were, on the whole, simple men with a disposition towards more positive action than they were authorised to take, in a situation which they imperfectly understood. They decided that annexation was desirable and attempted to bring it about. In this they were opposed by Thurston who, having discovered that their official instructions did not justify them in the action they were taking, regarded them as irresponsible to a degree. He feared that the commissioners would be disavowed by Britain—as in the event they virtually were—and that Fiji would again be cast adrift. If the group was to be annexed, he insisted, it must be by the free will of the chiefs.⁸⁶

Cakobau himself told Goodenough on his arrival that he personally would prefer to keep Fiji. Thereafter, as the commissioners' predilections became clear, his reported attitude varied with the known views of his interlocutor. Whilst he gave Thurston the impression that he was irritated at being 'lectured and hector'd, and asked to give up his country—as he might be asked to give away a yam', he seemed to Langham, a proponent of annexation, to be out of patience with the government and ready to end its existence: 'Kingdom is a big name, but no one of us has yet seen any good from it—and we shall all be dead before we do'.⁸⁷

Having followed the Maori wars closely, Cakobau had, in reality, a very lively apprehension of what would happen in Fiji under a British colonial government; he feared, as he said, that Fijians would become 'like Tanna men strangers in our own land'. But with this was coupled a feeling that all was lost and the future lay with the Europeans. During meetings which were held at Bau in February and March to discuss the question, and which were attended by chiefs from all over the group, he was at first resigned to ceding: 'I knew when you buli'd [installed] me at Nasova that it would not last long'. Then he spoke out in anger and frustration: 'It is over let us be slaves to England & have no more humbugging'. He was dissuaded, probably by his half-brother, Ratu Savenaca, and son, Ratu Epeli Nailatikau. In their decision of early March to keep Fiji, however, the assembled chiefs were following the lead given by Tui Cakau, who was in this deserting his old ally, Ma'afu.⁸⁸

Ma'afu, by his own account, had been swayed from an earlier determination not to cede by his feeling that a repetition of the brush with Europeans at Nasova in September 1873 was inevitable under an independent government and, presumably, by a fear that this would lead to reprisals by a warship. Strengthened in this view by a conversation with his former secretary in the old *Tovata*, R. S. Swanston, and probably foreseeing for himself an assured position under a colonial

government, he was now advising that an offer of cession should be made.

Despite the private assurances of Tui Bua to Swanston that he, Tui Cakau, and Ritova would follow Ma'afu, neither they nor any other chief did so.⁸⁹ Isolated amongst the Fijians, who insisted that he was a foreigner with no standing in Fiji, attacked in the meetings and ill at ease, he spent much of his time with Commodore Goodenough. He had no fear of the Fijians, so he told Goodenough, but the bulk of the Europeans were hostile to him, he felt, and with them he could not deal. All Cakobau's resentment against him had come to the fore and he had infuriated Thurston, a powerful enemy, by telling Goodenough—untruthfully, as Thurston insisted—that the Chief Secretary had urged the chiefs not to cede, because Britain would shoot down the people and drive them into the hills.⁹⁰

Aided by Thurston, the Fijian chiefs prepared to carry on the government. They dismissed Ma'afu as Governor of Lau; though this did not in practice much affect his position there, it did disturb his relationship with the Tui Nayau (Wetasau's son) who replaced him, and he felt it. It was widely believed that, if Cakobau went on resisting the commissioners' importunity and trying to maintain the government, Ma'afu would not only declare Lau independent but would actually attack Bau. He had a drilled Tongan force at Lomaloma, the two hundred carbines were waiting for him to collect in Samoa, and he is said to have been at one stage on the point of sending to Tonga for assistance. Either he or Mafi asked Goodenough what he would do, if there were no cession, in the event of a war in the group. And, though the contemporary record is that Goodenough replied he would protect Europeans and neither interfere himself nor allow them to do so, Mafi later believed that he had given Ma'afu an assurance of active support. Ma'afu had been much cultivated by Goodenough, who found him 'a man of the world' and was 'soon on winking terms' with him. Goodenough's regret that the Tongans had not overrun Fiji in Pritchard's time was probably not unobserved by Ma'afu, who may have believed that he actually had such an assurance.⁹¹

Yet despite the Fijians' rejection of the idea of cession, despite the promise of support against Bau and the government which he had received from the German merchants who supplied his carbines, Ma'afu on his return to Lau in mid-March waited quietly on events. He announced at Lakeba that there no longer existed a general government and that he was recognised by Goodenough as principal ruler there; but this was no more than the truth.⁹² He sat at Lomaloma amidst a welter of speculation, revealing nothing of his intentions—

in a manner characteristic of him, who always listened more than he talked—and watching to see what the future would hold.

Had the independent Fijian government with Cakobau at its head remained in existence, Ma'afu would certainly have opposed it initially, though he might have been won over. But the commissioners' interference made it impossible for such a government to continue, as, indeed, Ma'afu may have foreseen. Late in March Cakobau made an offer of cession, which, altered and renewed, was signed by the leading Fijian chiefs and Ma'afu in September, and Fiji became a British Crown Colony. 'If matters remain as they are', Cakobau was reported as saying at the last, 'Fiji will become like a piece of drift-wood on the sea, and be picked up by the first passer by'.⁹³

Cakobau's fear on the eve of Cession was that his power as a chief would pass away entirely into the hands of Europeans if he ceded. This apprehension was, in general, removed by the policy of the first resident governor, Sir Arthur Gordon. Gordon's policy was to govern through Fijian institutions, of which he regarded the chiefs who had signed the Deed of Cession as representatives of the most important. Under the misapplied title of 'Roko Tui', several of the signatories were appointed to govern their former chiefdoms. Ma'afu became Roko Tui Lau and Cakobau's eldest son Roko Tui Tailevu, whilst Cakobau himself was given the honorific title of 'The Vunivalu'—again slightly misleading, since there were other Vunivalu in Fiji—along with a pension of £1,500 per annum and a yacht, which he courteously named *Victoria*. He found in the governor a man with aristocratic predilections strong enough to match his own, one ready to accept his *tama** in a chiefly spirit and to accord him a significant role on ceremonial occasions. He once walked hand in hand with Gordon to open the annual Council of Chiefs, which Gordon initiated, and sat beside him on the dais. He was, moreover, very much respected as a man by Gordon, who invited, and paid heed to, his opinion on matters of Fijian custom and government. Cakobau read over and commented upon, for instance, the regulations under which life in the villages was hereafter to be lived.

He had seized eagerly on the words of an old missionary acquaintance who called on him at Bau in October 1874 and spoke of 'the vanity of the world': 'Why that is just the thing I know. That is indeed true.'⁹⁴ He entered upon the role of elder statesman, loyal subject of distant queen, with a similar conscientiousness to that with which he followed Wesleyan Methodism. He lectured erring chiefs on Gordon's

* The shout of respect with which a chief is greeted by his people in the morning.

behalf and apparently accepted with resignation the suspension of his own wayward sons from government posts.

But he actually saw no reason to give up more of the vanity, or the reality, of his world than circumstances necessitated. He continued to hold *solevu* at Bau on a large scale, drawing the goods in some instances from places on Viti Levu whence before Cession he could only have levied with great difficulty. When he earned the governor's approbation at the 1877 Council of Chiefs for appointing people of inland Viti Levu to make his *yagona*—thus bringing them into society, as Gordon thought—he was actually placing them in an inferior position to himself which they may not have relished.⁹⁵

By February 1883 when he died—after struggling with asthma for several years—European officials were uneasy about Bauan ambitions. In his funeral oration the governor, Gordon's successor, seized the opportunity to urge his hearers, in Cakobau's name, to 'keep to the old paths in all customs of the land which can be reconciled with the new condition of things'.⁹⁶ The power that Cakobau had exercised could not be so reconciled, and the government was determined that no significant authority should adhere to his descendants that was not exercised through government institutions. In the intention of Thurston, now Colonial Secretary—and after Cakobau's own direction, according to a Fijian account—his title itself was supposed at his death to be vested in the queen. His son, though he held the position, was never formally installed as Vunivalu of Bau.

Ma'afu had predeceased Cakobau by two years. He, too, found life in Sir Arthur Gordon's Crown Colony far from uncongenial. His views on administration were much in accord with those of Gordon, who recorded with approval a speech of Ma'afu's at an early assembly of chiefs, in which he argued for a continuance of customary modes: 'Hereafter we may be all anglicised, but it is not with the people in the next generation we have now to do, but with ourselves, and our dark-minded half-awakened people.'⁹⁷ He visited Tonga with Tui Bua; but he had apparently given up all hope of the succession to Tāufa'āhau and was reported to have accepted the clause in the Tongan Constitution of 1875 which vested the throne in Tāufa'āhau's direct heirs. Only if a rival claimant emerged from outside the family of the Tu'i Kanokupolu would he intervene, so he was reported as saying;⁹⁸ the question never arose in a practical form for him, for Tāufa'āhau outlived him by twelve years.

As a Roko Tui, he was more active in actual administration than Cakobau. Without the word of Tui Lau, as he continued to be called in his province, little effective work could be done there by the government's European officials, just as the missionaries found that their

collections were lower in his absence. As an administrator his measure appeared when he dealt with an outburst of religious hysteria at Matuku in 1876. A woman and three or four men had asserted they were angels, and were terrorising and extorting money from others. The woman was married and had a child. Ma'afu told her that, according to Matthew xxiii, angels did not marry, and sent her home. The men he took away to hard labour at Lomaloma for extorting money under false pretences.⁹⁹

Under the Crown Colony, Ma'afu continued to indulge himself in the things he enjoyed. His store account at Lomaloma with William Hennings for the first five months of 1878 stood at £266 16s 8d. In 1877, when his account for April was £47 11s 1d, he brought a silk umbrella, trousers, shirts by the dozen, several camphorwood boxes, much tobacco and *yaqona*. He was also drinking a good deal of liquor. Though he continued to draw rents from the lands he had leased in Lau to add to his government salary of £600 per annum, he was in debt to Hennings when he died. A good deal of his money went on ships, in the possession and running of which he had always taken pleasure. He was frequently to be found, in these last years at Lomaloma, up to his waist in water working on his yacht, the cutter *Xariffa*. His conversation at Government House in Levuka was once of vessels he had owned.¹

When he died in February 1881—of gangrene, apparently, after a horse had stepped on his foot—he was probably only in his mid-sixties. He was buried at Lakeba. With him passed Tongan political power as such in Lau, for it had become regarded as personal to him and, even had his son lived longer and been less of a wastrel, neither the colonial government nor the Fijians of Lau would have allowed him power. The Tui Nayau succeeded to the post of Roko Tui Lau. The province's floating population of Tongans—'lazy idle bullies', in the opinion of European colonial officials²—went home to Tonga. The small permanent Tongan population remained, living on the lands which Ma'afu had given them. Joni Mafi was at their head, for many years holding the post of Native Stipendiary Magistrate. A Fijian of Lau, seeking to upset Ma'afu's land disposals and dispossess some of these Tongans, would say, within a few years of his death, 'We all knew Ma'afu and his power but the Government may be kindly disposed and give back the lands'.³ But in land matters the colonial government rested on the situation in 1874, and Ma'afu's settlement was left substantially unchanged.

To observers and fellow participants during his thirty-four years' residence in Fiji, Ma'afu had been many things: a champion of Wesleyan Methodism, an enemy of Catholics, a hated rival and

foreigner, an embodiment of Tongan ambition and ability, a source of trade and political stability, an obstacle to total European domination. How he saw himself, on the other hand, is a question to which available evidence does not permit of an adequate answer. Cakobau knew well what was his role as the Vunivalu of Bau. But Ma'afu was a foreigner, who was stepping outside the part hitherto played by men of his race in Fiji. His motivation is, similarly, difficult finally to assess. It is not clear how accurate those observers were who believed that his object was to gain supreme power in Fiji. His actions seem, on the whole, to speak less positively than did the men who claimed to know his ambitions. He was certainly never prepared to risk in a bold throw all that he actually held, which after 1865 was undisputed authority in Lau, with great influence on Taveuni and Vanua Levu, as well as some in Rewa and along the south coast of Viti Levu. And with this power went a life of greater comfort and wealth, as master of a people whose cultural inferiority he regarded as basic to his relationship with them, than he could hope for in Tonga.

XAVIER MONTROUZIER

A missionary in Melanesia

Hugh M. Laracy

THE career of Xavier Montrouzier, spanning more than half a century, ranged through island Melanesia, from the Vitiaz Strait to New Caledonia. It impinged on a wide variety of human situations. At one end of his spectrum of experience the indigenous order was virtually intact; at the other it had been disrupted by a colony of European settlement. It is from the extent of this experience, and his assiduity in chronicling it, rather than from any constructive achievement, that Montrouzier becomes a significant figure in Melanesian history. Nevertheless, the context in which he worked does not overshadow the man himself. Every aspect of Montrouzier's involvement in Melanesia bears his personal imprint.

Despite the patronage of St Francis Xavier, his missionary success was slight. His dreams of inspiring a host of converts and of leaving the Catholic Church flourishing behind him came to nothing. Indeed, as one of his colleagues observed, 'success seemed to flee in proportion to the ardour with which he sought it'.¹ In large part, as will be seen, this was due to difficulties inherent in the Melanesian environment. These difficulties were often increased by the mounting European intrusion into the south-west Pacific. But considerable responsibility, at least for the manner of his failure, may be attributed to faulty missionary technique and to his own personality. Montrouzier's dominant characteristics were his inability to compromise and his relentless commitment to whatever he undertook. He was energetic and candid but no less cross-grained and intolerant. In 1866, when he was forty-five and had been in Melanesia for twenty years, his superior wrote of him:

I esteem . . . Father Montrouzier, and he deserves it. His talents, his

undeniable qualities ought naturally to place him by my side; he could render great service. But his fiery character and his outlook, always restless, and, it must be said, a trifle mordant ensure not only that he is scarcely accommodating but that if I left him to conduct affairs he would have serious clashes with everyone . . . That is why I consult him only as a last resort.²

For his part, Montrouzier admitted to suffering from such rejection but his determination not to deviate from what he thought to be right did not waiver. This determination coloured nearly all his social relations—with his family, fellow missionaries, prospective converts, and government officials. It was a unifying theme in his career, and was emphatically demonstrated by his regard for his religion. For Montrouzier his religion outweighed all else, and intense faith in its rightness left in him little sympathy for those who found it less compelling or less obviously right.

Jean Xavier Hyacinthe Montrouzier was born on 3 December 1820, into the pious, cultivated home of a well-to-do landowner near Clermont l'Hérault, 25 miles from Montpellier in southern France, the youngest in a family of three sons and one daughter. He grew to be a slightly built man with the swarthy skin of the *meridionale*. On his mother's side, he was connected with the learned world of Montpellier, traditionally the leading centre in France for the study of the natural sciences. His uncle was a prominent physician, M. Chrestian. It was to science that Xavier was first attracted as a career. He distinguished himself at the college of St Affrique in Montpellier, and later at that of Louis le Grand in Paris, which he entered in 1835. Passing to the Sorbonne, he became assistant to Antoine-Jerôme Balard, also from Montpellier, the discoverer of bromine. Then, in 1841, he abandoned science and entered the major seminary at Montpellier.³

The reasons for this abrupt change of course are not known. It is, however, consistent both with Montrouzier's own temperament and with the religious zeal which, in reaction to the virulent anticlericalism bequeathed to France by the Enlightenment and the Revolution, distinguished French Catholicism in the nineteenth century. Three successive Archbishops of Paris might have met violent deaths between 1848 and 1871, yet religious vocations abounded. For instance, of Montrouzier's elder brothers, Gabriel was a secular priest and Henri a Jesuit. Religious orders proliferated, particularly for the foreign missions. In the vicinity of Lyons, in central France, twelve religious institutes for men were founded between 1819 and 1855. Among them were the Society of African Missions and the Society of Mary.⁴ The

latter was approved in 1836 to undertake the evangelisation of the Western Pacific.

It was a lecture to the Montpellier seminarians on this work in December 1842 by a Marist priest, Antoine Dubreul, which induced Montrouzier to enter the Marist novitiate.⁵ He did so twelve months later, unbeknown to his parents, in order to present them with a *fait accompli* lest they should use their influence to impede his design. His mother subsequently petitioned the sister of Cardinal de Bonald of Lyons, whom she had met at a family wedding, to obtain the young man's return to Montpellier, but to no avail.⁶ Xavier was professed a Marist on 22 September 1844, having been ordained priest on 14 July. However, he had not kept his intention wholly secret from his family. Shortly after hearing Dubreul he had told Gabriel of his decision to become a Marist:

In former times . . . human glory was a tyrannous passion for me. Today it is impatience to break the bonds which still attach me to earth, of fleeing across the seas to go to teach savages and infidels to love Jesus and Mary . . . The future I imagine for myself is so fine and so consoling. It is to suffer thirty or forty years or, rather, to be for some moments the object of the cruelty of barbarous people, and after that to be able to say 'I'm going to Heaven and I am leading thousands of souls there and my blood is going to be the seed of a host of Christians.'⁷

As an effusion of piety, or of youthful romanticism, or as an imitation of Chateaubriand, such sentiments are unobjectionable. As a view of missionary work, on the other hand, they leave much to be desired. Yet Montrouzier's was only a characteristically bold statement of a view then widely current, and one which was to characterise the Marists' work in Melanesia. The mission was conceived in wholly religious terms—in two distinct but mutually reinforcing ways. First, as regards method, appreciation of the practical dimension of the task was overshadowed by reliance on the miracle of grace. The receptiveness of the savages and infidels was thought to be guaranteed by the rightness of the Truth itself and by the missionary's relations with the Omnipotent—beliefs which did little to curb the zealous apostle's impatience should the winning of Christians prove difficult. No stress was placed on the need for the missionary to come to terms with the infidel. That Montrouzier should assiduously study the natural history of the places he worked in rather than their inhabitants is symbolic of this attitude. Dissimilarity to the flora and fauna of Europe was expected and readily acknowledged, and the identifying of new species was a source of immense satisfaction to him. Human differences, however, were accepted with less detachment. Thus, while Montrouzier's

correspondence contains much ethnographic data, his purpose was not to advance understanding or even to record, but to illustrate the inadequacy of native usages. That these could have an inherent *rationale* was not considered. Instead he saw them as departures from the universally apposite proprieties maintained by the missionary—hence wrong and, hence again, easily changed. Thus, he expected argument alone to be sufficient to destroy belief in the spirit-propitiating religion which suffused Melanesian life, providing for the human condition rational explanations and putative means of control. At the same time he expected to organise Christianity, not within the context of native society, but by taking people out of this and by gathering them gratefully into model communities like the Jesuit *reductions* of South America. Here, under Christian aegis, the supposed shortcomings of their former way of life—lack of discipline, laziness, disrespect of children for parents, and nudity—would be avoided. Experience proved otherwise. An apt commentary on the futility of trying to maintain an idealised religio-social structure unrooted in the traditional order is contained in two descriptions by Montrouzier of the Conception *reduction* in New Caledonia. In 1859 he wrote:

The Angelus sounds at day-break. Most of the natives rise then, although they are not obliged to . . . They are not forced to attend Mass but many do . . . In the morning, a class, and another in the evening; prayer in common at sunset; recitation of the family rosary before going to bed.

Moreover, there was no laziness and morality had a firmer hold 'than in many parishes in France'.⁸ By 1884 the picture had changed:

These are not our Christians of former times. They have become grasping, unscrupulous about their means of making money, and given to drunkenness. When they are drunk all their savage instincts revive. It is frightful.⁹

The second significant aspect of the missionary vocation as presented by Montrouzier is that its object is not so much evangelisation and churchbuilding as the acquiring of personal sanctity. Martyrdom here becomes the ultimate personal attainment, something to be esteemed for its own sake regardless of its being a sure means of making 'a race of Christians out of a population degraded by infidelity'. After two years in Melanesia Montrouzier thus urged a confrère in France:

tell young people . . . who are disposed to come to the missions but are, perhaps, afraid of the apparent sterility of our ministry that the chance of martyrdom and the glory of being the first apostle of a country are well worth the pain of renouncing for a time at least the satisfaction of seeing the word of God flourish.¹⁰

Sanctification through a routine of prayer was likewise esteemed. Indeed, this was an issue of some moment among the early Marists, who felt that as members of a religious order their primary duty was to seek holiness in a semi-monastic manner. Such a view of their vocation could, however, restrain their commitment to the active, outgoing apostolate and thereby antagonise the bishops under whom they were working. Since 1840 the impossibility in the New Zealand mission of reconciling the deployment of a few evangelists as widely as possible with the maintenance of community life and the practice of the Marist rule had caused a serious rift between Montrouzier's superior, Jean-Claude Colin, the Marist Superior General, and Bishop Jean-Baptiste Pompallier. Colin's response to the problem was to procure the subdivision of Pompallier's vicariate of Western Oceania and to appoint Marists only to the new areas thus formed. The vicariate of Central Oceania (which, until 1847, included New Caledonia) was erected in 1842, those of Melanesia and Micronesia in 1844, and the diocese of Wellington in 1848. Pompallier's authority was thus confined to Auckland. Later, when the problem of jurisdiction over Marist missionaries revived in Central Oceania, bringing conflict with Bishop Bataillon, and when Melanesia had taken severe toll of the Marists, Colin came to doubt whether a religious order could properly concern itself with missions at all. Montrouzier even suspected him of intending to abandon the Pacific missions, and was inspired to petition Cardinal Barnabo of Propaganda to be released from his vows: 'with the Society of Mary renouncing missions nothing more attaches me to it'.¹¹ His fears were, however, unrealised, and he remained both Marist and missionary.

In February 1845 Bishop J. B. Epalle, Colin's principal lieutenant in the dispute with Pompallier, sailed from London with a party of fourteen Marists, determined to balance the demands of religious life and missionary function in the vicariate of Melanesia. This domain embraced New Guinea and the Solomon Islands. A coadjutor bishop, J. G. Collomb, was to follow some months later to direct evangelisation in the vicariate of Micronesia. Montrouzier's had been the third of the three names submitted to Propaganda as candidates for the post of coadjutor, but this was largely a formality. Epalle had formally asked for Collomb.¹² As it was, Montrouzier left Europe as Epalle's Pro-Vicar or deputy. He was also newly reinstated as a scientist. Shortly before leaving France he had been urged by the Linnean Society of Lyons and by François Arago, the noted astronomer and politician, to gather any material of scientific interest in the lands to which he was going. He had agreed to do so, but only after obtaining Colin's

permission that he might, by way of recreation, occupy his leisure moments in natural history.¹³ Reaching Sydney in June, he spent a busy four months collecting local botanical specimens. Then, on 23 October, he embarked with his colleagues aboard the schooner *Marian Watson* for 'various places in the North and South Pacific Ocean'. The ship was chartered at a reduced rate—£110 per month, instead of the usual rate of £1 per ton for the 146-ton vessel. The owner was a sandalwood trader glad of an opportunity to investigate commercial opportunities in the islands north of the well-frequented New Hebrides, Loyalties, and New Caledonia, which were not part of Epalle's domain.¹⁴

Intense European interest in the islands of southern Melanesia had begun in 1839 when John Williams of the London Missionary Society was killed on Eromanga in the New Hebrides. Williams's death inspired his colleagues to follow in his path. The L.M.S. vessel *Camden* began a series of visits to the region, landing Polynesian teachers at various islands and, in 1842, landing two European missionaries on Tana (they stayed eight months). After the missionaries came the traders. On reaching Sydney in 1841 the *Camden* sparked a rush of shipping to the Isle of Pines by bringing word of the existence there of sandalwood. In 1842 the sandalwood trade spread further afield, bringing the Loyalty Islands, the New Hebrides, and the mainland of New Caledonia into regular mercantile contact with Sydney. European settlement in southern Melanesia resumed when a party of Marists under Bishop Douarre settled at Balade on the north-east coast of New Caledonia in December 1843. A month later James Paddon set up a sandalwood depot on Aneityum in the New Hebrides. Northern Melanesia, in contrast, was visited much less frequently—by whalers, bêche-de-mer fishers, and passing China traders. Nevertheless, Epalle, who was convinced that 'the Oceanian is disposed to Catholicism'—if he could be reached before he was corrupted by heresy or European commerce—was unperturbed by the prospect of isolation and danger. Indeed, shortly before leaving London he questioned the propriety of his 'working, perhaps, too much to get all possible information and [relying] perhaps . . . too much on human opinions'.¹⁵ In view of the amount of knowledge then available on Melanesia this was a bizarre fear and his confidence on leaving Sydney could only have been due to the expectation of divine favour.

Epalle's plans were unfixed. He intended to explore his vicariate. In the course of this he hoped to visit the two places in the Solomons of which he had knowledge, Makira Bay (San Cristobal) and Thousand Ships Bay (Ysabel). The first had been recommended by a Sydney whaling captain and the second had been charted by Dumont

d'Urville. Then he intended to land two men at Ponape in Micronesia—to prepare for Collomb—before establishing his headquarters on some small, safe, and easily converted island to be used as a spring-board for the conversion of New Guinea. He favoured Waigeo, near the Vogelkop of western New Guinea. Montrouzier, seeing no reason for such caution, advocated settling on the mainland, and shortly before leaving Sydney he resigned as Pro-Vicar in protest at what he considered a half-measure.¹⁶

The gesture was as premature as it was callow, for the Marists had much to contend with before they approached New Guinea. On 16 December Epalle was mortally wounded on Ysabel in the Solomon Islands. The survivors retreated to Makira Bay on San Cristobal where, a month later, Montrouzier—guilty by association, in the Melanesian view—was speared in the back by an aggrieved husband whose wife had been molested by a sailor from the *Marian Watson*. Despite Montrouzier's prayers of thanksgiving, in expectation of receiving the martyr's crown, the wound was not fatal and in March the martyr *manqué* began ten months' convalescence with the Marists in New Caledonia.¹⁷ Meanwhile, those at Makira were being increasingly tormented by malaria. When Montrouzier returned in February 1847 with Collomb, who had become Epalle's successor, he found them in a torpor of resignation to the fever. Little ministry was done but they were as faithful to their devotions 'as at the mother-house at Lyons' so that, wrote Montrouzier admiringly, 'if the mission was not in full life at least the constitutions [of the Society of Mary] were in full force'.¹⁸ Collomb, less impressed, ordered the Marists to shift to a more healthy site. A week later he departed for New Zealand to seek episcopal consecration.

In fact, malaria could not be avoided. One Marist died within a month of shifting to Pia, six miles north of Makira Bay. Moreover, attempts to avoid it could involve courting greater dangers—such as crossing indigenous boundaries, as Epalle had done. Thus, three Marists attempting to cross San Cristobal from Makira Bay to Wango, which they thought was healthier, were killed and eaten by bushmen, enemies of the coastal people who had befriended the missionaries. Finally, completing their experience of the characteristic dangers to be encountered in Melanesia, Montrouzier and his colleagues at Makira found charges of sorcery being levelled against them after a mysterious illness had begun to afflict neighbouring villages. Their friends grew hostile. Consequently, when Collomb returned after six months, having witnessed the sack of the mission in New Caledonia after similar charges had been made, he was ready to abandon San Cristobal to its fate. A fresh start was to be made on Murua, an island

midway between the Solomons and New Guinea, of which he had heard good reports from whaling captains.¹⁹

The Marists entered Guasopa Bay in the south-east of Murua on 15 September 1847. They were welcomed by islanders bringing provisions and 'inviting us to go among them'. Land was soon bought and a house built. Murua seemed full of promise, although the reason for the welcome was blatantly materialistic. It was 'solely to have the advantage of trading with us, and thus obtain pieces of iron, for which the natives are most avid'. Nevertheless, Montrouzier, dreaming of an indigenous Church that would one day flourish on the island, thought the 'savages' needed only a breath of grace to become responsive to the Gospel.²⁰

There was to be ample opportunity to test his theory. Whereas at San Cristobal the Marists were preoccupied with the problem of survival, at Murua malaria was less harsh and an island-wide peace had been concluded shortly before their arrival. To balance these 'advantages', Muruan culture was still intact and the islanders had no reason to doubt the relevance of the traditional religion which underpinned it or to desire another system of spirituality. At the same time Europeans, few and hitherto transitory, cut an uncommanding figure. That they were little to be feared the Muruans had discovered in 1843, when they massacred twenty-eight shipwrecked seamen from the whaler *Mary*—probably for interfering with local women.²¹ Furthermore, the iron Europeans could dispense, though eagerly desired, did not confer unlimited bargaining power. In such circumstances, with each side confident of the worth of its own beliefs, Melanesians and missionaries could meet on even terms in explicit ideological confrontation. To the revelation of the *one* Creator and Saviour of all, the *alpha* and *omega*, was opposed an animistic religion unconcerned with metaphysical absolutes but empirically validated in daily life and hallowed by unquestioned usage. Montrouzier and his colleagues made no attempt to find common ground. The following lament from Umboi Island, where the Marists stayed only twelve months, is indicative of the forthright and unaccommodating catechetical methods which made a deadlock virtually unavoidable:

I tried to teach the natives the name of Jehovah: I taught that it was he who was the great chief of heaven and earth, that it was he who made and maintained everything. I spoke to them of Heaven, of Hell, of the obligation to pray to be baptised etc. But, alas, this first seed fell on very wild ground.²²

Within three months of reaching Murua the Marists were making catechetical tours of the villages. Initially public interest was high but

after seven months the novelty had worn off. The children tired of parroting Latin prayers, while the adults were offended by misuse of their language and bored by the repetition which imperfect knowledge of it forced on their teachers. Even so, Montrouzier was convinced that they 'believe perfectly all that we tell them'.

He impatiently attributed their lack of progress towards obvious Truth to wilful 'levity and the grossness of their ideas'. For instance, they would ask if Jehovah was rich in iron and axes:

When we tell them 'all the chiefs of men, all the riches of the earth are nothing compared with Jehovah', 'Oh!', they say, 'our stomachs are sick. Write to him asking him to come to Murua for us to see him, and tell him to bring axes and iron'.

One man offered to 'leave by the next ship for Heaven to see how things worked there'.²³ After sixteen months, when his knowledge of their language was considerably improved, Montrouzier was still complaining of the Muruans' frivolous approach to serious things.

We demonstrate the error of belief in the *munukuans* [malevolent spirits]. They reply, 'But if there are no *munukuans* why do we die?' And if you tell them it is because of the sin of Adam they shake their heads and exclaim 'I have never eaten the forbidden fruit myself, why am I sick?'²⁴

Even Joseph Thomassin, the most humane of the Marists, failed to appreciate that what was clear to him need not be clear to the Muruans, or that for the Muruans religion could not be a purely intellectual matter. He wrote:

To reason with our unhappy pagans is not to demonstrate the truth of our holy religion . . . They will reply 'We act like that at Murua, and our ancestors did the same'. They will say 'we live like this and we are content. If we abandon our prayers the universe will collapse. Famine, plague and the *lerous* [spirits related to the *munukuans*] would not leave us any rest'. If you reason with them they will laugh in your face.²⁵

Dissatisfaction with the lack of progress at Murua encouraged Collomb and three confrères to depart in May 1848, after eight months on the island, on a vain search for more receptive and deserving souls. In May 1849 Montrouzier rescued two of the party from Umboi, an island in the straits between New Guinea and New Britain. Collomb and the other had succumbed to malaria.

Meanwhile, the situation at Murua was deteriorating as Montrouzier, who became superior on Collomb's departure, antagonised both

missionaries and islanders. Among the former, Jean Frémont protested only in his correspondence: since leaving France, Montrouzier had been 'the chief cause of unrest in the family', and his 'untempered zeal' made him 'more full of the letter of the law than its spirit'. Others protested more openly. In June 1849 a lay-brother ended a standing quarrel with the superior by returning to Sydney, while two priests, Thomassin and Pierre Trapenard, seceded to establish a mission post on the north coast of the island. This attempt lasted fourteen months, until the difficulty of buying food, on account of a famine, forced them to return to Guasopa.²⁶ Here, the active ministry was now in obedience 'for fear of further disgusting the savages', but Montrouzier rejoiced that the Rule was 'observed almost as at Lyons'. In fact, it had a Thebaid flavour. For instance, as an exercise in 'mortification', he once refused his subjects any food except bananas for ten days; and he imposed a penance of solitary confinement, for breach of the vow of obedience, on Eugene Ducrettet, a priest who protested. The most interesting reaction to the régime was that of Brother Optat who, becoming 'enamoured of some young girls', was tempted to become a beachcomber. A 'great pallisade built around the house to keep the women away' failed to prevent 'improper familiarities . . . in the sight of all', and the affair only came to an end when Optat, with Ducrettet, departed for Sydney in September 1850.²⁷ Of eighteen Marists who had come to the vicariate of Melanesia since 1845, only five remained.

Montrouzier's attitude to the Muruans was similarly unendearing. He scorned any effort to win their affection by mundane means. Thus, he was able to discourse on the folly of Muruan economics, insensitive to the fact that a promising opportunity for ingratiating the mission with the islanders was being allowed to slip by. In August 1850 he wrote that materially the mission lacked for nothing. Its immense garden yielded an abundance of melons, bananas, beans, taro, and yams. In contrast, the islanders were starving. To Thomassin they 'seemed no more than walking skeletons', yet Montrouzier, he reports, chose never to give a single marrow, 'saying that if you gave once the natives would become too importunate'. 'As if'—he added—'importunity dispensed from the giving of alms!'

What to a Christian might be alms-giving was the way to acquire rank, leadership, and respect in Melanesia. Parsimony was an admission of unworthiness. Rather than capitulate to such people, the Muruans stiffened their resistance, assuming an air of patriotic defiance and contempt. If they caught a fish or scavenged more successfully than usual, they would parade past the mission 'tossing their heads and saying with mock laughter "so the prayer of Murua is useless!"'

Of the cause of the famine, Montrouzier wrote, 'I believe it is a chastisement from God. It is also the result of a bad system', namely, the Muruans' fidelity to customary trading obligations. In his eyes they foolishly gave hospitality to their partners in the trading cycle and then exchanged large quantities of food for ceremonial items, such as pigs' teeth and bones of whale and cassowary. Such a judgment ignores the fact that Muruan commerce was not simply a matter of calculated material advantage. Trading obligations were particularly to be honoured through being bound up with the Kula system of gift exchanges. In this system was symbolised the reciprocity which was the highest social value of the inhabitants of the small islands east of New Guinea: it enjoined on its participants 'generosity in giving and honour in meeting debts' and set 'the tone of commercial morality'.²⁸ It was not something the Muruans could casually opt out of. Moreover, the established trading pattern was strengthened by an imperative other than the ritual one. It served the vital needs of the Muruans' visitors, for Murua was renowned for producing food surpluses on which its partners were partially dependent. To withhold food would be not only to break valued alliances but to earn the opprobrium of wittingly inflicting hunger and to suffer an intolerable loss of prestige in being scorned as poor gardeners. In normal times this situation did not arise. But about the middle of 1848 a kind of influenza ravaged the island. The gardens were neglected. The harvest was poor. In spite of this, the visitors were treated as usual—'the taros were very small, it was necessary to double them'. Thus began a recurring pattern of epidemic, famine, and population decline. It did not occur to Montrouzier that the missionaries could have been responsible for precipitating the economic imbalance—by introducing diseases to which the Muruans had no immunity.²⁹

By late 1850 the famine had passed. Muruan morale was buoyant. The missionaries found themselves more than ever despised as wretches whose country, it was said, must have been as contemptible as themselves, or they would not have left it. This logic was still current in June 1851, when the Marists, instructed to elect a Prefect Apostolic, unanimously 'dropped' Montrouzier and chose Jean Frémont. Occasion was also provided, by the presence of a ship, for Frémont politely to get rid of Montrouzier while, at the same time, making a new attempt to break the deadlock with the Muruans. Six youths were persuaded to embark for Sydney where, it was hoped, the marvels they saw would deflate their infatuation with their island and inspire admiration for European ways—including religion.³⁰ Montrouzier was appointed their guide. He was the obvious choice.

Frémont remarked that his absence 'will not prejudice the mission', while Trapenard had refused to stay any longer with him.³¹

At the Laughlan Islands one of the six tourists deserted, but three other youths joined the party. As expected, they were soon awed—by 'moving houses' (carriages), by numerous large ships (clear proof that the white man had more than one vessel), but especially by the shops of butchers and ironmongers. When they returned to Murua after two weeks (7-23 August) of this spectacle their tales inspired much enthusiasm for 'building Sydney at Murua'. By mid-1852 the metropolis had become 'not a town but an entire world'. Moreover, in an alliance that has since become a familiar element in many Melanesian 'cargo' movements, the Muruans' material aspirations were associated with fervent esteem for the mission. A conversion movement was stirring. The Marists' battle seemed to be won—until the return of famine early in 1853 shattered the fragile *rapprochement* and brought back the resentments of 1849-50.³² The three remaining Marists left Murua in November 1853.*

Montrouzier, meanwhile, had not been idle. Remaining in Sydney after the departure of the Muruans, he occupied himself with natural history. Assisted by the eminent botanist W. S. Macleay, he prepared Muruan specimens for shipment to France and wrote his *Essai sur la faune de l'île de Woodlark ou Moiou*. Unfortunately, much of this work was wasted. The specimens were lost in transit, while the editor of the *Essai*, dissatisfied with Montrouzier's drawings, published the descriptions without illustration. Consequently the usefulness of the book is seriously impaired, although it is of considerable historical interest as probably the first book published by a long-term resident of Melanesia (excluding Fiji). It was published in Lyons in 1857.³³

Having completed his scientific work, Montrouzier sailed in January 1853 for Tikopia. His purpose was to investigate the fate of two colleagues who, discouraged by the difficulty of converting Melanesians following rebuffs in New Caledonia, the New Hebrides, and the Loyalty Islands, had landed on this Polynesian outlier in December 1851. Since then neither they nor Bishop Douarre's ship, the *Etoile du Matin*, which had gone to visit them in June 1852, had been heard of. Nor was Montrouzier to find any trace of them. After discussions with the Tikopians he concluded—validly, it would seem—that no ship fitting the description of the *Etoile du Matin* had reached

* In October 1852, on Colin's initiative, seven members of the Milan Foreign Mission Society had reached Murua to relieve the Marists. After initiating the Italians, Frémont and his companions were, however, left free to remain indefinitely, if the mission was prospering. The Italians themselves abandoned Murua in June 1855. One of their fellows, Giovanni Mazzucconi, returned in September on board the *Gazelle*, but the vessel ran aground near Guasopa Bay and all aboard were massacred by the islanders.

Tikopia and that the two priests, ill with malaria, had been taken off by another ship, probably a whaling vessel, which had subsequently foundered. As an explanation this is at least as likely as the alleged claim of a drunken English sailor to have thrown the missionaries overboard.³⁴

The investigation completed, Montrouzier joined his confrères in New Caledonia. They had returned to Balade in 1851. Like the Muruans, the New Caledonians were not readily convinced of their need for the Gospel. Montrouzier's comment in 1857 on the people of Art, one of the Belep Islands, north of the mainland, was of more than local relevance: they would pray and make the Sign of the Cross only in order to obtain tobacco and pipes.³⁵ However, the distinctive flavour of Montrouzier's New Caledonian career derives less from his efforts to teach Christianity than from the extent to which his activities reflect the mounting presence of Europeans in his mission field. Excepting the New Hebrides, where malaria was endemic, the southern islands of Melanesia were the first part of the region to come within the European political orbit. In this the Marists played a significant part. As early as 1839 Colin, in seeking government assistance for the transporting of Marists, had stressed that they had the objective of making their converts French as well as Catholic. This duality would have been aptly symbolised had the landing of the Marists in New Caledonia in December 1843 coincided with France's taking possession of the island, as was intended. On that occasion the flag was, in fact, run up, and a document was signed by the chiefs of Balade ceding sovereignty to France on 1 January 1844. Tense relations with England at that time over Tahiti, however, discouraged Paris from ratifying the deed.³⁶ Nevertheless, the continued Marist presence helped foster the French interest in New Caledonia which culminated in annexation on 24 September 1853, when Admiral Febvrier-Despointes hoisted the tricolour at Balade mission station. Five days later the Isle of Pines was hastily annexed, after Montrouzier had aroused the admiral's fears of possible English annexations in the area by announcing that an English warship was on its way to New Caledonia. His information had been contained in a letter from Macleay regarding the despatch of several cases of plants from Sydney.³⁷

Anxious though the Marists were to come under the French flag—seeing in it protection from indigenous violence and deliverance from the wholesale Protestant incursion which, it was feared, would follow English rule—they found annexation a mixed blessing. Along with government and an inflow of settlers it brought French anticlericalism to New Caledonia, so that bitter disputes with the administration

became a recurrent element in the mission's life into the twentieth century. These reached a climax in 1897 when Governor Feillet, having failed to secure the dismissal of his adversary Bishop Fraysse, attacked him by reopening the main island to Protestant missionaries. The dispute arose from Fraysse's refusal to endorse supposedly fraudulent appeals for colonists. Later, in 1904, the Bishop was expelled from his official residence in Nouméa in accordance with France's secularisation policy.³⁸

Also complicating the New Caledonia situation was the resentment aroused among the islanders by the imposition of 'law and order' and the confiscation of large areas of land for white settlement. Ultimately, disappointment at the disruption of the traditional way of life was to be a significant inducement to seek the new life, the new hope, offered by Christianity. Often, however, this was not before more conventional solutions to social problems had been tried. After an attempt to spear him at Canala in March 1866 Montrouzier wrote 'our Caledonians see clearly that the annexation of their island means for them the loss of their lands and their customs and so they wish to destroy the white men'.³⁹ For the same reasons settlers were killed during native revolts in 1867, 1878, and 1917. However, recognition of the causes of such outbursts did not move Montrouzier to protest against injustice. Belief that the islanders were a dying race and the narrow religious view of mission objectives ensured that this correspondence emphatically reflected concern for the mission, rather than for the natives, *vis-à-vis* the government. Thus, he did not question the 1855 regulation reserving only 10 per cent of the land for the natives; he regretted the Canala incident as a temporary discouragement to his collecting excursions; and the deportation (700 to the Isle of Pines and 200 to Belep) of those involved in the 1878 revolt earned from him only the comment that sooner or later they would be Christians.⁴⁰

By this time Montrouzier had had considerable experience of the bearing of mundane factors on receptiveness to missionaries. In March 1858 he had been appointed to Lifu, one of the Loyalty Islands, on the invitation of Ukenezo, formerly the leading chief of the northern part of the island. Ukenezo's influence had waned as a majority of his people, including a rival chief, Wainya, accepted Christianity from the L.M.S. teacher Pao. Hoping to regain his position, and ashamed to receive religion from his subjects, he called in the Marists. Montrouzier recognised the motive as 'more or less human', but was anxious to undo the work of Pao before it was consolidated by the arrival of a European minister. After a nine months' stay he had undone little but could rejoice that the Protestants, who at first had been abusive, had become markedly subdued.⁴¹ His

reported discussions with the Reverend J. C. Patteson of the Melanesian Mission, who was wintering on Lifu with some Solomon Islands schoolboys, suggest the reason for this mutation. Montrouzier let it be known that, 'the French Government having promised him any number of soldiers', he *could* 'force upon the Lifu people whatever he pleased'. Ingenuously, he disavowed any intention of forced conversion, but threatened penalties for obstruction of the mission: 'if necessary he would use force to establish the missionaries in houses in different parts of the island, if the chiefs refused to sell them parcels of land, for instance, an acre'. That troops would be sent to Lifu unless there was a challenge to order or to French authority—as occurred in 1864—was most unlikely. Still, the Protestants could not afford to take chances and reserved manners were a small price to pay. In spite of Montrouzier's truculence, which led Patteson to issue the advice 'Be kind to the French', the two men, both well-educated and of good family, developed a firm regard for each other. In 1872, after Patteson's death, Montrouzier was to write a panegyric on 'the good and charming' Bishop Patteson, who, for his part, had found 'much to like in him: a gentleman, thoroughly well informed'.⁴² Their association terminated in September 1858 when Patteson returned with his charges to New Zealand.

In December, Montrouzier was called to Hienghène, where the need for his services was supposedly more urgent than at Lifu. Hienghène, with a population of about a thousand under the leadership of Bwaxat, the most influential chief of north-east New Caledonia, had long been regarded as an ideal centre from which to propagate Christianity. Montrouzier was to have been appointed there when Collomb reclaimed him for San Cristobal in January 1847. The move was unexpectedly significant. It had the effect of turning Bwaxat against the mission. Chagrined at losing his expected missionary, he gave his support to the people of Balade who, suspecting the Marists of sorcery, attacked the mission the following July. Buildings were destroyed, a lay-brother killed, and the survivors forced to flee. Moreover, his participation in the growing sandalwood trade soon brought Bwaxat material and social advantages which far outweighed those that could be conferred by a missionary. Regard for his benefactors further weighted the scales against the French priests by ensuring that his sympathies were firmly pro-English. He rebuffed successive efforts by the Marists to win a foothold at Hienghène. But he overreached himself by threatening violence against the Christians of Pueblo and Touho, whom he scorned for selling out to the French. That the first had felt the weight of a French punitive expedition for their part in the 1847 affair and that both had sought in mission membership pro-

tection against traditional enemies did not excuse them in his eyes. This is hardly surprising since the main enemy of Puebo was Hienghène itself. That of Touho was Wagap. Responding to unduly fearful mission reports of an imminent uprising against French rule, the Governor decided to break Bwaxat. The chief was arrested in October 1857 and deported to Tahiti. His warriors now planned revolt in earnest, until a display of force compelled them to think again. As rage gave way to desperation, wrote Montrouzier: 'they sent gift after gift asking the Governor for peace and for the return of Bwaxat. Thinking to please him they pretended to want missionaries and a blockhouse etc. Five times we were asked to come.' Beneath the urgency of the requests lay an explicit and impatient opportunism. But by the time Montrouzier was recalled from Lifu, the people of Hienghène were already despairing of getting what they wanted. Accordingly, Mueau, the brother and successor of Bwaxat, revived the campaign against the Christians by burning down the chapel at Puebo, and some days later Montrouzier received a cold welcome at Hienghène. Mueau ignored him, except abruptly to demand the return of his brother, and was unmoved by the threat of punishment for the Puebo incident if he was not more co-operative. Instead, complained Montrouzier, 'he said loftily that he had never wanted a missionary, that our religion made people die; that his fathers were not Christians and yet had yams and taros in abundance; and finally he declared himself to be our enemy'.⁴³

The missionary was ostracised. The deadlock—as complete as that at Murua—was only broken in mid-1859 when Montrouzier was transferred to Canala on the central east coast. His duties here were twofold—to evangelise the indigenes and to act as chaplain to the newly founded military post of Napoléonville. Again he was frustrated. The troops scorned his ministration, while the natives, already resentful at European encroachment, were afraid of dying if they became Christians. That baptism had been given only to those who were already *in extremis* did nothing to diminish general fear of the lethal power attributed to it. As early as June 1860 Father Pierre Rougeyron, superior of the New Caledonia mission from 1853 to 1874, contemplated shifting Montrouzier from Canala. He noted that the disaffection of both flocks was consolidated by Montrouzier's overbearing manner.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, when the move was made a year later it owed little to the estrangement of priest and people. Rather, it was a protest at the administration's reluctance to observe its obligations towards the mission. Since the Canala chaplaincy was an official post the incumbent was entitled to be provided with a church, lodgings, and a salary. In two years these had not been forthcoming. The same situation occurred

later in the settlement of Païta, where Montrouzier was curé in 1865 and 1866. Governor Guillaïn had hoped to weaken Catholic influence by having a Protestant minister installed there, but Rougeyron forestalled him by appointing Montrouzier. Consequently the money was withheld.⁴⁵ Montrouzier's Païta appointment was followed by six uneventful years on Art before he was again appointed to an official post—that of convict chaplain.

Since 1864 New Caledonia had been used as a penal colony. By 1897 nearly 22,000 had served sentences there. Among them, from 1872 until the amnesties of 1879 and 1880, were the nearly 4,000 political offenders deported after the Paris insurrection (and the fall of the Commune) of 1871.⁴⁶ Those sentenced to deportation *simple* were confined to the Isle of Pines while the 1,200 condemned to imprisonment (*enceinte fortifiée*) were located at Numbo, on the Ducos Peninsula near Nouméa.

It was to the latter that Montrouzier became chaplain at the beginning of 1873. Representing in an extreme form the irreligion against which his own religious fervour was partly a reaction, theirs were the least impressionable souls he had yet encountered. His pleas for co-operation were ignored. The *communards* had not shot the Archbishop of Paris and a number of his priests in their revolt against a political and intellectual order they despised in order to succumb to an insignificant missionary on a remote island. The chapel was deserted; the dying refused the last sacraments. Montrouzier was told by one man 'priests are the principal enemies of society', and by another 'if I had the power I would have Thiers, the Pope and all priests shot'. Faced with such resistance the chaplain, characteristically, lamented the lack of support from the secular arm.⁴⁷ His complaints were less against the prisoners than against the administration—for not enforcing the regulation that Catholics should attend Sunday Mass, for not segregating male and female convicts, and for the insult added to injury by the fraternising between officials and convicts. The segregation issue came to a head in December 1873 when, after his formal protest had been ignored, Montrouzier left Numbo to its unbelief and promiscuity. The governor, Gaultier de la Richerie, anxious that the deportees should have benefit of clergy, at least for appearance's sake, was irate. Shortly afterwards meeting Montrouzier in the streets of Nouméa he loudly called him a 'deserter'. But the chaplain's refusal to return to Numbo was unshakable. Moreover, he was soon to have the satisfaction of seeing his opponents humbled.

In February 1874 Victor Henri Rochefort, Marquis de Rochefort-Luçay, escaped from Numbo—and inspired Manet to paint his seascape, 'L'évasion de Rochefort'. Taking a less romantic view of the

exploit, the French authorities appointed a commissioner, Vice-Admiral Ribourt, to examine the situation of the deportees. Ribourt reached New Caledonia in June. A rigid authoritarian, he was appalled that some deportees should be permitted publicly to follow their professions and that others should be given hospitality by officials. His criticisms were consolidated by those of Montrouzier, whom he selected as an adviser and companion. If Ribourt's final decisions were influenced by Montrouzier, it was not likely to have been in the direction of leniency. Before departing on 22 August the admiral issued a list of names of officials, most of them connected with the deportees, who were to be dismissed from their posts. Thinking the measure unjust, the Governor ignored it, until Ribourt returned unexpectedly a week later and reiterated it. The following month the Governor was recalled to France and was subsequently relieved of his post, as Montrouzier learned in a letter from Ribourt, 'letting me know that we have triumphed all along the line'.⁴⁸ It was a long way from the sort of triumph he had envisaged when leaving France thirty years before.

Nor was he to find in his remaining two decades the apostolic success that had hitherto evaded him. In 1876 his health began to fail. The following year he became hospital chaplain at Nouméa. If, as chaplain, Montrouzier had practically ceased to work for the extension of the Church, he was still very much part of the mission—as its defender. From his place on the Comité de l'Instruction Publique, an official advisory body, he castigated the administration for allowing into local schools books forbidden by the 'Index' and strenuously maintained the independence of mission schools from state regulation, except in regard to hygiene, morality, and respect for the Constitution.⁴⁹ More deviously, he wrote, in the form of letters to his brother, analyses of mission-administration relations, apparently intended for the information of certain Catholic pressure groups in France.⁵⁰ Again, the work of the old man bore little resemblance to the dreams of the young.

Montrouzier retired from the chaplaincy in 1893. He died at St Louis, near Nouméa, on 16 May 1897.

Xavier Montrouzier was scarcely a likeable man. The few friends he is recorded to have made were not, significantly, from among those he was called to live or work with; and Ribourt, in choosing him as an adviser, did something Montrouzier's own superiors declined to do. Yet there is much to admire in him. His diligence in the cause of science, for instance, is reflected in twenty-eight publications which constitute a pioneering contribution to Melanesian natural history. Again, although often sadly misguided and inhumane, he was severely honest. The austerity he exercised on himself, and extended to others

at Murua, was not maintained without suffering and loneliness. Nor was it moderated in order to win friends. Rather, its consistency is a measure of his distaste for any apparent dilution of regard for values not of this world. Yet it was not only in religious matters that he was intolerant of compromise. He castigated Leopold Verguet, his former colleague on San Cristobal, for lending himself, as a propagandist, to the Marquis de Rays's chimerical attempt to colonise New Guinea and the Solomons. He was appalled that Verguet should vaunt the healthiness of a climate he knew to be malarial.⁵¹ For his own part Montrouzier refused to write propaganda of any sort. He lamented that a memorandum he wrote for Governor Saisset (1859-60) on the history and geography of New Caledonia should have been tampered with, in order to discredit both the Catholic mission and the English, before it was published.⁵² Probably this incident was in his mind as he repeatedly rejected requests by his fellow Marists to write a history of New Caledonia. In a letter to his brother he elaborated his reasons:

You ask me 'what of the history of New Caledonia that you are doing?' I reply 'I am not doing it.' And if you ask me why I will repeat . . . *non possumus*. Hear me. If I were a secular priest I would weigh the reasons for and against, I would assess whether the general good would outweigh embarrassing details . . . and I would decide. But, I belong to an order. My manuscript will be completely reworked. There will be additions and, in particular, excisions. Now I do not wish, nor could I wish to put my name to a work that is not entirely true. . . .

You tell me that my friends, my superiors urge me to write. I reply my friends do not know what has happened. They are not competent. My superiors, whom I respect infinitely in all else, are here suspect . . . They would want me to relate only that which is advantageous, and to leave the rest in oblivion. I would never agree to that, *non possumus*. A history is not a panegyric. A history to be useful must tell everything, the good and the bad.⁵³

New Caledonia would have had in Montrouzier a worthy historian.

EVANESCENT ASCENDANCY

The planter community in Fiji

John Young

PLANTERS were late-comers among the European invaders of the Pacific, and they came in relatively large numbers. It seemed to them that with their arrival the history of civilisation in the Pacific was beginning and that they were its pioneers. 'Are we not a sort of modern Gades . . .', wrote J. B. Thurston from his plantation on Taveuni, 'a kind of hedge or boundary between Heathenism and Christianity between Barbarism and Civilisation'.¹ The planters criticised the beachcombers who had preceded them for letting their cultural standards slip. They blamed traders for providing the islanders with firearms and missionaries for placing the interests of native peoples above those of Europeans. This was to be expected; the surprising thing was that each generation of planters criticised those they found on their arrival, which indicates, perhaps, that the planters themselves were not entirely successful in maintaining their cultural integrity and the continuous expansion of their own unadulterated brand of civilisation.

Colonel W. J. Smythe, who came to Fiji in 1860 to investigate the first offer of cession, took a favourable view of the settlers he found there and thought them 'generally of a much superior class to the old white residents',² who were supposedly a ruffianly set of men. Litton Forbes, who came with the 'rush' of 1870, referred to the disorderly habits of the settlers who had so impressed Colonel Smythe, to their enormous consumption of gin and their cohabitation with Fijian women. He said that, at the time of writing, such things were rare and 'with the growth of a healthy public opinion, will become less frequent every year'.³ Sir Arthur Gordon, who came as the first governor of the new British colony in 1875, found that Forbes's expect-

tations had not been fulfilled. The price of cotton had fallen and, without its economic base, the invading culture had proved vulnerable to local influences. Gordon saw the settlers' predicament in moral terms:

A few of the planters are men of energy and character. Others have energy without character, or character without energy. The majority have neither. They lead a miserable existence drinking gin when they can get it and yagona when they cannot, living with a greater or less number of Tokelau women, taking no trouble to make their surroundings less uncomfortable and complaining of the low price of cotton.⁴

The idea of a modern Gades may have been a myth, but it was a myth in which the planters believed. The way in which the planters lived and their influence on the history of the islands in which they settled were the product of a conflict between this myth and the realities of making a living in an island environment. Their culture was the product of a balance between the forces of continual outside reinforcement and continual modification as a result of local experience.

The first generation of planters came from the slightly older frontier societies of Australia, New Zealand and, in some cases, the United States; but most were, ultimately, of European origin. They had already been participants in what the English-speaking peoples had come to regard as a process of continuous expansion that had been going on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. They shared the idea that they belonged to a superior culture and a superior race, that civilisation had already been established in the former wildernesses of America, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand, and that it was their historic destiny to continue the process by bringing the 'blessings of civilisation' to the Pacific Islands which they regarded as the last stronghold of total barbarism. Their immediate motive in coming to Fiji was simply to make money, but imperial enthusiasm was not far from the surface. Fiji was seen as the base from which the cultural conquest of the rest of the South Pacific could be launched. Already, by 1871, Thurston could write of the effect of 'this wonderful permeating force' in the New Hebrides. He proudly recorded the extent to which English was understood and the ubiquity of articles manufactured in Manchester and Birmingham.⁵ In Tonga, in the opposite direction, settlement was retarded because land could only be leased, 'but with all their absurd restrictions', wrote 'An Unfortunate Settler', 'they will find . . . their efforts to stay the tide of immigration useless and once the labour question is settled . . . the Anglo-Australian race will settle and find a living in the Friendly Islands,

in spite of all the laws passed by kings and chiefs, backed by interested advisers.'⁶ Social Darwinism came to Australasia in time to lend support to the conviction of superiority of race and destiny, but the origin of that conviction was colonial experience. As early as 1833 Edward Markham, who had witnessed the process which was to lead shortly to the extermination of the Tasmanian Aborigines, thought he was observing the same process in New Zealand and wrote:

It seems to me that the same causes that depopulated the Indian tribes are doing the same all over the World . . . Rum, Blankets, Muskets, Tobacco and Diseases have been the great destroyers; but my belief is the Almighty intended it should be so . . . , Out of Evil comes Good.⁷

The way in which this doctrine was actually applied varied according to the course which events had taken in the colonies from which the settlers came. Sir Arthur Gordon believed that the settlers from New Zealand were inclined to be more aware of the ability of the Fijians to offer military resistance than were those from Australia,⁸ a result perhaps of the fact that when he was writing, in 1876, the frontier of civilisation seemed to have got stuck at the confiscation boundary in the Waikato, and the Almighty's intentions in the matter were by no means clear. In Australia, on the other hand, the resistance of the Aborigines had been less effective than that of the Maoris, and so some Australians brought with them a misplaced confidence in the methods of population control which they had learnt in Australia. When a British consular clerk in 1866 advised two ex-Victorian settlers against settlement on some land he regarded as being improperly purchased he was told:

We did not come to you for advice, as we are no babies ourselves. We had plenty of trouble with the natives in Victoria . . . and I can tell you that a few bags of flour and a pound of arsenic go a long way to settle the native question.⁹

If it should come to a fight, then the settlers were convinced that their inherent superiority would ensure that they would win. The *Fiji Times* conceded, presumably from historical experience, that 'An average New Zealander or Kaffir is about the equal [i.e. physically] of the average Englishman', but declared that 'no other savage is even that . . . a very large proportion of them are greatly inferior to any Western man, and could not enter into any physical contest with them with any hope of victory'.¹⁰

These were the components of the planters' myth: historic destiny, omnipotence and, above all, the moral justification of all that this

implied. Macaulay's vision of an intangible but imperishable empire had been transmuted by colonial experience into something rather more pragmatic, though no less optimistic. E. S. Smith, an ex-Victorian solicitor who reached Fiji in 1871, even matched Macaulay's moral conviction when he gave the Australian version of the imperial idea to a Levuka audience:

I shall endeavour if elected as one of your representatives, to obtain such a Constitution as will secure to the white race that pre-eminence in the government of the country to which it is entitled by intellect and civilisation . . . should we now succeed in establishing a government, the prosperity of these islands will be assured, and we shall gradually extend our dominion over the countless islands, whose useless luxuriance is waiting the advent of our race, to be converted into beneficial fertility, and whose savage inhabitants we shall teach the divine religion of work.¹¹

Planters had begun to arrive in Fiji in the late 1850s and the early 1860s. Henry Britton, special correspondent of the Melbourne *Argus*, who visited Fiji in 1870, claimed that the Pacific Islands would have attracted European settlers earlier than they did 'but for the gold discoveries in 1851, which drew all the adventurous spirits to Victoria'. But by the end of the decade the diggings were losing their glamour and 'many gold-seekers on their way from California to Victoria called in at Fiji, and a few of these, charmed with the freedom and lawlessness of the country, returned to it when it was no longer easy to make rapid fortunes in Australia'.¹² From 1860 onwards the price of cotton began to rise steadily, as world demand increased and the American civil war reduced supplies. Berthold Seemann, a botanist who accompanied Colonel Smythe, reported that Fiji seemed an ideal place for cotton cultivation, and W. T. Pritchard, the British consul who had instigated the offer of cession, anticipated the publication of Seemann's report¹³ with favourable publicity in the colonial newspapers.¹⁴ It was this publicity which led to an increasing volume of migration to Fiji from Australia and New Zealand during the decade which followed.

Typical of those who arrived in the early 1860s was George Rodney Burt, who settled first on Kadavu, and later on the Sigatoka River, Viti Levu. He had been, according to one source, 'a speculator in the States, a gold miner in California, a stock rider on the Darling Downs in Australia, and at one time a crack billiard player, well-known at the tables of the Albion and the Bull and Mouth in Bourke Street'.¹⁵ It was a time when the adventurous spirits came alone and then, if

prospects looked good, asked their 'mates' to join them. It was not till the 1870s that they began to send for their wives. H. Clough, for example, came alone to the Rewa in early 1868 and a few months later wrote back to his partner, Primrose, who was still on the Victorian goldfields: 'It took 52 days from Sydney to Ovalau hed wind all the way I am stoping with Mr. Morell a Bendigo friend he came heare seven years ago he is very comfortobel and all the whites are very comfortobel', and in another letter, 'Believe me when I tel you that it is a fine climet I never want to see the digins agane you will say so when you com.'¹⁶

For others the route to Fiji was more tortuous. In 1871, as one settler explained, the price of wool had fallen 'preposterously low',¹⁷ and the colonies were in the grip of a recession. For those who had followed the gold rushes, first to the South Island of New Zealand, then to the Thames in the North Island, for those whom the Maori wars and the poor communications on the North Island had deterred from settlement, and those who had failed to make their fortunes in Melbourne or Sydney, Fiji held out the promise of the elusive fortune that they sought. News reached Sydney at the beginning of 1868 that the cotton from one plantation had sold in Liverpool for 3s 6d per pound, and from that time onward Fiji and the Pacific Islands generally received an expanding publicity in the colonial press.¹⁸ Articles emphasised the salubrious climate, the fertile soil and its suitability for cotton growing, the cheapness of land, and the amenability of the natives if 'properly handled'. New opportunities for enterprise and investment, combined with intangible desires such as the fulfilment of a supposed Anglo-Saxon and Australasian destiny in the Pacific, led to what Brewster, echoing the language of the goldfields, calls the 'Great Fiji Rush' of 1870.¹⁹

Part of the rush came from Melbourne where a 'Polynesian Company' was formed in 1868, destined, so it was believed, to become the 'East India Company of the Pacific'. It agreed to pay off the debt of \$43,531 (or £9,000) on behalf of Cakobau, Vunivalu of Bau, to the American government, in return for 200,000 acres of land and certain monopolistic rights within the group. The company vessel, the *S.S. Alhambra*, arrived in Levuka in September 1870 with seventy-four settlers. By then, however, this was nothing exceptional. A total of 158 ships reached the port of Levuka that year, including 43 from Sydney, 43 from New Zealand, and 8 from Melbourne.²⁰ Although they carried a few outgoing passengers, they increased the European population from approximately 1,250 in December 1869 to 1,966 by the end of the year—a net gain of 716 (inclusive of births). In 1871 there was a further increase of 706, bringing the total to 2,760, its

highest point before Cession.* There was still no jetty in Levuka at the beginning of 1870, and passengers were landed on the beach, with all their goods, in small boats. The *Fiji Times* described a typical batch of new arrivals as consisting of 'Hawkesbury farmers, squatters, Victorian vine-growers, diggers, New Zealand flax-dressers and merchants looking for less competition and larger profits'.²¹

Unlike the societies which it sought to emulate, the European community in Fiji had no First Fleet, Four Ships, or Great Trek to look back upon. Fiji was the cultural terminus of a quarter of a century of disorderly migration, chiefly by young men willing to risk much to make a quick fortune, who had spent their lives trying to do so, and who so far had failed.

At first, in the early 1860s, new settlers were conscious of their own weak position and of the reputation of the Fijians as warriors and cannibals. They were ready to make considerable modifications to their own habits and to act with tolerance and restraint towards the native inhabitants to ensure their own economic survival. It was only in the late sixties and early seventies that the ideas expressed by men like E. S. Smith became generally accepted in Fiji, though they were characteristic of the Australian continent. The establishment of a communal belief in a distinctive destiny among the planters themselves depended on the precarious pre-condition of economic prosperity and the confidence of investors. Only with the arousal of extravagant expectations of profit, from 1868 onwards, could the illusion of a self-sustaining white community be maintained. In the years when the price of cotton was at its highest, from 1868 to 1871, European society in Fiji underwent two complementary developments. Firstly, there was a change in the style in which the planters lived and, secondly, a hardening of race relations.

In 1866 a digger from Bendigo arrived to join his partner on Ovalau and found him living in a Fijian *bure*, 'so well armed and so badly dressed and combed that he was unable to stop laughing helplessly at his appearance'.²² Inter-marriage between settlers and Fijian women was common and regarded as normal. Those Fijian and part-European women who were married to Europeans 'formed an aristocratic coterie of their own, and appeared at times in crinolines and regular long skirts, although their usual costume was a loose jacket

* The British Consul in Levuka reported that the total European population in December 1868 was 862—an increase of 370 in the past year (Consular Report, 31 December 1868). There are no figures for 1869, but an increase of even the same amount as in 1868 would have brought the population to 1,232. The figure of 1,250 is a conservative estimate in view of the impression gained from newspaper reading that the rate of immigration was increasing. The other figures were obtained by a count of passenger arrivals from the shipping news in the *Fiji Times*. They therefore exclude a number of passengers who went direct to other parts of the group and did not land in Levuka.

and a muslin petticoat reaching over the knees—no sleeves, no hats, no shoes, nothing in fact to impede their frolicksome movements'.²³ New arrivals complained, for a time, of the leisurely pace at which life went on, of the habitual use of the word *malua* (meaning 'by and by') in reply to any request for action. Britton, writing in 1870, said the word was characteristic of the Fijian people and as a custom which had grown upon the older settlers was 'most distressing to people accustomed to business promptitude'.²⁴ Familiarity had engendered a degree of racial tolerance. As late as September 1870 European public opinion expressed itself strongly against J. H. Niemann, as he said, 'simply through the fact of my having a Ra boy of mine flogged';²⁵ and, in regard to a brawl about the same time between a European and a Fijian, an editorial expressed the view that the European had been not only drunk but also 'wholly in the wrong'.²⁶

With the new influx of settlers, however, came a change in community attitudes. In May 1871 Otty Cudlip was able to have his servant publicly flogged on Levuka beach with impunity. In 1872, when a settler killed a Fijian and failed in his plea of self-defence, he was still acquitted by an all-white jury on the grounds that his act had been 'perfectly justifiable homicide'.²⁷ It would be possible to provide many early examples of racial arrogance on the part of Europeans and many examples in the mid-1870s of harmonious relations between the two peoples, yet on a communal level it was perhaps some time early in 1871 that the pivotal point in race relations was reached. At the regatta on New Year's Day 1871 European, part-European, and Fijian crews competed together in the race for five-oared boats. The *Flying Fox* skippered by Edward Miller, a part-European from Savusavu, walked away with the chief sailing events, and the highlight of the day was the race for Fijian double canoes:

If the canoe race had been run in Port Jackson or Hobson's Bay, it would have caused more excitement than the Melbourne or Sydney Cup, the six canoes hoisting their immense mat sails simultaneously and flying away before the southerly breeze was as pretty a sight as could be imagined.²⁸

The victor, under the patronage of Tui Levuka, invited the spectators of all races to come for a sailing excursion and a picnic after the race. The following year, however, the Boxing Day athletics sports at Vagadace made no allowance for inter-racial competition, and the committee organising the New Year's Day regatta cancelled the native canoe race. The crews in the rowing races were exclusively European and, as if to emphasise the emergence of a new Australasian frontier, they competed as representatives of Auckland, Sydney, and Melbourne.

Until the end of 1868 their influence can still only have been slight, but for the next three years economic prospects were sufficiently encouraging for many planters to consider staying permanently and to pay a return visit to Australia or New Zealand to get a wife. Some settlers wrote to single women in the colonies offering a proposal of marriage and life on a plantation; and though this procedure led to at least one hasty reconsideration at the altar, it accounted for a good many of those who arrived as single women and were married shortly afterwards. 'Captain Ifwersen of the *Cleopatra* has brought down a bride on each trip', commented the *Fiji Times*, 'and we hope he will continue such welcome importations'.³¹ A few single women came with their families, or with friends, and attracted the immediate attention of predatory planters.³² Some single women came alone and, by 1871, there were a number of them in Levuka working as waitresses and barmaids in the hotels. It was believed that 'a tolerably well-behaved, and reasonably good-looking "young-lady", who can attend a bar, has no difficulty in obtaining 50s a week for very easy work, and it is ten to one she gets half-a-dozen offers of marriage during her first half-year in the place'.³³ Greater prosperity also meant that bigger and more comfortable ships began to frequent the port of Levuka, and married settlers who had left their families behind them now felt able to suggest that they should join them.

Coming as they did within a comparatively short space of time, the new feminine arrivals had an impact on the community out of all proportion to their numerical strength. As domestic partners they began to demand the standards of dress, behaviour, and housing to

which they had been accustomed. Early settlers had lived in Fijian-style houses erected for them by the chiefs from whom they bought their land. Their lives were often monotonous and uncivilised, as described by a correspondent to the Melbourne *Argus* in February 1867:

It is folly for men of small means, like myself, to come here with only a few hundreds of pounds except such men will be contented (as I cannot be) with a sort of animal existence, out of all civilisation and in the densest ignorance of everything, on a diet of yams and salt meat . . . The following is the way in which my days are passed and life dragged through: I rise at daylight, light my fire, and set yams to roast at it, and then go round the fields, coming back wet with perspiration or rain; eat the yams, and have a smoke, that is breakfast. Go then to work in the fields, and come back at noon to dinner, consisting of yams again and a piece of salt pork or beef, such as you get on board of ships. Sometimes I buy an eel or wildfowl of the natives, but very seldom are they to be had. After dinner I have another smoke, and then read right through that number of the *Australasian* which I brought with me, and now know from beginning to end by heart . . . Then to work again in the fields, and come back to yams, and tea without milk, and to go to bed at sundown. Such is every days existence for I know not Sundays from weekdays, never see a white face, and forget dates of days and the months, and become lazy, demoralised and wild . . . Give my kind regards to all enquiring friends, and tell them to know when they are well off and keep in Victoria, as I wish to my soul that I had done.³⁴

The new female arrivals were not prepared to put up with such conditions. Just as humpies and log-houses had given place to structures of sawn timber and corrugated iron when European women arrived in the outback districts of New South Wales and Victoria, so in Fiji the single-roomed *bure* was abandoned for the individual privacy of colonial family life, modestly conducted in partitioned houses built of imported materials. The new houses were soon filled with the distinguishing artefacts of Victorian culture. Mats were supplemented by bedsteads, tree-stumps and packing cases gave way to tables and chairs, and empty corners were filled with pianos and glass-fronted book cases. A planter living on Taveuni in 1871 described the new arrangements:

We have a wooden house, galvanised iron roof, all fitted, which we put up ourselves. Three rooms, 12 x 17; office, 6 x 12; verandah all round the house, forty-eight feet long back and front, and thirty-two feet at sides; a kitchen, 14 x 14. The house and kitchen cost £300, fitted complete, Sydney (ten tons).³⁵

Within such a house in 1875, Sir Arthur Gordon found Mrs Pillans, a piano, 'and several nice, clean healthy-looking children, well cared for and well-looking and neatly, though sensibly dressed'. In another, nearby, sat Mrs Barrack, whom he rather unkindly describes as 'a silent and depressing woman with an objection to bathing, which she considers weakening', similarly surrounded by children.

Married planters living in such an environment were soon convinced that civilisation had caught up with them, but they were not the only ones affected. Unlike the few lonely females of 1866 who seldom went out, the women who arrived in the Rush of 1870 and 1871 went out a great deal and imposed new standards of behaviour on the community as a whole. They attended balls, picnics, and concerts held for charitable purposes, and male society became immediately self-critical. The *Fiji Times* complained:

Filth may be cast on the footpath, obscene language used in the hearing of gentle nurtured females, without chance of hindrance or molestation. We know it is not in the nature of gentlemen to do these things, but we are yet too new to have worn out altogether the influence on men of weak minds, created by habits of self-indulgence, savage communion, and long severance from the restraints and usages of society.³⁶

Mrs Perrin struck a stout blow for Victorian standards of behaviour when she attended a public concert and a man refused to relinquish his seat to her. She seized him by the hair and smacked his face. Duly impressed, the remainder of the audience presented her with a golden brooch and a testimonial of appreciation for her action.³⁷

In any contemporary European society many would have shared the attitude of Mrs Barrack to bathing, but the Fijian climate did make it more popular. The custom in Levuka was to ascend the path each evening to one of the rock pools in the Totoga creek above the town, remove one's clothing, and get in. Increasing population had caused problems of pollution, as the creek was also used as a supply of drinking water, and to these, now that there was a sizeable female population, was added the problem of propriety. Like everything else, however, bathing could be institutionalised in accordance with Victorian custom if sufficient effort was made. The delicacy of the subject delayed action for a considerable time but, eventually, in January 1871, a newspaper correspondence began which was to continue intermittently for the next two years. 'In this hot climate in particular we want a suitable place to bathe', wrote the first female contributor, 'away from the rude gaze of semi-civilised savages as well as from the ruder of white people'.³⁸ 'I am a Lady in great distress', wrote 'Anonyma', in

November. 'In this weather I am very fond of a bath every day, yet whenever I endeavour to gain an ablution in the creek . . . I find it crowded with naughty boys or selfish men.'³⁹ A few days later the first 'Ladies' Bathing Place' in Levuka was set aside by public consent with a brushwood fence around it and a *bure* for undressing.

But the other side of the improvement in manners between Europeans was a deterioration in relations between the two races, because the culture of Victorian Australia was inseparable from its characteristic belief in racial superiority, and the two reached Fiji together. For the early settlers, being carried ashore by a Fijian had been much better than getting wet; but in 1870 the *Fiji Times* complained that 'ladies accustomed to the decencies of European life prefer almost any way of getting ashore to being hugged in the arms of a half-naked savage',⁴⁰ and female racial prejudice was largely responsible for the construction of Levuka's first jetty in January 1871. Until then marriage between European settlers and Fijian women had been frequent and regarded as normal. Moreover, settlers had made informal liaisons either with local women or with those who had come to Fiji as imported labourers.⁴¹ In 1870, however, the publicists of the Rush sought to persuade the colonial public that such relationships were extremely rare, as a necessary corollary to the social Darwinism which took for granted that not only would the Fijian race become rapidly extinct but that it would be replaced by a race of pure-bred Anglo-Saxons. 'There is no help, it appears to me', wrote 'Wanderer', 'the laws that ordain his disappearance before the civilised man are as certain as those that govern the heavens.'⁴² His views were shared by Britton who admitted that, 'now and again an old settler may be met who has taken to wife a Fijian or half-caste woman, but this is extremely rare . . . There is not the smallest probability of the two races ever amalgamating.'⁴³ It was the acceptance of such propaganda, in deference to the arrival of European women in substantial numbers, which drove miscegenation underground, to become the cause of male embarrassment and female fury. 'It is not the single men, but the married ones with their wives and children', wrote an indignant matron, 'that have most to fear [i.e. from the Fijians]. They seem to think that all white men living in Fiji should take up with their women, for marriage is not thought of, and there are many men living with Fiji women, and who have large families by them.'⁴⁴ Settlers who attempted to accommodate themselves by degrees to their new domestic circumstances sometimes found that tension in the home was unavoidable. G. R. B. Towson was asked by the British Consul in 1873 to explain why a Tokelau woman had been forced to flee from his house by a white woman who had approached her, knife in hand,

to murder her. It seemed that Mrs Towson was the only white woman in the house and so the consul chose to conclude that the Tokelau woman's fright must have been the result of a dream, 'it having occurred once before'.

The infection of society with racialism born of domestic tension was perhaps inevitable. E. J. Turpin, an old settler, made a clear connection between the reduced status of part-Europeans in the settlers' eyes, and the arrival of European women:

Half-castes are mostly looked on as Niggers and treated the same as natives, this ought not to be . . . their are many white ladies . . . in Fiji who have frequently been benighted at a half-caste settlement accepted of their hospitality who afterwards when at home would not even offer food to their late hosts and yet many of the same frail but fair daughters of Eve when in days gone by they were barmaids . . . as barmaids they would drink with anyone be he white, half-caste or native, but as Matrons they are altered.⁴⁵

By the end of 1871 the transition had been made from a working compromise between two contrasting cultures to the assumption that understanding was unnecessary because the future of Fiji lay with the European invaders. The new relationship was to be one of indifference and hostility. On New Year's Eve 1872, thirty women and seventy men attended a fancy dress ball in Levuka. Around the building was a fence specially put up 'to make the premises private and to exclude the natives from the window views', a fitting symbol of the cultural barrier which the settlers thought they had successfully built between themselves and Fijian society.

With the change in the character of the community went a change in the character of Levuka, the cultural well-spring to which the planters came when they first arrived from the colonies and to which they returned for a 'spree' whenever possible. In the early sixties Levuka existed to serve the needs of commerce, an activity which Fijians and Europeans both pursued to their advantage. By the end of the decade the town had become the centre for a plantation economy which was causing growing resentment among Fijians as they were increasingly excluded from its profits. The more this happened, the more the settlers sought from Levuka, not merely commercial services and incidental social contacts, but the cultural refreshment which only the full trappings of contemporary urban life in Australia could provide.

In 1868 the centre of Levuka lay immediately to the south of Vagadace Creek. The population of 150 consisted mainly of part-Europeans, most of whom belonged to a small group of interrelated families and

lived in houses built of traditional Fijian materials. There were three hotels and 'six places of the half-inn, half public-house description, six stores, a dozen private houses . . . but Levukaeites have not yet had sufficient confidence in their own importance to call the place a town, so it retains its primitive name of the "Beach"'.⁴⁶ There were also some signs of cultural activity, a place called the 'Athenaeum', later known as the Reading Room, on the spur to the south of the Levuka Creek, which 'contains five or six papers of date 1867, a table, and a couple of empty forms'.⁴⁷

By August 1870, however, there was a considerable number of buildings to the south of the Reading Room, and the centre of the new, predominantly European town had shifted in that direction. The beach was now entitled 'Beach Street' by firms advertising their location in the *Fiji Times*, which reported:

The building of cottages and stores is going on briskly at Levuka. The tendency of the place appears to be to increase and spread towards Totoga. Several houses are being built on the hills at the back of Levuka, and good sites are much in demand.⁴⁸

Nine months later, Levuka had ceased to be a place where two cultures met on equal terms and had come to fit the description given to it by a contemporary, a 'Beach City'.⁴⁹ In May 1871 there were reported to be 120 houses and warehouses of European construction, and about twenty-five of native construction occupied by settlers. Thirty-five of the total were private houses at the back of the business part of the town, and there were sixteen new houses in the course of construction. Thirteen of the buildings were public houses, fourteen were retail stores. The permanent population was estimated at 350.

This new, bustling European settlement, increasingly disengaged from the part-European settlement to the north, provided the first taste of Fiji for new arrivals and was the place to which planters returned as often as they could. Here they stayed initially, to pick up gossip about the merits of various parts of the group, arrange credit, acquire an interpreter and a stock of 'trade', before setting out in a local cutter to purchase a plantation. White planters doing their business over a jug of raw gin at one of the new hotels—Manton's, Keyse's, or the Criterion—imbibed at the same time their last strengthening draught of colonial culture before setting out on their new adventure.

Settlers were already well provided with churches, for it was the custom in the early 1860s for Europeans to attend the services provided by the missionaries for the Fijians if they wished to do so.⁵⁰ Religion, however, to the new settlers, was more than mere belief, and its

cultural functions were found to be inhibited in a multi-racial setting. A public subscription was raised in October 1868 to build a new Catholic church at the south end of Levuka, because, to quote the *Fijian Weekly News and Planters' Journal*, 'great inconvenience is felt by the Europeans being mixed with the natives'.⁵¹ By 1871 the Wesleyan church had made similar arrangements. Like the hotels, the churches were now able to provide a cultural link with Australasia rather than an opportunity for the development of inter-racial understanding, and they were aided in this reinforcement of the umbilical relationship with colonial culture by the rapid growth of the clubs and societies which characterised contemporary urban life in Australia. Within the first few months of 1871 the Orangemen, the Masons, the Jews, the chess players, the thespians, and a diminutive band of tee-totallers all had their own societies, and they all helped to sustain the illusion that a new cultural conquest was in the making.

Once on their plantations, the task of maintaining the sense of belonging to a European community was more difficult, but it could still be done in spite of the great regional differences in potential prosperity, accessibility, and political circumstances. An important antidote to 'savage communion' was the *Fiji Times*, which began publication in 1869, prospered with the rapid increase of population in 1870, and was able to become a bi-weekly paper half-way through the year and to double its size at the same time. By 1871 it had a circulation of over 1,000 copies and had become the chief medium through which a sense of belonging was transmitted to a now widely dispersed community. As one reader from Rewa put it, 'We can't get up any excitement here on any subject, but have to depend on your paper to supply us'.⁵² Mail was also a highly valued means of retaining cultural identity. Delivery was a long business in the absence of a government, and distribution was organised on an unofficial basis by the *Fiji Times*. There were many complaints about mail going astray and at least one act of piracy. Eventually, on 17 August 1871, a systematic postal system was started with fixed charges and the names of local agents listed.

As in Levuka, religion served as a communal bond rather than an inducement to inter-racial understanding. Whenever there were enough Europeans to constitute a small congregation, they were able to obtain the services of the missionaries for themselves. On Taveuni, for example, in December 1870:

In the forenoon Mr. Brooks harangued about 500 of the 'devils', and made an evident impression. During the afternoon he preached to the whites.⁵³

On the secular side there was social visiting and a tradition, which has persisted to the present, of spontaneous and generous hospitality. Samuel Beaven, a correspondent of the *Australasian*, described the feeling of communal security which this tradition produced:

There are about 40 whites on plantations scattered throughout Taveuni, Miller and Rous . . . at two miles, and Mr. and Mrs. Logan a quarter of a mile off—a newly married couple, very nice and agreeable; they have a piano. Also Mr. Carstairs (and wife), old Darling squatter, and a friend of my uncle Jack's, Mr. Hutchinson, three miles off.⁵⁴

For wider social contacts there were planters' associations. The first was formed in the Rewa district in 1867, but by 1871 planters were holding regular meetings in nearly all districts. G. H. W. Markham, a settler at Nadi, mentions the 'Nadi Bay Planters' Association' for the first time on 27 May 1870, the occasion of one of the regular monthly meetings, held on a plantation. It does not seem to have been very formal:

Gordon and Ridsdale came to dinner at 7 p.m. we held our meeting . . . We discussed several items of importance which will be brought before the next meeting. We . . . had a sing-song and turned [in].⁵⁵

Meetings became more elaborate as membership increased. In July Markham noted: 'Luks and Hyndman were busily employed in concocting several dishes for the dinner. We had some excitement whilst capturing the fowls which were destined to die'.⁵⁶ Such festivities did a great deal to create a feeling akin to gang spirit, which made involvement with Fijian society unnecessary, if not impossible. When they visited Levuka the Nadi settlers adopted a uniform of Tokelau hats and red shirts, and liked to be known as the Nadi Swells.⁵⁷ The Taveuni Lords showed similar solidarity, and lent assistance to any one of their number who required their moral support. Ernest Logan, for example, was accused by the Catholic priest at Wairiki of ill-treating a native and a meeting of Europeans was summoned to hear the charges. Logan made no attempt to deny that he had used his riding whip on a Fijian for 'insolence'. 'In acting as I did', he said, 'I was upholding the dignity of a white man.' The meeting thought so too, gave him a vote of approval, and improved the occasion by electing him treasurer of the local library fund and trustee for the church.⁵⁸

As in Levuka, group confidence found expression in public entertainment. In September 1871, for example, the Reece brothers held a ball for seventy guests, including twenty-five women, in the cotton ginning shed on their Rewa plantation, with two violins and a piano.

The competition for women was apparently rather intense and the festivities were slightly interrupted at one stage for a pistol duel to be fought. No one was hit, however, and dancing continued till daylight.

In the convivial atmosphere of one of the new hotels, at a musical evening on a neighbour's plantation, or in the candle-light of a ginning-shed ballroom, it was easy to imagine that, in the language of the time, Fiji, like South Africa, Australia, or New Zealand, was a 'white man's country'. With the morning hangover it was difficult to escape the reality that it was not. The initial assumption of military superiority with which the new settlers arrived was quickly modified when they found that the Fijians were often as well armed as themselves and that the articles most in demand in exchange for land were muskets, powder and shot. In addition, the Fijians were much more numerous. Aggressive new arrivals from Australia were admonished by older settlers or by those who had had experience of New Zealand. One of them wrote:

My candid opinion is that the natives only want a good opportunity to rise up in arms against us. How do we stand—just consider. There are on Ovalau about 300 whites against 2,000 native fighting men, they fully armed and we perhaps not able to raise a firearm each.⁵⁹

When they were alone, Europeans found it difficult to escape the fear which formed an undercurrent to their assumption of dominance. The nervous editor of the *Fiji Times*, awakened on a still night in Levuka by someone trying to shoot a dog, wrote:

Our first thought was, 'the Lovoni men are come' and the massacre, which we always dread and which we imagine is to be accompanied by all the atrocities of the Indian Mutiny, had already commenced.⁶⁰

The massacre never took place. Instead, from 1868 to 1875 there was a state of troubled peace, marked by attacks by Fijians on isolated planters, answered by punitive expeditions: clubbings on one side, floggings on the other, clandestine arson and murder answered by visits from warships when available, exemplary executions, the imposition of fines, and speeches from the quarter-deck. The troubled peace was a measure of the precarious balance between the myth of dominance which the planters were able to believe in collectively, and the concessions to reality which most of them made when they were alone.

Of great importance in the process of individual cultural adjustment was the fact that, while miscegenation went underground with the arrival of European women, it did not disappear. It is likely that many European women never overcame the hostility towards the

Fijian people which is suggested by their comments on the domestic situation they found on their arrival; but the contagious effect of their attitude on their menfolk proved to be transitory and, even in public, the attitude of most settlers was far from consistent. Forbes, who sought to reassure his Australasian and British readers that miscegenation was on the decline, nevertheless regarded the household of one whom he described as a 'bachelor planter', who lived with a Samoan girl of seventeen, with tolerance, and deprecated the contemporary attitude of moral condemnation.⁶¹ Another planter regretted that his Victorian conception of romantic love did not quite fit the facts of his cultural environment, and expressed his emotional frustration in verse:

We tread the same path with our feet,
Our eyes may speak, our lips may meet,
Our hearts have no harmonious beat.

Thou can'st not love me sable maid
Our lives in different lines are laid
In diverse plains our minds are stayed.

At the same time he was fully appreciative of the physical attractions of his 'Dark Dryad of the Coral Isle':

No useless raiment veils thy shape
Thou hast no gay pretence to ape,
And no deformity to drape.

Yet when mine eyes with thine have met,
How sweet the hard truth to forget—
That thou but seek'st what thou can'st get!⁶²

The arrival of European women in considerable numbers from 1868 to 1871 must have spoilt many such daydreams for lonely settlers, who would otherwise have translated them to action as their predecessors had done. But this influx was caused by the unusually high price of cotton, and this price was only maintained until the middle of 1871, when it started to fall from up to 4s 6d to between 1s 6d and 2s per pound in 1872. At this price the maintenance of a European-style household became impossible for most settlers who had come not as wealthy investors, but as former diggers, small farmers, seamen, clerks, or labourers. They had relied on cotton, from which a first crop could be obtained only four months after planting, as a means of achieving independence and security with little capital. Its failure brought bitterness and despondency, and personal accounts of the period give a uniform impression of privation and hardship. Richard Philp wrote, in 1872:

I assure people that no one has any idea of the hardship and misery which numbers of cotton planters have had to go through. *All* of them have had to suffer these things at first. Some have struggled through these difficulties, and have succeeded in forming something like comfort around them, by building better houses, getting better furniture, . . . but *many* have succumbed to their hard lot—some are ruined for ever—some are dead.⁶³

Without money or credit it was impossible to obtain European food from the Levuka storekeepers or to retain many of the distinctive features of European life. 'I have no beef, no sugar, no flour, and very little tea', wrote another diarist in May 1872, 'my food is chiefly beans.'⁶⁴ This was a style of life which few European women wished to share, and many proved unable to do so. Turpin was proud to record that his own wife, Etty, 'continued to enjoy general good health', but he added that she complained sometimes of 'nervousness', that Victorian euphemism which could denote a wide variety of psychological disorders. Others had not done so well: 'the foreign ladies in Fiji seem as a rule', he wrote, 'to enjoy very bad health several have died lately among them'.⁶⁵ The most common causes of death were childbirth and dysentery. 'Nervousness' led usually to departure rather than death. It was the result of the increasing gulf between the style of life which the optimism of 1870 had led women to expect and the extended penury to which they were forced to resign themselves. It proved, in the end, too much even for Etty. In November 1874, Turpin recorded that she 'had the brain fever very bad she was out of her senses for 16 days'.⁶⁶

Others did not remain in Fiji so long. By the end of 1871 the passenger lists of ships returning to New Zealand and Australia were already beginning to lengthen, even though new migrants were still arriving in large numbers. The lists included many of the brides of 1870 and the wives and families who had hopefully joined pioneering partners to escape poverty in Australia. Alone once more, their wives gone and their pianos sold to pay their debts, the planters found it increasingly difficult to maintain their cultural independence. By 1871 many had already succumbed to their environment: 'More than one third of the unmarried owners', said one writer, 'are living with coloured women',⁶⁷ and it was not unknown for married planters to follow their example.

In many cases, however, the frailty of the flesh and the hardness of the head were conducive to a *rapprochement* with Fijian society. As the prosperity of the planter class as a whole declined, the settlers who remained apparently solvent were not, as a rule, those who acted on the belief that Fiji was destined to become a 'white man's country',

but those who continued to regard the preservation of good relations with the Fijians as important. Problems were often soluble for those who recognised the validity of Fijian attitudes to property and social obligations, who recognised the power and authority of the chiefs, and were prepared to act accordingly.

David Wilkinson of Bua, for example, not only acted as secretary to Tui Bua, but took him into a business partnership of which the basis was that Wilkinson would supply the capital, stock, and equipment, while the chief provided the labour.⁶⁸ The partnership survived the cotton boom and slump, and some years of colonial rule. William Hennings, who arrived in Fiji in 1858 and was later joined by his four brothers, got off to a good start by his marriage to Adi Mere Tuisalalo. This gave him some of the status and authority of a Fijian chief and served as an effective guarantee against attack over a wide area of the Lau group and part of Viti Levu. The Hennings brothers started business in the early sixties by distributing cotton seed to Fijian chiefs and encouraging them to cultivate it, promising to buy the produce from them. In 1861 they started their own cotton plantations on the island of Makogai and soon acquired large areas of land in the Lau group, Rewa, and elsewhere. They sold much of it to newcomers, not for the immediate returns, since they often lent them more than they received as payment, but for the long-range benefits to be expected from the economic progress of the whole group. In 1872 they issued their own currency from Lomaloma, and though they were in financial difficulties William Hennings could afford to go to Australia and Europe in 1880-1 and spent freely in the process.

Settlers who found it necessary to coerce their labourers found it much easier to do so if they could obtain chiefly support. One writer visiting Taveuni in 1871 remonstrated with a planter who was supervising the flogging of one of his men. 'This you know', he was told, 'is not our sentence but that of the chief.' There were some settlers, however, like the Ryder brothers of Mago island, who were not able to rely on the continuous presence of friendly chiefs to solve their problems. George, the youngest, gave a realistic appraisal of the situation when they reached Mago in 1864:

I have often thought since of our temerity, three of us landing on an island, inhabited by some seven hundred men, women and children to take possession of it, it seemed a risky thing considering that there was no law in the country, might was right, and club law was the only law.⁶⁹

Eventually, the situation the Ryders found themselves in was simplified by the action of Ma'afu, the Tongan chief, who removed the

inhabitants of Mago and re-settled them on Vanua Balavu. In the meantime it was clearly no use attempting to introduce the wage system into the self-sufficient economy of the island, and so the Ryders abandoned it and adapted themselves to local custom as it applied to the execution of communal tasks. Edmund wrote:

George and I with an interpreter went in the dinghy right round the island . . . visiting the different towns (5) and making arrangements for a grand feast to come off on the following Monday. All the towns agreed to come and work . . . in consideration for which I was to give each town 1 pig and 100 yams with a leaf of tobacco to each man per day. They came, cut down all the scrub I wished, and had their feast. I wish I had done this at first, I should have made greater progress.⁷⁰

After Ma'afu ordered the departure of the inhabitants the Ryders were left in sole possession. Thereafter, until after Cession, they obtained labourers from the Ra coast of Viti Levu. Still outnumbered and with no powerful chief present close at hand to protect them, they were unable to entertain the extravagant notions of omnipotence which gained favour among the later arrivals. George believed that 'by looking well after the men whilst with us, treating them fairly and being kind to them, Mango obtained a good name, and we had no difficulty in obtaining all the men we required for many years to come'.⁷¹ The reward of realism was not only nights free from anxiety, but great prosperity.

As the planter class as a whole sank into economic decline in the 1870s, it lost the temporary cultural homogeneity which prosperity, the influx of colonial culture, and colonial family life had given it. A very few settlers, who had large capital, whose land purchases were undisputed, and who had settled in areas of maximum security under the protection of powerful chiefs, were able to afford regular trips to the cultural well-springs of Levuka or even Sydney, and to succeed, if they wished, in retaining their European wives and a distinctive style of life. Others, like William Hennings and the Ryder brothers, continued to enjoy modest wealth, and security as well. The rest struggled on unhappily for a time and eventually dispersed, some to other islands, some to the refuge of government posts in the Crown Colony, and others returned to Australia or New Zealand.

The outcome of European settlement depended primarily on three factors: the price of cotton, security of land tenure, and the availability of cheap labour. Of these, only the price of cotton was unaffected by the Fijian environment and, when the price of cotton fell, the other

factors proved decisive. Land could only be obtained easily and held securely so long as it seemed to Fijians to be in their interests to allow its alienation. Settlers, who were often already convinced that inter-racial war was inevitable, found it necessary to pay for their land in muskets, which made their position even more precarious, especially on the island of Viti Levu, where land sales were frequently made not only to obtain arms but to provide protection against enemy tribes. Alfred Missen, Duncan Murray, and Thomas Dowie, for example, found that they had been sold land for this purpose on the Sigatoka River by Ratu Kini, who had driven the original owners off it in 1868. Missen paid £100 for his piece, Rawamagi, in 1870, chiefly in muskets. Thomas Muir, correspondent of the *Bruce Herald*, who visited the area explained that 'as the resident natives do not participate in the purchase money they do their best to prevent the settler settling',⁷² which was only half the story. As Missen saw it the problem was simply one of ineffective authority; he was forced to leave 'on account of a dispute with an interior tribe . . . over whom Ratu Kini had no power . . . they threatened to kill me if I did not leave'.⁷³ Lorimer Fison, a missionary who happened to know the whole story, suggested that Ratu Kini was acting unfairly.

I remember telling Ratu Kini that it was too bad of him to expose the purchasers of the land to the dangers attendant upon such purchases. 'You know the taukeis are in the hills', I said, 'and there will be mischief'. Whereupon he replied with a beautiful composure, 'It is true, but the white men have many guns. They are a war fence to my back'.⁷⁴

The results of this kind of situation, which was reproduced in many areas, especially around the coasts and up the rivers of Viti Levu, were repeated assaults upon white settlers by the evicted owners who did not recognise the authority of coastal chiefs to sell their land. Hardly a week passed in the last half of 1870 and the first half of 1871 without news of a planter's house on Viti Levu being burnt, his wife terrified, or occasionally himself beaten severely or killed. As the Fijians were well armed, retaliation was difficult. Planters in some areas tried to impose a boycott on trading in firearms, but in the absence of government general agreement proved impossible. On their own, settlers found 'it only tends to ruin their plantations'. R. B. Leefe wrote from his Rakiraki plantation:

The planters on this coast have proved this to be the case. Messrs. St. John, Jennings and Fuller, as well as Mr. Andrews and myself, abstained during the whole of 1869 from giving any Viti Levu men either arms or ammunition . . . I know well that in my own case I should have much more cotton in had I acted differently.⁷⁵

Though settlers were at a disadvantage militarily, there were many of them—perhaps the majority in the self-confident glow of the Great Fiji Rush—who believed that aggressive action would provide a solution to their predicament. 'We are not in any way on a par with New Zealand', wrote one settler, '... all experience proves that whites can defend themselves when allowed to do so.'⁷⁶ This feeling led to the growth in popularity of punitive expeditions and the formation of 'rifle associations' throughout the group. As punishment such expeditions were ineffective; their usual result was further 'outrages' upon European lives and property in retaliation; and, although they sometimes made the settlers feel better because of the collective action involved, the usual long-term result was a feeling of frustration. The murder of Spiers and Mackintosh on the Ba River in July 1871, for instance, was the occasion of a long series of desultory attempts to break the power of the interior tribes of Viti Levu on the part of the settlers, the Cakobau government, and finally the colonial government. A Ba settler arrived in Levuka on 1 August 1871 to ask for assistance.

He had left behind him on the Ba his wife and six children, and before he left he placed a revolver in each of their little hands, and told them that when they were told to shoot they were to fire upon the nearest big-headed native they could see.⁷⁷

He asked for volunteers from the Europeans to join a punitive expedition. The whole able-bodied male population of each district in the group volunteered to begin with; about one-third of that number assembled on 28 August, 'fully prepared to go . . . to chastise the murderers of Mackintosh and Spiers'; but when it was learnt that the local chief was unable to assist because his people were busy picking yams, half those assembled declined to go any further. It was a diminutive army which finally made its way up the river, entered the first village it reached, shot three Fijians and, its honour satisfied, returned with 'damp powder and damp spirits'. The fact was that without the assistance of Fijian forces there was little the settlers could do, and Fijian chiefs were only prepared to assist Europeans if it suited their own purposes. Europeans, on the other hand, were often placed in situations where their presence provided protection to coastal chiefs. These were the inescapable risks of land holding, and it was only those who understood the risks and made due allowance for them who stood much chance of remaining undisturbed. To do so meant tacit modification of the myth of their historic destiny.

The other factor which might have helped to sustain a distinctively European culture in Fiji was a supply of cheap and willing labour. Had this been available, a genuine planter society, such as that of

Jamaica, might have developed. In Fiji a planter's obvious source of supply was the native population, but reliance on it involved his becoming, in effect, the subject of a Fijian chief. Some Fijian labourers were wage employees, others were prisoners handed over by a chief; but, whatever their status, their employer was dependent on chiefs' support for the maintenance of discipline. When they were employed at a distance from their homes—where chiefly authority could not be effectively exercised—they were likely to desert at crucial times of the year. The immediate purpose of the formation of a 'Planters' Association' on Taveuni in December 1871 was to co-operate in the recapture and return of runaways, who were mostly people of the Lovoni tribe on Ovalau. The Cakobau government had placed them at the service of planters after conquering them, in the hope of securing the political support of the Taveuni settlers. The Association, however, failed in its object and the drain continued, to the planters' loss. By now the price of cotton had fallen, shipping began to fall off, diet grew monotonous, recreation infrequent, and wives discontented. 'Anything under 2s per lb. will not pay', wrote the Vuna Point correspondent in May 1872:

I am sorry to observe that this is above the price lately obtained . . . every bale of cotton shipped costs the lucky planter £11, so that if he ships nine bales he has to fork out the moderate sum of £100. The ginning alone amounts to £4 per bale, and freight, insurance, commission and brokerage etc., absorb the other £7. Then out of his assumed profit of £25 per bale the 'cotton Lord' has to pay the Government £7 per head for discontented labor.⁷⁸

An alternative to recruiting local labour was to obtain labourers from other island groups, but this raised new problems. Firstly, it was expensive, for the cost of a passage from the New Hebrides, £6 in 1868, rose to £14 in 1872, and the planter was thus faced with a considerable initial outlay to secure his labourers' services. He had to pay wages of £3 per head per annum for three years, and he was then liable for the return fares. Wealthy planters purchased vessels of their own for the purpose, but men of small means had to depend on others. Part-Europeans came into their own as the builders and operators of labour vessels; they often became creditors to impoverished white planters who had to rely on the profits of future crops to fulfil their contracts.

The Fijians, though they did not take kindly to plantation work, objected strongly when they saw trade goods which they valued being received by imported labourers. Fijian attacks upon imported labourers were common. The employment of foreign labour therefore

committed many planters to Fijian enmity, and this in turn made them dependent on their imported labour force for their own safety. Where the labourers had been brought to Fiji under false pretences, or—as was increasingly the case after cotton prices fell—had not been returned at the end of their contracts, this must have been small comfort.

Foreign labourers, like local ones, frequently deserted. Moreover, they not infrequently assaulted their employers. In 1869 Norman, an emigrant from Victoria who had settled at Savusavu, was on his way back from Levuka with a boatload of Tana men when they overpowered him and sailed the boat back towards Tana. They kept him prisoner until the seventeenth day out and then ate him. In 1871 four settlers—Warburton of Levuka, Kingston, Robson, and Whitaker of Taveuni—were murdered by a party of Solomon Islanders whom they were taking from Levuka to Taveuni. William Golding, captain of the ketch *Edith*, was similarly murdered by twelve Epi men as she lay off the beach at Vagadace. Others were murdered in the recruiting grounds themselves as resistance built up when labourers returned to tell of unfulfilled contracts, hard work, and poor food. To many planters it seemed that the trade was an invitation to assault, abuse from philanthropists, and a road to economic ruin. Brewster quotes Britton's perceptive doggerel, written in March 1872:

Neath a ragged palmetto a Mba planter sat
 A-twisting the rim of his Tokelau hat,
 And to relieve his mind of a load
 He hummed the words of the following ode:
     'Oh! for a cocktail and Oh! for a nip,
     Oh! for a digger and Oh! for a whip,
     Oh! for a captain and Oh! for a ship,
     And oh! for a cargo of niggers every trip'.
 And so he went ohing for all he had not,
 Not contented with owing for all that he'd got.⁷⁹

Typical of those planters who were unwilling to make the necessary concessions to Fijian conditions, but who could not afford the alternative, were the partners George Burt and Achilles Underwood. Burt seems to have been unusually cruel. In 1867 his labourers had run away from his plantation on Kadavu. When he succeeded in getting them back, he flogged them all, then stung their backs with nettles, stuffed their mouths with hot peppers, and gagged them.⁸⁰ Underwood joined him in 1868 and, like Thomson and Missen, they bought land on the Sigatoka from Ratu Kini. The two partners found it impossible to obtain labour from the surrounding villages, which were hostile to

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their presence, and so they borrowed heavily, imported forty men from Tana and kept them continually armed. The owners of the land nevertheless succeeded in burning the plantation and the first crop of cotton, just as it was ready to be shipped. The firm moved to Burt's old haunts on Kadavu but still failed to prosper. The Tana men had been engaged for three years in 1868, but in March 1871 Underwood had to tell them that they had not purchased a vessel to take them back, as planned; the proceeds of the last crop had been used instead to send Burt to the United States where he sought to interest Congress in the wrongs he had suffered on the Sigatoka. The Tana men murdered Underwood and Burt stayed, for the time being, where he was. One by one the props of their independence had failed them. The price of cotton which attracted Underwood to join the partnership had fallen; the cheap land had proved a liability; the cheap labour had refused to co-operate. For men like these there only existed the alternatives of abandoning their belief in their own distinctive destiny as European settlers, departure, or death.

Each of the alternatives open to the settlers as individuals had political equivalents for the community as a whole. Its members could abandon Fiji, as many did, writing later from the Australian colonies to the colonial government about their land claims. They could seek to govern themselves in their own exclusive interests or, as E. S. Smith put it, 'to obtain such a constitution as will secure to the white race the pre-eminence in the government of the country to which it is entitled by intellect and civilisation', and this would have meant war, and the death of many, since the Fijian leaders would never have accepted it. The remaining choice was to set up a government to act in the interests of both races. The political history of the period from 1870 to 1874 was the history of a struggle between these possibilities.

Before the Great Fiji Rush it had been assumed that the formation of a government in Fiji necessarily involved co-operation with the native rulers, and this remained the view of the older settlers. The newcomers of 1870, however, brought with them a new theory: that by purchasing land throughout Fiji they had also, as a body, acquired rights of sovereignty. The letters of 'Republican' to the *Fiji Times* were a typical expression of this viewpoint:

I object to the statement that in purchasing land we have incorporated ourselves into the territory; on the contrary, we form a community as distinct as black is from white.⁸¹

He went on to argue that this distinctive white community was entitled to self-government, independently of any existing Fijian authority.

Those who, like Thurston, saw the need for a government that would serve the interests of both races were conservatives, in terms of British or colonial political ideologies, and had no basic objection to monarchy. Such men were bound to be attacked with the ideological armoury of European radicalism. Though the political ideas of their opponents arose directly out of their view of their rights as landowners, they also had a basis in European thought—in the tradition going back to John Locke. Government, to those who may be called the 'republicans' of 1870, was the fruit of a social contract between property owners:

It had been objected that such a government had no territory. It would have a large territory; the pick and choice of the country, bought and honestly paid for. The settlers were the pioneers of civilisation, and if a permanent colony was to be formed here, let it be one that our posterity would not be ashamed of, not one who owned a Polynesian negro for its monarch.⁸²

The first fruit of the new republicanism was the 'Fiji Planters' Protection Association' founded in March 1870. Its constitution provided for the representation of the various districts in a central council, and its object was to be the 'settlement of disputes between members of the Association (fee-paying white residents over 21) and aboriginals'.

The attitude to the problem of government represented by this proposal was strongly opposed by political realists who, having resided for some time in Fiji, had a proper understanding of the situation. R. S. Swanston, for example, one of the earliest settlers in Lau, and personal secretary to Ma'afu, ridiculed the idea of 'local committees of whites throughout the Group, for the purpose of framing local laws and rules for our own governance'—as proposed by the Planters' Association—'because such committees would lack binding authority' and, even if successful, would represent 'but a general agreement to carry out lynch law . . .'. 'Our policy', he concluded, ' . . . is to work with the native rulers of the land, if we are really seeking for a peaceful solution.'⁸³

Between March and May 1870 these were the two alternatives placed before the European community. In the more prosperous planting districts the ideas of men like Swanston gained acceptance. At Vuna Point in April 1870, settlers met to consider the rumours that had reached them of proposals to set up a white republic. The meeting was informed from Tui Cakau, the chief of Cakaudrove, that he would expect those favourable to a republic to protect themselves in future from native violence and this threw enough cold water on

republican aspirations to quench them.⁸⁴ At Savusavu, a meeting decided not to send representatives to the proposed association but instead to enter into a firm alliance with Tui Cakau.⁸⁵ At Lomaloma, at a meeting chaired by Rupert Ryder of Mago, William Hennings was elected as the local representative to go to Levuka, but many misgivings were expressed about the plan as a whole. The meeting favoured joint action with the native rulers as 'the most certain method of ensuring peace and security', stated the important principle that 'whites should generally respect the Laws of the Chieftdom in which they reside', and agreed that whites as well as natives should be subject to taxation by chiefs.⁸⁶

In Levuka, interest in the Planters' Association soon flagged. A 'Corporation of Fiji Settlers' was, however, formed in its place. Initially, it was agreed that the primary object should be 'the mutual protection of the members against any outrages which may be committed by the natives', but the task of drawing up a constitution and rules was delegated to a committee, which included William Hennings. His influence may be detected in the report which the committee returned to a public meeting. It stated:

That it is understood that the object of this corporation is to establish friendly relations with the ruling chiefs in Fiji, to act in concert with us, and to secure justice between the white settlers and natives of this country.⁸⁷

It was suggested that, in cases where the whites were aggressors (a possibility not admitted by the former Planters' Association), members should pledge themselves to see justice done through the consuls. The committee explicitly stated that its object was 'to *derive* power through the ruling chiefs, to put down villainy . . . it is not sought to *create* power'. The report was accepted by the meeting as a whole, but there was a powerful minority which 'objected altogether to dealing with the Fijians on terms of equality'.⁸⁸ It was this minority whose numbers were greatly reinforced during the next few months by new arrivals and the cultural changes brought about by them in late 1870 and early 1871.

Between May 1870 and July 1871 political activity in Levuka was at a standstill, while in the planting districts, where the settlers were not so conscious of the renewed cultural links with Australia, the process of political development continued in the direction of co-operation with the existing Fijian authorities. In January 1871 settlers and chiefs met together at the parliament of the Lau confederation.⁸⁹ Swanston read the laws of the confederation to the settlers and formed a committee to report 'how far in their opinion, it was

compatible with the feelings of the whites to submit thereto'. The result was what amounted to a grant of extra-territorial rights to the European community in return for taxation and, implicitly, an acknowledgment of Fijian sovereignty. The settlers also appointed six magistrates to act in conjunction with Fijian magistrates in cases where both Europeans and Fijians were involved. At Bua, under the influence of David Wilkinson, a meeting of white residents decided 'to endeavour to obtain from Tui Bua a charter, giving a similar right of veto on the laws of the Bua kingdom to that which the Tui Lau has granted to the white residents in Lau'.⁹⁰ In Nadroga the settlers met and elected three magistrates to act in conjunction with Ratu Kini, in cases involving both races. And at Rewa a meeting of planters agreed to pay a tax to Bau in return for protection:

The tax to Cakobau was to be paid in seven days—not that we suppose the amount will alarm the king of Bau, but we wish to show him that we acknowledge the fact of living inside the Bau sovereignty.⁹¹

In the early months of 1871 the confidence of the European community was apparently at its highest; yet, as individuals, many had cause for anxiety. There was a severe hurricane in March 1871, which was later remembered by many settlers who gave evidence to the Land Claims Commission as the turning point in their fortunes. It came at a time when the fall in the price of cotton was fast beginning to be felt. The impecunious residents of Levuka became interested in the political developments of the more prosperous of the planting districts and in the views of men like Swanston who, at this crucial time, gained the support of the *Fiji Times*. He warned that difficulties and troubles might arise if the Fijians became aware of attempts on the part of Europeans to grasp power for themselves.⁹² The editor reminded readers of Swanston's authority and experience: 'He is to Ma'afu and Lau what Bismarck is to King William and Prussia'. Two months later, the views Swanston urged had been fully assimilated:

Any action we may wish to take must be with the sanction of the native rulers, subject to whatever laws they may make, and if they do not enforce the observance of those laws upon us, it is not because they do not possess the right, but because they do not understand the situation.⁹³

In June 1871 the Cakobau government was formed in Levuka. In accordance with the principles which had been slowly developing in recent months, Cakobau was declared to be the ultimate source of authority and the ruler of the whole of Fiji, while Ma'afu, his chief rival, was appointed to the position of viceroy. Cakobau was to be

provided, however, with an elected assembly which would represent only the European community and it was assumed from the beginning by republicans that the constitutional monarchy was a façade. Dr J. R. Ryley, for example, a recent arrival from Auckland, initially supported the government on the assurance that 'The native element would be a cipher in the Government *de facto* for we would actually frame our own laws'.⁹⁴ The conflict between these interpretations of events was never resolved and the government eventually failed because there was no consensus on this vital issue. In the meantime, the *Fiji Times*, sensitive to its readership swollen with recent arrivals, had abandoned its moderate tone and its support of the government; it joined in the general abuse of the ministry, because the latter insisted on its right to govern without waiting for an elected assembly to meet and to give it authority. When McCartney, the Crown Prosecutor, upheld the right of the Supreme Court to sit before the assembly had met, and said that those who did not like the government might leave the country, the editor remarked that they would in many cases prefer 'to leave the government', but was then forced to recognise that there were no political alternatives in Fiji to co-operation with the Fijian authorities and that those who could not accept this must go back to Australia. Europeans who would not accept the authority of Cakobau, the editor alleged, 'can yet find a refuge in the Lau confederation, in Taveuni, or under Ratu Kini, if the Cakobau ministry proceed to extremes'.⁹⁵

With this declaration—that the only refuge from the authority of Cakobau was in the territory of chiefs whose authority had been acknowledged already by European residents and who themselves acknowledged the authority of Cakobau—a balance between myth and reality had been tacitly recognised. The 'modern Gades' could exist only as a shadow because it depended for survival on a degree of political realism which severely undermined the myth on which it was based. And the 'hedge or boundary between barbarism and civilisation', neatly trimmed in the imagination, was in reality broken in places, wild, and largely overgrown with tropical luxuriance.

JOHN COLERIDGE PATTESON

Missionary Bishop of Melanesia

David Hilliard

JOHN Coleridge Patteson is perhaps the most familiar figure in the English missionary episcopate of the nineteenth century. Even before the time of his death his fame as a pioneer missionary was ensured; and, since then, his reputation has waxed rather than suffered eclipse. The reasons for this are not far to seek. Thanks to his own writings, faithfully preserved by an admirable biographer, we can see him as a living man in some completeness. More than this, his violent death at a relatively early age, by earning him a place in the gallery of Christian martyrs, has ensured the growth of a Patteson legend, sustained by a steady stream of popular hagiography.¹

Patteson was born in London on 1 April 1827, the third child of John Patteson (the second by his second wife), a notable barrister who was raised to the Bench and knighted in 1830. His mother, Frances Coleridge, came from a distinguished Devon family and was a niece of the poet, Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Both parents were members of the Church of England, and the life of the family was permeated by a serene High Church piety. At the age of eight 'Coley', as he was called, was sent as a boarder to a private grammar school in Devon where he stayed until 1838 when he entered Eton. Four years later his mother died and from then on his father became a formative influence in his developing religious opinions.

At Eton Patteson made his mark both as a competent scholar and as an athlete. He was an outstanding cricketer and in due course became head of the school. In addition, however, he displayed traits unusual in a schoolboy hero. He was unaffectedly devout, high minded—perhaps slightly priggish in his behaviour—and intensely

introspective: a schoolfriend later recalled that 'whenever he was taken by surprise he seemed to be inly ruminating till he spoke or was spoken to'.²

In September 1845 he went up to Balliol, though he failed to obtain the expected scholarship. Oxford at this time was in a state of religious ferment. The traditional theological parties of the Church of England—High Church, Evangelical, Liberal, and the large middle-of-the-road school—were in the process of dissolution before the rising tide of Tractarianism which to some extent cut across all four groups. Its former unchallenged leader, John Henry Newman, submitted to the Roman Catholic Church in October 1845, but contrary to the expectations of hostile critics the new movement did not die. Under the leadership of John Keble and E. B. Pusey it rallied its forces and rapidly developed into an influential, though predominantly clerical, school of thought which stressed the essentially Catholic nature of the English Church as a society deriving its authority directly from the apostles, and opposed with equal vehemence the triple-headed enemy of liberalism, dissent, and popery. By inclination and upbringing Patteson was sympathetic to the Tractarian appeal to the consensus of the early and undivided church as the ultimate standard of Christian doctrine and practice, its stress on the authority of bishops, and its high doctrine of the sacraments. For the rest of his life he retained a deep affection for John Keble in particular, but at no stage did he count himself among his intimate followers.

In 1849 he took a Second in Litterae Humaniores. By this time his childhood wish to become a clergyman had crystallised into a definite intention and for the next three years he devoted himself to private study of theology, interspersed with travel through Switzerland, Italy, and Germany. In 1852 he was elected to a Fellowship of Merton College. He also spent some months in Dresden learning Hebrew and Arabic as an aid to Old Testament studies, and he there revealed for the first time his remarkable linguistic ability. On 14 September 1853 he was ordained deacon in Exeter Cathedral for the curacy of Alphington, a Devonshire village close to the Patteson family home at Feniton where his father had retired in 1852. Here he stayed until 1854, the year he was ordained priest, when he offered himself for missionary work to the heroic figure of George Augustus Selwyn, Bishop of New Zealand, who was then on leave in England. Accompanying Selwyn as his 'missionary chaplain', he sailed for New Zealand in March 1855.

Selwyn was the archetype of the militant Christian. Physically commanding, resourceful, apparently untroubled by doubts, with a lofty concept of his position as a chief shepherd of the flock of God, he had delivered lectures and sermons during his English visit which had a

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profound influence on the popular image of the episcopal office as the dynamic element in a missionary church. He had come to England in 1854 with the intention, among other things, of selecting 'a few coadjutors' to assist him in his new mission to the islands of the Western Pacific—a region he believed to be included within his see of New Zealand as defined by Crown Letters Patent of 1841. Assured at the time by the Colonial Office that no clerical error was involved, he had accepted his vast diocese and the implied duty of evangelising its heathen inhabitants as a sacred obligation. This conviction was reinforced by a farewell letter from Archbishop Howley of Canterbury, who exhorted him to look upon the New Zealand church as 'a fountain diffusing the streams of salvation over the islands and coasts of the Pacific'.³ For five years Selwyn had been fully occupied in New Zealand affairs and it was not until 1847 that he was able to direct his attention to the northern islands, visiting Samoa, Tonga, the New Hebrides, and New Caledonia as chaplain to the cruising warship H.M.S. *Dido*. Already the greater part of Polynesia was divided between the London Missionary Society and Wesleyan missions, while Presbyterians from Nova Scotia were preparing to enter the southern New Hebrides. Surely, reasoned Selwyn, nothing less than the remainder of Melanesia, 'where at present there is not so much as one single believer', was sufficient as a sphere of mission work for the Church of England.

As a mission field Melanesia presented unusual difficulties. Its inhabitants had a name for ferocity and cannibalism; the climate was hot and malarial. In addition, there was the problem of the large number of islands in the region and their extraordinary multiplicity of languages. These considerations, together with the lack of suitable English missionaries, seemed to demand a new strategy: abandonment of the practice followed elsewhere in the Pacific of stationing a European on each major island and, instead, reliance on a 'native agency'. Ultimately, Selwyn hoped, the islands would see the birth of an independent church, 'with its own staff of clergy, its own laws, its own bishop', in communion with the Church of England in New Zealand.

For this Melanesian Mission Selwyn adapted a scheme which he had already attempted to implement in New Zealand. His ideal, shown by the foundation of St John's College in Auckland, was that of a large central institution, combining cathedral and collegiate functions, from which the life of the church would radiate to surrounding parishes and schools. From this, his headquarters, he likewise planned to cruise for some months during each year among the various island groups, opening up friendly relations with as many people as possible. These were to be persuaded to entrust to him

some of their most promising young men who would be taken for the summer to St John's and there taught English, the arts of civilisation, and the rudiments of Christianity. At the onset of winter, when the New Zealand weather became cold and wet, the Melanesian scholars would be returned to their own villages where, ideally, they would begin to disseminate knowledge of the new religion among their kinsfolk and friends. If they proved to be intelligent and likely to benefit from further instruction, they would be taken again in the following year; if not, others would be obtained in their place. For each scholar the process would be repeated until he was baptised and sufficiently instructed to return permanently to his home and commence the evangelisation of his people. The selection, collection, and return of scholars was to be under the direct supervision of the bishop in his 'floating Mission House', while a small band of carefully chosen assistants would undertake the education of the youths at the central school.⁴

In 1849 Selwyn made his first missionary voyage, one of 3,000 miles in the 21-ton schooner *Undine*, visiting the southern New Hebrides and the Loyalty Islands in company with H.M.S. *Havannah* (then on a cruise through the South Pacific), and returning to Auckland with five youths from New Caledonia, Lifu, and Mare. At St Johns there were already some fifty 'English' and Maori youths in residence. College life was austere, tightly disciplined, and dominated by the 'industrial system' which Selwyn had introduced both to assist the institution towards eventual self-support and to illustrate the essential unity of Christianity and civilisation.⁵ There was no distinction between the races. The Melanesians worked and worshipped alongside the other students and received instruction from the bishop himself in English and the basic Christian doctrines.

Selwyn was in the second phase of the European penetration of Melanesia. The first wave, of explorers and shipwrecked seamen, was succeeded during the 1830s by commercial shipping: sperm whalers and traders for sandalwood, bêche-de-mer, and other island produce. In the Solomon Islands contact was still confined to certain bays and anchorages. Few Europeans were yet prepared to risk their lives by remaining on shore for any length of time. In south-eastern Melanesia, on the other hand, the discovery of sandalwood in large quantities did much to draw the islanders into the network of European interests. A 'sandalwood rush' which broke out at the Isle of Pines in 1841 soon spread to the nearby Loyalty Islands, New Caledonia, and the southern New Hebrides. Colonial vessels flocked to the islands, and in 1844 the first permanent trading station was established at Aneityum. By 1850, when the initial boom had passed, the coastal inhabitants of

5 King George Tupou I of Tonga

(By courtesy of the Dixon Library, Sydney)

6 Xavier Montrouzier

(By courtesy of the Marist Fathers, Rome)

7 John Coleridge Patteson

(By courtesy of the Auckland Institute and Museum)

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the region had become accustomed to visits from European traders, while the trading relationship had created among them an insatiable demand for Western material culture and techniques.

To Selwyn, the superior numbers, mobility, and resources of these 'emissaries of the world' were a cause for lament. But in spite of its late beginning and small scale, the prospects for the new mission were by no means depressing. In 1851 Selwyn sailed as far north as Malekula. In 1852 he visited the Banks, Santa Cruz, and Solomon Islands for the first time. In May of that year the first Melanesian convert, a boy from Lifu in the Loyalties, was baptised, and on his next voyage Selwyn baptised a total of six young men in the presence of their own people. By the end of 1853 when Selwyn left for England he had landed at more than fifty islands and had received scholars representing ten different languages.

Few men could work harmoniously with Selwyn. Patteson was an exception, and from the first there existed between the two a deep and mutual affection. By temperament Patteson was a solitary. Those who met him casually found him diffident and reserved. Intimate friends were aware of new facets of his character: a lofty sense of duty, a genuine simplicity and humility, and a sensitivity unusual among men. His lifelong reverence for Selwyn was perhaps in part a consequence of a reluctance to trust his own opinions, a trait which led to vacillation in practical affairs and habitual self-examination for unworthy motives. In appearance he was described as 'more than commonly engaging':⁶ over six feet tall, dark complexioned, with a powerful athletic frame. In his youth he was capable of considerable feats of endurance, and the ability in seamanship which he displayed after his arrival in New Zealand marked him out as admirably suited for the work of a seaborne missionary in Melanesia. Selwyn on his part trusted his missionary chaplain unreservedly. Although he sailed to the islands each year from 1856 to 1859 on the principal exploratory voyage of the new mission schooner *Southern Cross*, he soon transferred to Patteson entire responsibility for the overall conduct of the mission and the annual return of scholars to their homes.

Their task was a formidable one. The sailing distance from Auckland to the mission's furthest limit in the central Solomons was over 1,800 miles. The absence of a common language at those islands still unvisited by traders made it necessary to create initial confidence by means of gesticulations, presents, exchange of names, and the display of mission scholars from other islands. In addition, there was always

the danger of a sudden attack from the islanders for some unknown motive. Patteson soon learned to read the warning signs:

Sometimes we are very cautious about landing, and we have many criteria now by which to test the friendly or hostile intention of the people. If they will not lay aside their bows and spears and clubs, if they send away the women and children, or if no women or children appear at all on the beach, we think that we may find the people suspicious.⁷

But such a situation was in fact very rare, and at those islands where the *Southern Cross* was known it was possible to land at once without fear.

Selwyn's contemporaries, impressed by his enthusiasm and broad vision, readily accepted his argument that the scheme he had devised for the evangelisation of Melanesia was 'the only one possible under the circumstances', capable of extension far to the north or into Australia for the conversion of the Aborigines.⁸ Yet it was soon apparent that the plan in its original form contained serious defects which nullified most of its potential advantages.

The first weakness was geographical: it was physically impossible to plant the mission throughout Melanesia in the five or six months available each year for the two mission voyages.* Those small islands where only one language was spoken presented little difficulty as any village could be made a centre for the wider dissemination of Christian teaching. On larger islands, however, where the population was fragmented by language and custom, a successful contact with one coastal village brought no guarantee of good relations with its neighbours. A possible solution within the framework of the mission's existing method of work would have been to take youths systematically from every coastal district, or alternatively to direct its meagre resources to the conversion of one island or group at a time. But the former was practically impossible, the latter unspeakably pedestrian. Intoxicated by Selwyn's vision of an Anglican Melanesia, the mission continued to diffuse its energies over a vast area with minimal effect.

The second weakness was inherent in the process of inter-racial contact. To the Melanesian islanders, Europeans first appeared as supernatural beings—'either ghosts or spirits'⁹—whose most remarkable attribute was their display of seemingly unlimited stores of wealth. Missionaries were no exception. In order to secure friendly relations with the islanders preparatory to obtaining scholars, Selwyn and Patteson were forced to follow the example of the traders by giving

* By 1860 the mission had contacted eighty-one different islands, but it was impossible to visit this number each year.

Now these were my thoughts when I first went with the Bishop. That I would go to where everything began, and that I would collect for myself axes and knives, and hooks, and clothes, and other things a great many, for I thought that they were just lying about and that I could collect any number for myself. I did not go for any other reason. I saw all these things in the ship, and I thought I could bring a great quantity back with me. Also I wished to see the country of the white men, where it was, and what it was like.¹⁰

A third flaw in Selwyn's scheme was its unsuitability for a tradition-directed society in which it was scarcely conceivable that a young man could depart from the age-old religion of his people, let alone attempt to subvert the accepted system of beliefs and behaviour. Melanesia presented the problem in an extreme form. To minimise this very real difficulty Patteson aimed at obtaining young men of rank who would exert some influence among their own people. In practice, however, this was rarely possible and he was forced to select his scholars from those who were willing to join him, usually boys or young men of no status. Perhaps not surprisingly the majority of these

failed to fulfil the hopes placed in them and did little or nothing to further the aims of the mission. Like Sarawia, they had come away partly out of curiosity and partly because of the opportunity to acquire in New Zealand 'certain treasures which, on their return, they exchange for valuable property in their own islands'.¹¹ But when the novelty had worn off and the scholars had reached the age to marry and assume full responsibilities in the life of their village, these reasons lost their initial force; only a handful could then be persuaded to leave their homes once again for a long and uncomfortable journey to a strange country.

Associated with this was the difficulty facing the missionaries of imparting an understanding of the basic ideas of Western Christianity to non-literate youths drawn from a totally different culture. The most elementary practices of the new religion had to be explained to the young islanders, nothing could be taken for granted. Sarawia recalled that on the first occasion he went on board the *Southern Cross* he ran in terror from the missionaries when they began prayers, certain that 'the chief men on board this ship were ordering the others to kill us, and that they were consenting to it with the "Amen"'.¹²

Painfully conscious of his position at the fountainhead of Melanesian Christianity, when 'any error on our part may give a wrong direction to the early faith of thousands', Patteson devoted enormous care to his work of teaching. With each pupil he spent many weeks explaining 'with exact accuracy' the fundamental themes and concepts of Christian doctrine. In class the significance and interconnection of each doctrine and scriptural miracle were thoroughly examined. However, the religion thus taught was undeniably an exotic, identified with the personalities of its European teachers, the ordered life of the central school with its regular chapel services and, inevitably, the acquisition of European-style wealth. Sarawia described his first experience of Christian instruction from Patteson:

he was never hasty or angry as some men would be, but always spoke gently to me, and so I saw how kind a disposition he had, and how patient he was with us, and so we came to love him much. He was also so kind in giving us all we needed—food, clothes, and other things. If we asked him for what we wanted, he would not refuse it, if he had it, such as hooks and lines and beads.¹³

Even Sarawia, whom Patteson regarded as one of his most promising pupils, admitted he had no idea of what the mission was about until his fourth exposure to its influence. It is therefore not surprising that when the mission's scholars were returned to their homes each year after only a few months' continuous teaching and without the support

of their European friends, they found it almost impossible to withstand the overwhelming collective pressure of their elders and, as it was sadly noted, were 'swept away once more by the torrent of heathenism'.¹⁴

Nowhere was the extent of the mission's failure more apparent than in the Solomon Islands. Between 1856 and 1860 no fewer than fifty young men were brought to Auckland from San Cristobal, Guadalcanal, Ulawa, and Malaita.¹⁵ Some went for two or even three seasons; a few were baptised; but, so far as is known, none embarked openly upon the evangelisation of their fellow islanders. It cannot be doubted that they spoke frequently on the nature of the white man's country, his customs and techniques as well as his religion, and in this role as mediator they probably performed an important function in their own society by making the European invasion intelligible, thereby softening the impact of culture change. From the standpoint of the mission, however, the advantages gained were few and nebulous: friendly relations with the inhabitants of five or six districts and a smattering of their respective languages.

Throughout the Church of England in the mid-nineteenth century the place of the episcopate in relation to overseas mission work was a subject of warm debate. Evangelicals, led by the Church Missionary Society, distinguished on practical grounds between the roles of missionary and pastor. A bishop, so they argued, was superfluous in the early days of a mission, for until converts had been gathered and the episcopal functions of confirmation and ordination required, he would have little to do. But this argument was in retreat before another, which originated among American Episcopalians in the 1830s, that all missions should from their inception be led by a bishop as chief evangelist and a symbol of the church 'in its integrity'. This view, based as it was on a high concept of the episcopal office, was fast gaining ground among those influenced by the Oxford Movement and indeed was largely responsible for the foundation in 1841 of the Colonial Bishops' Fund. From the first, Selwyn had instinctive sympathy with those who saw missionary work as an activity of the whole church, firmly under episcopal control, rather than a semi-private interest of pious individuals or societies within it. Acrimonious relations with the independent-minded agents of the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand confirmed his dislike of the latter method, and he organised his Melanesian Mission accordingly.

The first step was taken in 1850 when, in conference with the bishops of Australia, he was instrumental in founding the Australasian Board of Missions, charged with the 'conversion and civilisation' of

the Melanesian islanders and the Aborigines of Australia.¹⁶ It was an imaginative but premature gesture. The Australian church, pre-occupied with internal controversies and the immense problems of ministering to settlers scattered over a vast continent, showed no lasting interest in external missionary work, the board soon lapsed, and the conduct of the Melanesian Mission reverted to Selwyn alone.*

Undeterred by this setback Selwyn proceeded with the second stage of his design: the constitution of a missionary bishopric for the islands of the Western Pacific. Because of the indissoluble link supposed to exist between the Church of England and British territory, the scheme was hedged with legal difficulties. One possible solution, to base the Melanesian see on Norfolk Island, was abandoned under opposition from the Colonial Office, jealous of the rights of the Pitcairn settlers to preserve their home free from disturbing outside influences. Shortly afterwards, in 1859 the current legal orthodoxy was successfully challenged by Bishop Gray of Cape Town, determined to despatch a bishop at the head of a mission to the tribes of the Zambezi. Pressed by Selwyn, the Colonial Office again gave way and reluctantly conceded the right of the New Zealand bishops (now five in number) to exercise their 'inherent power' of consecrating a missionary bishop for the Melanesian islands.¹⁷

Patteson, who was by this time virtually in sole charge of the mission, was clearly marked out for the position. He did not covet it. He shrank from the spiritual responsibilities attached to the office of bishop and in his letters to his father poured out his feelings of unworthiness. Finally, however, he bowed to the inevitable: on 24 February 1861 he was consecrated in St Paul's Church in Auckland by Selwyn and the bishops of Nelson and Wellington. It was the culmination of Selwyn's plans for the Melanesian Mission; and during his sermon, addressed to Patteson 'almost as if he was speaking to his own son', there were some in the congregation who did not restrain their tears.

To those who viewed the episcopate in terms of its temporalities, Patteson's new status was an empty honour. His diocese was undefined; he possessed neither official residence nor cathedral:

I occupy my 2 tiny rooms as before. I live in all respects as before. I have no territorial Diocese; but practically Melanesia is recognised as a Diocese. But I am free to go whither soever I may believe it to be my duty to go, so long as I don't meddle with any other Bishop's Diocese.¹⁸

* Bishop Tyrrell of Newcastle, appointed by the board as one of its two missionary bishops, sailed with Selwyn on only one occasion, to the New Hebrides and Loyalty Islands in 1851.

Until the Reverend Lonsdale Pritt joined the mission later in 1861 there was not even one clergyman on Patteson's staff—'Ergo', he wryly observed, 'no Chaplain'.¹⁹ To his Melanesian pupils he was known simply as 'Bishop' or 'Bisopi'.

As a bishop Patteson's early religious views solidified. For the rest of his life he maintained a deep interest in the theological currents of the day. A voracious reader, he studied the writings of the new school of English liberal divines—Jowett, Maurice, Stanley, and Baden Powell—who were seeking to restate traditional Christian doctrines to meet the objections posed by natural science, textual and historical criticism, and moral sensitivity. Patteson knew some of the men personally and sympathised with their aims, but he deplored their speculative approach as an unholy substitution of 'private notions' for 'humble submission to authoritative teaching'. He never wavered in his belief that Christianity was primarily the transmission of a body of assured objective truth. Scientific inquiry without the 'necessary conditions of Humility and Faith' was arrogant intellectualism, alien to the true spirit of Christian scholarship.

In relation to the older divisions within Christendom he stood equally firm. 'He looked upon the Church of England as the best of all possible Churches in constitution and doctrine', recalled an Auckland acquaintance, 'and seemed surprised that there could be any difference of opinion on this point.'²⁰ His Anglicanism was basically that of the old High Church school, firmly within the tradition of seventeenth-century English divinity. He regretted Evangelicalism on the one side, and on the other distrusted those Tractarian disciples who were introducing into the Church of England ritual symbols and a theology of the eucharist derived from medieval Catholicism. He felt no attraction towards the Roman Church, at least in its popular form, although Père Montrouzier, a French Marist priest whom he met on Lifu in 1858, was impressed by his lack of bigotry and reverence for Catholic sacramental doctrine.²¹ As a High Churchman, he refused to acknowledge the church status of non-episcopal bodies. Within the mission field, however, he accepted the fact of their existence, maintained courteous relations with their agents, and when a long-standing dispute which had arisen between Selwyn and the London Missionary Society over the possession of the Loyalty Islands was committed to him to resolve he finally withdrew the claims of the Melanesian Mission on the ground of its rival's 'priority of occupation'.

Patteson's admiration for Selwyn led him to accept as axiomatic his two fundamental assumptions: that the whole of northern Melanesia was the rightful sphere for a mission of the Church of England and

that this demanded an inclusive plan of evangelisation by means of a 'native agency'. From the time of his arrival in New Zealand, however, it fell to him to carry out the plan in detail, and in meeting new conditions and unforeseen circumstances he was compelled to make substantial modifications to the framework he had inherited.

It was soon evident that the first scholars from a new island could not be expected to evangelise their own people and that the practice hitherto followed of taking large parties of young men from each place was unnecessarily wasteful and expensive. In the first stage of contact Patteson saw that only one or two boys were needed, primarily in order to give an introduction to the local language and to ensure the safety of the missionaries on subsequent visits. It was only after the residence in the district of either a European missionary or a native teacher from a more advanced island who could operate a school and observe the behaviour of its pupils in their own homes that the most promising youths could be selected for training in New Zealand. The field of the Melanesian Mission divided itself geographically into four distinct groups: the northern New Hebrides, the Banks Islands, the Santa Cruz group, and the Solomons. In each archipelago Patteson proposed to station one or two missionaries who would have responsibility for its scholars at the central school (thereby gaining a knowledge of the principal languages) and would live there for several months each year, 'visiting in their boat the adjacent islands, training up teachers, and keeping school in the different villages, winning the goodwill and confidence of the people, and by their example recommending the Gospel of Peace to the heathen'.²²

Mota, a small island in the Banks group, was first visited by the *Southern Cross* in 1857. After spending a night ashore in 1858 Patteson became convinced of its potential advantages as a mission centre: 'the dry soil, the spring of water, the wondrous fertility, the large and remarkably intelligent, well-looking population'.²³ In 1860 he therefore purchased two acres of land from the islanders and erected a frame house, brought from Auckland, to serve as a European mission station. His own four months' stay on Mota in that year was a turning point both for himself and for the islanders. Here for the first time he lived among Melanesian pagans for a lengthy period, sharing in their daily life and observing their religious and social customs. At this stage his outlook was not notably sympathetic to what he saw. He described the initiation rites of the *sukwe* or graded men's club as 'sad superstitions' and frequently spoke to the people on 'the plain doctrine of the Bible against idols, images, false worship etc'. But direct confrontation brought no results:

They always listen, always assent: 'What you say we believe to be true; we will just finish this one ceremony which will be over in 20 days, & then have no more of these things'. I urge them strongly not to hesitate; to cast away these superstitions at once; to show their belief in the new teaching about God and Christ by giving up immediately their false gods; but they will not.²⁴

Residence on Mota mellowed the young zealot. It encouraged him to look beneath the outward rite to the underlying religious motive and, where possible, to link Christian doctrines to contiguous elements in the indigenous religion. By the end of his first stay he was hopeful of eventual Christian success. Already the islanders were showing 'signs of a certain uneasiness of mind, as if a struggle was beginning in them' and 'a vague consciousness, some of them, that the power is passing away from their old witchcrafts and sorceries'.²⁵ Regular annual visits from Patteson and his colleagues, the opening of a daily school and, in 1863, a severe epidemic of influenza with dysentery accelerated the corroding process.

Although the missionaries accomplished a great deal on these extended visits, it was soon apparent that effective supervision of the work in the islands demanded their presence for 'periods of 1, 2 and 3 years . . . in some few well chosen central places'.²⁶ That this plan was never carried out was due solely to the lack of European missionaries to staff regional schools in the islands as well as the central school in New Zealand; indeed it was only the necessity of supervising the latter institution that prevented Patteson himself from taking to the islands 'for a good spell'. Nevertheless, some advances were made in this direction. In 1866 he pioneered regular mission work in the Solomons by living for ten days at Wango on San Cristobal, and in the next year Charles Brooke, an exuberant young Irishman who had recently joined the mission staff, spent three days ashore at Boli on Gela. By 1871 the mission had four itinerant district missionaries who lived in the islands each year for periods varying from less than a week to two or three months: Brooke in the central Solomons; the Reverend Joseph Atkin, son of an Auckland settler, in the south-eastern Solomons; the Reverend Charles Bice at Aoba in the northern New Hebrides; and Patteson himself who was based on Mota.*

Everywhere in Melanesia the residence of a European, even for only a few days, was a novelty to be exploited to its limit by his local protector. Brooke, who revelled in his singular position, was marched

* Atkin joined the mission in 1863 and lived at Wango for the first time in 1869—a stay of nineteen days. Both he and Brooke were ordained deacon by Patteson in 1867 and raised to the priesthood in 1869. Bice arrived from England in 1867 and was ordained deacon in 1868, priest in 1870.

by one of the Boli chiefs from village to village while their inhabitants paid a heavy tax in dogs' teeth for the privilege of viewing a white man.²⁷ The presence of a missionary in a village not only enhanced the status of his hosts in the eyes of their neighbours; he was also a source of beads, fish-hooks, and hatchets (given as payment for services rendered), while the resulting visits of the *Southern Cross* two or three times a year afforded a welcome opportunity to trade.

After Patteson had been consecrated as missionary bishop for Melanesia without reference to British territory, it seemed that the need of a site for the mission on Norfolk Island had lapsed and that its base would remain permanently in New Zealand. But as a headquarters Auckland possessed serious disadvantages. Even with the removal in 1859 of the mission school to Kohimarama, a sheltered bay on Auckland harbour, the climate—even in summer—was uncomfortably cool for the young Melanesians. Moreover, its distance from the islands made frequent trips impossible thus limiting the size of the school, while for the Solomon Islanders in particular the annual six weeks' voyage, the latter part through cold and stormy seas, was an unrelieved misery. On the other hand, Patteson noted, Auckland offered 'a tolerably settled state of society' and the 'opportunities of showing the Melanesians the working of an English system'.²⁸ In 1865 he was considering opening a branch school on Curtis Island off the coast of tropical Queensland when Sir John Young, the governor of New South Wales, reopened the Norfolk Island question and offered land to the mission. Largely because of the opportunity afforded to assist and 'improve' the Pitcairners, Norfolk Island was chosen in preference to Queensland, and in 1867 the entire mission establishment was transferred there. Patteson had become increasingly aware of the distractions of Auckland with its constant outside demands on his crowded timetable and so welcomed the departure. Selwyn, however, who had come to cherish the physical link between the Melanesian Mission and New Zealand, disliked the move, while for the younger members of the mission staff the enforced isolation of their new headquarters was, initially at least, a severe hardship.*

During the 1860s the internal organisation of the mission school underwent major changes. Under Lonsdale Pritt, who was headmaster from 1861, heavy emphasis was placed on training the Melanesians in habits of industry, discipline, and responsibility by means of manual work, chiefly gardening and farming. He was succeeded in 1867 by the Reverend Robert Henry Codrington, a Fellow of Wadham College,

* In 1868 Selwyn returned to England to become bishop of Lichfield. He died in 1878.

Oxford, who had come to New Zealand six years previously as chaplain to the Bishop of Nelson. Whereas Pritt had been harsh and unpopular, a thorn in Patteson's side, Codrington fitted easily into the mission system. Patteson liked and trusted him; the Melanesian scholars loved his geniality and feared his sudden temper in about equal proportions. A caustic observer of the foibles of his fellows, a gifted teacher and a careful scholar, he used his unique position as head of the polyglot Norfolk Island school to collect a vast quantity of information on Melanesian languages and customs.*

Although Selwyn's plan had centred upon the 'constant interchange of scholars between the College and their own homes', the excessive losses when immature youths were returned to their villages after only a few months of instruction compelled some modification of the original scheme. From 1864 the school therefore developed into a permanent institution. Only the first scholars from a new island or those who displayed little ability were now kept for one season as formerly; the others remained initially for eighteen months and later for much longer periods—up to six or eight years—before finally being sent out as mission teachers. Whereas previously the number of scholars had been limited by the capacity of the *Southern Cross*, the size of the school was now governed solely by the mission's income. From an average of 35 at Kohimarama the roll rose to 70 in 1867 and to 134 in 1869. Included in the total was a small number of girls, seldom more than ten, whom Patteson brought from the islands to be trained as Christian wives for his young teachers.

A further development was the discarding of English as the mission's teaching language. Selwyn had chosen English as the mission's lingua franca in the absence of an alternative, hoping that it would some day occupy in the islands a position analogous to Latin in medieval Europe. Patteson soon perceived that this attempt to use English as the medium of instruction at the central school was mistaken, for not only was it unlike any Melanesian language in construction but it also presented unusual difficulties in spelling and pronunciation, and in fact none of the first generation of mission scholars learned to speak it with ease. His own ability to acquire new languages, catching precise sounds and memorising words was, Codrington recalled, 'altogether wonderful and very rarely equalled'.²⁹ Accordingly he set out to learn the six or seven principal languages represented in the school, reduced them to writing, translated the Creed, short catechism, and selected prayers, and gave religious instruction to his pupils in their own tongues. This clumsy dual system lasted until the early sixties

* His books *The Melanesian Languages* and *The Melanesians: studies in their anthropology and folk-lore* rank as classics of Pacific anthropology.

when a combination of circumstances—the numerical predominance and position of leadership in the school of older youths from the Banks Islands and Pritt's inability to master more than one Melanesian language—led to the spread of the Mota language throughout the school. By the time the institution moved to Norfolk Island English had fallen into disuse and Mota was recognised as the official mission language: 'not that we made it so', wrote Patteson, 'or wished it rather than any other to be so; . . . but so it is.'³⁰ It had the enormous advantage of being a Melanesian language and was therefore easily acquired by scholars from many different islands; its principal drawback was that it limited their education to the study of translated religious texts—a sparse diet for growing minds. Patteson saw the difficulty and lamented it, but it was to remain an insoluble problem.

Associated with the question of a teaching language was that of the training of Melanesian clergy. Throughout the nineteenth century missionaries responded in varying ways to the perennial problem of self-government in the young churches they brought into existence. Some related effective leadership within the indigenous church to the local context, stressing the importance of Christian character rather than a high level of learning. The cautious majority, however, were reluctant to ordain converts until they were two or three generations removed from paganism and, to avoid instituting a special 'native ministry' of inferior status, insisted on a theological education comparable to their own. Selwyn, at least in New Zealand, inclined towards the second view. Patteson, on the other hand, regarded the presence of European missionaries in the islands as a temporary measure, preparatory to the early ordination of Melanesian deacons and priests:

we must consider the qualifications of one's native clergy in relation to the work that they have to do. They have not to teach theology to educated Christians, but to make known the elements of Gospel truth to ignorant heathen people. If they can state clearly and forcibly the very primary leading fundamental truths of the Gospel, and live as simple-minded humble Christians, that is enough indeed.³¹

Views such as these have since become axiomatic in the writings of mission theorists, but in the 1860s they were bold and imaginative. The first Melanesian clergyman, George Sarawia, the head teacher on Mota, was ordained deacon in 1868, a mere ten years after his first contact with the mission. He was ordained priest in 1873 and worked faithfully on Mota until his death in 1901. The next prospective candidate for the ministry was a Solomon Islander, Stephen Taroaniara, who was first taken to Auckland from his home on San

Cristobal in 1856. He later took a pagan wife (who subsequently deserted him), but was persuaded to return to school in 1865 and again in 1867. On the latter occasion he underwent a religious crisis and was baptised. In 1869 he returned to San Cristobal to assist Atkin.³²

Implicit in the mission's avowed aim of evangelising Melanesia through an indigenous ministry was its belief in a natural equality between the races. This was in sharp contrast to conventional notions. Against those missionary propagandists and colonial racists who asserted the inherent inferiority of all dark-skinned heathen peoples, Patteson upheld passionately the full humanity of the Melanesians and their capacity for being brought to 'a state of purity, and knowledge, and holiness'.³³ In the mission school he strove to put this truth into practice by carefully avoiding any formal distinction between white and black and by treating all alike 'with confidence and love instead of suspicion and dislike'. Unlike Selwyn, he was capable of open and genuine affection with the result that he soon obtained an unusual ascendancy over his Melanesian scholars. Clement Marau, from Meralava in the Banks Islands, described the bishop as 'a wonderful character':

Every single boy of us he loved entirely; he took the hand of one and another, and snapped fingers to say good morning, as if he thought himself no greater than the boys, and he was full of kindness.³⁴

And Edward Wogale, another Banks Islander, recalled:

The Bishop was good indeed; he did not live apart from us, but he was always friends with us, and we lived always in his house with him. And he did not despise at all anyone amongst us, but he kept us thoroughly with him.³⁵

At first sight Patteson's view of Melanesian religion might be considered orthodox according to ideas prevailing at the time. He had no doubt of its 'distinct opposition' to Christian truth and wrote regularly of the superstition and even satanic inspiration of the religious rites he witnessed in the islands. On a deeper level, however, he was inclined to regard them as unaided attempts to satisfy universal human spiritual and social instincts. At the heart of all pagan religions was a precious 'element of faith' which the missionary should seek to preserve:

We are not hastily to destroy even the most miserable fanaticism before we are ready to substitute the true for the false object of belief; otherwise the faith in powers and beings invisible is swept away together with the false system which it has generated, and our hearers

become not followers of the truth but the victims of a hopeless scepticism, a blank infidelity.³⁶

This belief, combined with his vision of Christianity as a 'universal religion' which met the 'necessities of man as man' and was capable of assimilating all that was 'capable of regeneration and sanctification anywhere',³⁷ caused him to distinguish between its fundamental and therefore immutable dogmas and its secondary human elements, such as those features peculiar to English Christianity, which should be adapted to each society. This was the kernel of his missionary philosophy. To impose an 'English type of Christianity' upon a primitive people was, he asserted, 'a great mistake':

We seek to denationalise these races, as far as I can see; whereas we ought surely to change as little as possible—only what is clearly incompatible with the simplest form of Christian teaching and practice.

I don't mean that we are to compromise truth, but to study the native character, and not present the truth in an unnecessarily unattractive form.³⁸

But like others who have held these and similar views, Patteson found it easier to expound the principle than to distinguish the unchangeable essence of Christianity from its human and local accretions. Moreover, he was influenced more than he realised by the common assumption of nineteenth-century English-speaking Christians—Selwyn among them—that Christianity and civilisation marched hand-in-hand. The religious conversion of a people was only the first stage of a missionary's work. The second, more difficult task was the quiet formation of a new community which would display in its corporate life the truths and moral imperatives of the Christian religion. The European way of life at Norfolk Island also implied the adoption of similar customs in the islands:

People who can read and write, and cut out and sew clothes, must have light in their houses. This involves a change of the shape and structure of the hut. They can't sit in clean clothes on a dirty floor, and they can't write, or eat out of plates and use cups, &c., without tables or benches, and as they don't want to spend ten hours in sleep or idle talk, they must have lamps for cocoa-nut and almond oil.³⁹

Patteson initially proposed to extend this practical application of Christian doctrine to cover all social activities, from 'washing, scrubbing, sweeping' to 'just notions of exchange, barter, trade, management of criminals, division of labour'.⁴⁰ However, experience of life on Mota convinced him that such changes should be 'very few and very simple' and that apart from 'decency and propriety' in the arrangement of houses and in dress, most things would go on as before. By

1871 he was beginning to question the nineteenth-century association between Christianity and literacy, as an unnecessary burden for adult Melanesians.

At their minimum the rules for the new way of life would entail the wearing of calico clothing and the reverent observance of Sunday, but these practices should not be imposed from without by the missionaries. Instead, Patteson hoped, they would flow naturally from the islanders' acceptance and true understanding of Christian doctrine. Not only should European missionaries refrain from assuming functions of government which belonged properly to a chief—a tendency which he detected among the agents of the London Missionary Society in the Loyalty Islands; it was also evident from the example of the Presbyterian mission in the New Hebrides that insistence on external conformity to the decalogue before its significance and spirit were understood was liable to generate formalism and hypocrisy.⁴¹

Patteson's conviction that the Melanesians could absorb Christianity within their own cultural framework was shown most notably in his method of teaching. He saw it would be a simple matter to teach his scholars to utter pious phrases and expressions of belief, but these would be meaningless because unanchored to their own experience. His own practice, therefore, was to devote considerable time to his pupils individually, carefully enlarging concepts already present in their minds and assigning deeper or technical meanings to the most suitable native words to express Christian doctrines and ideas. Only very rarely were English words introduced in the absence of adequate Melanesian equivalents.*

In all this, the character, intelligence, and 'religious common sense' of the pioneer missionary were of cardinal importance. Colonial youths Patteson considered 'very backward', while men of humble background and poor education whom he saw working as missionaries in southern Melanesia and in New Zealand would never accept the egalitarian spirit of the Melanesian Mission. Such men, unaccustomed to a position of authority, would be 'great dons, keeping the natives at a distance, assuming that they could have little in common'.⁴² It was both a longing for kindred spirits, men similar to himself in background and interests, and an unshakeable conviction that 'men of education and gentlemen' made the most adaptable missionaries that caused him to look to the scions of the English upper classes to assist him in Melanesia. 'Oh! for good Eton fellows to pull together with me on the Pacific, as on the Thames', he exclaimed wistfully soon after his elevation to the leadership of the mission.⁴³ But in the absence of official representatives and influential committees in England to place

* One of the mission's introductions was the word 'God'.

the needs of the Melanesian Mission before prospective volunteers at Oxford or Cambridge he hoped in vain. With the sole exception of Codrington, Patteson had to be content with the assistance of middle-class Englishmen of varied backgrounds and limited education, together with a handful of recruits from New Zealand and Norfolk Island, whom he could train personally in his own methods of missionary work.

In spite of Selwyn's early attempt to constitute the Melanesian Mission as the Pacific outreach of the Australasian Church, it was soon forced into the position of a semi-autonomous organisation on the lines of a conventional missionary society. Throughout the 1860s less than half the mission's meagre annual income derived from individuals and parishes in Australia and New Zealand.* Survival was dependent on other sources: revenue from the see's endowment fund (invested in English securities and in land near Auckland), an annual grant of £300 from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, subscriptions from a small band of wealthy English friends of Selwyn and Patteson who met at Eton each year on St Barnabas Day, and Patteson's private income. Without the latter, he admitted in 1863, the mission 'would be altogether insolvent long ago'.⁴⁴ The quasi-proprietary character thus assumed by the mission was reinforced by Patteson's extreme reluctance to publicise his work by popular reports or addresses, partly out of dislike of romanticising his daily activities and the personalities of his converts, partly for fear of pressure from enthusiastic supporters eager to see rapid results. The tragic failure of Bishop Mackenzie's much-heralded mission to central Africa weighed heavily on his mind. It was, he maintained, better for his own incipient mission to 'be able to go on quietly and without exciting any attention, and so be freed from the temptation to act impatiently and prematurely'.⁴⁵

From the time he left England Patteson had thrown himself without reserve into the task assigned to him in Melanesia. Eventually, however, his stubborn refusal to take leave from the mission and the physical strain of living in the islands for months on end with scanty comforts, almost entirely on a native diet, undermined his health. A tragedy in 1864 when two favourite Norfolk Island assistants, Fisher Young and Edwin Nobbs, died of tetanus after receiving arrow wounds in an attack on the mission boat at Santa Cruz removed the last traces of his youth and buoyancy.

* In the eighteen months July 1862–December 1863 the income of the mission amounted to £3,245, of which £1,055 was derived from New Zealand and £206 from Australia. Australian interest in the mission revived following a tour by Patteson of the principal colonies in 1864; subscriptions increased and a number of city parishes undertook the support of individual Melanesian scholars.

8 A plantation homestead, Taveuni

(From the A. von Hugel Collection, by courtesy of the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge)

9 The brigantine *Meg Merillies*, crowded with recruits, lying in Suva Harbour

(By courtesy of the Public Relations Office, Suva)

10 Lauaki Namulau'ulu Mamoe accoutred as an orator, with a loin-cloth of tapa, a necklace of berries, and a ceremonial fly-whisk

(From Llewella Pierce Churchill, Samoa 'Uma [1902])

Totally absorbed in his work, he consistently rejected his sisters' pleas that he return to England to restore his health. For the same reason he refused to consider marriage: 'the great majority of women that are supposed to be invaluable matrons etc. are not of a kind to be of any use to us here', he claimed when tackled on this point. 'And it is true that most of the work here can be much better done by men than by women.'⁴⁶ At Norfolk Island he became a somewhat lonely figure. Increasingly conscious of the disparity in age and interests which he thought cut him off from the company of the younger missionaries, he withdrew into a world of his own, preoccupied with translation work, a voluminous correspondence, and the study of languages and theology. A severe illness at the beginning of 1870 compelled him to visit Auckland for medical treatment and convalescence, and the sight of the invalid bishop, beard and hair streaked with grey and his frame 'bowed like an old man's', shocked those who had last seen him two years previously.

As Patteson's health declined, the pace of the mission visibly slackened. After a major voyage in 1866 the *Southern Cross* visited no new islands. In 1868 the usual sailings were prevented by an outbreak of typhoid at Norfolk Island. Nevertheless, in those places where the mission had established a foothold there were clear signs of progress. Brooke tramped around Gela and gathered scholars from five new districts. On San Cristobal Atkin collected a large following from among the young men of Wango and its neighbouring villages. On Mota thirteen years of mission contact came to a climax during 1871 when Patteson baptised 293 infants, young children, and adult catechumens—nearly one-third of the island's population.

This hopeful position did not last long. With the advent of the labour trade in the late 1860s, extending northwards from the New Hebrides to the Banks and Solomon Islands, the mission encountered a new and serious obstacle to its progress. Patteson was an unsparing critic of the flagrant abuses attached to labour recruiting as then carried on.⁴⁷ He compared it to the African slave trade and effectively countered the extravagant claims of its apologists that Melanesians could readily understand the implications of a labour contract or that they benefited morally and physically from their experience of plantation civilisation. Furthermore, the trickery and violence displayed by many labour ships in their efforts to obtain recruits had destroyed the confidence of the islanders in all visiting vessels and were giving rise to retaliatory attacks:

In many islands where we were already on most intimate terms with the people, we are now obliged to be very cautious. Unless we are so well known as to be thoroughly trusted, we have to begin again

to some extent the task of disabusing their minds of the natural suspicion and distrust which these 'nefarious practices' excite.⁴⁸

Adding to the gloom of the scene was the personal sorrow of knowing that some recruiters were using his name as an easy method of enticing islanders on board their vessels.

Patteson did not advocate total suppression of the trade. To recruit young Melanesians for paid labour in a distant colony was hardly different in principle from his own practice of taking boys to Norfolk Island for training as Christian evangelists. He also knew from long experience that some islanders—'from a roving nature, or from a necessity of escaping retaliation for some injury done by them, or from mere curiosity'⁴⁹—would grasp any opportunity to leave their homes. Instead, therefore, he urged the strict regulation of the trade in all details by imperial legislation, the licensing of recruiting vessels, and supervision by patrolling warships.

During 1871 the activities of labour recruiters reached a peak of brutality. During their stays in the Solomons both Atkin and Brooke collected evidence of acts of kidnapping and murder, some of which was later laid before the imperial parliament.⁵⁰ On the return journey of the *Southern Cross*, on 20 September, Patteson landed alone at Nukapu, a Polynesian atoll north of Santa Cruz where he was known from three previous visits.* Nearly an hour later some of the islanders launched an arrow attack on the waiting ship's boat wounding three, including Atkin and Taroaniara. The boat fled to the *Southern Cross* but soon returned with a new crew led by Atkin. As they entered the lagoon a canoe was brought out from the beach and left floating alone. It was found to contain the body of the bishop wrapped in a native mat on which lay a palm branch knotted in five places. His skull had been shattered by a blow from a heavy club. A week later Atkin and Taroaniara died of tetanus resulting from their arrow wounds.⁵¹

Contemporaries did not doubt that the labour trade was in some way responsible for Patteson's murder. Missionaries had long assumed that any unexpected attack by Melanesian islanders could only be a primitive act of revenge for misdeeds committed by white traders; and indeed there is a mass of circumstantial evidence to suggest that the Nukapu tragedy was in fact an act of retaliation for the abduction of five young men from the island by the recruiter *Emma Bell* only a few days before Patteson's visit.⁵²

Accounts of the incident deriving from the Nukapu people themselves are virtually unanimous. Investigation by members of the mission in 1876, repeated on numerous occasions during the next thirty

* The *Southern Cross* had visited Nukapu in 1856, 1857, and 1870.

years, confirmed and expanded the popular story: Patteson had been struck while resting in a native house; Teatuli, the assassin, was a relative of one of those kidnapped and had acted without the knowledge of the chief of Nukapu.⁵³ Then in 1894 Sir John Thurston, High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, picked up from A. E. C. Forrest, the missionary on Santa Cruz, a new explanation which he himself was inclined to favour. This claimed that Patteson had been killed by a native of Santa Cruz out of jealousy, 'because the Bishop gave a present to the Nukapu chief and either a small one or none at all to the Santa Cruz man who conceived himself the more important personage'.⁵⁴ The precise truth remains a matter for conjecture. Forrest's version has the advantage of avoiding the European-centred 'retaliation-only' theory, though it was immediately discounted by his mission colleagues in favour of evidence from a Nukapu man who had been alive in 1871. The traditional account has never since been openly challenged.

Although Patteson had spent much of his life far from the centres of power, his name was well known and his death was widely reported. In the Australasian colonies it incited a massive upsurge of public opinion against the unregulated labour trade: newspaper editors, public meetings, and both houses of the New Zealand parliament united in condemning the 'iniquitous labour traffic' and demanding immediate action by the imperial government. In Britain it shocked the government into passing an act to regulate the recruitment of Pacific Islands labour—legislation which had been under intermittent consideration for over a decade.⁵⁵

Within the Church of England Patteson's 'martyrdom', as his death was inaccurately called, gave enormous impetus to the cause of foreign missions, for in spite of a notable increase in Anglican missionary activity in the years after 1830, missions were still regarded in many quarters with suspicion, as an enterprise for misguided eccentrics. That a man of Patteson's background and talents should renounce the promise of a comfortable career in England, labour ceaselessly for sixteen years among savage islanders, and then die a lonely and violent death as a result of the misdeeds of unscrupulous fellow countrymen, stirred the imaginations of Victorian churchmen and encouraged many to look more favourably upon the work to which he had devoted his life. The new mood was fostered by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel which in 1872 persuaded the Archbishop of Canterbury to appoint one day towards the end of each year as an annual day of intercession for missions.

The Melanesian Mission had lost a tired and worn leader. It gained

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BAITEKE AND BINOKA OF ABEMAMA

Arbiters of change in the Gilbert Islands

H. E. Maude

ABEMAMA is an oval-shaped atoll about fifteen miles long and six miles wide situated in the centre of the Gilbert group, with its satellite islands of Aranuka and Kuria lying respectively twenty-eight and thirty-five miles to the south-west. On its eastern side it is an almost continuous ribbon of land averaging perhaps half a mile in width and broken only occasionally by shallow ocean passages, while the west is coral reef, relieved by the small islets of Bike and Abatiku, which guard the two shallow entrances for ships into a calm and spacious lagoon.

Robert Louis Stevenson gives perhaps the best picture of the peace and beauty of a coral atoll such as this 'Land of Moonlight'—which its poetic name signifies—when he speaks of the 'ring of glittering beach and verdant foliage, enclosing and enclosed by the blue sea', 'the low horizon, the expanse of the lagoon, the sedge-like rim of palm-tops, the sameness and smallness of the land, the hugely superior size and interest of sea and sky', set in 'a superb ocean climate, days of blinding sun and bracing wind, nights of a heavenly brightness'.¹

The Gilberts are, indeed, the very citadel-heart of the South Seas, the least known, least visited, and least exploited of all the major groups of the Pacific. Their people, now numbering 40,000, are poor in the material possessions of life but rich in their store of oral tradition, to much of which one may accord a degree of reliability concerning more recent events approximating to that possessed by many documents accepted by historians.²

Only two well-attested events, however, need be mentioned here: the first being the landing on Abemama in approximately A.D. 1400

DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN GEOGRAPHY, A.N.U.

3 The Gilbert Islands and the State of Abemama

of a branch of the main stream of migrants from Samoa and their inter-marrying with the autochthones, the result of which is the hybrid race of today; and the second the island's invasion about 1650 by a powerful force from Beru under the leadership of Kaitu and Uakeia, probably the most renowned characters in Gilbertese history.

Kaitu and Uakeia had already subjugated the southern islands, establishing the socio-political structure based on the *maneaba*, or district community meeting house, in which the ritual and ceremonial leader was normally the head of the Karongoa clan and the political and legal decisions were made by him with the assistance of the 'old men', or clan leaders, in conclave.* The fleet which invaded Abemama comprised thirty-seven *baurua* (deep-sea voyaging canoes), the names of every one and thirteen of their captains being on record, while the flagship *Te Koro-rimoo*, captained by Kaitu himself, was carefully preserved until the early years of the present century. There could well have been 1,000 disciplined, well-trained, and well-led men on board, more than a match for the inhabitants of any island in the Gilberts.

The Beruans and their allies continued north, overrunning Maiana, Tarawa, Abaiang, and Marakei in turn. While consolidating their position and recuperating their strength for an assault on the two remaining northern islands of Butaritari and Little Makin, they were met by a delegation led by Mangkia, the brother of Na Atonga, the principal chief of Butaritari, seeking peace. This was eventually agreed upon, one of the terms being that Mangkia, who was detested on Butaritari (not least for his addiction to eating people), should be permitted to settle on Abemama as a landowner.

The rest of Abemama was shared between a number of the followers of Kaitu and Uakeia, as was the case on all the islands which they conquered, among them being Tem Mwea, who took the land of Tuangaona in the district now known as Tebanga.† The gerontocratic system which they imposed, without any secular chief or organised executive authority, worked well as far as intra-district affairs were concerned but provided no adequate machinery except warfare for the settlement of inter-district disputes. One is not surprised, therefore, to find the Abemaman chronicler, Hiram Teeko, stating that in the ensuing period: 'There were no chiefs and no High Chief, but

* This applies strictly only to the most prestigious *maneaba* type known as Tabontebike. In the other types of *maneaba*, Maungatabu and Tabiang, the clan Karongoa might not be represented.³

† Ten, or its euphonic variations Tem or Teng (Te in the Northern Gilberts and Na, Nan, Nam, or Nang on Butaritari and Little Makin), is the prefix for males, and Nei for females.

only rivalry and strife with the seeking after fame; and plundering and seizing by violence among all the kinship groups'.⁴

It was scarcely different elsewhere, except on Butaritari and Little Makin—untouched by the social and political revolution. In the northern islands, after the death of Kaitu and Uakeia, precarious and usually disputed high chieftainships were superimposed on the *mane-aba* system, which retained its ritual and ceremonial functions, while the southern Gilberts remained true to their more democratic organisation right up to the establishment of the British Protectorate in 1892.

On Abemama the two important kin groups descended from Tem Mwea and Mangkia were united when the former's grandson, Ten Tetabo, married Mangkia's great grand-daughter, Nei Beiarung. Tetabo was reputed to be an *aintoa*, a word which denotes exceptional size as well as courage, and many legends concerning his personal prowess have grown up since his death.⁵ Though he was ambitious and initially earned the gratitude of the islanders by defeating a raiding party from Tarawa, his constant intrigues and fighting eventually caused him to be banished, together with his five sons.

As an old man Tetabo returned to live quietly on his lands at Kabangaki, but his sons continued to fight for the ascendancy of the family and, having succeeded in gaining control of Abemama following battles at Terianiboti and Kaeaki, they went on under Ten Namoriki, the eldest son, to reduce both Kuria and Aranuka to the status of tributary islands.⁶

It was Namoriki's son, Teng Karotu, who really consolidated the newly-founded dynasty's power over the main atoll, at the same time bringing the other islands under more direct control and being recognised as Uea, or High Chief, of what came to be called the State of Abemama. Like Tetabo he was a famous warrior; and Tem Binoka, who as a child remembered seeing the old man, described him as tall and lean, walking like a youth, and with a body unscarred by a single spear mark.

By Karotu's time New South Wales had been founded and two of the First Fleet, en route from Port Jackson to China under Captains Gilbert and Marshall, had discovered Aranuka and Kuria, while in 1799 Captain Bishop of the brig *Nautilus* had sighted Abemama. Whalers began to visit the area from 1821, and in 1827 the crew of the *Emily* was attacked by the Abemamans while trying to obtain water, a European and a Maori being killed.⁷

But in the early 1830s more friendly relations were established, and the islanders were becoming accustomed to barter their produce for the goods they coveted instead of endeavouring to annex them by

force. At least one ship, the 200-ton brigantine *Hound*, had begun trading with several of the Gilbert Islands for bêche-de-mer and tortoise-shell, for which Captain Trainer exchanged mainly hoop-iron and tobacco. On Abemama, in particular, a regular bêche-de-mer station was in operation by 1835, with sheds for curing and drying built on the reef.⁸

The first beachcomber, John Kirby, landed on Kuria in 1838 from the English whaler *Admiral Cockburn* and three years later joined the U.S.S. *Peacock* of the United States Exploring Expedition. Although not very intelligent, observant, or accurate, his account as given to Horatio Hale, the expedition's philologist, is the best source of information we have about life ashore on the three islands in the thirties.*

Karotu's reign was not immune from troubles: while he was on a visit to Kuria, the people of Kenna rose against him and gained possession of Abemama. Though they were eventually defeated with the assistance of a force recruited on Kuria and Aranuka, a remnant fled to Kuria, which they ravaged in the absence of its able-bodied population. On the return of the Kurians, the insurgents once again fled and for the most part perished at sea, but their leader succeeded in reaching Tabiteuea. Some years later, in 1839, Karotu was warned that an attack from that island was imminent, and as a result the warriors of all three islands were kept under arms for six months.¹⁰

But these were the normal perils of any high chief in the essentially egalitarian Gilberts; and when in the 1840s Karotu abdicated in favour of his son Ten Tawaia (as was customary with chiefs who had passed their prime) he had effectively overcome all opposition. Tawaia's period as Uea was brief and uneventful and about the year 1850 he was followed by Tem Baiteke, whether his son or half-brother we shall never know, since Karotu's third wife, Nei Tea, had taken the precaution of ensuring the succession for her issue by having intercourse with the then childless Tawaia 'on four apparently well publicised occasions'.¹¹

What Baiteke was faced with was something new: the threat to the traditional norms of Gilbertese life represented by the advent of Europeans. It was not a problem peculiar to Abemama: the leaders of island after island had been forced to make a decision on the attitude which should be taken towards these powerful and disruptive forces arriving from over the horizon in great ships. And their attitude had ranged the whole gamut from eager acceptance, as on Tahiti, to

* From events mentioned by Kirby it seems clear that Karotu was still High Chief in 1841. He had evidently assumed his grandfather's name as a title, a not uncommon practice with chiefly families.⁹

complete prohibition, as on Niue. By and large, however, the attitude was one of apathetic acquiescence: the European was considered, or found by experience, to be too powerful to oppose or even, except here and there for a brief period, to control or utilise for the advantage of the indigenous community.

Yet this is precisely what Baiteke decided to do. There was no time to waste for, as we have seen, the first white beachcomber had landed in 1838, the islanders were soon building up a lucrative but demoralising trade by selling the favours of their female serfs to the visiting whalers, while itinerant ships were developing a barter trade on their own terms and uncontrolled by the High Chief. In the forties this trickle turned into a minor flood with the arrival of whaler-traders seeking coconut-oil, followed by ships owned or chartered by the firm headed by Richard Randell, who had his own headquarters on Butari-tari.¹²

In 1848 Walter Holliwell was left on Abemama by the captain of the Sydney whaler *Genii*, and two years later he was joined by a boat's crew from the *Flying Fox*, wrecked on Nonouti. The foreigners on Abemama then numbered nine, including two Hawaiians, while there were more on Kuria and Aranuka, the best of them being engaged by Randell and the whaler-traders as local agents. In December 1850, for example, Captain Terry of the American whaler *Herald* left with them 'a considerable quantity of tobacco, with which to purchase coconut-oil, and about eleven tons of casks, in which to put the oil'.¹³

The beachcombers, however, made an unmitigated nuisance of themselves; and in January 1851, by a deliberate act of policy, Baiteke had every foreigner on Abemama killed, followed it a few months later by a similar despatch of the twenty-five foreigners living on Kuria and Aranuka, and thus commenced the experiment in controlled acculturation which for the remainder of the century made his territory unique among the islands of the Pacific.

The astonishing fact is not that Tem Baiteke did this, for after all there have been so-called atrocities in which Europeans have figured at the receiving end on other islands, but that he got away with it, absolutely and completely, and without so much as a reprimand from the outside world. There were brief notices in the few periodicals then interested in news from the islands; but they were factual statements and contained no demand for reprisals. Nobody, so far as is known, ever censured Baiteke for his conduct and certainly no warship was sent to inquire, although that very year H.M.S. *Serpent* was ordered to investigate the cutting-off of the American brig *Inga* at Nauru and could have gone on to Abemama.

For this immunity Baiteke was mainly indebted to Richard Randell,

who was not only married to a Gilbertese (or more accurately, at that time, to four) but also spoke the language like a native and was essentially sympathetic to the islander's point of view. It was Randell who acted as liaison with the American Protestant missionaries who visited Butaritari in 1852 and Abemama in 1855, helped to establish their Gilbert Islands headquarters on Abaiang in 1857, and was a personal friend of the missionary in charge, the Reverend Hiram Bingham. To them he characterised the beachcombers as 'the worst characters', 'designing men', 'outrageous in conduct' and, more subtly, as being responsible for prejudicing the High Chief's mind against missionaries.¹⁴

Randell's known opinions and conduct are indeed consistent with these statements. His friend John Mahlmann once wrote that: 'Judging from only one of the many horrible stories that Captain Randell told me about the barbarous treatment which these islanders had received in former years, it is surprising that thereafter they did not murder every white man who landed on their shores.'¹⁵ At the same time he was a shrewd businessman and there is no reason to doubt that he was also actuated by self-interest. The only oil trader to visit Abemama on a regular run, he was now in an excellent position to secure a virtual monopoly of the trade at Baiteke's three islands and, by his friendly counsel, to ensure the High Chief's personal friendship.

It was again thanks to Randell that Baiteke did not follow his elimination of resident foreigners by turning his back on innovation and attempting a reversion to the purely Gilbertese culture of Karotu's day. Instead he proceeded to welcome new ideas, techniques, and material goods, but on his own terms, and to build up a strong but paternalistic centralised government on a basis neither Gilbertese nor European, but a selected blend of both.

The islet of Abatiku, on the western reef, was made the port of entry and sole trading station for the three islands and visiting vessels awaited *pratique* outside the main south passage into the lagoon. The efficient routine has been described by a passenger in one of Robert Towns's ships:

Upon reaching the island we were boarded in a most official manner by one of the chief's subordinates, who demanded our business. He was told through an interpreter that we wished to trade for oil, and returned to inform his Majesty, carrying with him presents . . . The official told us that if the chief permitted he would make a signal; a short time after his departure the signal being made, the pilot took us through a most intricate coral reef channel into the harbor.¹⁶

A large open shed was provided where each morning the trade

goods, 'consisting of knives, scissors, tomahawks, fishhooks, calico, trinkets, a few carpenter's tools, and some cedar chests', were brought from the ship and spread out on mats. At 8 a.m. Baiteke's trading master arrived from the main island, followed by a hundred or more canoes, with three or four men in each, bringing their oil in coconut shells:

Everything is carried on in a business-like manner, and as quiet as a court of justice. If the natives speak to each other it is in whispers. About six of them are called in at a time, when they are allowed time to look over everything . . . Fixing upon the article, they are told the price in oil by the interpreter, who serves everything out. If they have sufficient oil they pour it into the measure and then into the cask, and take their departure, not being allowed to remain a moment longer. If they have not sufficient oil, an appeal is made to others; and it is pleasing to see how readily they come to each other's assistance.¹⁷

Meanwhile, a canoe load of girls was considerably provided by the High Chief for the crew; and they stayed on board for the duration of the ship's stay.

One can infer from the above description that although the new Abemaman trading procedures indicate a centralised and, for an island government, unusually efficient executive structure the conception of a single organised market under official control is essentially European; and this inference is strengthened to the point of certainty if we consider another feature of Baiteke's administration: the care of the aged and infirm. The High Chief maintained a village for these on the same islet, extending for a quarter of a mile on either side of a road paved with white shells:

The interior of the huts are kept very clean, and covered with matting. The king studies their comfort in not allowing more than two couple in each hut. There are a few prisoners here, who keep the street and huts clean, and attend to the wants of the invalids. One of the king's relatives is governor here, with five or six natives as a body-guard, and who look after the prisoners. A certain quantity of fish and Tavu is brought over from the main island every morning for their consumption.¹⁸

Government sanatoria and homes for the aged were, needless to say, unknown at the time elsewhere in the Gilberts or, for that matter, anywhere in the Pacific.

The administrative organisation necessary to initiate and maintain community projects of this character and scale was simply not possible as long as society was based on the traditional system by which each

district managed its own affairs by means of an informal Council of the Old Men of the *kainga* (clan hamlets) seated in their *boti* (traditional sitting places) in the *maneaba*. In its place, therefore, Baiteke substituted a rigid class structure comprising the Uea (High Chief) and his extended family (*banuea*) at the apex; followed by the *toka* (also called *inaomata*) or chiefs, who were chosen by the Uea from among the leading Old Men; then the *aomata*, or landed commoners; a small class of landless freemen called *rang*; and finally the *toro* (also known as *kaunga*) or serfs.¹⁹

At first glance these may appear small enough changes in comparison with those outlined in Baiteke's external polity: after all there had always been a large class of serfs whose material welfare, and indeed whose very life, depended entirely on the whim of their master; there had always been the chiefs and the clan leaders of each district, who formed an ever-changing gerontocracy. But in actual fact the enforced structural changes in Abemaman society, seemingly innocuous, represented a social revolution, substituting for a slave-owning but otherwise democratic and egalitarian community a feudal system in which the whole island was controlled by chiefs who owed their lands and position to Baiteke himself. These replaced the Old Men as arbitrators in the *maneaba* conclaves and from them the Uea selected his supreme council, many of them being, of course, his relatives or those of his wives.

Like Baiteke's other innovations this hierarchical restructuring of society represented a local adaptation of an outside model, but in this case not a European one but apparently the system long established on Butaritari, which had remained untouched by the reforms of Kaitu and Uakeia. It is perhaps significant that Randell himself had his home on that island and was a trusted adviser to the chiefs.

There can be no doubt that it was a deliberate act of statecraft, for the new political and social structure was far better devised than its predecessor for the maintenance of a stable dictatorship, being divisive as between the new segments of the community and integrated only in Baiteke. Inter-marriage between the classes was severely frowned upon and they soon learned to keep apart and develop appropriate behaviour patterns. Like most social changes, it has long outlasted the political organisation, and Roberts, speaking of Abemama in 1948 (after over half a century of British rule), remarks that 'a native whose antecedents are unknown, can be recognized almost instantly, not only by his appearance but also by his manner, as either *Toro* or *Aomata*'.²⁰

In place of the traditional retributive justice, which had depended largely on the power of the aggrieved person and his kin to enforce

it, customary law was placed under the administration of the Uea's council, subject to his right of review. Old sanctions were abolished, for example the power of a chief to kill his serfs at will, while the death penalty for any offence could only be enforced by Baiteke himself.²¹

For crimes not involving the safety of the state, the hitherto unknown penalty of imprisonment was introduced, a central gaol being constructed on Bike islet, to the south of Abatiku. Here were sleeping quarters and workshops, the prisoners being kept under strict discipline, making and repairing buildings and canoes, plaiting mats, hats, and fishing nets. There was even a prison office, where the illiterate chief warder kept a tally of sentences served on a number of boards marked into squares.

A régime such as Baiteke's was rendered possible only by one of the factors in the contact situation itself: the introduction of firearms. Twenty years earlier Karotu, had he essayed a despotic monarchy of this type, would have been simply knocked on the head, for his subjects were as well-armed as himself. By controlling all trading transactions, however, Baiteke was able to confine the importation of firearms for issue to relatives and adherents whose privileged lives were dependent on his survival. And it now required only a few disciplined followers with firearms to control an entire island, provided its inhabitants possessed only the obsolete weapons of a bygone age.

The most dramatic illustration of the power conferred by this monopoly was seen in 1863 when Baiteke organised a punitive expedition against Kuria which had, at the insistence of its young men, refused to provide the customary annual tribute of virgins for the Uea's seraglio. In keeping with his policy of using European innovations where they were clearly improvements on traditional methods he embarked with his followers, armed with muskets, not by canoe, but in a ship owned, according to the usually well-informed Woodford, by the firm of Smith, Randell and Fairclough, who may well have considered it legitimate business to assist in suppressing a rebellion against their best customer. No warrior himself, he wisely left the actual conduct of military operations in the hands of his brother, Tem Binatake, who was a renowned fighter with the reputation of being merciless.²²

The Kurians had acquired a few guns and some powder, but no shot, and relied for success mainly on the spells of their chief priest, Ten Tenu. On his death as a result of a shot fired from the ship panic ensued and, pursued by a fusillade from the Abemamans, they took to their canoes, many of which were overturned and their occupants attacked by sharks within sight of the shore. Flushed with success

the invaders went on to Aranuka, where the carnage was repeated.²³ Randell had estimated the population of Kuria in 1860 at 1,500 and Aranuka at 1,000: from now onwards both were kept at 100, all serfs except for a family of resident *toka* sent by the High Chief to act as caretakers, the increase being shipped periodically to Abemama.

The chiefs of Abemama were pleased, and their loyalty to the Uea further assured, by their receiving large grants of land and serfs to work them. With the reduction in population, the surplus coconut crop available for making oil for export was enormously enhanced, and Randell's firm could be expected to receive the lion's share. Bingham alone protested, in a letter published in the *Missionary Herald*, but in rather mild terms:

The population of Tarawa, Maiana and Apaiang has been somewhat increased by the arrival of fugitives from Ananuka, (Henderville's I.,) a large portion of the population of that Island having been driven off by the king of Apemama. Kuria (Woodle's I.) has also been greatly depopulated in the same way. Probably most of the fugitives from Kuria have perished at sea, as only two canoes are reported as reaching Maiana.²⁴

After this act of genocide there was little risk of insurrection, yet there always remained the danger of assassination; and, as most murders in the Gilberts were committed by people who were drunk at the time, Baiteke took rigorous measures to prohibit the importation of alcohol and the manufacture of the locally produced sour toddy the use of which, almost unknown in the 1840s, swept through the Gilberts in the fifties to become the major social problem.*

The drinking of sour toddy was regarded as a threat to the political structure on the same footing as sedition, and the same punishment was provided for both: staking the offender spreadeagled on the lagoon beach for a maximum of forty-eight hours, scorched by the equatorial sun during the day and eaten alive by mosquitoes at night. It was said that few survived the sentence and that those who did invariably went mad. It needed only the example of the other islands to convince European observers that, with Baiteke's subjects, 'his great influence over them, his power and safety, may be attributed to the fact of his suppressing with a high hand the manufacture of intoxicating drinks'.

Few Europeans ever set eyes on Baiteke himself for he virtually never visited ships and even Randell, who was a welcome guest ashore, admitted 'that he could not obtain any assurance of protection from the king were he wishing to remain permanently upon the island'.

* Stevenson gives a graphic description of the results of alcoholic excess on Butaritari, and his wife mentions the anxiety which they felt on this subject while on Abemama.²⁵

Although Baiteke had no personal aversion to missionaries as such and felt a particular regard for Bingham, who was even invited to tour the island, he permitted none to stay.²⁶

Sterndale, who appears to have met the Uea in 1871, speaks of his dressing on formal occasions in black trousers, a linen shirt, and alpaca coat and living in a large house filled with European furniture and other importations and surrounded by the quarters of his wives and retainers, the palace compound being enclosed by a stone wall and guarded by twelve cannon. He adds that, in addition to numerous war canoes, he possessed a four-gun 60-ton schooner.

Abemama, with its satellite islands, had in fact become an autocracy ruled over by a remarkably sagacious high chief, who permitted no one to stand in his presence or to look him in the face, but who none the less was interested in the art of good government, receptive to new ideas, accessible to his people, a political reformer, skilled in debate, and popular (at least in retrospect). Bingham wrote in 1874 that 'he has a mild face, fine head, a good figure, and commands respect at once', while the historian Sabatier has provided a fitting epitaph: 'C'était un chef', he writes, 'plutôt patriarcal et débonnaire. Il avait du bon sens et gouvernait sans opprimer.'²⁷

By the 1870s Tem Baiteke had stabilised his government, completed his reforms, and with it his life's work, and was now ready to hand over to his successor, his eldest son Tem Binoka, as Karotu had done before him. Baiteke himself had been brought up in more democratic days, mixing freely with his companions and learning from his elders the arts, accomplishments, and etiquette that went to make a Gilbertese gentleman and scholar. Unfortunately, however, he doted on his son, made no attempt to check his extravagances, and left him to be brought up by the women of his harem, who spoilt him, and palace favourites, who were in no position to inculcate any sense of self-discipline. Where his father had practised fighting in contests with other young men, Binoka became an expert marksman at the expense of defenceless slaves, and lacked the physical courage and aggressiveness of his forbears. In addition, whether from early indulgence or some other cause, he was sexually impotent, and there is reason to credit the popular gossip that his relations with his extensive retinue of wives were largely platonic.

That Binoka was self-centred and arrogant may be attributed to his upbringing, but despite it he possessed all his father's intelligence, and an intellectual curiosity, particularly concerning the ways of the outside world, which never left him. Some years before his accession his views concerning the utility of missionaries had been changed by contact with the well-educated Samoan teacher Elisaia, who had drifted

by canoe to Kuria when on a voyage from Beru to Nikunau and had been entertained for several weeks by Baiteke. As a result he arranged a meeting in 1873 between Bingham and his father, at which it was agreed that a mission teacher should be permitted to reside on Abemama.

Bingham sent Moses Kanoaro from Butaritari, and a worse choice could scarcely have been made. Ill-bred, half-trained, and widely reported to have been in trouble over women, he was held in contempt by Binoka, but at least he taught his far more intelligent pupil all he knew: to read and write Gilbertese, the elements of arithmetic, and a little geography.²⁸ One can discount the many stories of how Binoka kept at the top of the class by the simple expedient of decapitating anyone who showed signs of excelling him, if only because no one would have been so foolish as to attempt to compete. In any case, as Bingham reported in 1878, Baiteke took the precaution of reserving all instruction as a royal monopoly, and objected strongly to any suggestions for extending it to his subjects.

Binoka's thirst for knowledge—and particularly for knowledge about the Europeans and their civilisation—was, in fact, insatiable. Where his father had been content to be a Gilbertese savant, associated exclusively with Gilbertese, and only borrowed from the European goods and ideas which he felt might be of benefit to his people, Binoka was convinced that in the European culture lay a talisman which he was determined to possess.

In material things this led to him becoming, in Stevenson's phrase, 'possessed by the seven devils of the collector':

House after house, chest after chest, in the palace precinct, is already crammed with clocks, musical boxes, blue spectacles, umbrellas, knitted waistcoats, bolts of stuff, tools, rifles, fowling-pieces, medicines, European foods, sewing-machines, and, what is more extraordinary, stoves: all that ever caught his eye, tickled his appetite, pleased him for its use, or puzzled him with its apparent inutility. And still his lust is unabated . . . He hears a thing spoken of, and a shadow comes on his face. 'I think I no got him,' he will say; and the treasures he has seem worthless in comparison.²⁹

For years the warehouses of Australia, England, and Germany were culled by astute trading firms for some gadget which Binoka might still lack, it being well known that no price would deter him from acquiring it on sight.

But Binoka's urge for information extended far beyond the mere acquisition of European artefacts. He was determined, and not without a measure of success, to learn correct behaviour and avoid social solecisms. And after etiquette, says Stevenson, 'government, law, the

police, money, and medicine were his chief interests . . . "My patha he tell me," or "White man he tell me," would be his constant beginning. "You think he lie?".³⁰

Even before Baiteke's abdication Binoka had persuaded him to employ a German artisan to erect the first stone-built house on the island; and he was followed by a succession of European secretaries, trading masters, cooks, and general factotums, who seldom lasted more than a month before being paid off and placed on board a visiting ship. From most of them, as well as from the captains and supercargoes who called at Abemama, he learnt something, if only an addition to the expressive but idiosyncratic English in which he became fluent.

When Tem Baiteke finally retired from office late in 1878, Binoka was in his mid-thirties, and almost immediately found himself assailed both at home and abroad. In November Captain von Werner called in the *Ariadne* to investigate a rumour that the German employee had been killed, in which case he had decided 'to take the king into custody and put him on land later in New Ireland, from where he could not find his way home'. Though the rumour proved false, only the absence of an adequate interpreter saved the frightened Uea from signing a treaty that would have given the Germans unrestricted trading and land rights on his islands and made them, in effect, a protectorate.³¹

If this initial experience taught him that in his relations with European Powers the only feasible policy was propitiation, in maintaining his internal domination he believed in striking instantly and ruthlessly, and in taking such intimidatory measures that all opposition would be silenced through sheer fear. The focus of opposition was his own relatives and, in particular, his redoubtable uncle Tem Binatake, who had been the mainstay of his father's régime and who initially supported Binoka but became increasingly alienated.

At least three separate revolts are reported; and there were possibly others, for neither he nor his subjects were wont to discuss such episodes in public. The first took place soon after Binoka's accession, being caused by the abolition of private trading in copra, the institution of a system of public works, and a stricter enforcement of existing laws against the possession of alcohol or firearms. It was suppressed with severity and many fled from the island in canoes, while Binatake, who was believed to be implicated, or at least lukewarm in supporting the High Chief, was banished to his personal estate at the dynasty's formal capital of Tebanga. Here, however, he was permitted to make and sell his own copra, visiting ships after the Uea had completed his own business.

The final and most serious rebellion of all did not take place until about 1885 and was planned by Binatake's son, Ten Tikini, with the old warrior's tacit approval. Thanks to their privileged trading they had accumulated a store of arms, but their plot to have the High Chief assassinated by a visitor from another island was reported, the secret armoury seized, and most of the disaffected captured and summarily executed. Binoka claimed that Binatake committed suicide, and it was a question that evidently intrigued Stevenson, for his host confessed to him his admiration for, and debt to, the man who had for two reigns been the power behind the throne: 'my uncle', he acknowledged, 'make all smooth, . . . I mo' king than my patha: I got power . . .'.³²

As Binoka explained to H. J. Moors, he believed in the principle that it was 'mo betta make man fraid sometime, 'spose let him go two time, he no believe'. The success of this policy, and no less the proof that he was not by nature a cruel man, is shown by the fact that after the death of Binatake, when all serious danger of insurrection was over, he became for the remainder of his life the relatively benign despot portrayed by Stevenson: 'Here, in my island, I 'peak. My chiefs no 'peak—do what I talk.' And to ensure this he maintained an espionage system that would have done credit to one of the most advanced totalitarian states of modern times.

Never having occasion to control his ego or submit to normal social restraints he continued to be subject to sudden outbursts of temper, but was usually sorry afterwards. Though still wont to shoot in the general direction of his workers to make them, as he expressed it, 'mo' bright', he only wounded or killed as a rule under extreme provocation. On one such occasion, when he had shot one of his favourite wives with a revolver for answering him back, he was so overcome with remorse that Captain Nichol found him 'bellowing like a bull'. Yet even at such a time of acute emotional distress his determination to ascertain and copy the conventions of civilised European society was evinced in his query as to how long it was customary to bewail the loss of a wife in his country. When assured that a white man would not cry for more than a day he replied. 'Very well, tomorrow I finish': which he did.³³

Grimble has accused Binoka of being responsible for 'the decay and the subversion of nearly every native standard of sexual morality' and of 'riding roughshod over the customs of his ancestors', but if he had a detrimental effect on Abemaman society it was less through any positive action on his part than because he was a sceptic on the basic validity of Gilbertese cultural beliefs and values.³⁴ Chary in any case of interfering unnecessarily in matters which did not concern his

personal safety and prerogatives, what he ceased to believe in he ceased to enforce; and Abemama being a monarchy no one else did so either.

On other islands the traditional sanctions which governed social behaviour were gradually supplemented or superseded by the tenets of Christianity, but except for a brief period the Uea did not believe in these either, and his agnosticism spread until the Abemamans became notorious for their promiscuity, and whether from this cause or some other the women ceased to bear children and the population steadily declined. In 1860 Randell estimated that there were 5,000 people on the island; in 1905 the first European-directed count showed 1,013, many of them adopted children from other islands. It must have been a peculiar society which developed: so permissive, within classes, in inter-personal relations, and so restrictive in other activities.

Binoka's relations with the mission were nevertheless remarkably good, despite the fact that he refused to prohibit smoking or the many Gilbertese customs, including dancing, which were forbidden to Christians. Bingham supported his rule, recognising the value of the order, sobriety, and cleanliness which characterised his islands, in marked contrast to the rest of the Gilberts, while the local catechist Moses, in trouble with women on Abemama as he had been on Butaritari, was completely under his domination.

For a time the High Chief professed that he was attracted towards the faith: 'I will try to be a Christian', he declared in 1880, 'Me like God.' The number of his wives was the main stumbling block, but a year later he announced that he had discarded all but one of his thirty, to whom he was now formally married. Subsequent investigation, however, disclosed that he had merely placed them in reserve and he soon called them back, for in point of fact they were not only essential as status symbols, but also to the running of his household, the care of his extensive possessions and, as palace guards, to the very safety of his person.³⁵

Yet apart from a brief and mild persecution in 1888, when ten converts sought asylum on the mission ship *Morning Star* and were taken to Maiana, Binoka did not discourage his people from becoming Christians and even held prayers in his palace, while the observance of Sunday as a day of rest was enforced by law. Visiting missionaries, furthermore, tended to agree with Bingham's assessment of the merits of his régime. 'The King of Abemama not only wears the title, but wields the power', reported Doane in 1879. 'He is not slow to quell anything like rebellion . . . But this severity is a good thing for this fiery, mercurial people. Left to themselves they are lawless—impudent

—disrespectful, fearing no one, and caring for no one. The reign of the king has largely checked all this . . .'³⁶

His real objection to mission teaching arose from the threat which it offered to his dictatorial powers: 'Missionary no good. Very good I King. One man, one talk', as he once explained.³⁷ Ultimately he evolved a syncretist religion of his own, 'his mixture of Christianity and heathenism' Walkup described it in 1890, but its tenets hardly spread beyond the members of his own household. Possibly as a result of its lack of success, some six months before his death he welcomed the Catholic Mission, which had commenced work in the Gilberts in 1888, giving them land for building. If he had lived longer no doubt he would have played the two missions against each other with his customary finesse, as he played the rival trading captains.

If in mission matters Binoka was prepared to temporise, his innovations in commercial policy were more drastic. The copra trade was declared his personal prerogative and placed in charge of a staff of paid supercargoes who bought the islanders' produce, mainly with tobacco, and stored it in central warehouses; while with the discontinuance of Baiteke's experiments in social security and penal reform the trading station was removed from Abatiku to Bike. Only copra, however, was made a state monopoly and the islanders were free to sell other produce, such as sharks' fins, coir, string, and curios, direct to the ship. Many captains, furthermore, engaged in a certain amount of illicit trade for small parcels of copra with canoes which braved the embargo under cover of darkness.

Before his father's abdication Binoka had become his deputy in visiting ships, which remained, as Stevenson observed, 'a chief part and by far the chief diversion' of his life. Their calls became too frequent to maintain the early ostentation, with his ceremonial war canoe propelled at racing speed by thirty oarsmen between two lines of stationary canoes, the crews raising their paddles in salute as he passed. Licensed pilots now boarded each ship with a copy of the book of *Rules and Regulations of the Ports of Abemama, Aranuka and Kuria* and brought her to the official anchorage, for which a charge of five dollars was made. Here a crew of retainers lashed a wooden frame—described as a cross between a landing stage and a fireman's net—to the ship's side, specially tested to take the High Chief's considerable weight.

Woodford has described a typical trading routine:

As soon as we came to an anchor he [Tem Binoka] went into the cabin accompanied by his secretary and proceeded to buy cloth etc. . . . The King had a pencil and note book, the Secretary a slate. The length of every piece of cloth was put down by each of them, then the

total lengths were added together, laboriously multiplied by the number of cents per yard and then divided by the price of the copra. The King was pretty expert at his figures, but the Secretary performed the simplest sum in dividing, even by 2, as though it was long division.³⁸

Buying operations would often take days, during which Binoka had to be dined and wined at considerable expense, as he normally drank nothing but alleged champagne and smoked Havana cigars. The queen mother and principal wife usually came on board and occasionally, when the ship's owner or captain was an especial friend, he might bring quite a retinue. Harry Henderson, of the Auckland firm of Henderson and Macfarlane, who handled a large part of his trading transactions, once had to entertain seventeen wives and their attendants for several days. However, since the Abemaman copra trade, with that of Kuria and Aranuka, was worth more than that of all the other thirteen Gilbert Islands added together, the profit more than recompensed traders for all the presents and lavish entertainment provided.³⁹

The only ships absolutely barred from all three islands were those engaged from the 1860s onwards in ransacking the Gilberts for labourers to work in Fiji, Samoa, Hawaii, Tahiti, and even as far afield as Australia. Probably no greater tribute can be paid to Binoka's authority than the fact that, while the neighbouring islands were being denuded of their able-bodied men by fair means or foul, so far as we know not one of his subjects was taken away by a recruiting vessel. On the contrary, with surplus land and a dwindling population, immigrant labour was encouraged to settle on Abemama.

Binoka was too ambitious to confine himself to the domestic trade of his own domains, and made several attempts to expand into the wholesale exporting and importing business, in competition with European firms, as well as owning retail stores on other islands. It proved impossible, however, to ensure efficient, or even honest, management for his external commercial ventures. The 95-ton schooner *Coronet* which he purchased from Henderson and Macfarlane lost money consistently, through incompetence and dishonesty, until wrecked in 1882. Nor were his various chartered vessels, or his small schooner *Sunbeam*, engaged in trading through the Gilberts, better commercial propositions. His Abemaman managers had little idea how to run his island trade stores on businesslike lines, and only the one on Nanumea, in the Ellice Group, seems to have survived for a time. After 1884, he abandoned his profitless attempts to compete with the European in his own fields and accepted defeat with cynical composure, classing his commercial contacts under the headings: 'He cheat a litty'; 'He cheat plenty'; and 'I think he cheat too much'.

Missions and even commerce, however, were only incidentals to the main motivation of Tem Binoka's life: the conquest of the entire Gilbert archipelago and its consolidation into a single kingdom with himself as king. Kaitu and Uakeia could almost certainly have achieved this feat, as he well knew from the traditions of his own family. More recently Kamehameha had unified Hawaii, and Pomare Tahiti; Tem Binoka possessed the assets which had helped them: guns and European ships. But it was an ambition which needed all the cards and skill which he possessed and, although he pursued it whenever opportunity presented itself, success eluded him to the end.

He commenced by supporting one of the main parties on faction-ridden Maiana, only seventy miles to the north-west; and having gained a number of adherents he sent his principal factotum, Harry Smith, to propose to Robert Corrie, the resident trader and most respected European then living in the Gilberts, that he should help him to take the island by supplying arms to his partisans—in return for his aid he was to be appointed governor. Corrie refused, 'being satisfied with the position I held on the island at the time'.⁴⁰

The story soon leaked out, resulting in the Maiana people arming themselves with Sniders and Winchesters in preparation for the anticipated attack from Abemama. An assault on a well-armed and determined island was clearly too hazardous a venture, and Binoka tried diplomacy instead. In 1882 he sailed for Maiana in the *Sunbeam*, landed unarmed, and was given a propitiatory feast at which he offered to rule over the islanders, for their own good:

I have come to your island without arms, for I have given up war. I cannot accept your drinks for I have learned that they are sinful. I have heard of Christ, the King of all, and I have taken him for my King. I have made up my mind to stand on the Lord's side, and I advise you all to do the same.⁴¹

Clearly the Lord's side was Tem Binoka's; and Maiana would have neither.

In 1883 Alfred N. Tripp was appointed Special Commissioner for Central and Western Polynesia by King Kalakaua of Hawaii, as a result of the expansionist policy of his foreign minister, Walter M. Gibson. He left Honolulu rather incongruously as captain of the labour recruiting ship *Julia*, bearing letters from Kalakaua to the Gilbertese governments and charged with the duty of promoting 'kindly relations between his Majesty's Government and the various Chiefs of the Islands'. In September he saw Binoka at Kuria and found him to be 'a very intelligent man, well educated, and fully alive to the advantages of being connected in terms of friendship

with the King of the Hawaiian Islands'. The most powerful of the chiefs in the Group, he was 'endeavouring to introduce as many of the ruling customs prevailing in civilized nations as are practicable in the confined area, both physical and geographical, of his kingdom'.⁴²

After the failure of his move on Maiana, the Uea's 'confined area' was indeed very much in his thoughts and he seized on what he imagined to be an offer of alliance with the powerful Kalakaua to plan the immediate subjugation of Tarawa. His reply to the Hawaiian king is delightfully ingenuous:

My beloved brother—May you be in health in God. I have received your letter. What you say is good: that we shall be brothers with one another, and that we shall agree with one mind to love one another in truth. Kalakaua, let us assist one another in looking after those of the Gilbert Islands which are bad. Tarawa is the only island that is bad. Do you then settle upon your day for righting matters there, for you have ships. And when you have fixed upon a day for settling its matters, do you come to me first, in order that I may prepare my men to accompany you.⁴³

This reply was put to the High Chief's councillors in Tripp's presence and, as one would expect, they 'signified their entire willingness to abide by his decision, his word being "the law"'. Kalakaua had naturally no intention of doing anything to assist Binoka's ambitions, but unwittingly this is exactly what he did do, for in his service he had a Gilbertese, Nimatu of Abaiang, who was being repatriated, together with thirty other natives from the island, all armed with Winchester rifles. Nimatu's previous conduct had earned the disapproval of the High Chief of Abaiang and having been warned against returning there he persuaded Tripp to land him and his followers on Nonouti, where he called himself Karakaua after his former employer.

Three months later Nimatu shot two of the principal Old Men of Nonouti and threatened to capture the district of Rotuma. Hostilities commenced and nearly one hundred canoes left for Abemama to seek refuge and aid, as the Nonouti people were without firearms. Binoka was willing enough and persuaded Captain Hayward of the schooner *Kate McGregor*, and formerly master of his *Coronet*, to accept a charter to take 150 armed men from Abemama. These not only liquidated the Abaiang invaders but went on to conquer the whole of Nonouti, killing and looting, and driving some hundred men, women, and children on board the *Kate McGregor* to serve as serfs on Abemama, Kuria, and Aranuka.

This was in December 1883, and early the following year Joseph Henty was appointed the High Chief's agent, bringing the new flag

of the Abemaman dominions, a white diagonal cross with four stars representing the four islands on a blue background, and instructions that no further copra was to be sold to the local traders, Lowther and Gleeson. Several ships were sent with orders to collect varying amounts of tribute and a French barque to take 150 natives to work on Tahiti for \$5 a month, \$3 of which was to be paid to Binoka on the expiration of the period, when they were to be repatriated to Abemama, presumably as serfs.*

Binoka himself showed up badly over the whole incident. Had he behaved with magnanimity and ruled Nonouti with even a modicum of statesmanship he would have in all probability been able to add it to his domains, for the whole island was initially grateful to him for deliverance from Nimatu. Instead, he treated Nonouti as conquered territory and subjected its inhabitants to looting and enslavement, while alienating the two European traders from the start by making the copra trade a personal monopoly, as on his other islands.

On the arrival of the *Kate McGregor* at Auckland the news of her filibustering expedition soon leaked out and Lieutenant W. U. Moore was sent in H.M.S. *Dart* to investigate. Moore conducted his inquiries conscientiously both at Nonouti and Kuria, where Binoka was living, the upshot being that the latter was found guilty of having 'offended against Her Majesty . . . by interfering with the fair trade of her subjects who had given him no provocation, and had made use of a British ship to seize land to which he had no sort of right, and to make prisoners of the inhabitants'. For these offences his arms were confiscated, his flag was lowered while he cut out the fourth star, and arrangements were made for the return of his captives from the three islands.† The legality of Moore's actions against an independent sovereign power may be open to question, but it was a good example of the 'commodore justice' of the time and, in effect, by international law an act of war. Moore himself recognised that, if the High Chief had merely killed the Abaiang usurpers and, having taken Nonouti, had established order with the consent of the Old Men and without ill-treating the inhabitants or interfering with the British residents, he 'could only have passed on'. As it was Binoka was treated with every consideration, 'it being no part of my programme to humiliate this hereditary chief', and before leaving Moore sent him a present to indicate that he was now at peace with the 'Ships of Queen Victoria'.⁴⁵

The Nonouti episode was the one major setback of Tem Binoka's career and lost him much prestige. Even his personal prowess had

* Lowther alleged that 250 tons were taken in tribute, the average annual export from Nonouti being then 150 tons.⁴⁴

† The shipload which had gone to Tahiti was repatriated in 1887.

been on a level with his political acumen: landing after the fighting was all over he had contented himself with shooting three women who waded out to have a look at him, thus giving a practical demonstration to the Nonouti people of what they might expect.

It would be an anticlimax to detail the persistent but petty intrigues which followed the débâcle of Nonouti: the overtures to Tabiteuea, Beru, and probably other islands; the official presents sent, such as the concubine brought by a delegation to the High Chief of Tarawa in 1890; and the travelling groups welcomed, fêted, and returned home loaded with presents. For Binoka realised that only by invitation, or if himself attacked, could he now safely assume the sovereignty over another island. Nothing came of it all, even when in 1889 a rumour reached Abemama that the High Chief Tebureimoa of Butaritari had declared war and for a time Binoka: 'became a new Man; his face radiant; his attitude, as I saw him preside over a council of chiefs . . . , eager as a boy's'.⁴⁶

Except for such rare excitements, by the time of Robert Louis Stevenson's visit Binoka's life had settled down to the placid routine of old age, even though in actual years he was still in his mid-forties. With age and security he became more and more occupied with the affairs of his personal household—'my pamily', as he called the members—most of whom were women, ranging from the ancient crones who acted as the palace police to the pick of the island girls, who were taught by them all the accomplishments of a well-bred Gilbertese woman—not only the domestic arts, but such graces as dancing and the legendary poetry that accompanied it—before graduating from this singular seminary, as often as not to be married to some eligible subject. But by now the High Chief had acquired many trusted male retainers, with several of whom he was on terms of personal friendship: men such as the skilled artisan Roboam, designer, carpenter, machinist, sail-maker, fisherman, and general superintendent of works; and Tebuke, formerly executioner but now in more peaceful times promoted to succeed Smith the Swede as secretary and business manager.

Short and thick-set, for all his adult life the Uea had been afflicted with the hereditary corpulancy of his family, aggravated by his appetite—on the schooner *Equator* he ate thirty-seven pancakes after a large dinner—and by chiefly etiquette, which involved his being carried everywhere he went. His ever-increasing weight and girth so worried him that at length he took the advice of friendly captains and commenced to walk, with great benefit to his health, until by 1884, when weighed by the surgeon of H.M.S. *Dart*, he tipped the ship's scales at a mere 287 lbs. In his later years he also suffered from asthma and

spent much of his time in his country retreat on Kuria, where he built a cool and airy house in an ideal setting overlooking the peaceful channel between Oneaka Island and Kuria itself, and designed to catch the prevailing trade wind. That he could leave Abemama in the hands of a governor for months on end speaks volumes for the tranquillity of the realm.

Even when he was at his Abemama headquarters at Binoiano, Binoka seldom moved from the palace grounds where, when the fancy struck him, he might be seen in a startling variety of European clothes from a full naval uniform to a woman's frock fashioned by the court sempstresses, green velvet and red silk being reputedly his favourite materials. Close by he built 'Equator Town' for Stevenson, who has given us the best picture of life on Abemama just two years before the High Chief's death:

Orderly, sober, and innocent, life flows in the isle from day to day as in a model plantation under a model planter. It is impossible to doubt the beneficence of that stern rule. A curious politeness, a soft and gracious manner, something effeminate and courtly, distinguishes the islanders of Apemama; it is talked of by all the traders, . . . The king, with his manly and plain bearing, stood out alone; you might say he was the only Gilbert Islander in Apemama. Violence, so common in Butaritari, seems unknown. So are theft and drunkenness. I am assured the experiment has been made of leaving sovereigns on the beach before the village: they lay there untouched.⁴⁷

It is fitting that one should conclude with this quotation, which is supported by other accounts, for it is due to Stevenson alone that the name of Tem Binoka of Abemama is known throughout the English-speaking world. As Sabatier comments: 'Le portrait fait par Stevenson est celui d'un Pinoka un peu assagi', but still it is, with this reservation, a perceptive and, considering his limited local contacts, an accurate one.⁴⁸

On 10 November 1891 Tem Binoka died, from an infected abscess, and on 27 May the following year the Union Jack was hoisted at Abemama and his three islands declared a British Protectorate; a final humiliation from which he was spared by a merciful act of Providence.

If Binoka thought at all about such things he would very possibly have regarded his life as a failure, from the fact that he had proved unsuccessful in accomplishing his main ambition: to be the Kamehameha of the Gilberts. Yet he would have been wrong, for Baiteke and Binoka together had achieved a feat unique in the history of the Pacific Islands: in the face of European cultural pressures that had overrun the whole of Polynesia and Micronesia they had maintained

the political, economic, and social integrity of their territory from the beginnings of European contact to virtually the end of the nineteenth century, selecting and accepting from the European only such ideas and material goods as appeared to them of value, and these strictly on their own terms and not those dictated by the dominant race.

We have seen how a rigidly enforced immigration policy permitted Europeans to enter and reside only as employees on terms and for periods specified by the High Chiefs; how their economic policy regulated the conditions on which trade could take place, and no less the nature of the goods which might be imported; and how in the social sphere they at first prohibited the teaching of alien ideas, whether religious or secular, absolutely and later only under licence as to what might be taught and to whom. By a deliberate policy of selection, rejection, and innovation they evolved a blended society on novel lines, hierarchical where it had been based on an amorphous gerontocracy, and with two out of the three islands run as copra plantations worked by serfs. Neither European nor indigenous values were necessarily accepted: firearms and imported liquors were rigidly prohibited except for their personal requirements, as was the locally produced sour toddy; while smoking and dancing, both frowned on by the mission and prohibited to Christians, were freely permitted as beneficial relaxations.

The society which had evolved on Abemama was a stable one, a blend of deliberately modified Gilbertese culture and carefully selected European introductions, without a trace of European compulsion entering into the mixture. The two indigenous leaders responsible for this achievement are surely deserving of being brought out of the vast limbo of forgotten non-history and accorded what history alone can give, a place among the immortals.

RECRUITS AND RECRUITERS

A portrait of the labour trade

Deryck Scarr

To the coral-ridden anchorages of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, to the black sands and mangroves of the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands, came European ships on many different errands. There came traders in sandalwood, copra, sharks' fin, and tortoise-shell, the ships of various Christian missionary societies, as well as British and French warships from Sydney and Nouméa, and the occasional German from Apia. But from 1863, when the *Don Juan* sailed from Queensland to recruit New Hebrideans to work Robert Towns's cotton plantations on the Logan River, almost until 1911, when the *Clansman* returned to Suva with the last load of islanders to be recruited for plantations in Fiji, the ships most often seen in these islands of the Western Pacific were labour recruiters. These ships and what their coming implied were the most powerful agents of acculturation to be known in much of the area.

At the height of the labour trade in the early 1880s, thirty ships or more were making two to three round trips each season to recruit labourers for the plantations of Queensland and Fiji, which by then had turned from cotton to sugar production. In addition, two, three, or four normally sailed from New Caledonia, recruiting for the nickel mines of Nouméa; two sailed from Apia, seeking labourers for the coconut plantations of the Deutsche Handels- und Plantagen-Gesellschaft; and several small vessels were at work in the New Hebrides, recruiting for the maize, coffee, banana, and coconut plantations of Efate and for the copra-makers who kept stations in the northern islands of the group. When recruiting for Queensland ended in 1904 some 61,160 islanders had been brought into the colony since the

In the opening years of the labour traffic, in the 1860s and early 1870s, Fiji and Samoa both drew a large proportion of their recruits from the Gilbert and Ellice Islands. But in Fiji these islanders proved rowdy and particularly susceptible to sickness; only a few were employed there about 1879. Samoa seems to have found them similarly difficult. The ships of these two places thereafter joined those of Queensland, New Caledonia, and the inter-island recruiters in competing for recruits in Melanesia. A foray into the Bismarck Archipelago in 1882-3 indicated that people from this area, though more tractable than the Gilbertese, were even more likely to die before enough work had been extracted from them to make their introduction a paying proposition. New Guinea was closed to recruiters by the Queensland government in 1885. Most of the islanders recruited came, therefore, from the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands.

So far as this was true, it was so largely because islanders were becoming aware of what contract labour for Europeans entailed. In the southern New Hebrides, many had achieved this awareness earlier, through their relations with sandalwood traders. Whilst the sandalwood lasted, from about 1840 to 1865, these people had been in almost

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4 The New Hebrides

constant communication with the Europeans who came seeking it. They had learned to bargain with Europeans on their own beaches; some had been employed in cutting and cleaning the wood on islands other than their own; and some had sailed as crew in European ships. They had acquired, in the process, a taste for the edge-tools that were patently superior to their own stone implements, for fabrics and tobacco.³ When sandalwood petered out in the mid-1860s they were saved from a return to their former half-forgotten material culture by the arrival of labour recruiters, who provided immediate trade goods, in the presents which they gave to the kinsmen of each recruit, and promised, if they were Queenslanders, £18 per head in wages for three years' service abroad.

In the northern New Hebrides and, farther north still, through the Banks, Torres, and Santa Cruz Islands to the Solomons, contact with Europeans had been limited. The people knew only a few missionaries and some traders in copra and tortoise-shell. Here the labour trade had to be its own harbinger: people who were kidnapped or who boarded the recruiting agent's boat because they made out, from his gesticulations and pidgin English, only a hospitable invitation to visit his home for a short time, returned three years later with boxes full of trade-goods and infected other members of the community with the desire to do likewise.⁴ European goods, and especially a musket or rifle—without which, as a result of the labour trade, no New Hebridean or Solomon Islander soon felt properly accoutred—were what tempted an islander to engage. When the governments of Fiji and Queensland prohibited the supply of arms to islanders in 1884, many people refused to recruit for these colonies but went instead to Samoa and New Caledonia.

And so, in time—by the early 1880s, in islands as far north and west as Malaita and Guadalcanal—labour ships and plantation work became an accepted part of islanders' lives. A man could secure the consent of his kinsmen and board a ship in which other members of his community had embarked and returned before him, could work three years with a good master in a favourite area of Queensland, such as Maryborough, and could return safely with his wages invested in rifle and ammunition, tools, tobacco, pipes, and European clothes.

A certain amount of luck was required to complete this desired cycle of events, however, and a substantial minority of recruits never saw the end of it. They had, first of all, to survive the voyage to their place of employment. Queensland ships varied in size from about 80 to 300 tons; those of Fiji were smaller, from 40 to 200 tons; and even in the Queensland trade a vessel of above 250 tons was unusual. Large ships were at a disadvantage in the labour trade; small, handy

craft were required, able to enter uncharted anchorages confidently. They were fitted out for the trade with two or so tiers of bunks in the hold to accommodate passengers, two or more whale-boats, from which the actual recruiting was done, and coppers in which to boil food. Several islanders employed to work the boats and a good supply of firearms were other characteristics of labour ships. In many cases, another was unseaworthiness.

For nine months of the year, from April to December, the south-east trades blew in the Pacific and the weather was kindly enough to attract the owner who had old or rotten ships from which to make a profit. Those of the sandalwood traders, for instance, had often been notoriously unsound.⁵ And it was possible for a ship to sail in the labour trade when she was past all other work. Human beings put less strain upon a weakened fabric than did an inanimate cargo and the passengers constituted a supply of labour whose work at the pumps would keep down the water in all but the most crazy of ships. European crews became quite fatalistic about going to sea in potential coffins, but government agents were generally less complacent. R. A. McMurdo, in 1886, protested:

the Brigantine '*Hector*' in her present condition . . . is *totally unseaworthy* and unfit for the S.S. Island trade, her anchors and chains are not of sufficient strength . . . for a vessel of her tonnage . . . The Windlass . . . cannot be depended upon . . . All the iron work is thoroughly worn out and we went into 'Havannah' Harbour with our fore stays gone and all the head gear adrift. All the lower rigging is used up and done and no sailor would pass it, the rudder head is good but all the iron work about it is worn out and three times last voyage all our steering gear was adrift . . . There is *copper off the vessels bottom* and I was told by carpenters that worked on her last voyage that they could not get a nail to hold in her bottom.⁶

Although the trade was—in the seventies and eighties, at any rate—a very profitable one, owners spent as little as possible on their ships. Even a vessel with a sound hull was likely to be sent to sea with only one suit of sails and with her rigging full of splices. 'Unless the ship is ordered to get a new rigging, the rotten shrouds will just be spliced', reported Douglas Rannie, lately government agent of the *Fiona*, ' . . . those interested in the ship will not have the necessary repairs done, unless government insists upon it!'⁷

Government officials in Fiji—conscious that they worked in a Crown Colony and were answerable to the Secretary of State who might be discommoded by humanitarian questions raised in Parliament—generally paid close attention to the condition of the ships they employed.

They made a mistake with the *Au Revoir* in 1882, as they had done earlier with the notoriously decrepit *Bobtail Nag*; but from the late 1880s onward most of the labour ships that sailed from Suva were sound in hull and spars, although they were usually fitted out in a cheeseparating fashion.⁸ But with officials in Queensland, which had responsible government, the political influence wielded by ship owners seems to have weighed more heavily than the remote displeasure of the Colonial Office. The surveys which Queensland ships underwent before a recruiting licence was issued were purely nominal. In 1892 the Brisbane Port Master pointed out that the newest ship then employed was ten years old, and the oldest was thirty. All were 'of a very inferior class requiring constant patching and repairing'.⁹ His suggestions for regulations governing the class and condition of ships employed in the labour trade were ignored and Queensland ships became increasingly decrepit as the trade drew to its close. For five years before the *Roderick Dhu* was condemned at Tulagi in 1902, with her stem rotted away from the keel, she was known to be shaken and loose about the head; but no permanent repairs had been made.¹⁰

On the whole, however, owners and seamen knew what they were about, for surprisingly few ships were lost at sea. A worse risk than drowning which islanders ran in the often stinking ships was death from disease. If heavy weather set in the recruits, who otherwise were free to roam the decks, had to be confined below; this was most likely to occur when the ships were homeward bound on their last trip of the season, with hurricanes brewing, and the recruits would probably have had no fresh vegetable food for some days but would have been fed on rice and biscuits. This fare they detested; often they refused to eat it. Debilitated as a result, and battered down in a confined, evil-smelling hold, they fell a prey to virulent epidemic dysentery from which, for instance, in 1879, 57 of 153 recruited by Fiji's *Stanley* died.¹¹ In 1877 Queensland's *Bobtail Nag* lost 8 of a total of 102 recruits from the disease.¹² And 19 died of the 90 recruited by Queensland's *Coquette* in 1902. Medical inquiry into this case indicated that Melanesia was now swept by fairly frequent epidemics of dysentery, of a kind highly contagious, except among islanders who had been hardened by years in the colonies, but not easily picked up by Europeans.¹³ Dr B. G. Corney, the Chief Medical Officer of Fiji, more forthright than most of his Queensland colleagues, once remarked that, 'as a speculative employment for local shipping', the labour trade was 'neither profitable nor humanitarian in character'.¹⁴

An islander who arrived in Queensland between 1880 and 1883 had an average yearly chance of survival which varied from 93.7 per cent to 92.5 per cent; in Fiji, from 90.5 per cent to 92.1 per cent. Thus,

in Queensland, the mortality rate amongst people, most of whom were males between the ages of about fifteen and thirty-five, was between five and six times as high as amongst the whole European population.¹⁵ Even in the 1890s, when the annual death rate amongst islanders in Queensland ranged from 2.9 per cent to 6.2 per cent, it was still between two and five times greater than the general European death rate.¹⁶ In the first two years of their 3-year contract, especially, islanders were physically unfit for the work demanded of them on sugar plantations. Experience in Fiji indicated that work on a large sugar plantation meant death to a high proportion of raw recruits. The reports of the Fiji Immigration Office for 1883 and 1884 contained ample evidence that death occurred from physical exhaustion due to over-work, followed by the onset of measles or, especially, of dysentery. On sugar plantations in Rewa, Navua, Ra, Lau, and Taveuni:

the opening up of new land for sugar cultivation seems to have been the source of the *materies morbi*, and epidemic dysentery, often attended with sloughing ulcerations of the mouth, gums, and rectum, the result. The introduction of large numbers of unsophisticated Papuans of poor stamina . . . and the grouping them together in populous centres, such as a large sugar-mill and its dependencies afford, became a ready means, the disease once engendered, of propagating it *à l'outrance*. The nature of this pestilence . . . has proved to be very terrible: in consequence, a large proportion of those exposed to it are attacked; and owing to the intense prostration which is induced, and the low standard of vitality possessed by most of these immigrants, little benefit is from treatment, and great numbers perish.¹⁷

Dr Corney believed that only if it were possible for islanders to be placed 'for twelve to eighteen months in a sanatorium, suitably dieted and broken gradually in to work', would it be proper to continue their introduction, given the fact that between 1881 and 1890 27 per cent died within their 3-year term of indenture in Fiji. In 1890 the Fiji government so far acted on medical advice as to prohibit the employment of islanders on sugar plantations where new land had to be broken; this prohibition notwithstanding, 12.5 per cent of those recruited between 1891 and 1900 did not live to return home.¹⁸ In Queensland, islanders were barred from any other employment but on sugar plantations by government enactments of 1877 and 1884.

The islander who survived the first year of his indenture had a much greater chance of surviving the second year and an almost equally greater chance of drawing his final pay.¹⁹ Lay and medical opinion was agreed that, after three years' work, islanders underwent

The time-expired islander who chose to go home had to get safely ashore at his own 'passage', or landing-place, before the cycle of his recruitment was complete. There were more dangers here. Melanesian coastlines were divided fairly minutely into the territories of different occupying or controlling communities, between whom hostility was the norm. A man of one community landed in the territory of another would almost certainly be robbed of his box and might well be killed. In theory, and if the instructions issued by Fiji and Queensland to their agents were observed, the passage of each islander recruited for these colonies would have been fully described by the government agent who accepted him; if he had been recruited by a Fiji ship, the agent should also have noted its bearings on a track-chart. But the description might merely read, for instance, 'west coast of Ambrym', when that coast was fourteen miles long, occupied by about nine distinct villages, and with not one of them in sight from the sea.²² Returns could not themselves be relied on to recognise their homes from offshore. When a man's passage could not be located, or when it was inconvenient or impossible to land him because of headwinds or heavy surf, he would probably be put ashore at a mission station or at the place of friends he had made in the ship; but the latter might well remain friends only until they could seize his possessions, and few mission stations on islands north of Efate had much influence in the surrounding countryside. He was therefore likely to fare badly.

To land bushmen safely the ship had to fire a signal gun or ignite a charge of dynamite, to attract their own people. She had then to wait until an escort came down. After small presents had been given to the coast people to show goodwill, the returns could be taken safely home. If the report did not bring an escort down in shorter time than

the ship was prepared to wait, disaster could befall them. Five bushmen landed by the *Winifred* on the south coast of Malekula in 1884 returned to her in terror next day,

being unable to communicate with their friends, as well as being informed that their tribe had been dispersed. They requested to recruit and return again to Fiji; while they were ashore, they barely escaped with their lives, one man nearly fainted when he got into the boat, as they were on the point of killing him when the boats arrived on the beach.²³

On this occasion the ship compounded for her initial carelessness by offering the salt-water people a reward to contact the returns' kinsmen and by waiting for three more days until they finally arrived from their distant district. Many ships would not have waited and the returns would either have had to take their chance ashore or recruit again.

Even in the last years of the Queensland traffic, when the trade was conducted under much hostile public scrutiny and with strict regulations that returns were only to be landed away from their passages at their own urgent request, masters sometimes attempted to put them ashore in the place most convenient to the ship. Thus in 1902, when the government agent of the *Sydney Belle* was told by the master that returns wanted to land at a trader's station, sixteen miles from their own place, he questioned them and found that:

It was the same old tale, namely:— the Captain and Recruiter say, suppose you no land at Svenson's now, you have to go all round Malayta and other Islands to land [the other] Returns, plenty rough weather, long time before you get [to] your passage when we on our way home, then chance weather too rough to land, we must take you back to Queensland.²⁴

The crews of labour ships might have been expected to represent a cross-section of the late nineteenth-century British mercantile marine. Many of the foremast hands were off immigrant ships from Europe which sailed for Australia with a double crew and required only one for the return voyage. Others were deserters from the big Cape Horners, attracted by the shorter voyages and higher pay of the labour ships. Contemporary opinion, however, was that the trade attracted a high proportion of rascals. 'Some of them are not as bad as the others', said a man who had sailed before the mast in the trade, but 'the worst of them are among the greatest ruffians alive'.²⁵ 'I have known the mate of this vessel go ashore at a friendly village,' wrote a government agent, 'lie with the women of an evening, and fire intentionally three shots from a Spencer Rifle, at an unoffending native

from the same village in the morning . . . '.²⁶ A naval officer remarked that the masters of labour ships were mostly 'men of inferior character, generally drunkards, and not infrequently of the worst possible moral habits'.²⁷

Available evidence does not permit any conclusive testing of the type thus drawn by contemporaries of masters and crews. Amongst the foremast hands, for instance, was Frank Whitford, who, as a trader in the New Hebrides later in his career, was considered by even the British Resident Commissioner to be an excellent pioneer, however contemptuous he might be of regulations issued by the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific. And amongst the masters were John McKay, who severely reprimanded his first mate—himself a former master in the trade—for swearing at the recruits, and John Anderson, who, as a government agent reported, never drank, was a member of the Salvation Army, and never tried to evade recruiting regulations.²⁸

Whatever the precise quality of their characters and however sound their morals, few abstemious masters sailed in the labour trade, or crew either. Captain Gray of Queensland's *Sydney Belle* was known as 'a soaker' and, reported a government agent, 'in broad daylight, with fine weather, and himself at the wheel drunk and incapable, he ran the ship ashore twice, once at the New Hebrides and once at the Solomons . . . '.²⁹ Fitzharding of Fiji's *Lizzie Davies* was drunk for a fortnight whilst off the Malaita coast in 1884; on one occasion he took his ship in, out, and back into the same bay, unconscious of what he was doing.³⁰ Amongst the crew the cook, astonishingly often, was a principal offender. Not everyone waited until the sun was over the yardarm before having recourse to the bottle; in the *Roderick Dhu* in 1901 the cook stole rum from the ship's store and the recruiting agent, reaching for a drink before daybreak, got hold of carbolic acid by mistake and so died.³¹ Hard drinking was habitual with Europeans in the islands; but even an old island resident and seafarer like Donald McLeod was shocked when the mate of a labour vessel was so drunk one morning that he could hardly walk the few yards from his boat to McLeod's store at Havannah Harbour.³²

Nor were there many masters of whom it could be said, as of John Anderson, that he would never 'try to take points' where the regulations of the labour trade were concerned. W. T. Wawn, for instance, the only master to leave a published account of his cruises in the trade, was an old hand in the South Seas; he had been a trader in the Caroline Islands and New Britain before he entered the labour trade in 1875. He made twenty-four voyages as master until 1891, sailed again as mate under McKay in the *Para* in 1894, and was then to make three trips to the Gilbert Islands in command of On Chong & Co.'s

DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN GEOGRAPHY, A.N.U.

5 The Solomon Islands

barque, *Loongana*, before retiring to Levuka in 1900, at the age of sixty-three, to take charge of a copra hulk belonging to Lever Brothers.³³ But he was not particularly concerned, for instance, about the fate of the returns he landed, remarking calmly of two men landed on Malaita in 1888 that they 'were bushmen and their property was soon disposed of by the beachmen'.³⁴ He was debarred several times by the Queensland Immigration Department for recruiting misdemeanours. The so-called 'cast-iron' regulations issued by the Griffith administration in 1884, which gave wide powers to government agents and defined fairly narrowly the circumstances under which, for instance, women and youths might be recruited, were a constant source of annoyance to him. 'Landed a woman on the NW side [of Port Sandwich, Malekula]', he noted in his journal. 'She swam off to the ship during the day... No husband so had to be put ashore again. D-n S. Griffiths and his cast-iron regulations.'³⁵ Government agents who made him observe them did not have an easy life.³⁶

The relationship between master and government agent depended, obviously, on the relative strength of character of the two men involved. Captain McQuaker of the *Helena* was a martyr to his government agent who, after a quarrel in Havannah Harbour, urinated upon him through the cabin skylight as he sat at the table below.³⁷ McQuaker's ship was in an uproar of indiscipline; he was soon host to a revolver bullet which was planted against his ribs by the mate. In most ships the government agent was more likely to be the victim of such indignities. There were, indeed, agents as dominant as, but better mannered than, McQuaker's, such as the Queenslander, W. A. McMurdo. McMurdo was the son of a general and, despite the fact that he was a cripple, was respected by masters, owners, and the Immigration Department alike.³⁸ When the *Stanley* was wrecked on the Indispensable Reef in 1883 it was he, aided only by the native boat crews, who kept order among her recruits and saved most of them. He had to resign and stand trial later that year in the High Commissioner's Court for burning huts in the Laughlan Islands to force runaway recruits from the *Stanley* to return to her. The use of force to recover absconding recruits was then customary in the trade and had been tacitly sanctioned by the Immigration Department.³⁹ McMurdo was probably the best government agent that Queensland had in the early 1880s and even when he returned to the trade in 1900, after a decade when care was taken in the selection of men, he was described as of 'the most suitable class of men the department has employed for years'.⁴⁰ He was in the *Ivanhoe* when she was stranded in the Solomon Islands in 1902, was praised by the Resident Commis-

sioner for his exertions in looking after her passengers, and died soon after his return to Australia, from exhaustion and fever.⁴¹

Even McMurdo, on one of his last trips, was dragged out of his cabin and flung across the deck by an enraged master whom he had confronted with some irregularity. The master, Captain Malcolm, later told another government agent, who had just secured the debarrment of a drunken captain, 'if you or any other Govt. Agent interfered with me as you did with Gray I would drop you overboard, that's what I would do'; and, reported this agent, 'From the violence of his demeanour and language he left no doubt in my mind he was in earnest'.⁴² Agents in some ships clearly went in fear of their lives. After John Slade was drowned at Aneityum in 1876, it was rumoured that the boat had been deliberately upset; and the *Ethel's* government agent had a narrow escape in 1884 when the master's rifle, exploding 'accidentally', buried a bullet in the deck close to him.⁴³

A government agent who interfered with recruiting practices could count at least on being subjected to petty harassing. It was a favourite trick, for instance, to steal his copy of the departmental regulations on the conduct of the trade, so that in challenging the master he could not quote chapter and verse; or he might be turned ignominiously out of his bunk. The able, and usually amiable, Fiji agent, Charles Rudd, noted bitterly:

My traps were turned out of my cabin to day and I am put to sleep with the cook. Surely this state of things ought to be redressed. If the prestige of the agent is not upheld he is worthless. He cannot fight a ships company, and as a natural consequence of the position he occupies, is looked upon with aversion by all hands, and instead of protection I have received the *greatest insolence throughout* the cruise *from the Master*, who, ought never to have been allowed the appointment.⁴⁴

An agent who threatened an obstreperous crew with the active displeasure of the government he represented was likely to be laughed at. 'What are the Fiji Government but a pack of d-n loafers?' sneered the master of Rudd's ship.⁴⁵ So long as master and crew contented themselves with breaking the regulations and committed no actual felony, there was no drastic action that the government in Fiji or Queensland could take against them. They could be debarred from the trade, but with so many ships putting to sea there was sometimes a shortage of seamen. A master who was persistently drunk could be sent before the marine board of the colony; but the master mariners who sat on it usually declined to discipline severely their erring colleagues.

In Fiji a government agent could at least count on his complaints being heard by his own superior, the head of the Immigration Department, who knew his subordinate and was generally disposed to believe him. In Queensland an agent's complaints were usually heard by the local Immigration Board at the port of arrival. This was often the ship's home port as well, the board was composed of local men who might have ties with the owner, and, although the local Inspector of Polynesians also sat on it and might be expected to sympathise with the government agent, proceedings seem invariably to have begun with a bias in favour of the master. Moreover, if the master knew that the government agent intended to lay a complaint, he and the crew could fabricate counter-charges during the return passage. Government agent Henry Hocking alleged that the charges laid against him, by the master of the *Ceara*, of sleeping with female recruits, were brought in order to discredit evidence which he had been about to present of an attack by the *Ceara's* boats on people of Aoba; the charge could not be other than concocted, he pleaded, because he was impotent.⁴⁶ In 1883, after a spate of such inquiries, the Queensland Immigration Agent was quoted as saying that he 'would not believe the statements of a white crew of any labour vessel'.⁴⁷

Neither the salary received by government agents nor the nature of their duties would have been attractive to many men. When they were first appointed by Queensland in 1870, they were paid £10 per month and were employed only for the duration of each voyage. In 1875, in a bid to attract better applicants, provision was made for six permanent agents at £200 per year each; the supernumerary agents who had to be appointed, since more than six ships were at sea together, were paid at the old rate. Fiji's agents did not receive permanent appointments until 1882; they were then paid on one of three scales, from £16 13s 4d to £20 per month, according to experience. For this they endured much privation and underwent many dangers. Government agents were responsible for the general welfare of the passengers, who had to be fed, their tobacco served out, their quarters cleaned, and their health regulated. Most agents discharged this last duty by a generous dosing with the universal panacea—Epsom salts. No government agent, even after walking the wards in Levuka or Suva hospitals—experience which was recommended for Fiji agents—was capable of dealing with a major epidemic of dysentery, though some of them made brave attempts to treat dysentery cases.

Their primary function, however, was to supervise the recruitment and return of labourers, to see that they came willingly, understood their contracts, and were safely landed. They were instructed never to let a boat leave the ship to recruit or land men without their

accompanying it. Since the boats might leave at 5.30 a.m. and not return until after 6 p.m., the agents had, with their duties on board, enough work for a 24-hour day. Boatwork was uncomfortable and dangerous. It involved working along inhospitable coasts, in and out of coves, creeks, and river mouths, sometimes in heavy seas, with the prospect of a long pull back to the ship in the evening if she had drifted far offshore. The occupants of the whale-boats might be alternately drenched by tropical rain and broiled by tropical sun; they ran considerable risk of catching malaria and dysentery.

Biographical details sufficient to test the opinion expressed by many contemporaries, that men only became government agents when they could get no other employment, are not available. Of some men, from what little is known about them, it does not seem to be true. Douglas Rannie apparently went from Scotland to Queensland with the idea of becoming a government agent, whilst W. A. McMurdo and his brother Robert could no doubt have found other work. But certainly Theodore Hoyt and John Gaggin of Fiji and F. Gooding of Queensland were failed planters, H. A. Mair of Fiji was the wandering son and brother of well-known New Zealanders, who himself had been unable to settle into any occupation, J. M. Smith was an ex-naval lieutenant who had been thrown out of employment when a colonial gunboat was laid up, H. Friend was a former Gladstone pioneer, fallen on hard times in his old age. In the government agents of both colonies, the prevailing air was one of seediness and general dilapidation. The best of them would hope to become minor civil servants in some other branch of the administration; the most common promotion in the Queensland service was a move ashore to become Inspector or Assistant Inspector of Polynesians in one of the sugar districts. In Fiji they usually became, similarly, Inspectors of Labourers, although T. F. T. Potts, for a stormy period in the early 1900s, was Assistant to the Resident Commissioner of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Protectorate.

To grub around in the lower ranks of the colonial service was a precarious way of living, as the career of Franc Otway showed. Another failed Fiji planter, he entered government service in 1877, served briefly as a government agent, and was wrecked in the *Bobtail Nag* in Vila Harbour in 1879; he was then an Inspector of Labourers until 1887 when his office was abolished, and he became a government agent again. By 1900 he was broken in health, unable to go to sea again and offering the hardships he had undergone as grounds for an *ex gratia* pension. 'Although I never had any misunderstanding with the natives [I] was several times fired upon; once the boy . . .

next to me in the boat was wounded.' Successive voyages to the Solomon Islands had filled his system with ineradicable malaria, and on his last trip in 1899 he was sick with diarrhoea for five months. By the time he got back to Suva this had become recurring dysentery. His career as a government agent had left him 'a wreck, subject to periodical attacks of malarial fever and chronic diarrhoea that entirely incapacitate me from earning a livelihood'.⁴⁸

For several government agents, and many other men who sailed in the trade, life ended in, or soon after, a shot from the bush or a flurry of tomahawk blows as the boats lay in the shallows with islanders crowded around them. Though islanders were often said to be poor shots with the rifles to the purchase of which labourers devoted a large part of their pay, the families of certain men—such as Captain Belbin of the *Borough Belle*, killed off Ambrym in 1883, and George McCabe, recruiting agent of the *Roderick Dhu*, shot through the heart off Malaita in 1901—had reason to think otherwise. And for the crew of a recruiting boat, beached whilst its occupants chattered for men, the only effective protection against a sudden attack with tomahawks was a covering-boat lying beyond the surf, with rifles at the ready. The precautionary covering-boat was often omitted, in the belief that the people at a given place were friendly, and this feeling of security sometimes proved fatal. The dying government agent of Fiji's *Dauntless* described how his boat had gone in, confidently and unprotected, at a place on Epi from which many men had recruited and sailed as boat crews:

I there saw three or four men who had lately been away in the 'Dauntless' and the 'Tubal Cain'. The mate asked them if they would go with us, they said two men are coming down to do so. About this time some hundred men rushed out of the Bush and fired a volley of musketry into the boat. The second mate fell dead, shot through the heart, I was wounded in four places, a 'Solomon Islander' in two places and a Fijian in two places; . . . the people attempted to rush the boat and 'Johnny' the wounded Fijian rushed aft with a Snider in his hand, discharged it without aim, threw it down and paddled the boat out of range . . . We had such faith in the natives of this place that our boat was unarmed with the exception of the 'Snider' and I have frequently been upon that beach among the natives unarmed.⁴⁹

Some of the attacks made on Europeans by islanders were motivated by a desire for an immediate harvest of trade-goods or to obtain human flesh. When John Renton—who had become a Queensland agent after his rescue in 1875 from Sulu Vou, Malaita, where he had spent eight enforced years as a castaway—was killed on Aoba in 1878,

with a boat's crew from the *Mystery*, evidence elicited by resident traders and a missionary indicated that flesh was wanted for a feast.⁵⁰ And the men of Malaita recognised in labour ships a particularly desirable quarry in their regular pastime of raiding. The ships were vast repositories of wealth in trade-goods and, as they lay at anchor on the Malaita coast, the men who thronged their decks, either newly recruited or waiting to collect the trade-goods for their kinsmen who had engaged, could at a signal cut down the crew and seize everything. The *Janet Stewart* was taken in this way at Kwai in 1882, looted, and burned to the water's edge. If a ship beat off such an attack with casualties to the Malaita men, a feud could develop. Attacked at Sinerango in 1886, the *Young Dick* lost several men but killed many more of her attackers; to avenge them the Sinerango people offered a reward of 100,000 porpoise-teeth to any village which should capture a ship, and a smaller sum for the body of a single European. The people of Manaoba won the lesser prize in 1888 by killing the government agent of the *Ariel*, whom they lured ashore by asking him to bring medicine to a supposedly sick man.⁵¹

In other cases, attacks were reprisals for actions by recruiters. A boat from Fiji's *Winifred* was saved only by the eloquence of a friendly interpreter from attack by bushmen at Port Adam, Malaita, in 1884. The bushmen had lost a leading man two years before when the *Surprise* opened fire to cover the escape of an Epi man, sole survivor from the recruits in the *Janet Stewart*, who had been held captive by them.⁵² And the attack on the *Dauntless* was provoked by the *Aurora*, sailing out of Nouméa under French colours, which had earlier kidnapped people from Epi and killed two in the process.⁵³

Labour ships were often a source of irritation to the islanders. The deaths of labourers on the plantations were an obvious and frequent cause of anger amongst their kinsmen. In 1882 Eugene Reilly in the *Mavis* found that reports had reached the Malaita people that many of the recruits he had taken to Fiji on his last trip as government agent had died: 'they look very black and surly at me and I reckon I will have to keep my eyes skinned while we are on the coast of Malayata'.⁵⁴ Where contact with labour ships had been intensive, disillusionment was sometimes evident by the early 1880s, especially amongst the older men, who found their communities weakened by the constant emigration of the young. A naval officer reported that a Santo dignitary had told him: 'Me make him big fellow talk about Fiji, and now all man he go away, only old fellow man and all women he stop him place belong to me'.⁵⁵ Even in the Solomon Islands such a reaction was apparent by 1882, when the *Jessie Kelly* was told at

Guadalcanal and Malaita that 'all man finish' and people only wanted to have dealings with the copra traders.⁵⁶

Divisions in the community were a common result of several years of dealing with recruiters. The young men were tempted away by the promise of goods and adventure, whilst the elders wished to control the numbers who went. The elders' attitude was very important. If a recruit's senior kinsmen were willing that he should go, they would accept the trade-goods offered for him. This practice of giving presents for recruits was forbidden by the Queensland government in 1878, after one of its agents had suggested that it might encourage one community to raid another for prisoners to sell to the recruiters; but in most instances the custom seems in fact to have been a recognition by recruiters of the Melanesian principle of reciprocity. If the recruiters dispensed with it, or if the elders refused to consent to people going, trouble followed.

Many of the recruits obtained by labour vessels were in fact runaways from the community. The Gela people complained to Bishop J. R. Selwyn that the recruiters took away their young boys, who 'would not listen either to the Chiefs or their parents, but slipped off in the night and were recruited next morning'.⁵⁷ At Nikunau in the Gilbert Islands in 1883 the *Minnie Hare* recruited after dark, so that those who wanted to join her could escape the vigilance of their kinsmen; only on Sunday were five men able to swim off openly by day unimpeded, since 'everybody was busy praying'.⁵⁸ Sometimes the recruiting agent would employ more direct methods to get a would-be recruit away from his reluctant people. A typical case was described in 1883 by Lieutenant W. Osborne Moore, of H.M.S. *Dart* who knew the traffic well:

Recruiting boats back into the beach; a crowd of natives assemble, 50 per cent being armed. The experienced recruiter observes several 'boys' . . . who he sees would like to ship. He exchanges glances with them. Presently one leaps into the boat; then hubbub indescribable. Rifles are cocked; native hands are stretched out to keep the boat to the beach. Perhaps no present is forthcoming, a hasty arrangement having been made with the 'boy' that he shall have ten shillings when the ship arrives at Maryborough. The covering boat . . . draws in. The resolute recruiter holds his revolver menacingly at full cock at the crowd, moving it round significantly in a semi-circle. The natives . . . fall back cowed: the boat is free and a recruit is won; but at the expense of a life next day, when perchance another labour vessel heaves to off the coast, ignorant of what has taken place.

Government agent Robert McMurdo, as Moore related, evolved a method of getting the boats away without being raked with fire after taking runaways:

When he sees a 'boy' creeping along the rocks to escape from his tribe, he backs in and places about 50 sticks of tobacco in the stern sheets. If the villagers are on the alert, they appear, rifles in hand, and commence with abuse—'No good you take that boy; you no pay for that boy, you steal'm', and so on. This is taken in good part, and a little banter returned, soothingly—'I no steal this boy. Suppose he like to go to Maryboro', he go. Suppose he no like to go, he stop in place belong a' him, &c., &c., &c. But as soon as the 'boy' jumps into the boat, and the natives begin to retire behind the rocks and trees . . . the Agent scatters the tobacco with one throw on the beach, and orders his boat's crew to pull out. Immediately there is a scramble, and before the rifles can be resumed, and proper aim taken, the boat is 100 yards from the shore.⁵⁹

A particular cause of anger to the islanders was the labour ships' recruiting of women, either alone or with a man who had no right to them. Women in Melanesia were generally married young to polygamous older men, who alone could find the necessary bride-price. Young, impecunious, and frustrated bachelors therefore devoted much energy to the pursuit of adultery. For couples who wanted to pursue their *affaire* at length and in security the labour ships and, after them, the plantations, provided a refuge. The man would engage openly during the day and the woman would creep down at night to where the boats, forewarned, would await her. Ill-used wives sometimes fled away alone and, despite regulations against the recruitment of single women, would sometimes induce the agents to pass them as wives of unmarried males. One such woman explained:

I belong to Aoba, my Passage called Lallu'soorie in Bush long way from salt-water . . . me have husband at Lalla'soorie . . . I no like that fellow, he talk, he hit me, he talk too much, I know 'Drauda' at Aoba, he no my husband there, he sleep along me first time on ship, he no buy me along Aoba, before me catch ship me savee that 'Drauda' stop along ship, I tell Govt my husband stop along ship . . . I like stop along 'Drauda' now.⁶⁰

The methods used to obtain recruits varied considerably after place and circumstances. The few ships that visited the Gilbert and Ellice Islands had to lie in the lagoons waiting for people to come; and only after a drought or if no labour ship had called for some time were many recruits likely to be forthcoming. In Melanesia, ships had the choice of sending their boats to work a length of coastline for recruits or of lying for several days in a particular anchorage in the hope that bushmen would come down. Fiji ships were usually obliged to follow the latter course; they could only offer £3 per year in wages, as against Queensland's £6, and Fiji had a bad name amongst islanders, firstly

from pre-Cession days, when impecunious planters had been unable to return them on time, and secondly because her trade-goods were of poor quality. Fiji ships, therefore, spent much of their time lying, for instance, inside the island of Lemua on the south coast of Malekula or at the mouth of the Jordan River, in Big Bay, Santo; from these points tracks led up to the bushmen in the hills who, if the mood was upon them, might recruit in sufficient numbers almost to fill the ship. Queensland recruiters, on the other hand, could hope to attract the more sophisticated salt-water people. By the late 1880s, however, their sophistication had increased to the point where most of them declined to emigrate at all. They now played a middleman's role in the traffic, acting as intermediaries between recruiters and bushmen, taking a toll of the latter's boxes when they returned, and smuggling off young runaway bushmen to the labour ships.⁶¹

At certain places in the Solomon Islands the ships of both Queensland and Fiji obtained many men by dealing with local dignitaries. Gorai and Mulekupe of the Shortland Islands were chiefs whose power seems equal to that of Polynesian chiefs, whilst the Malaita chiefs, Foulanger of Port Adam and Kwaisulia of Ada Gege, acquired considerable authority through, apparently, their prowess as war leaders. These men obtained large supplies of trade-goods through their friendship with labour recruiters. According to W. T. Wawn, Foulanger and Kwaisulia were 'simply crimps, who sell recruits to the highest bidder'.⁶² Gorai was prepared to raid neighbouring communities for captives with which to fill up labour ships;⁶³ and Captain Vos of the *William Manson* tried to make a kidnapper out of Kwaisulia in 1894, saying to him: 'Look here, Quisoolia, suppose boy no want to come, you big fellow King, you catch bushmen along boat. Suppose you catch ten (10) fellow me give you one boat.'⁶⁴ Since Kwaisulia failed to catch enough men to earn his boat and mentioned this conversation to several government agents who called later, this was probably an unusual arrangement. Certainly the extant journals of Franc Otway, for whom Ada Gege was a regular port of call, indicate that the recruits came willingly. In 1895 Otway noted that on his last four trips his ship had obtained 186 recruits in a total of twenty-nine days at Ada Gege. On this fourth trip he had expected trouble, since Kwaisulia's son—actual, apparently, rather than classificatory—had not returned in the ship as he was due to do; he had entered into another, short-term, contract. Kwaisulia's anger was assuaged, however, by presents of porpoise-teeth and a couple of cases of tobacco; in eleven days, sixty-one of his people recruited. When Otway called there in 1899, forty-two recruits were forthcoming in eight days.⁶⁵

Where there were no such influential men and no tradition of mass recruitment, labour ships had to watch for the smoke rising from fires on the beach that indicated one or two individuals who had decided to recruit, wait at night off a village for the arrival of boys—who, however young they might really be, would be accepted by the government agent as being of the regulation age of sixteen years if they were endowed with pubic hair—or entice the odd man away from a trading-party. On the latter occasion a recruiting agent with some sense of psychology and timing was needed, to wheedle and cajole, point out the riches to be won in Queensland, the liquor to be drunk, and the adventures to be had with the women in the ship. It was at this point that deceit crept in and promises were made—as to employer, place and type of work, and wages—that could not be kept. Fiji ships sometimes painted their boats red, like those of the Queenslanders, to profit by the higher reputation of the rival colony. And no Queensland recruiting agent could afford to admit that he was seeking men for Mackay, where—though a great many went there— Islanders hated to work.

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all'.⁶⁹ But Dowell had already been prohibited from recruiting in another ship; he was described by a government agent as being 'palpably unfitted for the responsibility of recruiting islanders';⁷⁰ and in the *Lizzie*, before the journalist joined her, he had taken a woman against the will of her people and had apparently kidnapped a man who came to get her back.⁷¹ Stanley Bateman of the *Madeline* was a recruiting agent who interpreted the wishes of islanders as he pleased. One of his native boat's crew told how Bateman had obtained a recruit at Nduindui, Aoba, in 1885:

There was a good deal of sea on this day, & we kept backing the boat in, & then pulling a few strokes out again so as to keep her off the rocks. A number of the natives came out upon the rocks with yams for sale. Bateman was in the stern of the boat taking the yams from the Aoba men as they reached them to him. Amongst the natives . . . was one young lad . . . who Bateman said wanted to come with us. Bateman watched him and bye & bye when he reached out a yam for sale, caught his hand and pulled him into the boat. The men on the rocks immediately cried out to give the boy back . . . Bateman said No! The boy wants to come . . . He then threw on the rocks some tomohawks, knives, tobacco etc.⁷²

The Aobans refused to accept the trade and told the next ship to call that the boy had been kidnapped. Questioned in Queensland, he said that, although he was now prepared to stay and work his term, he had not in fact wanted to come but had been dragged into the boat against his will.⁷³

Some of the islanders who rowed the whale-boats proved themselves to be adept kidnappers: this was especially true of those who were not picked up in the islands for a single cruise but were practically domiciled in Queensland, 'old hands' who had stayed on there. In 1882-3 several were employed as boat crews in the barquentine *Ceara*, under the orders of Europeans who were open kidnappers. The *Ceara* was commanded by the one-eyed, or cross-eyed, Carl Satini, who was notorious throughout the New Hebrides; his successor in command, W. A. Inman, told a naval officer that he wished he had never set foot in so ill-reputed a ship, for no islander would come near her boats. 'He complained', reported Lieutenant W. Osborne Moore, 'that the natives firmly, but not politely, declined to believe that he was in charge of the "*Ceara*", going so far in Tanna as to assure him . . . that he was the mate, and that they knew that "Captain one-eye, he stop aboard".'⁷⁴ Satini had an incompetent government agent. His second mate and recruiting agent was Neil McNeil, who in 1884 was to be sentenced to death for shooting islanders whilst kidnapping off New Guinea, in the *Hopeful*.⁷⁵ McNeil was apparently in one of the

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Ceara's boats at Eromanga in September 1882 when a woman was taken by force and her father was shot dead. Whilst the shots were fired from 'Mack's' boat, the woman was actually seized by men in another, in charge of a Tana man, Namu, *alias* George Turner, after the missionary of that name. He had been associated with the labour trade, as recruit and recruiter, for some fifteen years. Later that day he shot a mission teacher. After a quarrel with the first mate, Namu was landed at Havannah Harbour. Thence he returned to Tana, lived for a while at Sulphur Bay and then, having killed there a woman who refused to live with him, moved to Port Resolution, where he amused himself by firing at any recruiting boat that omitted to stop and talk with him.⁷⁶

Even after Namu had left the *Ceara*, she still had a sufficiency of kidnappers amongst her boat crews. One of them—also a Tana man—later told how the boats had landed on Santo one evening:

We saw two women cooking some food on the Beach. They ran away . . . we pulled off to the ship again. After dark both boats pulled in shore again. We waited just where the women were camped. The two women thinking that every body was away came back for their food. The two boats crews were planted [hidden] in the bushes. They chased the women. The women planted. Boats crews struck matches. They found one woman . . . We put the woman in the boat and then pulled out on board the ship. The woman was crying . . .⁷⁷

The recruiting agents who dealt most consistently in trickery and outright force and encouraged their boat crews to do the same were those who worked in ships obtaining labour for Samoa and New Caledonia. Only the Nouméa ships carried government agents and they were generally unreliable. And the German Consul-General at Apia was not able to exercise much control over ships recruiting for the D.H.P.G. For several years their ships carried, as recruiting agent, the one-legged ex-Confederate officer, one-time Ba planter, Wallis Island trader, and central character-to-be of a Louis Becke black-birding story, Colonel James T. Proctor.⁷⁸

In 1878 malaria, then particularly virulent in the New Hebrides, drove Proctor from the small plantation which, after leaving Wallis Island, he had established on the coast of Malekula. Arriving at Apia in the *Mary Anderson* in September, he sailed again for the New Hebrides in January 1879 in another labour ship,⁷⁹ to put his local knowledge to use in the service of the D.H.P.G. A Fiji government agent who met him off Raga in the *Upolu* in 1879 reported that he, and the former Fiji recruiting agent, James Newman, who was with him, both said 'that they recruit for anywhere that they fancy, Fiji Paris St Petersburg Queensland or anywhere'.⁸⁰ In 1885 the *Upolu*

returned to Apia from another cruise with recruits who, it was discovered, had been inveigled aboard by Proctor, made drunk, and carried off before they recovered.⁸¹

An associate of Proctor's in recruiting for Samoa was Peter Cullen, alias 'Brocky Peter', a copra-maker on Epi and Malekula. He lived much closer to the islanders than did Proctor and his acts of kidnapping finally brought him to a violent end. In 1880 a Fiji recruiter found that the D.H.P.G.'s brig, *Adolphe*, with Cullen as recruiting agent, had lately lured off many people from the Maskelyne Islands to trade and had then 'broke and swamped the canoes taking from this one town alone some twenty odd'. Those who were left 'openly said that if only one boat had gone ashore [from the Fiji ship] she never would have gone back'. 'They appear now only to live for vengeance.'⁸² Their opportunity—and that of others along that coast whom Cullen had offended—came when he returned in about 1883 to live on nearby Tomman Island, where he had a station and which the Germans apparently intended to use as a labour depot; he was lured over to the mainland and killed.⁸³

The Nouméa ships—which, in the early 1880s, were usually British owned and manned, though sailing under the French flag—employed similar tactics. The men of the *Venus*, on trial for kidnapping in 1882, did not deny that they had taken men by force, justifying this with the explanation that they had given presents for them and 'you often buy a man from his chief, or family, and he knows nothing about it'.⁸⁴ Recruiters out of British ports complained that Nouméa ships were habitually more informal in their methods than they themselves were allowed to be. In this they were supported by a French naval officer who in 1890—by which time the Nouméa ships were mostly French-owned—observed that:

Depuis de longues années on ne parle plus d'actes de violence importants commis par les bâtiments recruteurs anglais, tandis que nous avons encore à naviguer dans les îles, sur les bâtiments français, M. GASPARD très connu à Nouméa pour les méfaits qu'il a commis, aux Nouvelles-Hébrides, M. VILLEDIEU, qui, l'année dernière, brûlait un village à Santa Cruz, M. FRASER allemand très cruel, et, enfin . . . M. PROCTOR . . . légendaire en Calédonie et dans tout l'archipel pour ses actes de barbarie.⁸⁵

Kidnapping and extreme deceit were also suspected of the small cutters and schooners which, in the New Hebrides, recruited, mostly under the tricolour, for the planters of Efate and the copra-makers of Epi, Aoba, Raga, Malekula, and Ambrym; and the suspicions were often substantiated. This inter-island traffic was under no supervision

whatever. Proctor, who commanded Donald McLeod's inter-island trading and recruiting schooner, *Caledonia*, in 1882-3, employed his usual methods to obtain recruits. French naval officers reported that, since most New Hebrideans hated to work on Efate, inter-island ships generally pretended to be recruiting for Queensland, Fiji, or Nouméa, places which islanders' imagination 'peuple de merveilles'.⁸⁶ Where recruits did engage willingly for work away from their homes, they would usually only enter into a short-term contract. Many of them tired even of that, or alleged that they had been kept longer than they had agreed to work for, and ran away to a Fiji or Queensland ship.

Relations between colonial recruiters and European employers of labour in the islands were often strained, therefore, although this did not prevent them from drinking together. Instructions to government agents forbade them to take islanders who were under engagement to European residents; but the prohibition was not invariably observed. Even when the immigration officials learned that it had been breached, they were often reluctant to send back the islander in question, since they knew that a colonial labour ship was a means of escape for a labourer whose employer ill-treated him. Island employers therefore resorted to direct action. 'If so and so comes again taking my labour boys', one trader was reported as saying, 'I will put a bullet through his boat, and I have told him so.'⁸⁷ A copra-maker living alone amongst the islanders could be placed in great danger if labour ships took men from the vicinity by force or without their kinsmen's consent. Some recruiting agents were openly unconcerned about the effect of their actions on European residents. 'I have no copra station on this island', a man from a Fiji ship told a copra-maker at Rodd's Anchorage, Ambrym, in 1882, 'I've come to catch boys, and I'll have 'em, too.'⁸⁸

The balance of political power on a coast could alter as a result of the massive introduction of firearms—from old Tower muskets to modern Snider, Enfield, and even Winchester rifles—by returned labourers. It may be doubted whether the actual loss of life resulting from islanders' large-scale possession of firearms was so great as has sometimes been assumed. At least one European who lived for a while in the New Hebrides did not consider that the number of men killed was remotely proportional to the length of the campaign.⁸⁹ But there was much insecurity, from which labour ships benefited, since people worsted in warfare often recruited as a means of escape. Tana, for instance, was always in a state of chronic warfare. In about 1878, whilst off Black Beach in the *Stormbird*, Wawn entered in his log:

About 1 p.m. great firing of muskets & smoke from burning huts near where McLeod's cotton plantation used to be . . . two tribes fighting—any amount of yelling and howling. The tribe at the boat harbour . . . appear to have had the worst of it . . . for about 3 p.m. the boats took five women off the rocks. The husbands of four of them have been killed and they preferred Queensland to death or being annexed.⁹⁰

It was of great moment to one village that, if its enemies had not as yet acquired firearms, they should be prevented from doing so. The men of Wala islet, Malekula, in 1882, drove away from a recruiting boat bushmen who were allies of their enemies on the neighbouring islet of Rano, so that the latter should not be strengthened by an access of firearms.⁹¹ The balance of power between the Ada Gege people and their enemies at Manaoba was affected by the fact that the latter obtained modern rifles by going to Samoa after 1884 whilst the former, whose contacts were with Fiji and Queensland, could not replace the ageing weapons they had obtained before these colonies ceased to supply arms. Kwaisulia's object in 1889 in asking (through young men of his islet who were boat crews in Fiji's *Meg Merillies*) for some form of British protection was clearly to redress this balance.⁹² In 1886 a Fiji agent reported that rifles distributed by a ship from Samoa in payment for recruits at Alite Bay, Malaita, had led to an outbreak of fighting and had angered the salt-water people who, because they themselves no longer recruited, 'dont get arms, and they have not the same domination over the bushmen as formerly'.⁹³

It is not possible, in the present state of knowledge, to indicate how the demography of the islands or the psychology of their inhabitants was affected by the labour trade. Depopulation was remarked by missionaries and even by those engaged in the traffic in the 1870s,⁹⁴ but its precise extent has not yet been estimated. Nor is there, at present, sufficient material to enable the effect of plantation life on a representative cross-section of islanders to be stated,⁹⁵ although certain suppositions may be indicated. The fact that, between the mid-1880s and the late 1890s, up to 33 per cent of Fiji's recruits had been abroad before—whether to Fiji, Queensland, Samoa, or New Caledonia—perhaps indicates that for some people plantation life had become preferable to their original existence. And in the seventies and eighties there was much agreement amongst European observers (whether they were missionaries, labour traders, travellers, or naval officers) on the character of returned labourers. These observers felt that the veneer of European civilisation acquired by islanders abroad did not sit well on them. This veneer was most obvious and, to Europeans, most objectionable, in the Queensland returns, who were very brash.

Returned labourers in general were an obstacle to missionary work, for example, and individuals amongst them were known to have been foremost in attacks on recruiters' boats.

After the early 1890s, however, Europeans noticed a change in the character of Queensland returns, especially. Christian missions were now fruitfully at work amongst labourers in Queensland and missionaries found that they were being aided by men who had received Christianity there. Social and economic changes became apparent in the islands and seem to have been caused by returns. Even in 1876 a government agent had noticed that returned labourers in the New Hebrides were responsible for cutting roads and building improved houses.⁹⁶ Changes of this sort are likely to have been more common twenty years later and to have received a colossal impulse between 1902 and 1906, when nearly 6,000 islanders—some of whom had lived in Queensland for years—were returned *en masse*. Some could not face the return: 351 immediately chose to be transferred straight to Fiji, and between 1907 and 1909 up to 300 more who had gone home recruited for Fiji;⁹⁷ others, no doubt, went to New Caledonia. There is evidence that, of the majority who remained in their islands, many sought to remake social and economic life in the pattern that they had known abroad. Christian returned labourers on Aoba, anxious to secure a cash-crop in copra and contemptuous of the old ways, eventually demolished the traditional graded society, based on the rearing and sacrifice of tusked pigs, by replacing the pig with the coconut palm as the centre of men's concern.⁹⁸ On Malaita, returned labourers were prominent as teachers of the Queensland Kanaka Mission, perhaps seeking the key to the European material wealth which they had seen and shared on the plantations. Years after the colonial labour trade had ended, young men were regretting the days of their fathers' youth, when, to earn money, they were not obliged to work on local island plantations but could seek the bright lights of neighbouring colonies in general, and of Queensland in particular.

KWAISULIA OF ADA GEGE

A strongman in the Solomon Islands

Peter Corris

ADA GEGE, the artificial island upon which Kwaisulia was born, is one of a chain of more than thirty such islands which stretch for about thirty miles down the north-east coast of Malaita, from the Makwana passage in the north to Ataa cove in the south. Ada Gege is approximately in the centre of the complex, near to Sulu Vou and Saua, and a little to the south of a stretch of beach known as Urassi cove. A reef which runs from Ataa up to and around Manaoba island encloses and shelters the artificial islands, producing the shallow lagoon in which they are set. Among the Lau speakers, as the people who inhabit these islands and who have adapted themselves to the exigencies of their extraordinary environment are known, there is a uniformity of language and custom.

The islands are small, each not more than one or two acres in area, and heavily populated. Sulu Vou, which seems always to have been the most densely settled, had about three hundred inhabitants in 1927, and at that time the total number of Lau people was estimated at between five and six thousand.¹ The builders of the islands were migrants, although whether these founders came from nearby Manaoba and the mainland of Malaita, or from further afield, is uncertain.² The inhabitants of each of the clusters of islands claim descent from a founder—an adventurer of some sort—who built the first island in the set around which others have been constructed. Each island has a person of special dignity who assumes his rank by virtue of the directness of his descent from the builder of the island, and confirms it by his direction of fishing operations and command of relevant rituals. The closeness of the association between fishing and chieftain-

ship is further demonstrated by the fact that the chief is the owner of the island's fishing grounds.

Descent among the Lau speakers is patrilineal and residence patrilocal; the bilateral family is the most important social group, and the residents of each island consider themselves to be members of a single family which has a number of branches. Over the generations individuals, male and female—bush people, and migrants from mainland coastal settlements and natural islands—became integrated into the Lau 'families', establishing connections between the artificial islanders and the mainland people, and giving some of the former access to water and garden land.³ These connections permitted relations to exist between the people of the islands and those of the bush which, if not always friendly, were not constantly hostile. At agreed times and places markets were conducted at which vegetables and fish were exchanged. C. M. Woodford's description of such a market evokes the tension which characterised relations between the two groups.

The actual bartering is done by the women, who advance one towards another, the island woman with a fish, and the bush woman with yams or taro, while the men stand on guard on either side with spears or rifles.

Sometimes it is not even safe for the two parties to approach one another, and in that case a small canoe is veered ashore with a line, the articles for exchange being placed in it.⁴

Nor were the inhabitants of the artificial islands always at peace with each other: the proliferation of islands was probably produced by dissensions within existing communities, which resulted in break-aways and re-settlements, and outright hostility between islands was not unknown. These conditions permitted the emergence of two semi-specialists, the *ramo* and the *aofia*. The *ramo* was the island's champion whose task it was to ensure that injuries to the island's people and property did not go unpunished. The office was not hereditary but was conferred upon the individual who showed himself worthy of it by virtue of his courage and fighting ability. The *aofia* were spokesmen, usually persons of chiefly or priestly rank, who, where possible, were charged with the duty of settling inter-island disputes by negotiation.⁵

In common with other Solomon Islanders, the Lau people propitiate a pantheon of ancestors, and it is the knowledge of the rituals involved that distinguishes the priests—generally people claiming direct descent from the founder-hero—from the chiefs and commoners. Other aspects of Lau religion not surprisingly involve the sea: the worship of sharks, the dedication of fishing nets, and the performance of the rites

associated with large-scale porpoise drives. Shark worshippers, fisher-folk, canoe builders, and travellers, the Lau people are *par excellence* the 'salt-water men' of the Solomons.

Kwaisulia has been described by one who knew him well in later life as 'a strong, dark brown man, of powerful build, I suppose 5 ft 10 in. . . . different from others, a man of few words but with a character of authority, who made up his mind slowly but did not then change it—very much respected and a good deal feared'. He was the son of a bushman who married a Sulu Vou woman of the chiefly line and made his home on that island. When the chief of Sulu Vou claimed possession of Ada Gege—which had been built by refugees from further south, had later become a place of withdrawal for women about to give birth, and had finally fallen into disuse—Kwaisulia's father took up residence there.⁶ Thus Kwaisulia was not of very distinguished birth, as his connections with a chiefly family were on the female side, but he was nevertheless well placed as a member of the second family of Ada Gege, and the son of a father who acquired a considerable reputation as a fighting man.⁷

Kwaisulia was probably born in the early 1850s, since in 1875 he was recruited by the brigantine *Bobtail Nag* to serve as an indentured

DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN GEOGRAPHY, A.N.U.

labourer in Queensland, and at that time the great majority of such recruits were young men in their late teens and early twenties. The *Bobtail Nag* was the first Queensland ship to recruit in the Lau lagoon and it was by accident that she came to do so. In 1868 John Renton, a Scottish sailor, deserted the American guano ship which had shanghaied him in San Francisco. With four companions Renton drifted 1,200 miles in an open boat to the shores of Manaoba. Three of his companions died of exposure and exhaustion, one was killed by the islanders, but Renton survived and eventually came under the protection of Kabbou, the chief of Sulu Vou. Renton lived for eight years in the Lau lagoon, learning the language and adapting himself to life on the artificial islands. In August 1875 he was rescued from Sulu Vou by the *Bobtail Nag* whose captain and government agent had determined to investigate rumours that a European was being held captive on Malaita. On the occasion of Renton's rescue the ship secured twenty recruits from the Lau lagoon. On a second voyage there a few months later, which Renton accompanied as an interpreter, and on which presents were given on behalf of the Queensland government to Kabbou and his people 'as a recompense for the protection afforded to John Renton . . .', thirty-one young men from the artificial islands engaged for service in Queensland.⁸ On one of these occasions—probably the first—Kwaisulia was among those recruited.⁹

Kwaisulia had undoubtedly become acquainted with Renton during the latter's years in the lagoon, and he later claimed much of the credit for Renton's survival.¹⁰ Like the other Lau recruits for the *Bobtail Nag*, Kwaisulia was probably prompted to go to Queensland by Renton's stories of the wonders of European civilisation, and it is certain that his 'colonial experience' had a profound effect upon him. His visit to Brisbane, for example, impressed him greatly; he was later reported to have considered the city great 'beyond anything he had ever imagined'.¹¹ No details of Kwaisulia's activities in Queensland are ascertainable, beyond the certainty that he stayed there for six years, and the possibility that he worked in the Rockhampton district.* The first fact is significant for it means that after serving his initial indenture of three years at a wage of £6 per annum, Kwaisulia worked for a further three years as a 'time-expired boy', probably at a higher wage and in a better position to acquaint himself with the details of

* Ada Gege informants say that Kwaisulia was away for six years. This is confirmed by a note on Kwaisulia's career among the papers of C. M. Woodford, the first Resident Commissioner in the Solomons.

Kwaisulia's place of work in Queensland is mentioned in the memoirs of a one-time labour recruiter, John Cromar, *Jock of the Islands: early days in the South Seas* (London, 1935), 218. Cromar's colourful book is not always reliable on points of detail but he certainly met Kwaisulia and spoke with him.

European life than those who served three years only.¹² The 'time-expired boys' in particular acquired facility in pidgin English—an attribute for which Kwaisulia was later renowned¹³—had prestige among 'new-chum' indentured labourers, and gained confidence which enabled them to associate with some Europeans and enjoy the fleshpots of the towns. And, if Kwaisulia did work in the Rockhampton district, he would have seen a town booming in the wake of a rush to mining fields and on the way to becoming a major coastal shipping port and outlet for a prosperous district.¹⁴

Quite soon after his return to Malaita in 1880 Kwaisulia began the association with ships recruiting labour for Queensland and Fiji which was to assist him in establishing the enormous power he eventually came to wield over the people of north-east Malaita. The first recorded instance of his co-operation with recruiters is in connection with the Queensland schooner *Alfred Vittery* which was working around Malaita in October 1883. Kwaisulia, who was already spoken of by the Europeans as the 'coastal chief', came aboard with two men whom he offered as recruits. According to the ship's government agent, the two were fugitives from island justice—a not uncommon motive for recruiting—and Kwaisulia ushered them aboard in the expectation of receiving presents for them, as was the custom in the labour trade. The two recruits created a disturbance below in the islanders' quarters and were shot dead by members of the crew, which brought this recruiting incident to notice and resulted in the trial for murder of the sailors responsible. Witnesses' accounts of the affair make it clear that Kwaisulia was a person of authority amongst the islanders—his word carried weight with the recruits and the ship's Melanesian boat crew—and he was already forging the reputation as a 'friend of the white man' which he was to enjoy for almost thirty years.¹⁵

Kwaisulia's services to the recruiters were many. He personally accompanied the ships and their boats along the coast helping to break down the resistance of the islanders to the idea of leaving their homes by extolling the virtues of the colonies. He also claimed that, such were his relations with the Europeans, Lau people who recruited under his auspices were assured of safety and good treatment.

There were other prestigious and authoritative men in the Solomons who assisted the recruiters in a like manner. Foulanger of Walande, South Malaita, and 'Billy' Mahooalla of the Langalanga lagoon, were outstanding examples, but there were also lesser lights such as Tafetema of Sinerango, Wate of Port Adam, and Taki of Wano Bay, San Cristobal. These men were known, in labour trade parlance, as 'passage masters'. They were able to inflate their importance in the eyes of Europeans, and extend it, in fact, by appearing to make themselves

indispensable to the labour recruiters. Essentially, their success was due to two things: firstly, to their prestige at particular 'passages' and, secondly, to the geographical extent of their authority and renown. 'Passages' were those places on the coasts where the recruiting ships could lie safely at anchor, and on which the footpaths from the interior of the islands converged. The bush people were able to make their way down to these passages in response to messages from the coast, and it was possible for the coastal leaders to act as intermediaries between them and the recruiters. Urassi cove, Port Adam, and the mainland opposite Mgwai Fou in the Langalanga lagoon were such points of shelter and convergence, and Kwaisulia, Foulanger, and Mahooalla reaped the appropriate rewards. Like Kwaisulia, whose word appeared to be law from Ataa to Manaoba, Foulanger and Mahooalla were men of more than local significance. Mahooalla had a command of the languages spoken down the west coast of Malaita as far as the Maramasiki passage, and Foulanger had influence not only at Walande, but at Port Adam and along the west coast to Ataa.¹⁶

Similarity between the passage masters went further. Kwaisulia and Mahooalla had both spent six years in Queensland and were well versed in the requirements of the labour recruiters. Foulanger had not ventured abroad, but, like Kwaisulia, he enlisted the aid of kinsmen who had. Foulanger's adopted son, known as Peter, or Ou, was taken by force to a plantation in the New Hebrides and eventually contrived to make his way back to Malaita via a Queensland recruiting ship and a British naval vessel. Kwaisulia's eldest son Kaiviti had, as his nickname suggests, worked in Fiji, and his nephew and classificatory son, 'Jackson' Kaa, had worked in Queensland. These travelled and sophisticated relations became Kwaisulia and Foulanger's lieutenants, acting as interpreters and persuaders, and maintaining the illusion that the passage masters they served were indispensable to the success of recruiting.¹⁷

In fact, although W. T. Wawn, captain of many Queensland ships, considered Kwaisulia and Foulanger to be 'crimps', who sold recruits to the highest bidder,¹⁸ it is unlikely that they forced many people to recruit. After the initial uncertainties had passed, many young Malaitans were so willing to go to the colonies that it was probably unnecessary for Kwaisulia and the others to add their blandishments to the attractions of recruiting which were already known. No ship entered the Lau lagoon without being visited by the great man or one of his lieutenants. 'On some points he is very sensitive', one observer commented. 'If a visiting ship does not entertain him with becoming hospitality, he disappears in a sulky mood. As a cabin guest he must have tinned sardines at least once a day.'¹⁹ Labour recruiters were

happy to accommodate these quirks of Kwaisulia in return for his help. It was sometimes said of other chiefs who acted as intermediaries between the recruiters and islanders that their influence had faded and that they were 'played out',²⁰ but this was never said of Kwaisulia, who year after year continued to ensure the success of recruiting in the Lau lagoon and at the adjacent mainland passages.

Kwaisulia's vanity and prestige were further fed by the semi-formal recognition of his influence by naval captains and officers of the government of the Solomon Islands Protectorate. 'Quaisulia can put a large force of fighting men into the field', Woodford wrote in 1896, '& if he proves to be what I expect he might be ready to arrange to keep the coast in order and to aid in the pursuit & capture of fugitive murderers who have taken to the bush'.²¹ This judgment was based on Kwaisulia's services to naval officers investigating attacks on labour recruiters in the 1880s, and on the word of 'Jackson' Kaa, who stated in 1888 that Kwaisulia had authorised him to say that he wanted the Lau islands to be placed under the protection of Great Britain by being annexed to Fiji.²² Kwaisulia demonstrated on more than one occasion that the confidence Woodford had in him was not misplaced. He sent a greeting to Tulagi in 1897 when Woodford assumed his duties,²³ and he greatly impressed the Resident Commissioner's assistant, Arthur Mahaffy, in 1902 when he deputed Kaiviti to arrest two murderers who had taken refuge in the bush some miles south of Ataa. This Kaiviti duly did and Mahaffy commented:

It is quite plain that Quisulia is able to keep order in this district and I impressed upon him that he would in future be held responsible for the peace in this part of Mala. There is probably no other chief in the island who could send nine or ten miles down the coast and effect without any disturbance, the arrest of two malefactors who do not belong to his tribe or sept.²⁴

Although there were other notables in the Solomon Islands with a considerable degree of authority—such as Gorai in the Shortlands, Taki on San Cristobal, and Ingava of the Roviana lagoon—through whom the navy and government were sometimes able to work, more than these Kwaisulia approximated to the kind of indigenous leader to whom a limited responsibility could be delegated.

Kwaisulia's power was real then, but most Europeans saw only its outward manifestations and tended to assume that they alone had made it possible by providing him with arms and by increasing his wealth. A vast stream of European goods did indeed pour into 'Urassi', as the recruiters termed Kwaisulia's domain: rifles and ammunition, tobacco by the case, barbed wire, knives, axes, looking glasses, and

cloth—the last four items stock-in-trade of the recruiters—and more exotic things such as a ship's boat, clocks, music boxes, and at least one piece of furniture—the chest of drawers landed in 1895 by the boats of the Fiji ship *Sydney Belle* because it was too large to be taken ashore by canoe.²⁵ Kwaisulia's influence, however, was due not merely to the possession of these things and the prestige he acquired through his association with their providers, but also to the use to which he put them and the extent to which he was able to combine his new enterprises with the extension and exercise of more traditional forms of power.

Although Kwaisulia was a *ramo*,²⁶ and thus held an authoritative rank within the Lau social order, he acquired his influence in the manner usual to Melanesian 'big-men' or 'managers'. 'Big-men' typically were able manipulators and orators, ambitious individuals who relied upon their abilities and forceful personalities, rather than any formal social status to secure wealth and a loyal indebted following.²⁷ As European contemporaries noted, Kwaisulia exhibited precisely these qualities;²⁸ he was generally considered to be subtle and wily, and his oratory impressed many people including a newspaper correspondent who was in the lagoon in 1899 at the time of a dispute between people from different islands:

There was a babel of noise in unintelligible jargon, and disputation was prevalent. Kwaisulia rose to the occasion. Clad in an old felt hat and a pair of pyjama pants, both presents by our Captain, he mounted on an empty barrel, poising himself with naked feet on the rim, and addressed the dusky crowd. I have in my time heard many orators but never one more effective. I did not know a word of what he said, but so eloquent were his manners and gestures that I easily comprehended his meaning. He arrested attention with a few declamatory remarks, and immediately the babel of tongues ceased. Then he stated a number of acknowledged facts dispassionately. Next he entreated, and finally he threatened.²⁹

Kwaisulia was successful in attracting followers probably because the initiative and energy he displayed in his dealings with the labour recruiters in the years immediately following his return gave him access to arms and ammunition: a leader able to arm his followers was assured of success. In 1884, however, as a result of pressure brought to bear by the British government, Queensland and Fiji legislated to prohibit recruiters from giving rifles as presents to the connections of intending recruits. And by 1885 no islanders returning from these colonies were permitted to bring arms and ammunition back with them.³⁰ By 1888 Kwaisulia was at a disadvantage as regards armaments compared with the Manaoba people who had acquired a store of new

rifles through recruiters from Samoa, to whom the ban did not apply. Since at this time most of the people who were recruited through the agency of Kwaisulia were bushmen, it was to his advantage to deny them arms and ammunition, and so he did not co-operate with the recruiters from Samoa and New Caledonia, but reserved his favour for ships from Queensland and Fiji which, if they could not provide him with guns, could not supply his potential enemies either. Even after the supply of firearms to him was restricted, however, Kwaisulia continued to extend his influence and he did so largely by traditional means.

Some of his methods, such as those already mentioned, and others, like the employment of professional killers to enforce his will, were those which a *ramo* might ordinarily have employed. But so great was Kwaisulia's ambition that he over-stepped the traditional bounds, both in the means he used to widen his power and in the extent of the success which he achieved. By involving himself in the provision of human sacrifices required for the settling of feuds, by arranging marriages between coastal and bush people, by directing the porpoise drives which were of enormous ritual significance for the Lau people, and by conducting impressive accompanied tours south to Sa'a and north to Auki and Ysabel,³¹ Kwaisulia came to combine in his own person many of the functions of priest and chief. In this way he introduced, if only for the span of his own lifetime, some novel features into the authority structure and politics of the Lau lagoon.

Most marked of all Kwaisulia's assumptions of chiefly power was his emergence as a war leader. According to Ivens all decisions relating to warfare were the prerogative of the hereditary chief:

It was the chiefs in Lau who decided upon the waging of war, or the making of reprisals for any insult offered them or their people. They themselves accompanied war parties and fought with them.

It is clear that Kwaisulia appropriated these rights to himself on many occasions. Ivens gives accounts of the wars when the people of Sulu Vou and Ada Gege were allied against those of Fuuna Vou at one time, and Manaoba at another, and speaks generally of Kwaisulia's 'unjustifiable assumption of authority'.³² However, it seems that the point should be put more strongly and that for most of his career Kwaisulia was acting *de facto* as a chief. Contemporary evidence shows how thoroughly Kwaisulia was in control of these war efforts, particularly of the war against Fuuna Vou. This conflict took place some time in 1887 and, from the observations of W. T. Wawn, it appears that Kwaisulia had attempted to bring the island directly under his control and to incorporate it firmly into his sphere of influence. Wawn wrote:

Quisoolia came off early and accompanied the boats when they went to Foonafou at 6 a.m. Yesterday, it appears, when Jack, Quisoolia's son, appeared in the boats at that islet, the natives asked him what he wanted and why did he not seek recruits at his own place. Quisoolia means to give them a piece of his mind this morning. Q & the Foonafou people are old enemies, the latter being allies of the Manaoba I. tribe, Q's greatest foes. Within the last 12 months Q cleared Foonafou out and governed it with his own men, his son Jack being chief. After starving the survivors in the bush for a few months the place was handed back to them, not long ago.³³

This indicates the extent to which Kwaisulia had broken with tradition in practising blatant nepotism and in having, as at least one of his motives for conquest, the desire to continue in favour with the Europeans. Kwaisulia harried his enemies from Manaoba to Uru island, twenty miles south of Ataa, and undoubtedly disrupted the lives of many of the people over this area. His depredations forced half the population of Uru to seek refuge at Kwai island and around Sinerango harbour,³⁴ and some of the Lau people repatriated from Queensland in 1907, on hearing of the extent of Kwaisulia's power, refused to land at their homes but elected to go to a mission station 'where they would be safe'.³⁵

That Kwaisulia's power reached beyond ordinary limits is further illustrated by the weighty evidence that his authority was supreme on Sulu Vou as well as on Ada Gege. When Kabbou the chief of Sulu Vou died, some time in the mid-1880s, a check to Kwaisulia's pre-eminence was removed; until this event better informed Europeans knew that Kwaisulia's was a subsidiary position despite his prominence.³⁶ After the death of Kabbou no European visitor made mention of any 'chief' in the set of islands comprised of Sulu Vou, Ada Gege, and Saua, apart from Kwaisulia. He was referred to indiscriminately as the chief of Sulu Vou and Ada Gege, and it is certain that, although new chiefs were installed on both islands in Kwaisulia's lifetime,³⁷ he eclipsed them, not only to European ways of thinking, but in fact.

It was the measure of Kwaisulia's ability that he was able to acquire his local support and confirm it by his manipulation of traditional methods despite the considerable extent to which he had personally been acculturated by his contacts with Europeans. To outward appearances he may have typified the spoiled native, the imitation white man, so detested by some Europeans in the islands. Even at this level, however, he rose above the ordinary because his pidgin English was excellent and, as A. I. Hopkins, a Melanesian Mission priest, found, his appearance was impressive: commenting on a meeting with

Kwaisulia Hopkins recalled that 'he appeared in a white drill suit, spotlessly clean, sun helmet, sash, and a broad smile'.³⁸ With this adoption of European manners Kwaisulia combined an air of dignity which compelled the respect of Europeans and islanders alike.

By remaining a pagan Kwaisulia resisted one of the strongest pressures inherent in European penetration of the islands. He seems, in fact, to have had a policy with regard to the kind of European presence he would favour in the Lau lagoon. The cry for annexation to Fiji was perhaps a desperate one, made out of the depths of his difficulties with the better armed Manaoba people, but it is significant that a request which accompanied this—for the introduction of the *lotu*—was for that introduction to be made by Europeans.³⁹ Kwaisulia set his face strongly against the introduction of Christianity by Malaitans who had been converted in Queensland. Such a one was Peter Ambuofa, who was recruited from Malu'u, north Malaita, and after some years in Queensland was converted by the Queensland Kanaka Mission at Bundaberg, in 1892. In 1894, returning to Malaita in the recruiting ship *William Manson* with the intention of working as a missionary, Ambuofa was a witness to the events surrounding Kwaisulia's kidnapping of some bushmen and handing them over to the ship as recruits. Apparently it had been Ambuofa's intention to land at Urassi cove, but Kwaisulia forbade this saying, according to the captain of the ship, 'I don't want these — black missionaries here. By-and-by they will be bigger than I am.' The ship's second mate agreed that this was a fair statement of Kwaisulia's attitude to Ambuofa, and added that he felt differently about the prospect of a resident European missionary: 'But if a white missionary came and gave him a boat and bought land from him he would protect him and allow him to build a school.'⁴⁰ Kwaisulia frequently went on record as saying that he wanted a European to live at his home;⁴¹ he probably calculated that this would add to his prestige and do nothing to diminish his local influence.

This happy state of affairs did not eventuate; in fact, a mission school was established at Fou'ia, on the mainland adjacent to Kwaisulia's stronghold, by a Malaitan, and worse, by a man from Sulu Vou or Ada Gege. Kwaisulia impeded the work of this and other schools as much as possible. He refused to sanction the sale of land, or insisted that very high prices be paid, and on at least one occasion he raided a Christian village and had the occupants' possessions—clothes and tools, prayer books and Bibles—thrown into the sea.⁴²

The difficulty Kwaisulia faced was that he relied on the Europeans to some extent to retain his following—presumably he distributed the trade goods he acquired in such a way as to obligate others to him,

and in the late 1890s and early years of this century he was an energetic buyer of contraband arms and ammunition—but he could not confine European influence over his people within limits of his own choosing. It seems that his influence declined somewhat in the years after 1906, when an expansion of mission and government activity took place in association with the repatriation of thousands of Solomon Islanders from Queensland. In these years some of Kwaisulia's private and profitable dealings—such as the holding of bush 'returns' to ransom, providing human expiatory sacrifices, and trading in guns—came quickly to the notice of missions, and through them the government, bringing reprimands and warnings.⁴³ The repatriation focused much attention on Malaita and in these years there was a greater display of European power and resources there than hitherto. Contrary to the assumptions held in the late 1880s and early 1890s, when the coastal people were considered by Europeans to be universally friendly and co-operative, Mahaffy on a tour of Malaita in 1902 uncovered evidence to suggest that 'hardly any outrage is committed on Mala without the full knowledge and assistance of the "salt-water" people'.⁴⁴ Events in 1906 and 1907 confirmed this view and led to investigations by naval officers of crimes committed by Lau people and, eventually, to the unprecedented act of shelling some of the artificial islands—those in Ataa cove.⁴⁵

Despite these developments, and the rise of new big-men like Ambuofa, Talofuila, Footaboory, and Fito, the leaders in the rapidly expanding Christian settlements who were winning converts and petitioning Woodford and the King of England for support in their work, Kwaisulia was still a powerful man in 1909, the year of his death. At that time the schooner *Clansman* was making one or two recruiting trips each year from Fiji to the Solomons, and invariably Urassi cove was a point of call.⁴⁶ Recruiting of labourers for work on plantations in the Solomons was also being carried on, and Kwaisulia and his son and nephew were active agents for the ships recruiting labour for Lever Brothers' Russell Island plantations, and were profiting from their services in the old way. Through his dealings with the recruiters and the ships' crews Kwaisulia acquired a whale-boat and some dynamite; when in the boat and attempting to blow up a shoal of fish he miscalculated the fuse length and was killed by the premature explosion of the cartridge.⁴⁷ According to Hopkins, Kwaisulia's death was followed by a period of hostility between the people of the artificial islands and the mainland. It is not unlikely that the death of Kwaisulia resulted in the dissolution of alliances, the settling of old scores, and re-groupings of forces, and the disturbances which ensued had political as well as religio-social causes.

Kaiviti and Kaa carried on Kwaisulia's policy of co-operating with European authority; in 1909 one of them earned commendation by having foiled the attempt of a bushman to buy cartridges from a member of the *Clansman's* crew.⁴⁸ However, they must have realised that opposition to the Christian missions was inexpedient: Kaa had apparently begun to have dealings with the South Sea Evangelical Mission as early as 1904, when one of the missionaries wrote that he had enlisted his aid in an attempt to get Kwaisulia's consent to the sale of some land to the mission.⁴⁹ In the years following his father's death, Kaiviti (and probably Kaa also) must have joined the S.S.E.M., for in 1912 the former's signature (followed by the words '& Bro.')

appears with those of Peter Ambuofa, Benjamin Footaboory, and others on a petition to Woodford requesting that all Malaitans earning wages be compelled to contribute to mission funds.⁵⁰ In this way Kaiviti and Kaa were able to wield influence by adapting to a new force in their society rather as Kwaisulia had done. The authority and prestige associated with the name of Kwaisulia, something of which was passed on immediately after his death to his elder son and nephew, have endured until more recent times, for in the 1940s his last surviving son, Kakaluae, was appointed government headman of Lau and subsequently chosen by the Lau people as their Marching Rule 'chief'.

Visitors to Ada Gege today can see the sacred grove in which Kwaisulia's body and the much prized whale-boat were deposited, and hear stories of the exploits of the 'great chief'. And 1,500 miles away and sixty years after his death, the inhabitants of Wainaloka, near Levuka, descendants of Lau people who went to Fiji as indentured labourers, readily recall the name and deeds of Kwaisulia, the strongman of Ada Gege.

LAUAKI NAMULAU'ULU MAMOE

A traditionalist in Samoan politics

J. W. Davidson

THE indigenous cultures of the Pacific were like islands whose coastal regions outsiders might penetrate but whose heartlands they could never conquer. Pacific peoples adopted Western forms of political institutions and the tenets and rituals of Christianity; they engaged in cash-cropping and wage labour; but they evaluated these innovations in their own terms. In Samoa, however, traditional patterns of thought and behaviour shaped the people's responses to changing circumstances to an extent that was unusual even by Pacific standards. Samoa, like Japan, possessed a social structure in which responsibility rested with members of privileged groups, rather than with individuals, and in which decisions were therefore reached through discussion, negotiation, and compromise. Samoan society, like Japanese, was thus capable of progressive adaptation, rather than susceptible to disintegration, in the face of changes resulting from contact with the Western world.

In 1890 Henry Adams, the American historian and man of letters, wrote during a visit to Samoa: 'I am . . . convinced that the Samoans have an entire intellectual world of their own, and never admit outsiders into it'. And again: 'I never imagined a race so docile and gentle, yet so obstinately secret'.¹ These qualities were exemplified with particular clarity in the life of Lauaki Namulau'ulu Mamoe, who was Adams's host for several days at Safotulafai, in the island of Savai'i. Lauaki was then in his early forties, a tall, well-built man, with a fine voice and a commanding presence. Among Samoans he was conspicuous for the fairness of his skin. Since his youth he had been known throughout the country for his mastery of history and legend,

for his talents as a speaker and political negotiator, and for his prowess in war.²

During Lauaki's lifetime many Samoans had advanced their public careers by accepting the support of European interests, religious, commercial, or political. Lauaki, too, in his private life, was a man of his times. He was an adherent of the L.M.S.; he accepted the benefits of a money economy; he mixed easily with Europeans. His son had been named Tivoli, apparently after an Apia hotel. But, as a politician, he was wholly guided by Samoan tradition.

Lauaki was, no doubt, conservative by temperament; but his public stance derived more largely from his personal status. He was the leading orator (*tulāfale*) of Safotulafai, the political centre of Fa'asaleleaga district. Each district had a political centre, or capital, with an influential group of orators and orator-chiefs (*tulāfale ali'i*). In Upolu, the most important of these groups were those at Leulumoega and Lufilufi, in A'ana and Atua respectively, and at the neighbouring villages of Malie and Afega, in Tuamasaga. The first two of these were known traditionally as Tūmua, but the term came to be applied more loosely to the district centres in Upolu as a whole. In Savai'i there was a similar organisation known as Pule. During most of the nineteenth century Pule comprised the orator groups at Safotulafai, in Fa'asaleleaga, and Sale'aula, in Gaga'emauga. As between these two, however, Safotulafai possessed recognised seniority, so that the holders of the two most important orator titles there, Namulau'ulu and Tuilagi, sometimes spoke for the whole of Savai'i.

The leading orators of the political centres always included men of intense ambition, concerned with developing their personal influence and that of Tūmua or Pule through involvement in the major issues of politics. At the national level, political activity was primarily concerned with contention for the most important chiefly titles.* Among these, four titles of very ancient origin had a special significance. These were Tuia'ana, Tuiatua, Gatoaitale, and Tamasoāli'i. The former two were controlled by groups in A'ana and Atua, respectively, the latter by groups in Tuamasaga. When a Samoan held all four, he gained the status of *tafa'ifā* and enjoyed titular supremacy in the whole country.

Access to these titles lay through connection with Samoa's two 'royal' lineages, Sā Tupuā and Sā Malietoā. The former was pre-eminent in A'ana and most of Atua and had influential connections in parts of Savai'i. The latter had seats at Malie, in Tuamasaga, and

* They included the title of Tuimanu'a. I am, however, excluding Manu'a from consideration, as it had little concern with the politics of the rest of Samoa.

DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN GEOGRAPHY, A.N.U.

7 Western Samoa

Sapapali'i, in Fa'asaleleaga. Its influence was pre-eminent in these districts and in 'Aiga-i-le-Tai—a small district based on the island of Manono—and also in parts of Atua, particularly the sub-district of Falealili. The head of the lineage bore the title of Malietoa. This was a title less ancient than the other four; but it had attained a position of eminence through the gradually growing influence of the family. A Samoan's eligibility for the titles of Tuia'ana or Tuiatua thus depended upon his connections with Sā Tupuā and for those of Gatoaitale and Tamasoāli'i upon his connections with Sā Malietoā.

Because of the political marriages that had been arranged over the centuries, it was not difficult for a Samoan of distinguished descent to establish a claim to all the principal titles associated with each of the 'royal' lineages. But he was unlikely to obtain acceptance of his claims, except as a result of victory in war; and, even if he gained the status of *tafa'ifā*, his tenure of it remained precarious, and he was unlikely to be able to arrange its transmission to his heirs.

The leading orators thus found the amplest opportunities for the exercise of their particular skills in the perennial contention for the great titles. They were learned in tradition and genealogy, experienced in negotiation and public speaking. But their political alignments were largely determined by the political and lineage structure of the country. At Safotulafai, which adjoined the home of Sā Malietoā at Sapapali'i, the orator group was firmly committed to the service of that great lineage.

When the London Missionary Society vessel *Messenger of Peace* had anchored at Sapapali'i in 1830, the holder of the Namulau'ulu title had been a man of high repute both as a speaker and a warrior. This visit marked the beginning of missionary activity in Samoa; and, soon after it, Namulau'ulu Faleseu became a Christian and took the baptismal name of Atamu (Adam). Some years later, Tāufa'āhau (subsequently King George Tupou I of Tonga) visited Safotulafai. Namulau'ulu Atamu, as became his standing, took a leading part in his reception and was rewarded with the title of Lauaki. This was a *matāpule* title, whose Tongan holders served the Tu'i Kanokupolu dynasty, of which Tāufa'āhau was an influential member (and the evident future head), in a manner not dissimilar to that in which Namulau'ulu served Sā Malietoā.*

When Lauaki Namulau'ulu Atamu died, about 1866, his son Pulali was chosen as the new Namulau'ulu. Pulali's younger brother,

* Some members of the Namulau'ulu family do not agree that the name Lauaki, which is now officially recognised as a Samoan title, was introduced from Tonga. There are reasons, however, for doubting the alternative explanations of its origin.³

Mamoe, took the Tongan title of Lauaki. This foreign honour did not, in itself, give Mamoe a leading position in the hierarchy of Sāfotulafai; but his family connections—as the son of Atamu and the brother of Pulali—made him a person of some consequence. Moreover, he was a young man of exceptional talent and high ambition. He was thus permitted—though how early is uncertain—to use the title of Namulau'ulu, despite the fact that it had not formally been conferred upon him.

In 1868 political developments took Lauaki to Upolu. Christianity and commerce had been disturbing influences in Samoa, as in other parts of the Pacific. The former had introduced not only a new cosmology and a new morality but also, through its denominational divisions, a new medium for the expression of indigenous factionalism. The latter, with its corollary of European settlement, had both created a new problem in the maintenance of law and order and provided Samoans with an abundance of firearms. Largely as a consequence of these developments, the country had experienced a long period of intermittent civil war and been exposed to a succession of external threats from consuls and naval officers seeking to protect their nationals. By the late sixties Samoans who valued peace and order, and their European associates (particularly missionaries), had come to accept the need for the formation of a central government.

Towards the end of 1868 chiefs and orators from all the principal districts met for this purpose at Mulinu'u, a promontory at the western end of Apia harbour; and Lauaki, it seems, was among them.⁴ They agreed that the new government should be a loose confederation of the districts and that the question of appointing a king or president should be left in abeyance, in order not to revive contention for the traditional status of *tafa'ifā*. In appearance, this was a modest and sensible proposal, since it did not involve the imposition of a greater measure of central control than was absolutely necessary. In reality, it was highly controversial. Spokesmen for the centres of Tūmua and Pule strongly supported it, for example, because they believed they could dominate the selection of district representatives, while other sections of the Samoan leadership treated it with reserve or openly opposed it for the same reason.

But it was another element in the situation that first brought the incipient government into serious trouble. Some years earlier the Malietoa title had been conferred jointly on two rival contenders, Talavou and Laupepa. Talavou, as the younger brother of the previous title-holder and a man of maturity and character, had been an ideal candidate on customary grounds; but he had been regarded, particularly by the L.M.S., as an upholder of the old order. Laupepa, the

young, mission-educated son of the preceding Malietoa, had thus gained the support of a section of the family. It had been agreed, when the title was first conferred, that Malietoa Laupepa should live in Tuamasaga and Malietoa Talavou in Fa'asaleleaga and 'Aiga-i-le-Tai. Early in 1868, however, when a district government for Tuamasaga was formed at Matautu, on the eastern side of Apia harbour, Laupepa's supporters had declared him the paramount chief of the district and sole holder of the Malietoa title. Talavou's supporters had quickly reacted by making similar claims on his behalf and forming a rival district government at Mulinu'u. It was thus to Talavou's headquarters that the representatives of other districts had come to form the confederation.

Samoan passions were more easily aroused by rivalries involving the 'royal' lineages than by the need for political innovation. Laupepa and his party refused to join the new government; and, when the forces protecting the confederation assembly returned home, they evicted the latter from Mulinu'u. The confederation forces, which were then recalled, subsequently reoccupied Mulinu'u and attacked Laupepa's stronghold at Matautu and the neighbouring village of Vaiala.

Lauaki, by this time, had joined Malietoa Laupepa. His motives in doing so remain obscure. His first wife, Suilolo, was a daughter of Tofaeono, of Vaiala; but the date of the marriage is unknown.* He may have responded to pressure or been moved largely by ambition. But, whatever the reasons for it, his decision soon brought him into prominence.⁵ During the Easter period of 1869, when Laupepa's forces were on the verge of defeat, their feelings were summed up by Tuiatafu, an orator of Malie: 'We have no hope . . . and tomorrow will be our death'. Lauaki challenged this counsel of despair. He proposed that they should abandon their headquarters and seek support from those traditionally linked with Sā Malietoa. If these should fail them, he said, 'we shall have to proceed on eastward to Rarotonga, where our ancestral brothers dwelt'. His proposal was accepted; and, under cover of darkness, Laupepa's forces dispersed. One party made its way on foot over the mountains to the south coast of Upolu, while another, including Malietoa Laupepa and Lauaki, travelled by boat round the eastern coast of the island.

Laupepa's fleet, it is said, consisted of some thirty boats holding ten to fifteen men each and six larger boats which held up to sixty and had walls of coconut logs, loopholed for cannon and musketry, lashed to both sides.⁶ The fleet stopped first at Saluafata, in northern Atua, where Lauaki sought the assistance of the chiefs Tagaloa and Saga-

* Namulau'ulu Pulali's wife, Ali'itasi, was a daughter of Malietoa Talavou. The family thus had close connections with both factions.

polutele, but without avail, as this part of the district had given its support to Talavou. It then proceeded to Si'umu, in southern Tuamasaga, where it was joined by the party that had travelled overland.

Si'umu, like the neighbouring sub-district of Safata (which controlled the ancient title of Tamasoāli'i), had strong ties of kinship with Sā Malietoā and with Savai'i. As Lauaki, in his speech, emphasised these ancient links and described the present plight of Malietoā Laupepa, he brought the people of Si'umu to tears and gained an assurance of active support: Laupepa's forces and the men of Si'umu would proceed together into Atua to seek the help of Falealili.

After an enthusiastic reception at Poutasi by the people of the western part of the sub-district, the party continued eastward to Sapunaoa for a meeting with the whole of Falealili. On this occasion, Lauaki not only spoke of the kinship ties linking Falealili with the Malietoā family and with important Savai'i lineages but also drew upon ancient legend and tradition to support his case. He told a story of Sā Muliagā, the great family descended from Lafai. The sons of Lafai were regarded as the founders of most of the political centres of Savai'i, so that the island itself had come to be referred to, in oratory, as Sālafaī (the family of Lafai). When a young man of this family, Fa'atulia'aupolu, had been killed, his mother, Taputu, had gone from one centre of Sā Muliagā to another, lamenting his death, excoriating those who had failed to protect him, and demanding a war of vengeance.

Fa'atulia'aupolu, thou most miserable one, thou wast slain at Salafai.
Where then was my family?
O thou, a boy of the Matofa, thou wast slain!
Where was Lepuleoleu'u, and Seali'imalietoa?
Thou the boy of the Anouli and Fale'afa, thou wast slain!
Where is my Tiatia, and Togia'i, and Fa'ala'a?
Fa'atulia'aupolu, thou miserable one!
Thou, the boy of Vaipaepae, thou wast slain!
Where remained Tuato and Tolova'a?
Fa'atulia'aupolu, thou miserable one!
Thou, the son of Malaеola, thou wast slain!
Where was Tevaga, and Vaifale?⁷

Like all good orators, Lauaki understood the role of emotion in politics. He recognised that Falealili's connection with Sā Malietoā could lead it to support either holder of the title, and he knew that the sub-district was internally divided. But his speech aroused feelings of guilt and of compassion for Laupepa, so that, at the end of the meeting, Falealili affirmed its united support.

At about this time—or perhaps shortly before the assembly at Sapunaoa—war canoes from Lufilufi and other pro-confederation villages appeared off Poutasi and asked that Laupepa's party should be handed over to them. The refusal of this request, and the agreement with Falealili, marked a turning point in Laupepa's fortunes. The sub-districts of Lotofaga and Lepā, to the east of Falealili, also came in on his side. And Lauaki was sent on a mission to enlist the support of Ulualoifaigā Talamaivao, the leading chief of the small district of Va'a-o-Fonoti. The latter, as a chief of 'royal' pretensions, declined to negotiate with an orator; but, when Lauaki returned with Laupepa himself, he agreed to bring his district into the alliance.

In January 1870 Malietoa Laupepa's fleet assembled near Talamai-vao's village in Fagaloa Bay. It had now been strengthened by boats from Si'umu, southern Atua and Va'a-o-Fonoti. According to Tofa I'iga Pisa, it proceeded to Mulinu'u, which was evacuated by Laupepa's opponents as it approached. I'iga's narrative may be incorrect at this point; but, even if Mulinu'u was reoccupied some time in January, as he implies, this was not the end of the war. When Laupepa and his party fled from Apia in the previous year, some of his Tuamasaga supporters had escaped westward into A'ana, where they had been given protection and obtained allies. During the first eight months of 1870 fighting continued near the borders of the two districts. In August, however—after mediation by missionaries and the British consul—a truce was negotiated, and the armed forces of both parties returned home.⁸

The situation was still unstable. Both Leulumoega and Lufilufi continued to support the confederation, though parts of the districts of which they were the political centres had joined Laupepa. And the country as a whole was deeply divided. Malietoa Laupepa's party, however, had gained greatly in public support and esteem. Beginning as a group of rebels against a clear majority of Samoans, it had emerged with a standing equal to that of its opponents.⁹

For Lauaki, perhaps more than for any other individual except Laupepa himself, the transition was of decisive importance. Two years earlier he had come to Apia as a young man of distinguished family connections. Now, still only twenty-four or twenty-five, he returned to Safotulafai known throughout Samoa for his role in the creation of an alliance that had transformed the political scene.

During the remainder of the seventies Lauaki remained associated with Laupepa's cause; but it is not clear how much of his time was spent in the arena of national politics and how much at Safotulafai. This was a period in which the Samoans were forced to take account

of a basic change in the character of foreign interest in their islands. Till the late sixties the settler community had consisted mainly of traders, who sold imported goods and purchased coconut oil and other products from them and from the people of neighbouring island groups. But the switch from coconut oil to copra production at that time both increased the profitability and reduced the technical problems of operating large-scale coconut plantations. Moreover, the provisional establishment of a trans-Pacific steamship line calling at Samoa and the expectation that one of the Powers would soon assume control of the islands further encouraged investment in Samoan land.

After the outbreak of war between the confederation and Laupepa's party, Samoans had been willing to sell land in order to obtain money for the purchase of firearms. Huge areas were disposed of at extremely low prices, sometimes by *matai* of high rank possessing only the most tenuous rights and often by one or two only of those most directly concerned. This willingness to sell was maintained during the ensuing uneasy truce and during a further period of desultory fighting that began in February 1872. The sales, in themselves, seriously threatened the future well-being of the Samoan people. But the circumstances surrounding them were even more disturbing, in the short run, since purchasers and would-be purchasers meddled in Samoan politics and consuls and naval officers attempted to enforce the claims of their nationals.

By the time peace was restored, in May 1873, both factions had become convinced that a further attempt must be made to form a united national government. A council of seven high-ranking chiefs, known as Ta'imua, was therefore established at Mulinu'u and younger, mission-educated Samoans, with some knowledge of English, were appointed to serve as secretaries. The council of Ta'imua was to function as a provisional government and to enact a code of laws and draft a constitution.

In the month in which the new government was formed, there arrived in the islands a man who quickly gained the confidence of the Samoan leaders and of many of the missionaries and settlers. This was Albert B. Steinberger, who was accredited as a 'special agent' of the American State Department. Steinberger gave the Ta'imua shrewd advice on the laws they were drafting and, in particular, assisted them to devise a formula for dealing with the explosive question of land sales that satisfied the Samoans and avoided an open clash with the European community. More importantly, he proposed that Samoa should seek the protection of the United States. This proposal, which would enable the islands to enjoy both internal autonomy and external security, was widely acceptable; and Steinberger returned to Washing-

ton with letters endorsing it and expressing the hope that he would himself be sent again to the islands.

In the event, Steinberger arrived back in Samoa in April 1875, bringing a message of good will from the President of the United States but no offer of American protection. Meanwhile, the Samoans had adopted a constitution which provided that the office of king should be held jointly by two persons, one to represent Sā Malietoā and the other Sā Tupuā. The choice of Malietoa Laupepa for the first of these positions, with the full support of his lineage, reflected the successful work done by Lauaki and others during the preceding years. But the selection of Pulepule for the second was widely attributed to religious bias and L.M.S. interference. The rival contender, Mata'afa Iosefo, was personally more distinguished but a Roman Catholic. Since Mata'afa had important kinship connections with Sā Malietoā as well as with Sā Tupuā, his supporters had talked of challenging both selections; and this, in turn, had caused a section of the former lineage to threaten war.

Steinberger, who now aspired to be the effective leader of an independent Samoan government, took immediate, and skilful, steps to restore political stability and to secure a revision of the constitution. The Ta'imua, whose number had been raised to fourteen, were to continue unchanged; but the Faipule—an unwieldy body of district representatives—was reduced to one member for each two thousand people. Most significant, however, was the solution he obtained to the problem of the kingship. There was to be one king, instead of two; but he was to hold office only for a 4-year term and to be chosen, alternately, from Sā Malietoā and Sā Tupuā. It was further agreed that Malietoa Laupepa should serve for the first term—an arrangement that satisfied, immediately, the aspirations of Sā Malietoā, while leaving the supporters of each of the Sā Tupuā contenders with the hope that their candidate might be chosen as Laupepa's successor.

Steinberger himself was appointed as premier, with the right of speaking in both the Ta'imua and the Faipule, and also as chief judge. Since he was not—as a foreigner—a contender for traditional supremacy, his dominant position in all branches of government was regarded by most Samoans as unobjectionable. Indeed, it was seen as a guarantee both of effective resistance to settler demands and of American support against foreign aggression. But this view was not held universally. Europeans whom Steinberger had impressed on his first visit now generally regarded him as a mere adventurer, a man without principles who had gained a dangerous influence. And, before long, a few Samoans became equally critical.

The most important member of this latter group was Lauaki. For him, Malietoa Laupepa's election as king had proved a hollow victory. Lauaki believed that the king should rule and that he should exercise his powers through the leading orators of Tūmua and Pule. Instead, the constitution had made the king largely a figurehead; and political circumstances had caused authority to be concentrated, in practice, in the hands of the premier. Lauaki and the Malie orator Tuiatafu seem therefore to have joined with the consuls in persuading the king to sign an order for Steinberger's deportation.¹⁰

The execution of this order by the captain of a British man-of-war early in 1876 provoked another political crisis. Malietoa Laupepa's action had been unconstitutional and in direct conflict with the wishes of his government. He was therefore deposed by the Ta'imua and Faipule. The government itself remained in being, though without a king. But its ability to govern was greatly reduced by its loss of Steinberger and its alienation of a large section of Sā Malietoā.

After the deposition, Malietoa Laupepa and his personal entourage left Apia, intent on repairing their political fortunes. In Savai'i and A'ana, as well as in Tuamasaga, they received the support of influential groups of *matai*. They knew that many others—including members of the Ta'imua and Faipule—were likely to switch their allegiance, if Laupepa's cause prospered, and that they could count on the active backing of leading Europeans. At a meeting at Leulumoega in August 1876, Lauaki stated his party's case. The government, he declared, lacked legitimate authority. It had no 'royal' chief at its head, nor had it the right to elect one, since, he contended, this power rested with the orator groups at Leulumoega and Safotulafai. Influenced by arguments such as these the meeting decided to form a rebel government and to prepare for war.¹¹

The formation of an effective alliance in support of Malietoa Laupepa proved difficult. Many of those who were generally sympathetic were still unwilling to fight a government they had so recently helped to form. When the rebels challenged the government forces in July 1877, largely in response to pressure from their European backers, they were soundly defeated. Most of their fighting men were taken prisoner. Some of the leaders, including Lauaki, obtained asylum in the grounds of the British consulate. Seven months later, when Sir Arthur Gordon visited Samoa, he noted:

All round the house, in the narrow space between it and the white palings which enclose the Consulate ground, are the huts and tents of the refugees, packed as tightly as possible from the walls of the house to the very edge of the palings. They must be got rid of somehow. . . .¹²

Only in March 1878 was a new British consul able to obtain the agreement of the Ta'imua and Faipule that the rebels, when they left their refuge, would not be brought to trial.

For Lauaki, the period at the consulate had not been one of hardship. Two months before the abortive rebellion, he and the chief Pa'u—with the agreement of some, though not all, of the other *matai* of Safotulafai—had sold a large area of land behind the village for \$3,000. The purchaser was Frank Cornwall, one of the most astute and ambitious land-buyers in Samoa. Cornwall had provided \$100 required for the payment of a fine imposed on the vendors and some other supporters of Laupepa, and had arranged that the remainder of the price should not be transferred in cash but should stand to the credit of Lauaki and Pa'u in the books of his trade store. Lauaki had used this credit to provide food and clothing for himself and some of his associates during their period as refugees. It was a practice that he found convenient; and for many years, apparently, he continued to draw on his credit with Cornwall both to satisfy his personal needs and to sustain his public position.¹³

By the time the refugees returned home, it was apparent that the government at Mulinu'u was slowly succumbing to its own internal weaknesses and the pressures put upon it by foreign interests. Demands by the Powers—particularly by Germany—for compensation in respect of old grievances and for a variety of concessions, including the right to establish naval stations in Samoa, both humiliated the government and revived the desire for unity. Discussions took place between the Ta'imua and Faipule and spokesmen for the Malietoa party, but without result.

Eventually, in May 1879, the supporters of Sā Malietoa, who were themselves now outwardly united, occupied Mulinu'u without opposition and declared Malietoa Talavou to be king for life. Later in the year, Malietoa Laupepa was appointed as regent (or vice-king) 'to attend to the work of the king'; the two houses of Ta'imua and Faipule were reinstated and reorganised; and Mata'afa Iosefo—as a leading representative of Sā Tupuā—was appointed as chairman of the Ta'imua.

Mata'afa's acceptance of office, which he probably hoped would increase his chance of being chosen as successor to the already elderly Talavou, did little to reduce the hostility of Sā Tupuā towards the new government. Later, however, the leaders of Lufilufi and Leulumoeaga offered to co-operate provided they could themselves negotiate with anti-government elements in Savai'i. This offer was seen by Lauaki and his associates as an attempt by Tūmua to undermine the authority of Pule. A message was therefore despatched requiring the negotiators

to call first at Safotulafai. When this was ignored and the party proceeded direct to the district of Palauli, Lauaki led an armed force south to attack it. The Fa'asaleleaga army was victorious; but the war spread, and Samoa was again without orderly government.¹⁴

Circumstances, however, soon favoured Lauaki. Malietoa Talavou died, and the British and American consuls were as anxious as Lauaki himself that Laupepa should succeed him. After prolonged and confused negotiations, in which Lauaki's hand was greatly strengthened by the attitude of the consuls, the spokesmen for the various factions agreed on the structure of a new government. At a meeting on 12 July 1881, held on board U.S.S. *Lackawanna*, this was embodied in a formal written agreement. Malietoa Laupepa was to be king and Tupua Tamasese Titimaea, a chief of the Tupua faction who held the title of Tuia'ana, to be vice-king. 'The length of their reign', the agreement stated, 'shall be left to the determination of the Government.'¹⁵

This uncertainty regarding tenure was a fatal weakness. Te'o Tuvale, one of the secretaries at Mulinu'u, has recorded a number of debates in the early eighties. It was agreed, he wrote, that Malietoa should reign for seven years and that his term should 'begin when the Government is firmly established'. At a meeting in July 1883 spokesmen for Leulumoea and Lufilufi argued that the seven years should run from the signing of the *Lackawanna* agreement and that, when it ended, Malietoa should be replaced by a representative of Sā Tupuā. Lauaki contended, on the contrary, that the government was still not firmly established, since it had been unable to punish murderers, and implied that Malietoa should be eligible for a further term.

You, Tumua, are grasping . . . Perhaps you think that if the Kingship does not alternate . . . there will be another war. Before Malietoa has had time to be King you wish to deprive him of the position . . .

This is the decision of the Malietoa party—Malietoa shall be King.¹⁶

Characteristically, he also charged his opponents with injustice towards himself: as spokesman for Malietoa, he exercised authority; a change in the kingship would deprive him of what he rightfully possessed. But later in the meeting he revealed another strand in his thinking. 'Show us', he appealed to a Tupua representative, 'what is the correct thing to do to save Samoa.' As European interference intensified Lauaki began to see himself not only as the principal spokesman for Sā Malietoa but also as a defender of Samoan tradition itself.

Meanwhile, there was little that could be done to 'save Samoa'. The government was riven by faction; and, though many of its members

were skilful debaters, they were negligible administrators. Neither Britain nor America was willing to grant the islands protection. The Germans, on the other hand, were determined to attain a position of dominance, politically as well as economically, and were prepared to play upon existing factionalism in order to do so. They weakened the government by extracting humiliating concessions from it. In 1885 they persuaded Tamasese to withdraw and establish a rival régime at Leulumoega. In 1887 they deported Malietoa Laupepa from Samoa, after declaring war on him for non-payment of reparations, and installed Tamasese at Mulinu'u.

For some time before the deportation of Malietoa Laupepa, Lauaki lived with him in hiding in the bush. When Laupepa decided to give himself up to the Germans, to prevent military action being taken against his people, Lauaki accompanied him to a final secret meeting with Mata'afa. 'Do not let us weep', Robert Louis Stevenson records Lauaki as saying on that occasion. 'We have no cause for shame. We do not yield to Tamasese, but to the invincible strangers.'¹⁷

During the same period chiefs and orators of any political importance had been compelled to come to Mulinu'u and to proclaim their loyalty to Tamasese. Impressed by German power and ruthlessness, many of them accepted government office. Lauaki himself—presumably after Malietoa's departure—agreed to serve as one of the four Faipule for Fa'asaleleaga.¹⁸ His motives in joining a régime to which he had been so bitterly opposed can be fairly readily inferred. The tenure of public office enhanced social standing but did not, in Samoan eyes, impose an obligation of unqualified loyalty. On this occasion, however, there was an additional reason for collaboration, in that the government had the backing of 'the invincible strangers'. Tamasese's German supporters—more resolute, though less congenial, than the British and Americans who had consistently disappointed Samoa in the past—might be able to give the country the peace and order it so sorely needed.

But Lauaki soon realised that he could serve the government—in I'iga Pisa's words—'only in body but not in heart'. Tamasese himself was a typical Samoan leader, a man of distinguished descent, with a notable military record, sensitively aware of the line of conduct that custom prescribed for him. His premier, Eugen Brandeis, on the contrary, was both a servant of German interests and a brash seeker of governmental supremacy. He imposed crippling taxes; he treated the Faipule and other government officers with scant respect; and, worst of all, he pushed Tamasese into the assumption of the high titles that would make him *tafa'ifā*.

In May 1888, with the support of a minority group in Atua, Tamasese assumed the title of Tuiatua, though the formalities for conferring it on Mata'afa had been almost completed. Shortly afterwards, on the basis of even more irregular procedures, he laid claim to those of Gatoaitale and Tamasoāli'i. Some of his associates, it was reported, also began addressing him as 'Malietoa'. To Lauaki and others of like mind, these actions both constituted an affront to the Malietoa lineage and created a splendid political opportunity. Sā Malietoā and the section of Sā Tupuā which supported Mata'afa had each been given grounds for opposing Tamasese and his government.

Mata'afa Iosefo was related to the To'oā family of Manono, whose foundress had been a descendant of an early holder of the Malietoa title. At a meeting of Malietoa supporters in Tuamasaga, Lauaki is reported to have said:

Let us go and fetch Mata'afa Iosefo from Atua. He is the heir to To'oā in Manono . . . He is to be the Malietoa To'oā, for we cannot tell whether Malietoa Laupepa will return.¹⁹

This advice probably summed up a resolution that had already been forming in the minds of those at the meeting, for a delegation of orators, including Lauaki, proceeded to Amaile, in eastern Atua, and persuaded Mata'afa to accompany it to Malie, where the title of Malietoa was duly conferred on him. On 9 September 1888, he was proclaimed king, as Malietoa To'oā Mata'afa.²⁰

Mata'afa was in his late fifties at this time, a tall, powerful man, quiet but alert in manner, and a devout Roman Catholic. He was described by Stevenson, who met him several years later, as having the 'air of a Catholic prelate';²¹ following the example of the priesthood, he had taken the very unusual course for a Samoan of remaining unmarried.

Hostilities between Mata'afa's supporters and the forces of the Tamasese government had begun shortly before the issuing of the proclamation of 9 September. The claim of the Mata'afa party that it had the support of the great majority of Samoans seems to have been well founded. Tamasese was forced to abandon Mulinu'u, and Mata'afa established his headquarters in Vaiala, at the eastern end of the town of Apia. The fighting that took place during the last quarter of 1888 and the first quarter of 1889 was the bloodiest that had occurred since the arrival of Europeans in Samoa. And German naval support of Tamasese, coupled with the presence of the Mata'afa forces in the Apia area, placed the settler community in greater danger than ever before. Britain and the United States therefore followed the example of Germany in posting naval vessels to Samoa.

In the middle of March 1889, when seven warships lay at anchor, a raging gale and mountainous seas reached Apia. Six of the seven ships were wrecked or beached, with heavy loss of life. The effects of 'the hurricane', as it became popularly known, dramatised and publicised the consequences of Western policies towards Samoa. The governments of the three Powers had, indeed, long been aware of the need for agreement between them as a prelude to the restoration of stability. They had met in conference at Washington in 1887; and early in 1889, spurred to action by the defeat of the Tamasese-Brandeis régime, Bismarck had proposed further discussions. When the Conference on Samoan Affairs resumed in Berlin in April, its members approached their task with a new sense of urgency. By the middle of June they had agreed on the terms of a document—the Final Act of the Conference on Samoan Affairs—which provided for joint supervision by the three Powers. This was to come into effect after submission to the Samoan government for assent.

The Act recognised the independence of Samoa; but it also provided the country with the framework of a system of government. Malietoa Laupepa was to be king—because neither Mata'afa nor Tamasese was acceptable to all three of the Powers. A chief justice was to be nominated by the Powers, though formally appointed by the government. The Apia area was to be controlled by a municipal council composed of expatriates and headed by a president appointed in the same way as the chief justice. More constructively, the Act provided for the appointment of a commission to investigate foreign land claims and imposed rigid restrictions on future alienation.

On 2 October—before the terms of the Final Act had been made public—a meeting was held at Vaiala to consider the question of the kingship. About 2,000 Samoans, including some who had backed Tamasese in the recent war, were reported to be present. Malietoa Laupepa, who had returned to Samoa in August broken in health and spirit by his exile,* announced his own resignation and his support of Mata'afa. His speech was followed by one from Lauaki. Since Laupepa wished Mata'afa to be king, Lauaki said, the people as a whole would support him. Laupepa would be vice-king, and the predictions of dissension within the Malietoa party would prove groundless. Mata'afa accepted the offer of the kingship.²²

* Malietoa had been taken to the Cameroons, then to Germany and, finally, to Jaluit, in the Marshall Islands. He said on his return that he had lived among Arabs while in the Cameroons and had been placed in a dark cell every night in Germany. When he left Jaluit, he disbelieved German statements that he was being taken back to Samoa and attempted to commit suicide by jumping overboard (*Samoa Times and South Sea Advertiser*, 17 August 1889).

On 2 October his weakness was such that he had to be led away after the meeting (*ibid.*, 5 October 1889).

Laupepa seems never to have been a popular king. Mataafa, on the other hand, holds an unrivalled position in the eyes of his fellow-countrymen; he was the hero of the war, . . . he had borne the heat and burthen of the day; they began to claim that he should enjoy more largely the fruits of victory; . . . his elevation to the kingship

was looked for as the fitting crown and copestone of the Samoan triumph . . .²⁷

At the end of May, Mata'afa moved from his home at Vaiala to Malie. He still used the Malietoa title. He had the support of the village to which it belonged and of some other branches of the Malietoa lineage, including that at Manono, from which he had gained his title of To'oā. In addition, he was supported by many adherents of Sā Tupuā. He sought to maintain peaceful relations with the régime at Mulinu'u; but he began heading his correspondence 'Government of Samoa'.²⁸

For Lauaki this development represented the collapse of the alliance—of all the branches of Sā Malietoā and parts of Sā Tupuā—that he had devoted much of his life to creating. He believed that Laupepa's attempt to confirm his constitutional supremacy by traditional means—for example, by seeking the titles of Tuiatua and Tuia'ana—had angered Mata'afa; and he urged him to desist.²⁹ He worked for a compromise between the two parties. 'By great personal exertions and the charms of oratory'—to use Stevenson's words—he persuaded Savai'i and Manono to agree that Laupepa should remain king but that Mata'afa should become premier. Mata'afa and his associates at Malie, Stevenson believed, were prepared to accept this arrangement. But Laupepa, perhaps at the behest of his European advisers, refused.

In the circumstances, relations between Mulinu'u and Malie inevitably deteriorated. In May 1893 the government finally declared war on Mata'afa's party.³⁰ Its forces greatly out-matched those of the rebels. Lauaki, who was actively engaged on the government side, likened the movements of its opponents to those of a herd of kangaroos. A Samoan pastor who had served in New Guinea had reported that, when a single kangaroo was shot, the whole herd would take to flight. At a safe distance it would re-form, uttering a cry like a sound that occurred in the performance of a Samoan dance called the *tui*. Mata'afa's forces, Lauaki, declared, behaved in a similar way. The war thus became known to the Samoans as that of the *tui a manu* (or 'cry of animals').

Mata'afa's army finally fled to Manono, where it was overcome by that of the government. Its leaders surrendered to the commanders of British and German warships, which had been despatched to Samoa on the approach of hostilities. The villages of Manono were then sacked by government forces. Mata'afa and ten other prominent chiefs were deported to Jaluit; many others were sentenced to terms of imprisonment; and still further individuals and a number of villages were subjected to crippling fines.

The manner in which the rebellion was suppressed created a mood

of sullen discontent. To many Samoans, it seemed that the king and his officials were the tools of foreign interests. This feeling helped to intensify popular opposition to the renewed attempt to collect unpaid taxes. Lauaki, as a leading government supporter with responsibilities in regard to tax collection in Savai'i, thus became a target for public abuse. At Sale'aula, in Gaga'emauga, he was castigated in a contemporary song.

Lauaki, what was this,
When you sent your messenger . . .
To collect our personal taxes?
Please collect your own . . .
We are poor because of constant taxes.
It is better to rebel,
To give us a spell.³¹

Within a few months of Mata'afa's deportation, Samoa was again on the verge of civil war.

The withdrawal of the British and American warships at the beginning of the hurricane season gave the signal for active preparations for war. In A'ana and Atua anti-government elements had found a new contender for the kingship in Tupua Tamasese Lealofi, the son and successor of Tupua Tamasese Titimaea. In Savai'i representatives of the districts of Gaga'emauga, Gagaifomauga, and Vaisigano met at Sale'aula and decided to support the rebellion. But, as in past wars, the districts were not united. In Gaga'emauga, for example, a significant division occurred.

The southern part of Gaga'emauga was dominated by members of the Tuala lineage, which was also strongly represented in Lauaki's district of Fa'asaleleaga. Sā Tualā did not have its principal base in either of those districts, however, but in A'ana, where it was closely connected with Tamasese, with the important chief Tuimaleali'ifano, and with the holders of many other major titles. Gaining the allegiance of even a section of Sā Tualā was thus an objective of importance to the government. Malietoa Laupepa sent a message to the Savai'i branch of the family, which Lauaki followed up in direct negotiations. The move was successful. The forces of the Savai'i branch of Sā Tualā were quickly prepared for fighting and arrived at Safotulafai even before Lauaki had organised the men of his own district. In thanking them for their loyalty and exertions, he said: 'Lead the way to Upolu to prepare the oven and light the fire but wait till Fa'asaleleaga arrives to cover the oven.' In this way Malietoa was saved from defeat—by the men of Sā Tualā and the government's Upolu supporters—till the Fa'asaleleaga forces were ready. When the latter

arrived in Upolu, the rebels were put to flight; and, after the return of the warships, a formal peace was signed.³²

The war of 1894 set a pattern that was followed in the immediately succeeding years. Each hurricane season opposition re-emerged, and sporadic fighting took place. Lives were taken, often gratuitously, as when people were shot while taking their evening bath in the fresh-water pools lining the beaches. Women and children took refuge in the churches. On the return of the warships peace was restored; but the standing of the government steadily declined.

In August 1898 Malietoa Laupepa died. He had been an invalid for nearly two years, and much thought had already been given to the question of who should succeed him. To Lauaki, it was a question that admitted of only one answer. He had loyally served Laupepa for thirty years; but his role had not been an easy or, in many ways, even a satisfying one. Laupepa had been the friend of the British, and Lauaki had supported his attempts to obtain British protection during the eighties. But the British refusal to intervene had made his position, in Lauaki's opinion, 'a hateful one' and had exposed him and his supporters to the rigours of civil war.³³ The new king must be an experienced leader acceptable to the Samoans, chosen without regard to the wishes of their ineffective foreign friends. Among the possible candidates, only Mata'afa, who was shortly to return from his exile in Jaluit, possessed the qualities required.

The Berlin Act provided that Malietoa Laupepa's successor should 'be duly elected according to the laws and customs of Samoa'. Even the framers of the Act were aware that this procedure might be difficult to implement, for they also provided that any dispute regarding 'the rightful election or appointment' of the king should be referred to the Chief Justice for decision. In their Samoan context, the words of the Act raised difficulties that were almost insuperable. The kingship was closely related to the traditional quest for titular supremacy, and its attainment by any individual affected the standing of both his supporters and his opponents. For this reason, no formal statute governing electoral procedure would have been acceptable to all Samoans. Yet the kingship, in its nineteenth-century form, was not a traditional office, so that the manner in which custom should be brought to bear upon the election was debatable. And the presence of a number of possible contenders made it certain that such a debate would occur.

During the three months following Malietoa Laupepa's death a series of indecisive meetings was held at Mulinu'u, attended by the Faipule and officers of the government and by other leading Samoans. But equally important discussions took place elsewhere, particularly

at Leulumoega, the traditional place of assembly for the representatives of Tūmua and Pule. The claims of three of the contenders—Mata'afa, Tamasese Lealofi, and Laupepa's schoolboy son, Tanumafili—were at first all pressed vigorously.

As soon as Mata'afa returned to Samoa, on 19 September, he was received by many Samoan leaders as the future king. Spokesmen for Tūmua and Pule addressed letters to the consuls asserting their traditional rights in matters of high policy and claiming that Mata'afa was the only candidate with widespread support in the country. On 12 November, these spokesmen, including Lauaki, announced that Mata'afa had been elected king at a meeting at Leulumoega.

Tamasese and his associates opposed the initial moves by Tūmua and Pule on the grounds of irregularity and unseemly haste. They needed time in which to seek wider public support for their cause. But, when they heard of the purported election at Leulumoega, they recognised at least partial defeat; and Tamasese immediately proposed that Tanumafili should be king and he be vice-king.

The candidature of Tanumafili developed more gradually. Till November he remained a pupil at the L.M.S. school at Leulumoega. But sympathy for him was stimulated by the traditional ceremonies that followed his father's death. The stalwart supporters of Sā Malietoa from Falealili, for example, composed a song which referred to Laupepa as 'the king who was called "the Light"'.³⁴ And, as had been so with his father and grandfather, he enjoyed the powerful backing of the L.M.S. Like them, he was regarded as a sure supporter of the teachings of Evangelical Christianity. To the missionaries, also, it seemed natural that a man should succeed in accordance with the principle of primogeniture; although this was a principle quite alien to Samoan custom, it had not been altogether without influence on contemporary thinking.

On 15 November—three days after the election at Leulumoega—a meeting of those who had held office under Malietoa Laupepa was held at Mulinu'u. Lauaki pleaded that, as a majority of those present favoured Mata'afa, the consuls should be informed immediately that the Samoan people wished him to be king. His argument was a characteristically Samoan one: if they allowed time for a second nomination to be made, the country would inevitably be divided.³⁵ A letter was drafted along the lines suggested—but signed only by the supporters of Mata'afa.

As a result of these actions, the Chief Justice, W. L. Chambers, who had been in close consultation with the consuls, proposed a meeting between himself and Samoan representatives. A group of thirteen would represent each of the two factions, the supporters of Mata'afa

and those of Tanumafili and Tamasese. At this meeting—held on 26 November—Chambers presented a draft agreement for signature by the Samoans. It provided that the purported election of Mata'afa at Leulumoega should be treated, instead, as the nomination of a candidate and that other contenders should be given till 19 December to submit similar nominations. If other candidates were nominated, Chambers would give his decision within ten days. Lauaki was again a principal speaker. He pleaded with his old colleagues of the Malietoa party to support Mata'afa, relating how, at the signing of the *Lackawanna* agreement in 1881, when Laupepa had regained the kingship, he and the late Alipia Tusitala, of Leulumoega, had placed their hands on Laupepa's head and solemnly agreed that the next king should be a Tupua. The promise was a sacred one; but of the three who had been present he alone was still alive to bear witness to it. This speech, which Chambers regarded as the finest he had heard in Samoan, caused the meeting to adjourn.³⁶

Lauaki's plea was finally rejected by Tanumafili's representatives, whereupon those representing Mata'afa declined to sign the proposed agreement. The Mata'afa party hoped, in this way, to prevent the issue of the kingship being determined judicially and sought, instead, to impose a solution by political means. It established itself firmly at Mulinu'u and accorded Mata'afa the prerogatives of kingship. It spread rumours that the Chief Justice was intentionally delaying his decision and that the consuls had recognised Mata'afa. It paraded in force before the court house and brought pressure to bear upon its opponents throughout the country.

On 19 December Chambers began to hear the case for each of the two contenders. On behalf of Tanumafili, who was represented by two local solicitors, it was claimed that he had received the four ancient titles of Tuia'ana, Tuiatua, Gatoaitale and Tamasoāli'i, and also that of Malietoa. Lauaki, who appeared for Mata'afa, jointly with a German settler, denied Tanumafili's right to use any of the titles attributed to him. Even that of Malietoa had not been properly conferred. In this matter he spoke primarily for Safotulafai; but he was supported by Lei'ataua, of Manono, and by Toelupe, the most influential orator of Malie. The correctness of Lauaki's contention was underlined by a further purported election of Tanumafili to the Malietoa title.³⁷ But arguments on the basis of custom had no influence upon the court's decision. Towards the end of the hearing, counsel for Tanumafili raised a quite different issue. They argued that the Act of 1889 must be interpreted in relation to the protocols of the Berlin conference, one of which declared Mata'afa ineligible for the kingship. Chambers accepted this argument; and on 31 December

1898 he announced his decision that Tanumafili—or Malietoa Tanumafili, as he called him—was the only eligible candidate and therefore King of Samoa.

The sense of strain that had gripped Apia during the preceding weeks had by then greatly intensified, as large numbers of Samoans, many of them armed, had come in to hear the court's decision. At a meeting of the Mata'afa party, Lauaki pleaded for the maintenance of the peace and the reference of the dispute to the three Powers.³⁸ But other advice, and the circumstances themselves, proved more powerful. On 1 January 1899 Mata'afa's forces advanced on Apia and resoundingly defeated their opponents. That night Tanumafili, Tamasese Lealofi, and several of their close associates sought refuge on board H.M.S. *Porpoise*. During the following days many chiefs loyal to Tanumafili were imprisoned, and fighting men were disarmed and compelled to acknowledge Mata'afa. Over the succeeding weeks villages which had supplied men for Tanumafili's forces, such as those of Falealili, were looted and burned.

Meanwhile, the consuls had accepted the realities of the military situation. On 4 January they issued a proclamation recognising a provisional government composed of Mata'afa and his thirteen principal supporters, with Dr Raffel, the President of the Municipality, as its executive head. The new government made some attempt to restore law and order. But its main concern was with the problem of the kingship. It attempted to close the Supreme Court and threatened Tanumafili and Tamasese with a permanent loss of all their rights unless they came ashore from the *Porpoise* and accepted Mata'afa. Its individual members, including Lauaki, brought pressure to bear on those in their own districts who favoured Tanumafili. The government also prepared a statement for transmission to the Powers, as Lauaki had suggested. This set out once again the reasons why, in the opinions of its signatories, Mata'afa was the only acceptable candidate for the kingship and poured scorn on the candidature of 'the little boy', as it described Tanumafili.³⁹

As the weeks passed, the situation became tenser. German officials more openly supported the provisional government; British and Americans became more antagonistic towards it. In March a proclamation was issued over the names of the British and American representatives declaring the government illegal. A counter proclamation was then issued by the Germans. These actions led to the renewal of civil war and to the reinstatement of Tanumafili as king, under British and American protection.

Lauaki's position at this stage was a difficult one. He knew that

Samoa must have stable government if it was to resist the encroachments of foreign interests. For this reason, he had supported Mata'afa against Tanumafili. He had, indeed, according to his wife, confirmed his commitment by taking a solemn oath before Lemana, the most influential representative of Leulumoega. Yet he was still the spokesman of Pule, a man bound by tradition and by his own past life to the service of Sā Malietoa. When he had suggested that the provisional government should move from Mulinu'u to Malie for reasons of safety, his colleagues from the centres of Tūmua had been suspicious of his motives. They had wondered whether both he and Toelupe had it in mind to resume their Malietoa allegiances. But among the supporters of Tanumafili his position was far more seriously compromised. In April an Englishwoman associated with the L.M.S. wrote: 'If only Lauaki . . . would join "Tanu" $\frac{3}{4}$ of the Mataafas would follow him. This Lauaki has been such a traitor . . .'.⁴⁰ Now, with the reinstatement of Tanumafili, it seemed doubtful whether his sacrifice had served any political purpose.

At this time he and Toelupe discussed the situation with a group of L.M.S. pastors. Lauaki is reported to have said:

what was England doing? What did this war mean? . . . Why this shelling of villages? . . . Were they putting a Malietoa on the throne? Would they say definitely this is the decision which we will support & back up now for ever Very well we walk over at once. But we are *faameo* [disgusted with] . . . Peritania [Britain] who has but made fools of us & left us stranded without any attempt to unite Samoa and prevent bloodshed . . .⁴¹

It had not been easy, he said later in the discussion, for him to give his support to a Tupua; but he had done so because it seemed to offer a way of uniting Samoa.

The formation of a government under Tanumafili at Mulinu'u had some short-term effects upon the political situation, but these were not of a kind to affect the attitude of a man as disillusioned as Lauaki. The new government possessed the active support of British and American officials in Samoa. Its military forces were armed and led by the British. They were joined in action against those of Mata'afa by men from the warships of both countries. Indeed, the atmosphere of the time is aptly reflected in a passage from Te'o Tuvala's account of his experiences as a soldier. In his entry for 1 April he wrote: 'One man from Samusu in the party of Mataafa was killed. He was shot by the [British] Consul.' Though Mata'afa also received some help from foreigners, he was placed at a military disadvantage, with a consequent danger to his political position. But these changes were of a kind with

which Samoans were unhappily familiar. Partisanship by consuls and naval officers did not imply a lasting interest in maintaining peace and unity on the part of the governments that they served.

The renewal of civil war, however, caused the three Powers to send a tripartite commission to Samoa to assume temporary political control of the country and make recommendations for the future. When the commissioners arrived in Apia on 13 May, in U.S.S. *Badger*, they found both parties anxious for peace.

As its first objective, the commission decided to seek the surrender of all Samoan firearms. Bartlett Tripp, the American commissioner, has described Mata'afa's visit to the *Badger*, on 21 May, to discuss this proposal. Mata'afa travelled from Malie, where (as in 1891) he had made his headquarters, accompanied by an entourage of elaborately decorated boats. He came aboard wearing a long white robe, with a necklace of beads and a crucifix. His principal supporters, who accompanied him, had anointed their bodies with fragrant oil and wore only a *lāvalava* which fell from the waist to the ankles. When the commissioners had made their proposal, Mata'afa himself replied. He wanted peace, he said, but his people owned their guns individually and were greatly attached to them. It was explained to him that both parties would be disarmed and that owners would be compensated. He then said: 'Mata'afa accepts the Commissioners' terms. He will surrender his guns.'⁴² The commissioners were greatly impressed, on this occasion, by the dignity and good sense of their Samoan visitors. During the following weeks they were not only impressed but also surprised—in view of the disparaging predictions of the beach community—by the meticulousness with which both parties carried out their agreement to disarm.

Samoa society was still far from relaxed. The leaders on both sides—men like Mata'afa and Lauaki, and even the youthful Tanumafili—feared that those of them who failed to gain the confidence of the commission might be sent into exile. The rank and file of the armed forces, when they returned to their villages, not infrequently became involved in new quarrels, since neighbours and even brothers had, in many cases, fought on opposite sides. But the danger of a renewal of civil war had been removed.

The commissioners concluded that the kingship was a fatal impediment to stability. To make its abolition possible, they proposed to Tanumafili that he should abdicate, and he readily agreed to do so. They then convened a meeting of some four hundred chiefs and orators, at which they presented proposals for the revision of the 1889 Act. These paid scant regard to Samoan custom. None the less, they were not openly opposed; and only Lauaki, 'the celebrated Mataafan

orator'—the British commissioner noted—sought to revive the fires of Samoan factionalism.⁴³

Before the commission left Samoa in July 1899, it appointed a provisional government composed of the consuls of the three Powers, with the new president of the municipality, Dr Wilhelm Solf, as its executive officer. During the following months the German government took the initiative in proposing the partition of the islands; and, towards the end of the year, an agreement was reached that Tutuila and Manu'a should be acquired by the United States and the remainder of Samoa by Germany.

Early in 1900 Germany and the United States established their authority in their respective territories. Dr Solf was appointed Governor of German Samoa, and on 1 March 1900 the German flag was raised at Mulinu'u.

News of the impending political changes had reached Samoa several months before they became effective. The action of Mata'afa and his leading supporters during this period throws some light upon Samoan understanding of their significance. The Samoans seem to have conceived of the future German role in western Samoa as broadly a continuation of that filled by the three Powers since 1889. Moreover, since the Germans had supported Mata'afa against Tanumafili, the Mata'afa party believed it would be accepted as a traditional *mālō*—as the dominant faction, or government. Understanding the situation in this way, Lauaki visited Tanumafili's supporters shortly before the New Year and invited them to a meeting at Leulumoega to arrange a reconciliation between the two parties and form a new Samoan government. The meeting was held on 10 January. When the spokesmen for the Malietoa party declined to co-operate with their rivals, Lauaki answered their challenge.

That is the one thing which will not be permitted. If you go, trouble will immediately arise . . . you say, that you are not dressed for the banquet, I inform you . . . that today you will be dressed for a feast. Direct yourselves at once to the Government and bring Faipule . . . here to the Government of Samoa. This Government is held in the hands of the thirteen [i.e. the supporters of Mata'afa].⁴⁴

Despite their refusal to accept office, Malietoa representatives were appointed by the meeting as Faipule. The self-styled government claimed for itself executive powers and began to collect taxes. Before the raising of the German flag its leaders had moved to Mulinu'u, where—according to report—they began referring to Mata'afa as king.

These political activities had been denounced by the provisional government. They were no more acceptable to Solf as Governor of

a German colony; but he was conscious that he must move warily. Not only did Mata'afa and 'the thirteen' command substantial local support but they were also regarded with favour in Germany. They were therefore allowed to remain at Mulinu'u, and Mata'afa continued to make appointments of Samoan officials, which Solf merely confirmed. The establishment of German control thus had little immediate effect upon Samoan political thinking.

Solf's long-term intentions, however, were far different from his initial conciliatory moves. In the interests both of economic development—particularly under the auspices of the dominant Deutsche Handels- und Plantagen-Gesellschaft—and of administrative efficiency, he was determined that his own position, as the emperor's representative, should finally be that of an autocrat. As a first move it was decided that Mata'afa should have the title only of Ali'i Sili (paramount chief) to make clear his position of subordination to the Governor and to the German emperor. Before acceding to this office, he was asked to submit a new list of Samoan officials, drawn from the supporters of both factions. When he refused to include members of the Malietoa faction because no formal reconciliation had been attained, Solf himself prepared a bi-partisan list. At a meeting at Mulinu'u in August, when those selected were received by the Governor, Solf explained his policy. In him alone, he emphasised, was vested the power to govern; but the Samoans would be allowed to administer themselves under his 'supervision and control'. The Ali'i Sili would inform the people of the Governor's 'wishes and orders'. He would work in association with a council, the Faipule. This contained certain chiefs of 'royal' rank, including Tupua Tamasese Lealofi and Fa'alata (a son of Malietoa Talavou), who were given the dignified title of Ta'imua, as well as district representatives of whom Lauaki was one. The existing Samoan judicial establishment was retained, and Samoan administrative officers were appointed in the districts and villages. The new institutions thus closely resembled those that the Samoans had created in earlier years; but they were intended to function in strict subordination to the Governor's will.

Lauaki was perhaps the first to comment on the divergence between form and intent. As early as 1901 Solf noted that he was saying that the government proposed to weaken the people by dividing them and would, in time, abolish the office of Ali'i Sili. In 1903, after Solf had refused to appoint a new Samoan chief judge, Lauaki was reported to have said:

Oh, the Governor is a very good man, but he is too tricky. At first he cuts up all the different districts, so as to weaken them, and gradually takes away all the power from the Ta'ita'i-itu's [district chiefs],

and lastly, he deprives the Samoans of the high position of Fa'amasino Sili [chief judge]. After this, the Governor will even take away the position of the Ali'i Sili, so that no higher office remains for the Samoan people.⁴⁵

When the price of copra was reduced in 1904, Lauaki believed that the time had come to launch a campaign of open opposition.

The first reaction to the copra crisis by the Ali'i Sili and the Ta'imua and Faipule was a request to the Governor for the fixing of a higher price. But this was coupled with a number of reflections upon governmental probity. Lauaki acted as the Samoan spokesman on this occasion. The request was firmly refused. Shortly afterwards Lauaki and another leading Faipule, Moefa'auō of Lufilufi, were approached by a young part-Samoan with a proposal for the formation of a trading company under the sponsorship of the Samoan *mālō*.⁴⁶ The company would purchase all Samoan-produced copra and ship it overseas in its own vessel. This proposal greatly appealed to the two Faipule. They saw in it not only the certainty of a higher price to producers but also the possibility of a profit that might make the *mālō* self-supporting and thus encourage the Germans to withdraw from Samoa.

Their colleagues shared their opinion; or, at least—because of jealousies within the *mālō*—those who took a different view thought it impolitic to express it. An order went out from Mulinu'u requiring the payment by all adult males of a contribution to the company's capital. And many Samoans stopped cutting copra, with the intention of selling it to the company later on.

Solf believed that the project was bound to collapse, eventually, in circumstances of financial scandal. He was certain that the collection of the levy would produce discord. But, above all, he was outraged that the *mālō* should have assumed the power to impose what was, in effect, a tax. He forbade the payment of the levy, and he had a discussion with Lauaki, who promised that the whole scheme would be abandoned. Solf believed that the promise was unconditional; but Lauaki seems to have held that it was contingent upon an increase in the copra price, which did not eventuate. The promotion of the company therefore continued. In January 1905, while Solf was absent in New Zealand, the Acting Governor wrote: 'Wherever one hears among the natives about the Company, Lauaki's name will be mentioned.'⁴⁷ From Mulinu'u, Lauaki sent a message to his brother, Namulau'ulu Pulali, encouraging the people of Fa'asaleleaga to continue with the work. For their obedience to his injunction, Namulau'ulu and another Savai'i official were arrested and brought to Apia for

imprisonment. They were rescued from this indignity by a group of Ta'imua and Faipule, led by Tamasese, which broke into the gaol.

Lauaki—alone among the Faipule—is said to have opposed resort to force and, soon afterwards, he agreed to abandon the company. But before this the *mālō*, with Lauaki again in the lead, had involved itself in another move almost equally displeasing to the government: a petition to the Emperor asking for reforms and expressing dissatisfaction with Solf.⁴⁸

The Governor returned from New Zealand in March convinced not only that drastic changes were necessary but also that the time was ripe for destroying the power of men like Lauaki, the great orators of Tūmua and Pule. In August—on the fifth anniversary of his inauguration of the *mālō*—he spoke to a large gathering of Samoans at Mulinu'u. These men, he said, had continued to claim: 'We are Tūmua and Pule, we are the rulers of Samoa'. Men who made such a claim could not remain part of the German administration. He had therefore decided to introduce a new system of Samoan representation. The Ali'i Sili, who had been abused and threatened, was left in office. But the Ta'imua and Faipule were dismissed and ordered to leave Mulinu'u. In their place, he appointed a new Council, the Fono of Faipule. He chose some of its members from the centres of Tūmua and Pule but a greater number from other villages. They were to hold office at his pleasure and to come to Mulinu'u only when he summoned them. The Fono of Faipule was thus more widely representative, but less capable of independent action, than its predecessor had been.

To men like Lauaki the new system was unacceptable on more than one ground. It marked a further stage in the growth of the Governor's authority and, at the same time, a reduction in the influence of Tūmua and Pule. Towards Lauaki himself, Solf's attitude was not unsympathetic. In 1903 he had told Mata'afa that 'the real mischief-makers' in Samoa were Lauaki and Moefa'auō; but, while he had condemned the latter as a man 'always hankering after money', he had described Lauaki as 'a grand, eloquent speaker' with 'many followers'.⁴⁹ Now, though he regarded him as having been the principal organiser in the company affair, he continued to consult him and, despite the opposition of serving Faipule, appointed him to the Fono in 1907.⁵⁰ But the Governor's favour was no substitute for the power he had formerly possessed or for the freedom from foreign rule that he still sought for his country.

Early in 1908 Lauaki attended a meeting with the Ali'i Sili and the former Ta'imua at Mulinu'u.⁵¹ A series of requests was drawn up for submission to the Governor on his return from leave in Germany: the

status and functions of the Ali'i Sili should be increased; the Ta'imua should be reinstated and given salaries; the Faipule should live permanently at Mulinu'u. It was also agreed at this meeting—or perhaps at a subsequent one, after Mata'afa had been ill—to ask that the next Ali'i Sili should be named before Mata'afa died. It was decided to seek permission for a large gathering of Samoans at Mulinu'u at the time of Solf's return, ostensibly to welcome him and his wife but actually to create a favourable situation for the presentation of the requests.

Lauaki was now in his sixties; but he prepared for the great occasion with as much energy as he had devoted to his earlier campaigns. He travelled round much of the country, making speeches no less telling in their recondite allusions to history and tradition than those of former years. He planned every detail of the mass descent upon Mulinu'u with the greatest care. But circumstances did not favour him. The country was enjoying peace such as it had not known for half a century. The Faipule and many other influential *matai* were enjoying their tenure of salaried official positions. Even in Fa'asaleleaga some villages would not join him, and in Safotulafai itself one of the most powerful chiefs was his committed opponent. The government was kept informed of everything that he said and did, so that his bland assurances to senior officials that he wished only to honour the Governor and his wife were dismissed as untrue.

In November, when Solf had returned, Lauaki set out with his Savai'i canoe fleet for Mulinu'u. When it called at Leulumoega, he learnt that A'ana would not join him. Before he left Safotulafai, the government had ordered him to abandon the expedition. Now it instructed him to return home; and this time the instruction was supported by a letter from Mata'afa. His plans for a national protest against Solf's innovations had collapsed before the requests agreed to by the Ali'i Sili and the former Ta'imua had even been presented.

At this stage, Lauaki's position became clearly that of the leader of a dissident faction. After a meeting of his Savai'i supporters at Safotulafai early in December, the movement began to be referred to as the Mau of Pule ('opposition movement of Savai'i) or, alternatively, as the Mau of Lauaki. Later in the month the Governor himself visited Safotulafai in an attempt to restore harmony. But Lauaki remained belligerent. During a formal meeting, he set out to discomfit Solf. He told the story of an early Tu'i Tonga who had determined that his brother should die because he had had sexual relations with the former's concubine. He identified Solf with the Tu'i Tonga and himself with the brother. He had, he said, 'committed adultery' with

the law; and Solf had determined to destroy him. But he also made a show of mock humility.

When Jesus passed along the road amid the multitude there was one among the many who, being a short man, could not see His face. So this man climbed a tree, hoping that even if he were unable to see the Saviour, he might be able to catch a glimpse of His cloak. I am like that man, and you are the same as Christ . . . Surely you have enough ability to administer the affairs of a weak little country like Samoa . . . And I now have to say: 'Please do not accept the homage of a low, common people like the Samoans'.⁵²

The Governor returned to Apia without persuading the movement to disband.

In January 1909 Lauaki was instructed to meet the Governor at Mulinu'u. He set out, once again, accompanied by a fleet of canoes from Savai'i and its traditional ally, 'Aiga-i-le-Tai. In Tuamasaga he obtained further support; and the whole force established a camp at the village of Vaiusu, across the bay from Mulinu'u.

Solf was worried by this new demonstration of Lauaki's ability as a 'mischief-maker', even though he was confident that only a minority of Samoans supported the Mau of Pule. He therefore pardoned him in respect of his past transgressions and tried to reach an agreement in respect of the future. But when Lauaki refused to abandon his demands he took more drastic action. He persuaded the Fono of Faipule to ask for Lauaki's deportation and despatched a request for warships. Since he feared the outbreak of civil war before the warships could arrive, he tried to isolate Lauaki from his potential supporters by playing upon the traditional rivalries that still underlay Samoan politics. In particular, he ridiculed Tūmua for having contemplated accepting the leadership of a spokesman of Pule.

Solf's actions confirmed Lauaki and his associates in their intransigence. They continued their agitation against the government. When the warships arrived in March, they threatened to resist arrest by force; but, with the help of the missionaries, the government persuaded them to surrender. In April, Lauaki and nine others, accompanied by members of their families and a pastor, sailed for Saipan, in the Marianas.

Before the exiles left Samoa, they were visited by the Governor. He told them they would be received in Saipan as distinguished visitors and that, in due course, arrangements would be made for their return to Samoa. I'iga Pisa, who was one of their number, related that Lauaki, in thanking Solf, told a story of Sapioamoa, a Samoan woman of high rank married to the Tu'i Tonga of her time. The chief Tofae-

ono had sailed his canoe to Tonga to bring her home, in order that she might strengthen her family. She had thanked him for 'crossing this vast ocean' on her behalf. She had explained that she was too feeble to make the journey herself but would send her daughter, Taleta, and her two sons, Fatagi and Fitiao. Taleta, Lauaki said, represented the people of Samoa, Fatagi and Fitiao its 'royal sons', such as Mata'afa. Tofaeono represented the Governor, with his good intentions and Sapioamoa the party of exiles, with their 'broken hearts'.⁵³

In his own case, Lauaki's prediction was borne out by events. After the Allied occupation of Germany's Pacific territories early in the First World War, arrangements were made to bring the Samoans home. But when the ship on which they were travelling reached Tarawa, in the Gilbert Islands, Lauaki was taken ashore, seriously ill with an attack of dysentery, of which he died on 14 November 1915.⁵⁴

Lauaki's widow, Sivaotele, reached Samoa in January 1916 and was received by the acting head of the military administration. 'We heard', she said, 'that the British Flag had been hoisted in Samoa; Lauaki rejoiced to hear it, and earnestly desired to return here; he certainly being the friend of Britain'. On Lauaki's behalf, she thanked King George V and the Governor-General of New Zealand 'for guarding Samoa'.⁵⁵

The Samoa to which she returned was already becoming a different country from that in which Lauaki had for so long played a leading role. In the months preceding his exile he had probably known that he would fail and determined to close his career in a grand gesture of defiance, rather than in compromise. A new generation had by then emerged that was unwilling to accept the leadership of those who spoke for Tūmua and Pule. And this shift in the balance of authority has continued in more recent times. In 1960, when a resolution was moved for the inclusion of a reference to Tūmua and Pule in the Constitution of the Independent State of Western Samoa, it was overwhelmingly defeated.

But Lauaki is still remembered with great respect. In Saipan, where the exiles maintained the conventions of their homeland in a village they built near Tanapag, the commanding figure of their leader has not yet been forgotten. In Samoa, old men recall the splendours of his oratory. At Safotulafai—where his remains were reinterred on his family land, near the seashore, looking across the strait towards the hills behind Leulumoega—two of those who accompanied him to Saipan are still living.

And many of his attitudes and objectives have retained a measure of relevance not only for modern Samoans but also for other Pacific peoples. In 1905 it was noted that Lauaki 'had no love for' Europeans as a group, as distinct from individuals among them with whom he might be on friendly terms.⁵⁶ An element of uneasiness—and, not infrequently, one of fear or distaste—has continued to colour the attitude of Pacific islanders towards expatriates, particularly at the impersonal level. The antagonism towards foreign merchants which lay behind the company affair of 1904-5 and the belief that an indigenous commercial organisation, owning stores and ships, could be used as an instrument of political advancement have both been manifested in the Pacific many times. In Samoa itself the pattern has been a recurrent one. The Toeaina Club, formed during the First World War, closely resembled the earlier venture. To some extent, O. F. Nelson & Company, the first large Samoan firm, filled a similar role in the twenties and thirties, an object of pride to the Samoans and an organisation through which they could conduct the business of the Mau. And the first Prime Minister of Western Samoa, Fiamē Mata'afa, before he entered politics, had formed a co-operative society to purchase copra and run trade stores; he thought of it as 'my party'. Elsewhere in the Pacific modern leaders as important as Pouvanaa a Oopa, in French Polynesia, and Albert Henry, in the Cook Islands, founded their political careers in a similar way.

In Western Samoa, of course, the traditional social organisation, modified by time and circumstance, underlies the structure of the modern state. More striking, however, was the survival during much of the colonial period of ideas on the role of a foreign ruler that prevailed in Lauaki's time. The actions of 1900, when a Samoan government was formed on the eve of German intervention, and of 1904-5 were closely paralleled by the activities of the Mau a generation later. In 1928 it assumed administrative functions in conflict with those of the New Zealand authorities, and in 1933 it attempted to establish a government of its own. Most Samoans still regarded the colonial administration as an alien presence in their country, not as a sovereign authority acting in matters of common concern on behalf of the community as a whole. To the peoples of the Pacific, the cultural islands that could be penetrated but not conquered were those inhabited by their invaders.

REFERENCES

ABBREVIATIONS

AL	Australia Letters, London Missionary Society—Livingstone House, London
APM	Archivio Padri Maristi—Rome
CG	Records of the Cakobau, Provisional, and Ad-Interim Governments—Central Archives, Suva
CO	Colonial Office records—Public Record Office, London
CP	Consular Papers, H.B.M. Consulate for Fiji and Tonga—Central Archives, Suva
DR	'A Documentary Record and History of the Lauati Rebellion (O Le Mau Lauati) in Western Samoa—1909' (typescript)—National Archives, Wellington
FCSO	Records of the Colonial Secretary's Office, Fiji—Central Archives, Suva
FOCP	Foreign Office Confidential Print
GBPP	Great Britain, Parliamentary Paper
LCC	Land Claims Commission, Fiji—Central Archives, Suva
LMS	London Missionary Society
ML	Mitchell Library, Sydney
MMS	Methodist Missionary Society records, London
MOM	Methodist Overseas Mission records—ML
QCSO	Records of the Colonial Secretary's Office, Queensland—Queensland State Archives, Brisbane
RNAS	Royal Navy, Australian Station. Records of the Commander-in-Chief—National Archives, Wellington
SSJ	South Sea Journals, London Missionary Society—Livingstone House, London
SSL	South Sea Letters, London Missionary Society—Livingstone House, London
USC	United States consular records — National Archives, Washington
WPHC	Record of the Western Pacific High Commission—Central Archives, Suva

18 Dillon, *Narrative*, I, 273.

19 *Government Gazette* (Calcutta), 16 October 1826.

20 *Sydney Gazette*, 3 March 1825.

21 P. Dillon, *Mémoire adressé à M. le Préfet d'Ile Bourbon par le Capitaine Dillon, 7 Septembre 1829* (Paris, 1829); see also Georges Goyau, *Les grands desseins missionnaires d'Henri de Solages (1786-1832) . . .* (Paris, 1933), 59.

22 For Whippy's arrival in Fiji, see: [William Cary], *Wrecked on the Feejees* (Nantucket, 1928), 28; correspondence relative to David Whippy, *passim*—Central Archives, Suva, MS. 165; John Henry Eagleston's Journal (transcript), 283—Peabody Museum, Salem; J. Calvert, Journal, December 1860-January 1863—MMS.

23 Dillon to the Editor, 12 October 1826, *Bengal Hurkaru*, 14 October 1826. Apart from this letter there are two other sources for Dillon's visit to the New Hebrides: a report in the *Sydney Gazette*, 3 March 1825, and an account by Dillon, obviously based on a journal kept at the time, in a brochure accompanying two prints by George Baxter representing Rev. John Williams's visit to Tana and death at Eromanga. The brochure bears the words: *Two specimens of Printing in Oil Colours . . . and an account of the islands when visited by Captain Cook and Captain Dillon*. It was published in London in 1841. Nearly all quotations in the present narrative are documented in: J. W. Davidson, 'Peter Dillon and the Discovery of Sandalwood in the New Hebrides', *Journal de la Société des Océanistes*, XII (1956), 99–105.

24 R. Gerard Ward, in 'An intelligence report on sandalwood', *Journal of Pacific History*, III (1968), 178–80, raises the possibility that the existence of sandalwood in the New Hebrides was known some years earlier. If this were so (which is by no means certain), the knowledge was clearly possessed by few.

25 J. R. Elder (ed.), *Marsden's Lieutenants* (Dunedin, 1934), 237.

26 *Sydney Gazette*, 3, 10, 17 March 1825.

27 *Ibid.*, 17 March 1825.

28 *Ibid.*, 31 March 1825; Bayly, Journal (for details see note 29, below), I, 23.

29 George Bayly, 'Journal of Voyages to various parts of the World written by Geo^e. Bayly for the amusement of such of his friends as feel themselves disposed to read it'—Hocken Library; George Bayly, *Sea-life*. The Journal, in the form we have it, was transcribed, with some additional comments, from the document actually kept at sea.

Quotations in the remainder of this chapter that are not otherwise identified are from *Sea-life* or the Journal.

30 Bayly, *Sea-life*, 77.

31 Ships' Musters, 1824-25, 489—Colonial Secretary's Office, New South Wales. Bayly (*Sea-life*, 82) states that there were eight Europeans and only four 'Tahitians' in the crew. The Ship's Muster shows a greater number of Tahitians and other evidence supports the larger figure.

32 Letter from Dillon, 4 December 1825, *Sydney Gazette*, 15 March 1826.

33 Ibid. The next two quotations are from the same letter.

34 Dillon, *Narrative*, I, 270-1.

35 Bayly, *Sea-life*, 121.

36 Bayly, *Journal*, I, 24, 74.

37 Bayly, *Sea-life*, 135.

38 Dillon to Chaigneau, 24 May 1834—ML B149.

39 Dillon to Normanby, 30 September 1846—FO 146/306.

2 THE DEVIATIONS OF A MISSIONARY FAMILY

1 W. Henry, Schedule for Returns, 14 June 1830—SSL. Unless otherwise stated, letters are addressed to the directors of the LMS.

2 [A. C. H. Seymour], *The Life and Times of Selina Countess of Huntingdon*, by a Member of the Houses of Shirley and Hastings (London, 1839), II, 169.

3 Ibid., II, 212. See also [William Urwick], *The Life and Letters of William Urwick, D. D. of Dublin*, edited by his Son (London, 1870), 37-75.

4 On Walker and his sect see: bibliography in *Dictionary of National Biography*; Walker's *Charity Sermon* (Dublin, 1796); *The Patriot* (London), 6 November 1833, 379.

5 Henry to Pinder, 4 September 1796, quoted *Evangelical Magazine*, IV, 470-1; journal letter—SSJ iii, 7. For Henry's part on the voyage see, particularly, *Journal of Missionaries at Otaheite*—Dr Haweis' Papers, Supplement, 423-622, ML A1963.

6 R. Johnston, 28 August 1799—AL. The factual material (unless otherwise acknowledged) is derived from SSL and SSJ and the published *Transactions of the Missionary Society*.

7 Henry, journal letter—SSJ iii, 10.

8 J. Davies to Hassall, 5 February 1813—Papers of Rowland Hassall, II, 33—ML A860; H. Bicknell to Hassall, 16 November [1813]—ibid., 319; H. Nott, 18 February 1813—Copies of Letters to Rev. S. Marsden 1810-1833, ML A404.

9 J. Davies, 24 February 1821—SSL.

10 S. Marsden, 15 May 1814—AL.

11 H. Bicknell to Hassall, 16 November [1813]—Papers of Rowland Hassall, II, 319-20.

12 J. Hayward to Hassall, 9 January 1814—ibid., 65-6.

13 W. P. Crook, 17 May 1814—AL.

- 14 Marsden, 17 May 1817, 15 May 1814—AL.
- 15 G. Platt to G. Hodson, 19 August 1822—SSL.
- 16 Supreme Court report, 3 March 1818, *Sydney Gazette*, 7 March 1818; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 August 1868; R. Hassall, 10 December 1817—Hassall Correspondence, IV, 109, ML A1677-4. For Captain John Drake and Richard Drake see *Historical Records of Australia*, i, IX, 484, 564-708.
- 17 Platt, 19 August 1822—SSL; Letter book . . . within the colony . . . August 1821 to March 1822, 174-80—Colonial Secretary's Office, New South Wales, 4/5781-3; Sarah Henry to Thomas Hassall, 23 April 1822—Hassall Correspondence, III, 595, ML A1677-3.
- 18 Henry to Hassall, 16 September 1822—*ibid.*, 456-7; Sarah Henry, 27 February 1838—LMS, Home Letters A.3.7.
- 19 Crook, 31 January 1826—SSL; J. Davies, *The History of the Tahitian Mission 1799-1830*, ed. C. W. Newbury (Cambridge, Hakluyt Society, 1961); Samuel Henry to T. Hassall, 4 September 1815—Hassall Correspondence, II, 217-18, ML A1677-2.
- 20 Marsden, 17 May 1817—AL.
- 21 See particularly J. Eyre, 10 December 1817—AL.
- 22 Davies, 17 March 1819—SSL.
- 23 Marsden, 9 December 1817—AL; Davies, 24 February 1821—SSL.
- 24 Marsden, 8 February 1819—AL.
- 25 Robert FitzRoy, *Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of His Majesty's Ships Adventure and Beagle between the years, 1826 and 1836* (London, 1839), II, 524; [J. H. Smith], 'Sentimental Reminiscences' (transcript)—Bishop Museum Library, Honolulu, 'Ross MS'.
- 26 These letters have been translated by Ralph Gardner White of Tahiti from copies made by J. M. Orsmond. See N. Gunson, 'Pomare II of Tahiti and Polynesian Imperialism', *Journal of Pacific History*, IV, 69.
- 27 For Campbell see Margaret Steven, *Merchant Campbell 1769-1846: a study in colonial trade* (Melbourne, 1965); for T. A. Scott see *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, I; S. Henry, 3 February 1821, quoted *Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle*, XXIX (December 1821), 529-31.
- 28 Crook's journal, kept at Papeete, provides more detail—SSJ. For Eagar-Henry material see SSL box 3, folder ix.
- 29 The *Araucano* episode is told by J. A. Moerenhout, *Voyages aux îles du Grand Océan* (Paris, 1837). The plantation was described by Frederick D. Bennett, *Narrative of a Whaling Voyage round the Globe . . .* (London, 1840), II, 48-9. It was also visited by Daniel Wheeler, *Memoirs of the Life and Gospel Labours of the late Daniel Wheeler, a Minister of the Society of Friends* (London, 1842), 344-5. See also journals of Crook and Davies—SSJ.
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- 31 See Dorothy Shineberg, *They Came for Sandalwood: a study of the sandalwood trade in the South-West Pacific 1830-1865* (Melbourne, 1967).
- 32 See J. Orton, District Despatch Book 1826-36, 7-8—ML A1716-1; S. Henry to Orton, 13 August 1832—*ibid.*, 163-4.
- 33 E. Armitage, November 1826—SSL.
- 34 Walter Brodie, *Pitcairn's Island, and the Islanders, in 1850* (London, 1851), 207.
- 35 J. Thomas to S. Henry, 17 November 1842, enclosed in letter from Thomas, 29 March 1845—SSL; G. Turner, 'Eromanga'—LMS, South Seas Personal, box 1, 7-9; Orton, Journal 1832-9, 328—ML A1714; G. McLean to A. W. Murray (Samoa), 27 December 1843—SSL; Buzacott, 3 June 1844—SSL.
- 36 Henry, 3 February 1825—SSL; Wheeler, *Memoirs*, 322-3; Davies, 24 December 1832—SSL. See also P. O'Reilly and R. Teissier, *Tahitiens: répertoire bio-bibliographique de la Polynésie Française* (Paris, Société des Océanistes, 1962).
- 37 Threlkeld, 29 September 1818—SSL; Questions to Hayward [1819]—SSL.
- 38 A. Simpson, 18 May 1833—SSL; cf. J. M. Orsmond, 1 January 1829—SSL. For the Brazilian parallel see Gilberto Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves: a study in the development of Brazilian civilization* (New York, 1946).
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- 40 South Sea Academy Reports—SSL [1824]; Henry to J. D. Lang, 10 January 1828—Papers of Rev. J. D. Lang, XV, ML A2235; Orsmond, 1 January 1829—SSL; Blossom, 4 July 1841—SSL; Henry, 17 October 1842—SSL.
- 41 Orsmond, 19 August, 14 November 1829—SSJ xcvi.
- 42 Crook, 30 August 1828—SSJ xciv; Orsmond, 24 November 1828—SSL.
- 43 A. Buzacott, journal entry 30 July 1832—South Sea Missions, 229-7 ML A381.
- 44 Henry to T. Hassall, 7 February 1827—Hassall Correspondence, II, 803.
- 45 R. Ross, 10 March 1842—AL.
- 46 J. M. R. Young, 'Frontier Society in Fiji 1858-1873' (Ph.D., University of Adelaide, 1968). For George Henry see: South Sea Academy Report 1831—SSL; British Consulate Papers (for 1841-3), Tahiti—ML; Thomas Trood, *Island Reminiscences* (Sydney, 1912), 24.
- 47 Further details of the Simpson-Henry feud can be found in SSL for 1845 and 1846, particularly in the lengthy statements of Henry, Simpson, and Mrs Simpson.
- 48 For the family's French associations see R. Thomson, 3 January 1845; Johnston, 5 May 1845; Simpson, 14 February 1845, 26 July 1845, 8 August 1845; Henry, 15 January 1847—SSL. Smith has left his own account in 'Sentimental Reminiscences'.
- 49 Thomson (Secretary), 10 September 1845—SSL.

⁵⁰ Simpson, 4 June 1845–SSL.

⁵¹ *Messenger de Tahiti* (Papeete), 21 March 1855; J. Howe, 3 March 1856–SSL; A. Chisholm, 31 December 1856–SSL.

⁵² Buzacott, 12 February 1852–SSL.

⁵³ For more recent events in the family history see Mary A. A. Carnachan, *The Spreading Tree: the story of an enterprise and a family* (Auckland, 1955).

⁵⁴ I. S. Henry, 'A Journal containing the religious experiance and particular occurances in the life of Isaac S. Henry . . . 1854'—ML B940.

3 KING GEORGE TUPOU I OF TONGA

¹ J. S. Neill, *Ten Years in Tonga* (London, 1955), 110.

² Basil Thomson, *The Diversions of a Prime Minister* (Edinburgh, 1894), 305-7; E. W. Gifford, *Tongan Society*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin, LXI (Honolulu, 1929), 68-86.

³ Information from Her Majesty the late Queen Sālote.

⁴ Information from the Hon. Ve'ehala, Keeper of the Palace Records and Secretary of the Tongan Traditional Committee.

⁵ Information from the 'Uiha people.

⁶ Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition, during the years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842* (abridged ed., London, 1845), II, 5.

⁷ W. P. Morrell, *Britain in the Pacific Islands* (London, 1960), 311.

⁸ Information from Her Majesty the late Queen Sālote.

⁹ J. Watkin, Journal, 27 March 1834—ML A834.

¹⁰ Thomas West, *Ten Years in South-Central Polynesia* . . . (London, 1865), 357-8.

¹¹ J. Thomas, Journal, 8 July 1829—MMS.

¹² West, *Ten Years*, 359.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 364.

¹⁴ P. Turner, Missionary Papers, 49-50—ML A1506.

¹⁵ A. H. Wood, *History and Geography of Tonga* (Nuku'alofa, 1932), 47.

¹⁶ See Sione Lātūkefu, 'Church and State in Tonga: the influence of the Wesleyan Missionaries on the political development of Tonga, 1826-1875' (Ph.D., Australian National University, 1967), 223-5.

¹⁷ See Sarah S. Farmer, *Tonga and the Friendly Islands* . . . (London, 1855), 317; Wood, *History and Geography of Tonga*, 49.

¹⁸ Farmer, *Tonga*, 326.

¹⁹ Thomas, Journal, 4 December 1845; Farmer, *Tonga*, 291; Thomson, *Diversions*, 356.

²⁰ Thomas, Journal, 27 October 1837; J. B. F. Pompallier, *Early History of the Catholic Church in Oceania* (Auckland, 1938), 17.

- 21 West, *Ten Years*, 291.
- 22 *Taumu'a Lelei* (Maofanga), December 1931, 6; Wood, *History and Geography of Tonga*, 53.
- 23 See Robert Young, *The Southern World: journal of a deputation from the Wesleyan Conference to Australia and Polynesia . . .* (London, 1854), 442.
- 24 *Ibid.*, 213.
- 25 Thomas, Journal, 27 October 1849; W. T. Pritchard, *Polynesian Reminiscences; or, Life in the South Pacific Islands* (London, 1866), 289-90.
- 26 Thomas, Journal, 21 February 1850.
- 27 *Ibid.*, 15 December 1859.
- 28 West, *Ten Years*, 393.
- 29 Information from Her Majesty the late Queen Sālote.
- 30 *The 1862 Code of Laws*, Clause I, 2, in Lātūkefu, 'Church and State', 564-75.
- 31 West, *Ten Years*, 431.
- 32 Neill, *Ten Years in Tonga*, 101. Neill quotes an English translation; the original speech was published in *Koe Boobooi*, II, No. 6 (Supplement).
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- 3 [William Cary], *Wrecked on the Feejees* (Nantucket, 1928), 28.
- 4 J. S. C. Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage de l'Astrolabe, IV, Le Voyage au Pole Sud*, translated by Olive Wright (typescript)—Turnbull Library.
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- ¹³ Mervine to Secretary of Navy, 30 June 1856—United States Naval Records, Pacific Squadron, 1841-1886.
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- ²² F. D. Bennett, *Narrative of a Whaling Voyage Round the Globe From the Year 1833 to 1836* (London, 1840), I, 81.
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- ²⁵ Marin, Journal, *passim*.
- ²⁶ LCC R525.
- ²⁷ *Missionary Herald*, XXVIII (November 1832), 354.
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- ³¹ H. W. Bradley, *The American Frontier in Hawaii: the pioneers 1789-1843* (Stanford University, 1942), 130-1.
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5 CAKOBAU AND MA'AFU

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- ⁶ Rev. W. Cross, journal extract, 20 May 1841—ML A2810.
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- ¹¹ Hunt to General Secretaries, Wesleyan Missionary Society, 3 January 1841—ibid.; Cross to General Secretaries, 16 March 1841—ibid.; Lyth, journal extract, 19 October 1840—ibid.; Journal of Rev. R. B. Lyth, 3 February 1841—ML B533.
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- ²⁵ Jackson's Narrative, 458.
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- ²⁷ Lyth, Journal, 25 March, 14 July 1852—*ibid.*
- ²⁸ Lyth, Journal, 21 October 1852 *et seq.*—ML B541–B542.1; Calvert to General Secretaries, 30 November 1853—ML A2815.
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- ³² Vewa Record, 22 and 27 April 1854—MMS.
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- ⁴² Journal of Rev. J. Calvert, 29 December 1847—MMS; statement by Ma'afu, 20 November 1880—LCC R930.
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- ⁴⁵ Lyth, Journal, 19 and 21 December 1853—ML B542.1; Lyth to General Secretaries, 3 March 1854—ML A2815.
- ⁴⁶ Lyth, Journal, 29 April and 5 June 1854—ML B542.1; Calvert, Journal, 24 June 1854—MMS; Report of Proceedings regarding Vanua Balavu—CP 12.

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- ⁷⁵ Swanston to Thurston, 29 February 1868—CP 12; Cakobau to Tāufa'āhau, 26 August 1868—ibid.
- ⁷⁶ Langham to Rabone, 26 August, 23 September 1871—MOM 103.
- ⁷⁷ Burnes to Woods, 14 September 1871—CG 31; Executive Council Minutes, October 1871—ibid.; confidential memorandum, 22 July 1873—CG 10.
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- ⁷⁹ Carew to Minister for Native Affairs, 11 March 1873—CG 41.
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- ⁸¹ Executive Council Minute, 26 June 1872—CG 10; report of 23 July 1872—CG 6.
- ⁸² Encl. Stirling to Admiralty, 13 August 1873, encl. Admiralty to F.O., 4 December 1873—FO 58/141.
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- ⁸⁸ France, *Charter of the Land*, 101; Goodenough, Journal, 26 January 1874; Thurston, Journal, 3 and 4 March 1874.

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- 91 Goodenough and Layard to C.O., 19 March 1874 (confidential)—CO 83/5; statement by Mafi, 23 July 1890—Brewster, *Cannibal Isles*, 272-4; Goodenough, Journal, 27 January, 31 March 1874.
- 92 Friend to Thurston, 19 May 1874 (confidential)—CG 10.
- 93 Quoted Robinson to C.O., 30 October 1874—CO 83/5.
- 94 Joseph Waterhouse to G. J. Waterhouse, 3 October 1874—ML Uncat. MSS. Set 192, item 2.
- 95 Eastgate to Colonial Secretary, 24 September 1878—FCSO, no. 1410 of 1878; Stanmore, *Fiji: records of private and of public life 1875-1880* (privately printed, Edinburgh, 1897-1912), II, 653-4.
- 96 Des Voeux to C.O., 14 May 1883—CO 83/33.
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- 98 Langham to Gordon, 26 June 1876 (copy)—MOM 103.
- 99 Rooney to Chapman, 12 August 1875—MOM 165; Gordon to C.O., 18 December 1876—CO 83/11.
- 1 Account Books of William Hennings—Central Archives, Suva; Stanmore, *Fiji*, II, 352.
- 2 Swayne to Native Commissioner, 18 November 1883, with minutes—FCSO, no. 3271 of 1883.
- 3 Tui Naturuku, quoted Swayne to Native Commissioner, 2 May 1887—FCSO, no. 2160 of 1887.

6 XAVIER MONTROUZIER

- 1 Thomassin to Colin, 6 January 1854 (translation)—APM, OSM 208. All French quotations have been translated by the present writer and are signified thus: (translation).
- 2 Quoted in Anon., 'Le R. P. Xavier Montrouzier, 1820-1897' (translation)—typescript in the writer's possession.
- 3 Patrick O'Reilly, 'Un Missionnaire Naturaliste: Xavier Montrouzier (1820-1897)', *Revue d'Histoire des Missions*, VII (March 1931), 5-6.
- 4 Jean-François Six, *Un Prêtre, Antoine Chevrier: fondateur du Prado, 1826-1879* (Paris, 1965), 428.
- 5 Montrouzier to Colin, 2 December 1843—APM, personal file, Montrouzier.
- 6 Letter from Mme Montrouzier, 1 January 1844—ibid.
- 7 Montrouzier to his brother Gabriel, 5 December 1842 (translation)—ibid.
- 8 Montrouzier to his parents, 15 December 1859 (translation)—ibid.

- 9 Montrouzier to his niece, 17 September 1884 (translation)—APM, box 21.
- 10 Montrouzier to Jaquet, 17 December 1847 (translation)—APM, OSM 208.
- 11 Montrouzier to Barnabo, 21 April 1854 (translation)—APM, personal file, Montrouzier; Kevin J. Roach, 'Colin and the New Zealand Mission, 1838-1848' (D. Hist. Ecc., Gregorian University, Rome, 1963), *passim*; J. Coste, *Lectures on Society of Mary History (Marist Fathers), 1786-1854* (Rome, 1965), 249.
- 12 *Acta Sacrae Congregatione de Propaganda Fide*, CCVII (1844), 189.
- 13 O'Reilly, 'Xavier Montrouzier', 6.
- 14 Charter party between John Kettle, owner of *Marian Watson*, and Rev. Bp Epalle, 11 October 1845—APM, OMM 411; Rocher to Colin, 4 December 1845—APM, OP 458.
- 15 Epalle to Fransoni, 1 August 1843 (translation), *Acta*, CCVII (1844), 188; Epalle to Colin, 15 December 1844 (translation)—APM, OMM 411.
- 16 Epalle to Colin, 17 August 1845—*ibid.*; Rocher to Colin, 4 December 1845—APM, OP 458; L. Verguet, *Histoire de la Première Mission Catholique au Vicariat de Mélanésie* (Paris, 1861), 81-2, 108.
- 17 Verguet, *Première Mission Catholique*, 87-95, 116-18.
- 18 Montrouzier to his brother Henri, 19 July 1847 (translation)—APM, OSM 208.
- 19 Frémont to Favier, 20 December 1847—APM, OSM 208; Collomb to Colin, 6 May 1847—APM, OMM 411; Verguet, *Première Mission Catholique*, 235-48.
- 20 Montrouzier to his parents, 25 April 1848—APM, OSM 208.
- 21 Montrouzier to Séon, 18 June 1849—*ibid.*; Montrouzier to Colin, 8 September 1850—*ibid.*; R. Gerard Ward (ed.), *American Activities in the Central Pacific, 1790-1870*, IV (Ridgewood, N. J., 1967), 8-9.
- 22 Frémont to Colin, 24 June 1849 (translation)—APM, OSM 208.
- 23 Frémont to Favier, 20 December 1847—*ibid.*; Montrouzier to his parents, 25 April 1848 (translation)—*ibid.*
- 24 Montrouzier to Séon, 18 January 1849 (translation)—*ibid.*
- 25 Thomassin to his family, 12 October 1851 (translation)—*ibid.*
- 26 Frémont to Colin, 24 June 1849, 7 September 1850—*ibid.*
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- 28 Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (London, 1922), *passim*; J. P. Singh Uberoi, *Politics of the Kula Ring: an analysis of the findings of Bronislaw Malinowski* (Manchester, 1962), 153, 159.

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- 30 Montrouzier to his parents, 25 July 1851 (translation)—APM, personal file, Montrouzier.
- 31 Trapenard to Colin, 24 June 1851 (translation)—APM, OSM 208; Frémont to Colin, 16 October 1851 (translation)—ibid.
- 32 Rocher to Colin, 23 August 1851, APM, OP 458; Thomassin to his family, 12 October 1851 (translation)—APM, OSM 208; Frémont to Colin, 16 October 1851, 25 June 1852—ibid.; Salerio to Marinoni, 12 November 1853—Archives of the Pontifical Institute for Foreign Missions, Rome.
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- 35 Anon., 'Le R. P. Xavier Montrouzier, 1820-97', 11.
- 36 Yves Person, *La Nouvelle-Calédonie et l'Europe: de la découverte, 1774, à la fondation de Nouméa, 1854* (Paris, 1953), 81, 93-6, 158-9, 211; W. P. Morrell, *Britain in the Pacific Islands* (Oxford, 1960), 102.
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- 39 Quoted in O'Reilly, 'Xavier Montrouzier', 22 (translation).
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- 41 Montrouzier to his brother Henri, 28 April 1858—ibid.; Montrouzier to his parents, 16 January 1859—ibid.; S. M'Farlane, *The Story of the Lifu Mission* (London, 1873), 48-50, 58-62.
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- 43 Montrouzier to his brother Gabriel, 8 May 1859 (translation)—APM, box 21. For Bwaxat, see Dorothy Shineberg, *They Came for Sandalwood: a study of the sandalwood trade in the South-West Pacific 1830-1865* (Melbourne, 1967), 74-5, 77-9, 111; and 'Bouarate' in O'Reilly, *Calédoniens*.
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- 50 Montrouzier to his brother Gabriel, 27 May 1881—*ibid.*
- 51 Montrouzier to his brother Gabriel, 23 June 1881—*ibid.*
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- 53 Montrouzier to his brother Gabriel, 6 March 1884 (translation)—APM, box 21.

7 EVANESCENT ASCENDANCY

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- ⁴ Draft of an official despatch, Gordon to Carnarvon, June-August 1876—Stanmore Papers, B.M. 4919 Add MSS. 1755, p.131. The draft was never sent.
- ⁵ Thurston to Hope, 6 September 1871—Letter-Journals of Captain C. W. Hope.
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- ⁷ Edward Markham, *New Zealand or Recollections of It*, ed. E. H. McCormick (Wellington, 1963), 83.
- ⁸ Gordon to Carnarvon, June-August 1876—Stanmore Papers.
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- ¹² H. Britton, *Fiji in 1870: being the letters of 'The Argus' special correspondent . . .* (Melbourne, 1870), 6.
- ¹³ Berthold Seemann, *Viti: an account of a government mission to the Vitian or Fijian Islands in the years 1860-61* (Cambridge, 1862).
- ¹⁴ E.g. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 July 1860.
- ¹⁵ *Australasian*, 26 October 1866.

- 16 Clough to Primrose, 10 April, 10 May 1868—LCC R778.
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- 18 E.g. *Australasian*, July-August 1868, September-November 1870; *Bruce Herald* (N.Z.), March, April, May, October, November, December 1869; *Argus*, September to November 1870 (the *Argus* articles were the work of Henry Britton, later published in book form with the title *Fiji in 1870*).
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- 20 *Fiji Times*, 7 January 1871.
- 21 *Ibid.*, 7 May 1870.
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- 23 *Ibid.*, 8 December 1866.
- 24 Britton, *Fiji*, 43.
- 25 *Fiji Times*, 10 September 1870.
- 26 *Ibid.*, 3 September 1870.
- 27 *Ibid.*, 24 April 1872.
- 28 *Ibid.*, 4 January 1871.
- 29 *Australasian*, 8 December 1866.
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- 31 *Fiji Times*, 3 December 1870.
- 32 See, for example, Diary of G. H. W. Markham for 28 and 29 January and 3 February 1870—ML.
- 33 *Town and Country Journal*, 8 July 1871.
- 34 An enclosure sent to the *Argus* by James Hingston, 14 April 1868. The enclosure is dated 'February 1867'.
- 35 *Australasian*, 24 October 1868.
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- 37 *Ibid.*, 3 April 1872.
- 38 *Ibid.*, 18 January 1871.
- 39 *Ibid.*, 4 November 1871.
- 40 *Ibid.*, 6 August 1870.
- 41 *Town and Country Journal*, 29 July 1871.
- 42 *Fiji Times*, 8 January 1870.
- 43 Britton, *Fiji*, 14.
- 44 *Fiji Times*, 9 October 1872, a quotation from a newspaper article entitled 'Fiji from a Woman's point of View', which had previously appeared in Otago.
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- 56 Ibid., July 1870.
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- 58 *Fiji Times*, 1 March 1870.
- 59 Ibid., 25 February 1871.
- 60 Ibid., 11 February 1871.
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- 62 *Fiji Times*, 28 March 1874.
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- 64 Markham, *Diary*, 29 May 1872.
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- 70 E. N. Ryder to his parents, 21 December 1864—ibid.
- 71 Ryder, *Pioneering*, 25.
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- 74 Fison to Heffernan, 25 January 1880—LCC R772.
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- 82 Ibid., 26 July 1871.
- 83 Ibid., 28 May 1870.
- 84 Ibid., 16 April 1870.

85 Ibid., 4 June 1870.

86 Ibid.

87 Ibid., 28 May 1870.

88 Ibid.

89 Ibid., 7 January 1871.

90 Ibid., 31 May 1871.

91 Ibid., 4 February 1871.

92 Ibid., 11 January 1871.

93 Ibid., 11 January, 8 March 1871.

94 Ibid., 24 June 1871.

95 Ibid., 21 October 1871.

8 JOHN COLERIDGE PATTESON

¹ The principal sources for this essay are the Patteson Papers, comprising the letters from Patteson to his family, held in the Archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Westminster; Charlotte Mary Yonge, *Life of John Coleridge Patteson: missionary bishop of the Melanesian Islands* (2 vols., London, 1874); and the annual reports of the Melanesian Mission from 1856 to 1871. Unless otherwise cited, all quotations by Patteson are from the Patteson Papers.

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⁴ See his letters to E. Coleridge, 12 August and 21 December 1849, published as *Two Letters from Bishop Selwyn* (Eton, 1850).

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⁶ Yonge, I, 156.

⁷ Patteson to his sister Joanna, 26 November 1860.

⁸ E.g. R. H. Codrington, *Lecture delivered at Nelson, N.Z., September 25, 1863* (Torquay, n.d.), 3; John Elphinstone Erskine, *Journal of a Cruise among the Islands of the Western Pacific . . . in Her Majesty's Ship Havanah* (London, 1853), 318.

⁹ Translation of Rev. G. Sarawai's account of his first meeting with Bishops Selwyn and Patteson, etc., *Southern Cross Log* (Auckland), December 1901, 145. See also Codrington, *The Melanesians: studies in their anthropology and folklore* (Oxford, 1891), 10-12.

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¹¹ *Journal of the Mission Voyage of the Schooner 'Southern Cross' to the Melanesian Islands . . . Made in May-October, 1866* (Auckland, 1866), 21.

¹² *Southern Cross Log*, December 1901, 147-8.

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- ¹⁴ *Report of the Melanesian Mission, March 18, 1861* (Auckland, 1861), 9.
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- ¹⁶ *Minutes of Proceedings at a Meeting of the Metropolitan and Suffragan Bishops of the Province of Australasia, held at Sydney, from October 1st to November 1st, A.D. 1850* (Sydney, n.d.), 23-4.
- ¹⁷ *Records and Documents relating to the Consecration of a Missionary Bishop for the Western Islands of the South Pacific Ocean* (Auckland, 1861), 3-4.
- ¹⁸ Patteson to his sister Joanna, 2 April 1861.
- ¹⁹ Patteson to his father, 4 April 1861.
- ²⁰ Yonge, I, 559.
- ²¹ J. X. H. Montrouzier to his brother Henri, 18 March 1872-APM, personal file, Montrouzier.
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- ²³ Yonge, I, 423.
- ²⁴ Patteson to his father, 4 June 1860 (continuation, 14 June).
- ²⁵ *Ibid.* (continuation, 18 September).
- ²⁶ Patteson to his sisters and brother, 2 July 1865.
- ²⁷ Brooke's reminiscences of his first visit are in *Southern Cross Log* (London), May 1924, 71-6.
- ²⁸ Yonge, I, 393.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 415.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 256.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, II, 494.
- ³² For an account of his life see *Southern Cross Log* (Auckland), July 1898, 1-5.
- ³³ J. C. Patteson, *Address on the Melanesian Mission delivered at St. Mary's, Balmain, Sydney on 2 April 1864* (Torquay, n.d.), 26.
- ³⁴ Clement Marau, *Story of a Melanesian Deacon . . .* (London, 1894), 29.
- ³⁵ *Southern Cross Log* (Auckland), May 1904, 12.
- ³⁶ Patteson, 'Christian Principles. A Sermon preached . . . at Christ Church, Sydney, on the 15th of October, 1865', *Australasian Church Quarterly Review*, I (1911), 231.
- ³⁷ Yonge, II, 354.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 167.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 359.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 360; II, 292, 532-3.
- ⁴¹ *Report of the Melanesian Mission for the Year 1857-1858* (Auckland, 1858), 42-6.
- ⁴² Yonge, I, 405.

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- 46 Patteson to his sisters, 13 November 1870 (continuation, 28 November).
- 47 The fullest exposition of Patteson's criticisms is his Memorandum to the General Synod of New Zealand, 11 January 1871—GBPP, 1872, XLIII, C. 496, 107-9.
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- 50 Statement by C. H. Brooke, 19 October 1871—GBPP, 1872, XLIII, C. 496, 34-5.
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9 BAITEKE AND BINOKA OF ABEMAMA

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- 3 Ibid., 13-14 and *passim*.
- 4 [Hiram Teeko], Karakinan aron Abemama ma te botanaomata—Grimble Papers, Australian National University.
- 5 R. G. Roberts, 'The Dynasty of Abemama', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, LXII (1953), 270-1.
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- 7 Peter Dillon, *Narrative and Successful Result of a Voyage in the South Seas, . . . to Ascertain the Actual Fate of La Pérouse's Expedition* . . . (London, 1829), I, 212-13.

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- ¹⁰ Tiaon, 'Taekan Abemama', 101; Wilkes, *Exploring Expedition*, V, 92, 94.
- ¹¹ Roberts, 'Dynasty', 271; Tiaon, 'Taekan Abemama', 101.
- ¹² H. E. Maude and Ida Leeson, 'The coconut oil trade of the Gilbert Islands', in H. E. Maude, *Of Islands and Men: studies in Pacific history* (Melbourne, 1968), 242-7.
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- ¹⁵ John J. Mahlmann, *Reminiscences of an Ancient Mariner* (Yokohama, 1918), 17.
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- ¹⁷ A.M'L., Trading voyage; H. B. Sterndale, 'Memoranda by Mr. Sterndale on some of the South Sea Islands', 21—*Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand*, 1874, A-3B; Mahlmann, *Reminiscences*, 23-7.
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- ¹⁹ Teeko, Karakinan aron Abemama.
- ²⁰ Roberts, 'Dynasty', 269-70.
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- ²² H. J. Moors, *Tapu: a tale of adventure in the South Seas*, II, 232—Australian National University.
- ²³ Ernest Sabatier, *Sous l'Equateur du Pacifique: les îles Gilbert et la Mission Catholique, 1888-1938* (Issoudun, 1939), 114.
- ²⁴ *Missionary Herald*, August 1864, 244.
- ²⁵ Stevenson, *South Seas*, 236-53, 311-12; Fanny V. de G. Stevenson, *The Cruise of the 'Janet Nichol' among the South Sea Islands* (New York, 1914), 128-30.
- ²⁶ Pierson, *Journal*; Hiram Bingham, jr, to the Secretaries, 23 November 1857—American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.
- ²⁷ Sterndale, 'Memoranda', 20-1; Sabatier, *Sous l'Equateur*, 114.
- ²⁸ For an actual list of the books from which Binoka learnt see Moses Kanoaro to Bingham, 14 July 1878—Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu.

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- 30 Ibid., 304.
- 31 B. von Werner, *Ein Deutsches Kriegsschiff in der Südsee* (Leipzig, 1889), 340-55.
- 32 Moors, Tapu, II, 235-9; Stevenson, *South Seas*, 328.
- 33 C. M. Woodford, Journal of a voyage from Suva, Fiji, to the Gilbert Group and back. From March 4th to June 22nd, 1884—Woodford Papers. By courtesy of Mr C. E. M. Woodford.
- 34 A. F. Grimble, The Clan and the Totem—Grimble Papers, Australian National University.
- 35 Leona and David Crawford, *Missionary Adventures in the South Pacific* (Rutland, Vermont, and Tokyo, 1967), 225; Hawaiian Evangelical Association Annual Report, 1882; Stevenson, *South Seas*, 291-7.
- 36 E. T. Doane to Bingham, 20 August 1879—Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library.
- 37 Woodford, Journal.
- 38 Ibid.
- 39 Thomson Murray MacCallum, *Adrift in the South Seas: including adventures with Robert Louis Stevenson* (Los Angeles, 1934), 265-9; Julian Dana, *Gods who Die: the story of Samoa's greatest adventurer . . .* (New York, 1935), 101-4.
- 40 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* (print), 26—RNAS XVI.
- 41 L. and D. Crawford, *Missionary Adventures*, 227.
- 42 Tripp to Gibson, 17 June 1884—Archives of Hawaii.
- 43 Tripp, Enclosure no. 3.
- 44 Petition of Asia James Lowther to the Governor of Fiji, 31 March 1884—WPHC Inward Correspondence, General, no. 130 of 1884.
- 45 Moore, *Reports*, 14-17.
- 46 Stevenson, *South Seas*, 312-13; *The Friend*, L (May 1892), 34-6.
- 47 Stevenson, *South Seas*, 308.
- 48 Sabatier, *Sous l'Equateur*, 113; H. E. Maude, 'Two letters of Robert Louis Stevenson', *Journal of Pacific History*, II (1967), 187-8.

10 RECRUITS AND RECRUITERS

A shorter version of this essay appeared in *Journal of Pacific History*, II (1967).

¹ O. W. Parnaby, *Britain and the Labor Trade in the Southwest Pacific* (Durham, N. C., 1964), Table 1.

² I am indebted to Mr Peter Corris for this figure.

- 3 Dorothy Shineberg, *They Came for Sandalwood: a study of the sandalwood trade in the South-West Pacific 1830-1865* (Melbourne, 1967), *passim*.
- 4 M. R. Allen, 'The Establishment of Christianity and Cash-Cropping in a New Hebridean Community', *Journal of Pacific History*, III (1968), 31.
- 5 Shineberg, *They Came for Sandalwood*, 106.
- 6 McMurdo to Immigration Agent, 15 March 1886—QCSO, no. 3755 of 1899.
- 7 Rannie to Polynesian Inspector, 2 July 1885—*ibid.*, no. 1482 of 1887.
- 8 See, e.g., Journal of J. Blyth, *Glencairn*, No. 56, 19 September 1885. (Numbered government agents' journals are to be found in the Central Archives of Fiji and the Western Pacific High Commission, Suva; unnumbered journals are in the Queensland State Archives, Brisbane.)
- 9 Port Master to Colonial Treasurer, 13 January 1892—QCSO, no. 2785 of 1893.
- 10 Extract from log of government agent, *Roderick Dhu*, 10 January 1897—*ibid.*, no. 8829 of 1897; Woodford to Chermiside, 28 March 1904—copy at WPHC Inward Correspondence, General, no. 82 (II) of 1898.
- 11 Gordon to C.O., 2 February 1880—CO 83/22.
- 12 Journal of A. Nixon, *Bobtail Nag*—QCSO, no. 281 of 1878.
- 13 *Ibid.*, no. 1379 of 1904.
- 14 Minute by Corney, 15 May 1890—FCSO, no. 3569 of 1890.
- 15 *Queensland Votes and Proceedings*, 1881, II, 697, 304; 1882, II, 138, 140; 1883, I, 349, 351; 1884, II, 149; Fiji—Report on Polynesian Immigration for the Year 1883, encl. Thurston to C.O., 31 August 1885—CO 83/41; Parnaby, *Britain and the Labor Trade*, 146.
- 16 Comparative table, Queensland State Archives, 44/6, no. 12641 of 1901.
- 17 *Annual Report on Polynesian Immigration for the Year 1884* (Suva, 1886), 9.
- 18 Minute by Corney, 19 September 1899—FCSO, no. 4088 of 1899.
- 19 See, e.g., the figures for mortality on Fairymead and Bingera plantations—QCSO, no. 7999 of 1901.
- 20 Minute by Corney, 19 September 1899—FCSO, no. 4088 of 1899.
- 21 *Annual Report on Polynesian Immigration for the Year 1884*, 6.
- 22 Moore to Erskine, 5 September 1883 (citing entry in the *Lizzie's log*)—WPHC Inward Correspondence, General, no. 143 of 1883.
- 23 Journal of J. J. Fletcher, *Winifred*, No. 53, 26 July 1884.
- 24 Forsyth to Brenan, 5 March 1904—QCSO, no. 6183 of 1904.
- 25 *Brisbane Courier*, 13 October 1884.
- 26 Mills to Immigration Agent [?], 15 August 1884—Queensland State Archives, 36/3686.

- 27 Remarks on the Labour Traffic, etc., by Commander W. Dyke Acland, R.N., 20 October 1884—WPHC Inward Correspondence, General, no. 10 of 1885.
- 28 W. T. Wawn, Private Logs, 1888–1900, 22 July 1894—ML; statement by Gooding, n.d. (c. 1898–9)—QCSO, no. 6183 of 1904.
- 29 Forsyth to Immigration Agent, 18 March 1904—QCSO, no. 6183 of 1904.
- 30 Anson to Colonial Secretary, 18 February 1884—FCSO, no. 404 of 1884.
- 31 QCSO, no. 2687 of 1902.
- 32 Note by Mills, 15 February 1884—Queensland State Archives, 36/3686.
- 33 William T. Wawn, *The South Sea Islanders and the Queensland Labour Trade* (London, 1893); Wawn, Private Logs.
- 34 Ibid., 11 September 1888.
- 35 Ibid., 19 August 1888.
- 36 See, e.g., Journal of T.A.G. Thomson, *Heath*, 6 November 1884.
- 37 McLeod to Acland, 30 July 1884—RNAS XVI.
- 38 Testimonials at QCSO, no. 9870 of 1900.
- 39 *Fiji Royal Gazette*, 12 September 1884.
- 40 Brennan to Under Colonial Secretary, 19 April 1901—QCSO, no. 4180 of 1901.
- 41 Woodford to Chermside, 9 April 1903—ibid., no. 4009 of 1904; Brennan to Under Colonial Secretary, 8 July 1903—ibid., no. 5375 of 1903.
- 42 Forsyth to Immigration Agent, 24 May 1902—Queensland State Archives, 44/8.
- 43 *Brisbane Courier*, 24 June 1884, letter signed 'Cape Lime'; but see also statement by Rev. J. Copeland, 4 April 1876, that Slade's drowning was accidental—Correspondence of John Slade relating to the rescue of John Renton—National Library of Australia; Journal of C. Mills, *Ethel*, 8 April 1884.
- 44 Journal of C. Rudd, *Dauntless*, No. 6, 10 June 1877.
- 45 Ibid., 22 May 1877.
- 46 QCSO, no. 5094 of 1880.
- 47 Arman to Kellet, 2 December 1883—ibid., no. 6165 of 1884.
- 48 Otway to Colonial Secretary, 2 October 1902, encl. Jackson to C.O., 14 November 1902—CO 83/75.
- 49 Statement by F. Nicholls, 23 July 1880, encl. Hayes-Sadler to Immigration Agent, 6 August 1880—QCSO, no. 5195 of 1880.
- 50 Chaffin and Johnson to Inman, 25 December 1878—ibid., no. 2509 of 1879; statements enclosed Wilson to Des Voeux, 25 May 1879—WPHC Inward Correspondence, General, no. 45 of 1879.
- 51 Australian Station, New Guinea and Solomon Islands, 1886, Case 14—RNAS XXIII; Australian Station, New Guinea and Solomon Islands, 1888, Case 29—ibid.; Wawn, Private Logs, 6 December 1888.

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- ⁵² Bentley to Colonial Secretary, 22 July 1882—FCSO, no. 1925 of 1882; Journal of J. J. Fletcher, *Winifred*, No. 53, 2 September 1884.
- ⁵³ Layard to Gordon, 31 January 1881, with encls.—WPHC Inward Correspondence, General, no. 59 of 1881.
- ⁵⁴ Journal of E. Reilly, *Mavis*, No. 46, 15 May 1882.
- ⁵⁵ Moore to Erskine, 5 September 1883—RNAS XVI.
- ⁵⁶ Journal of R. J. C. Ferguson, *Jessie Kelly*, No. 38, 15 June 1882.
- ⁵⁷ Selwyn to Fairfax, 18 September 1888, encl. Fairfax to Musgrave, 10 November 1888—QCSO, no. 3201 of 1889.
- ⁵⁸ Journal of F. P. Bevan, *Minnie Hare*, No. 42, 28-29 April 1883.
- ⁵⁹ Moore to Erskine, 5 September, 7 November 1883—RNAS XVI.
- ⁶⁰ QCSO, no. 8483 of 1895.
- ⁶¹ Deryck Scarr, *Fragments of Empire: a history of the Western Pacific High Commission, 1877-1914* (Canberra, 1967), 141-2.
- ⁶² Wawn, Private Logs, 4 September 1888.
- ⁶³ Douglas Rannie, *My Adventures Among South Sea Cannibals: an account of the experiences and adventures of a government official among the natives of Oceania* (London, 1912), 36.
- ⁶⁴ Quoted Brenan to Principal Under Secretary, 16 April 1895, encl. Norman to C.O., 24 April 1895—CO 234/61.
- ⁶⁵ Journal of F. Otway, *Sydney Belle*, No. 63, 12 October 1895; Journal of F. Otway, *Rotuma*, No. 64, 6-15 July 1899.
- ⁶⁶ Journal of C. Mills, *Ethel*, 9 May 1884.
- ⁶⁷ Wawn, Private Logs, 8 August 1894.
- ⁶⁸ Ibid., 5 September 1890.
- ⁶⁹ *Argus* (Melbourne), 22 December 1883.
- ⁷⁰ Declaration by James Nairn, n.d., encl. Musgrave to C.O., 18 February 1884—CO 234/44.
- ⁷¹ Dale to Erskine, 19 September 1883—RNAS XVI.
- ⁷² Statement by Johnny Tana, 27 September 1885—QCSO, no. 1482 of 1887; see also Rannie, *My Adventures*, 102-4.
- ⁷³ QCSO, no. 1482 of 1887.
- ⁷⁴ Moore to Erskine, 17 September 1883—RNAS XVI.
- ⁷⁵ For the *Hopeful* case, see Musgrave to C.O., 17 September 1884—CO 234/45.
- ⁷⁶ Robertson to Bridge, 1 November 1883, encl. Bridge to Erskine, 16 January 1883—RNAS XVI; QCSO, no. 6165 of 1884; *Argus*, 29 January 1884; Acland to Erskine, 23 June 1884—QCSO, no. 6411 of 1884.
- ⁷⁷ Ibid., no. 3268 of 1895.
- ⁷⁸ See, generally, Scarr, *Fragments of Empire*, 120-211, *passim*. The Becke story in question is 'The Recruiters', in *Under Tropic Skies* (London, 1905).

- 79 Journal of R. S. Swanston, 23 September 1878—Fiji Museum.
- 80 Journal of F. Marshall, *Winifred*, No. 13, 23 May 1879.
- 81 Churchward to High Commissioner, 14 July 1895—WPHC Inward Correspondence, General, no. 130 of 1885.
- 82 Journal of C. Rudd, *Au Revoir*, No. 24, 30 June 1880.
- 83 Australian Station, New Hebrides, 1885, Case 3—RNAS XXIII.
- 84 Evidence of Walter Champion, encl. Layard to Erskine, 10 May 1882—RNAS XVI.
- 85 Bigaut to Ministre de la Marine, 15 September 1890—Archives Nationales: Marine (Paris) BB⁴ 1239.
- 86 Bénier to C. in C., Pacific Division, 7 April 1888—*ibid.*, BB⁴ 1996.
- 87 Moore to Erskine, 5 September 1883—RNAS XVI.
- 88 Quoted Bridge to Erskine, 9 July 1882—*ibid.*
- 89 W. E. Giles, *A Cruise in a Queensland Labour Vessel to the South Seas*, ed. Deryck Scarr (Canberra, 1968), 104-5.
- 90 QCSO, no. 4841 of 1882.
- 91 Journal of T. Hoyt, *Mavis*, No. 40, 17 October 1882.
- 92 Australian Station, New Guinea and Solomon Islands, 1889, Case 29—RNAS XXIII.
- 93 Extract from Journal of P. Bevan, *Winifred*, 20 October 1886, encl. Corney to Colonial Secretary, 13 January 1887—FCSO, no. 74 of 1887.
- 94 See, e.g., Codrington to Normanby, 16 March 1872—Queensland, Letters to Governor, V; Journal of E. Wecker, *Winifred*, No. 22, 23 and 27 June 1880.
- 95 Valuable information for the Solomon Islands is now available in Peter Corris, 'Passage, Port and Plantation: a history of Solomon Islands labour migration, 1870-1914' (Ph.D., Australian National University, 1970).
- 96 Journal of C. Rudd, *Mary Eliza*, No. 4, 29 November 1876.
- 97 Fiji, *Annual Reports on Polynesian Immigration*, 1907-9.
- 98 Allen, 'Christianity and Cash-Cropping', 34-9.

11 KWAISULIA OF ADA GEGE

- 1 W. G. Ivens, *The Island Builders of the Pacific* (London, 1930), 50. This book is the source for most of the information about Lau culture, and page references are given only for specific events and points in Kwaisulia's career.
- 2 G. S. Parsonson, 'Artificial Islands in Melanesia: the role of malaria in the settlement of the Southwest Pacific', *New Zealand Geographer*, XXII (1966) and 'The Problem of Melanesia', *Mankind*, VI (1968).
- 3 A. I. Hopkins, *In the Isles of King Solomon* (London, 1928), 51-2, 154.
- 4 C. M. Woodford, 'Notes on the Manufacture of the Malaita Shell Bead Money of the Solomon Group', *Man*, VIII (1908), 81.

⁵ On these ranks see Ivens, *Island Builders*, 91-2, and T. Russell, 'The Fataleka of Malaita', *Oceania*, XXI (1950), 7-8.

⁶ Dr C. E. Fox, personal communication, 21 December 1968; Ivens, *Island Builders*, 65.

⁷ Douglas Rannie, *My Adventures among South Sea Cannibals: an account of the experiences and adventures of a government official among the natives of Oceania* (London, 1912), 183.

⁸ J. G. Marwick (comp.), *The Adventures of John Renton* (Kirkwall, 1935), *passim*; information on numbers of recruits, 46, 54, quotation, 45.

⁹ Ivens contradicts himself on the point; in his *Melanesians of the South East Solomons* (London, 1927), 23-4, he says that Kwaisulia was recruited on the second voyage of the ship; in *Island Builders*, 73, he says that he left when Renton was rescued. Informants on Ada Gege in 1968, including Kwaisulia's son and a grandson, said that he left on the first occasion.

¹⁰ See encls. Thurston to Senior Naval Officer, Northern Division, 12 November 1889—RNAS XXIX; *Brisbane Courier*, 19 November 1895.

¹¹ *Argus* (Melbourne), 15 December 1892. A special correspondent of the *Argus* went incognito in a recruiting voyage of the *Helena* to the Solomons in 1892; the reports published in the *Argus* between 3 and 22 December 1892 are a good record of a typical labour recruiting voyage.

¹² For information on 'time-expired boys' see *Mackay Mercury*, 19 January 1878, 29 January 1879; *Brisbane Courier*, 27 December 1883; *Queenslander*, 11 February 1893.

¹³ *Brisbane Courier*, 19 March 1895; John Cromar, *Jock of the Islands: early days in the South Seas* (London, 1935), 216.

¹⁴ R. Cilento and C. Lack (eds.), *Triumph in the Tropics* (Brisbane, 1959), 372.

¹⁵ See *Maryborough Chronicle*, 26 November 1884, and, for reports on the trial and the publication of witnesses' evidence, *Brisbane Courier*, 26-29 March 1884.

¹⁶ W. M. Martin to Commander in Chief, Australian Station, 7 January 1881—CO 225/7; W. T. Wawn, Private Logs, 1888-1900, 15 October, 8 December 1888—ML; Rannie, *My Adventures*, 304-6; Cromar, *Jock of the Islands*, 299-301, 305.

¹⁷ Encls. Thurston to Senior Naval Officer, 12 November 1889—RNAS XXIX; Wawn, Private Logs, 8 July 1894; Journal of F. Otway, *Sydney Belle*, No. 63, 12 October 1895—Central Archives, Suva; *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, 23 August 1899. Ada Gege informants interviewed in 1968 gave details about the careers of Kaiviti and Kaa.

¹⁸ Cited Deryck Scarr, *Recruits and Recruiters: a portrait of the labour trade*, p. 244.

¹⁹ *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, 23 August 1899.

²⁰ Wawn, Private Logs, 2 September 1888, 16 July 1894.

- 21 Woodford to Thurston, 26 June 1896—WPHC Inward Correspondence, General, no. 292 of 1896.
- 22 Deryck Scarr, *Fragments of Empire: a history of the Western Pacific High Commission, 1877-1914* (Canberra, 1967), 253.
- 23 British Solomon Islands General Report, encl. O'Brien to C.O., 28 September 1898—CO 225/55.
- 24 Mahaffy to Woodford, 1 October 1902, encl. Woodford to Jackson, 1 December 1902—WPHC Inward Correspondence, General, no. 7 of 1903.
- 25 Journal of F. Otway, *Sydney Belle*, No. 63, 12 October 1895; Ivens, *Island Builders*, 191; F. Coombes, *Islands of Enchantment: many-sided Melanesia* (London, 1911), 283-4.
- 26 Ivens, *Island Builders*, 199-200.
- 27 For discussions of the characteristics of 'big-men' and 'managers' see Marshall D. Sahlins, 'Poor Man, Rich Man, Big-Man, Chief: political types in Melanesia and Polynesia', in Ian Hogbin and L. R. Hiatt (eds.), *Readings in Australian and Pacific Anthropology* (Melbourne, 1966), 164-7, and H. W. Scheffler, *Choiseul Island Social Structure* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1965), *passim*.
- 28 E.g. Hopkins, *Isles of King Solomon*, 155.
- 29 *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, 23 August 1899.
- 30 O. W. Parnaby, *Britain and the Labor Trade in the Southwest Pacific* (Durham, N. C., 1964), 173-6, 179; Colonial Treasurer to Sub-Collector of Customs, Maryborough, 22 January 1884—QCSO, no. 607 of 1884.
- 31 Ivens, *Island Builders*, 166-7, 233-4, 265; Hopkins, *Isles of King Solomon*, 92-3, 154-6, 163-4; Woodford to O'Brien, 26 November 1899—WPHC Inward Correspondence, General, no. 268 of 1899.
- 32 Ivens, *Island Builders*, 88, 190-2, 200.
- 33 Wawn, Private Logs, 6 December 1888.
- 34 *Ibid.*, 19 July 1907.
- 35 *Queenslander*, 12 January 1907.
- 36 Wawn, Private Logs, 30 November, 5 December 1888; Cromar, *Jock of the Islands*, 215, 292.
- 37 Ivens, *Island Builders*, 65.
- 38 Hopkins, *Isles of King Solomon*, 155.
- 39 Encls. Thurston to Senior Naval Officer, 12 November 1887—RNAS XXIX.
- 40 *Brisbane Courier*, 14, 19 March 1895.
- 41 Woodford to Thurston, 26 June 1896—WPHC Inward Correspondence, General, no. 292 of 1896.
- 42 A. I. Hopkins, 'Autobiography' (typescript), 67—Melanesian Mission, Auckland; *Not in Vain* (South Sea Evangelical Mission Report) (1904-5), 6-10; *Southern Cross Log*, CXIX (1905), 24.

⁴³ Hopkins, 'Autobiography', 76-80; Ivens, *Melanesians of the South East Solomons*, 40; *Southern Cross Log*, CXIX (1905), 24; Woodford to Fitzmaurice, 11 August 1906—RNAS XLIV, encl. 23; Caulfield to Woodford, encl. Woodford to im Thurn, 22 August 1908—WPHC Inward Correspondence, General, no. 443 of 1908.

⁴⁴ Mahaffy to Woodford, 1 October 1802—WPHC Inward Correspondence, General, no. 7 of 1903.

⁴⁵ Gaunt to Commander in Chief, 23 July 1907—External Affairs, A1 07/9881, Commonwealth Archives.

⁴⁶ Journal of W. R. Bell, *Clansman*, No. 65, 15 November 1908, 17 January 1909, and the same officer's journal of the next voyage of the *Clansman*, No. 66, 12-15 June 1910—Central Archives, Suva.

⁴⁷ Ivens, *Island Builders*, 206; Hopkins, *Isles of King Solomon*, 156-7; Note re Quisulia late chief of Attagege, accidentally killed at Basakana while shooting fish with dynamite in 1909—Woodford Papers.

⁴⁸ Caulfield to Deputy Commissioner, British Solomon Islands, 22 May 1909, encl. Burnett to im Thurn, 29 June 1909—WPHC Inward Correspondence, General, no. 784 of 1909.

⁴⁹ *Not in Vain* (1904-5), 6.

⁵⁰ Two petitions of this kind dated 16 and 17 October 1912 respectively, and signed by seven Malaitan S.S.E.M. leaders, are among the Woodford Papers. The earlier petition of Ambuofa and Footaboory to the King, dated 2 May 1907, is in CO 225/50.

12 LAUAKI NAMULAU'ULU MAMOE

¹ W. C. Ford (ed.), *Letters of Henry Adams (1858-1891)* (London, 1930), 441, 442.

² This description of Lauaki is based mainly on the late Tofa I'iga Pisa's manuscript history, *The Mau of Pule*—1909, of which I possess a copy, and on the oral testimony of Pilia'e Leilua Iuliano and Mamea Matatumua Ata. I'iga was a close associate of Lauaki during the latter's final years. Pilia'e and Mamea were present, as boys, on occasions when Lauaki spoke.

For other information relating to Lauaki personally and to members of his family I am also indebted to Liufau Esera, of Safotulafai.

³ Tāufa'āhau's visit is described in I'iga, *Mau of Pule*. I'iga places the visit in 1828. According to Tongan sources, however, Tāufa'āhau did not visit Samoa till 1842; and I am inclined to think that it was then that the Lauaki title was conferred. See J.-F. Blanc, *A History of Tonga or Friendly Islands* (Vista, California, 1934), 40.

For the alternative explanation, see Re: the title 'Namulauulu' and land 'Olotuli', Fogapoa Savaii—Western Samoa Land and Titles Court 847.

⁴ Statement made by Lauaki . . . as to the causes of the 'Mau' movement . . . taken before Richard Williams . . . on 27th February, 1909—DR.

5 The account of Lauaki's activities at this period is mainly based on I'iga, Mau of Pule. I'iga gained his knowledge of events many years later from some of those who were present.

6 For descriptions of these boats, see: Elloy to 'Mme. le Comtesse de N...', 1 March 1872—*Annales des missions de la Société de Marie*, III (Roanne, n.d.); and I'iga, Mau of Pule.

7 The use of the story by Lauaki on this occasion is recorded in I'iga, Mau of Pule. I have not, however, followed I'iga's version of Taputu's lament but have taken this from Augustin Krämer, *Die Samoa-Inseln* (Stuttgart, 1902-3), I, 117. I have slightly amended the wording and arrangement in the English translation of Krämer issued by the Administration of Western Samoa in mimeographed form some twenty-five to thirty years ago.

8 On the events of these months, see: Murray to Mullens, 7 July 1870—SSL; King to Mullens, 22 July 1870—SSL; Whitmee to Mullens, 31 August 1870—SSL; G. A. Turner, jr, to Mullens, 3 September 1870—SSL.

9 See Murray to Mullens, 6 September 1870—SSL.

10 Steinberger to Ta'imua and Faipule and Ali'i of Samoa, 8 June 1876—Ta'imua and Faipule Papers, 1876-7, National Archives, Wellington.

11 This meeting is reported in Governor of A'ana to Ta'imua and Faipule, 4 September 1876—*ibid.*

12 Stanmore, *Fiji: records of private and of public life 1875-1880* (privately printed, Edinburgh, 1897-1912), III, 35.

13 Re Cornwall claims on Savaii—Samoa Land Commission and Supreme Court records.

14 Information from Toluono Lama, of Palauli; I'iga, Mau of Pule.

15 There is a copy of the *Lackawanna* Agreement in the Gurr Papers—Turnbull Library, Wellington.

16 Te'o Tuvala, History—ML Uncat. MSS. Set 39. This is an English translation of an unpublished account of Samoan history written by Te'o Tuvala; it bears no title.

17 R. L. Stevenson, *A Footnote to History* (London, 1892), 78.

18 List of government appointments by Tuia'ana Tamasese, 26 October 1887—Brandeis Papers, file C, no. 9, National Archives, Wellington.

19 I'iga, Mau of Pule.

20 *Samoa Times and South Sea Advertiser*, 29 September 1888.

21 Stevenson, *Footnote*, 312.

22 *Samoa Times and South Sea Advertiser*, 5 October 1889.

23 E.g., see Lauaki to King Malietoa and wife, 6 September 1891, and Lauaki to King Malietoa, 27 October 1891—Samoa Government Papers, 1891-9, file 1, National Archives, Wellington.

24 Lauaki to King Malietoa, 27 October 1891—*ibid.*; Stevenson, *Footnote*, 312-13.

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- 25 I'iga, Mau of Pule.
- 26 *Samoa Times and South Sea Advertiser*, 18 April 1891.
- 27 Stevenson, *Footnote*, 279.
- 28 E.g., see Mata'afa to Malietoa, 29 December 1892—Senate Documents, 53rd Congress, 3rd session, no. 97, 252-3.
- 29 Lauaki to King Malietoa, 27 October 1891—Samoan Government Papers, 1891-9, file 1.
- 30 King Malietoa to Cusack-Smith, 20 May 1893—FOCP No. 6391.
- 31 I'iga, Mau of Pule.
- 32 *Ibid.*
- 33 Newell to Sibree, 20 March 1899—SSL.
- 34 I'iga, Mau of Pule.
- 35 Te'o Tuvalu, History.
- 36 Chambers to consuls, 29 November 1898—FOCP No. 7142.
- 37 Te'o Tuvalu, History. The account of the Supreme Court hearing is based on summaries in the Gurr Papers, files 6, 18, and an extract from the *Samoa Weekly Herald* of 24 December 1898 (in FOCP No. 7233, 54-8).
- 38 Te'o Tuvalu, History.
- 39 Gurr Papers, file 6.
- 40 [Mrs] Wookey, 16 April 1899—SSL.
- 41 Newell to Sibree, 20 March 1899—SSL. The passage quoted was apparently a transcription by Newell of a record of the meeting compiled in English by one of the pastors present (see FOCP No. 7234).
- 42 Bartlett Tripp, *My Trip to Samoa* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1911), 52-66.
- 43 Eliot to Salisbury, n.d.—FOCP No. 7235.
- 44 Report of meeting of [*sic*] Leulumoega on the tenth day of January, 1900 between Tumua and Pule and the 13 chiefs (Mataafa faction) and Tuisamau (delegation of Malietoans)—FOCP No. 7471.
- 45 Taylor to Governor, 17 November 1903—DR, I, 21.
- 46 Report by Schultz, 18 February 1905—*ibid.*, 65-72.
- 47 Memorandum by Schultz, 20 January 1905—*ibid.*, 53.
- 48 Ali'i Sili and Ta'imua and Faipule to Emperor Wilhelm II, 6 January 1905—*ibid.*, 86.
- 49 Taylor to Governor, 17 November 1903—*ibid.*, 21.
- 50 See Williams to Solf, 27 May 1907, and [Leilua] Taumei to Solf, 19 June 1907—German Colonial Administration, 174C4/2, National Archives, Wellington; and *O le Savali* (Mulinu'u), September 1907.
- 51 I'iga, Mau of Pule; Statement made by Lauaki . . . on 27th February 1909—DR, II, 281-2.

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⁵² Ibid., 291-2; see also Speech made by Tulafale Lauaki . . ., 18 December 1908—ibid., III, 323-5.

⁵³ I'iga, Mau of Pule; see also Krämer, *Samoa*, I, 249.

⁵⁴ Burns Philp to Secretary, Administrator's Office, 4, 29 December 1915—Legislative Department, Western Samoa, F 23/11.

⁵⁵ The surviving exiles—ibid.

⁵⁶ Report by Schultz, 11 March 1905—DR, I, 77.

INDEX

Persons, social groups, and places discussed throughout a particular essay are given a *passim* reference in respect of that essay.

- A'ana, 268, 277, 285
 Abaiang, 203, 207, 211, 220
 Abatiku, 201, 207, 210, 217
 Abemama, 201-24 *passim*
 Aborigines (of Australia), plan to
   convert, 182, 186
 Aborigines' Protection Society, 30
 Acapulco, 14
 Actaeon Islands, 42
 Active, 12, 13, 39
 Ada Gege, 244, 250, 253-65 *passim*
 Adams, Henry, 267
 Adams, John, 16
 Adavaci, 47
 Admiral Cockburn, 205
 Adolphe, 248
 Afareaitu, 31, 40
 Afega, 268
 Aguila, 14
 'Ahau, 57
 'Aiga-i-le-Tai, 270, 272, 297
 aintoa, 204
 Aitutaki, 25
 Aleamotu'a, Tu'i Kanokupolu, 60, 61, 66,
   67
 Alfred Vittery, 257
 Alhambra, 151
 Ali'i Sili, 293, 295-6
 Alipia Tusitala, 288
 Alite Bay, 250
 Amat y Junient, Manuel de, 14
 Ambrym, 232, 240, 248, 249
 Ambuofa (Peter), 263, 264, 265
 Anderson, John, 234
 Aneityum, 132, 180, 237
 Aoba, 189, 238, 240-1, 243, 246, 248, 251
 aofia, 254
 aomata, 209
 api, 56n.
 Apia, 85, 281, 282, 289; beach community,
   77-93 *passim*; ships sailing from in
   labour trade, 225-6, 247-8; municipality,
   282, 283
 Arago, François, 131
 Aranuka, 201-24 *passim*
 Araucano, 42
 Argus, 150, 155
 Ariadne, H.L.C.M.S., 214
 Ariel, 241
 ariki, 85
 Armitage, Elijah, 43
 Art, 139, 143
 Ata, 62, 67
 Ataa, 253, 258, 259, 262, 264
 Atinua, 42
 Atiu, 16
 Atkin, Joseph, 189, 193, 197, 198
 Atua, 268, 273-4, 285
 Au Revoir, 230
 Auckland, 218; Melanesian Mission based
   at, 179-92 *passim*
 Auki, 261
 Aurora, 241
 Austral Islands, 52
 Australasian Board of Missions, 185
 Australasian Church, 196
 Australia, 148, 154, 155, 157, 160-6 *passim*,
   175, 196; *see also* New South Wales,
   Sydney
 Australian College, 52
 Ba, 96, 117, 118, 119; *see also* Nabeka,
   Tawaki, Tui Ba
 Ba River, 168, 170
 Badger, u.s.s., 291
 Baiteke, 201-24 *passim*
 Baker, Shirley Waldemar, 74-5
 Balade, 132, 139, 141
 Balard, Antoine-Jérôme, 128
 Balboa, Vasco Núñez de, 4
 Bambridge, Marae, 44, 50
 Bambridge, Thomas, 44, 50
 Banks Islands, 181, 183, 188, 192, 193, 197,
   228
 banuea, 209
 Banuve, Vunivalu of Bau, 96, 98, 103
 Barff family, 48
 Barnabo, Cardinal, 131
 Barrack, Mrs Alexander, 156
 Barretto, Joseph, & Sons, 12, 30; 'Joseph
   Barretto's Island', 17
 Bataillon, Bishop, 131
 Bateman, Stanley, 246
 Bau, 17, 78, 95-126 *passim*, 174
 Bay of Islands, 12-13, 14, 20, 27, 54
 Bayly, George, 20-8 *passim*
 Beachcombers, 7, 77-93 *passim*, 205, 206
 Beaven, Samuel, 161
 Beiarung, 204
 Belbin, Captain, 240
 Belep Islands, 139, 140
 Belgium, 29
 Bellingshausen, F. G. von, 17
 Beqa, 100, 103, 110, 114, 118

- Bertrand, H. G., 10-11
 Beru, 203, 213, 222
 Bete, chief of Macuata, 102, 111, 112, 116
 Bice, Charles, 189
 Bicknell, George, 39, 40-1, 42, 79, 81, 82
 Bicknell, Henry, 35, 36
 Bicknell, Mary Anna, 46, 50
 'Big-man', 4, 260
 Bike, 201, 210, 217
 Binatake, 210, 214, 215
 Bingham, Hiram, 207, 211, 212, 213, 216
 Binoiano, 223
 Binoka, 201-24 *passim*
 Bishop, Captain, 204
 Bismarck, Prince Otto von, 174, 282
 Bismarck Archipelago, 226
 Black Beach, Tana, 249-50
 Bland, William, 37-8, 45, 50
 Blest, Albert, 32
 Bligh, William, 5
 Blossom, Thomas, 46
Bobtail Nag, 230, 239, 255, 256
 Boli, 189
 Bonald, Cardinal de, 129
 Borabora, 49
Borough Belle, 240
boti, 209
 Bougainville, Louis Antoine de, 15
Bounty, H.M., 5, 16
 Brandeis, Eugen, 280
 Brewster, A. B., 151, 170
 Britain, 67, 70, 74, 83, 86, 112, 119, 120-3, 260, 280, 281, 286, 289-92 *passim*, 298; *see also* Consular activity (and under names of consuls), Naval activity
Briton, H.M.S., 16
 Britton, Henry, 150, 153, 170
 Brooke, Charles, 189, 198
 Brooks, S. W., 160
 Brower, I. M., 114, 116, 118
 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, J. A., 28
 Bua, 17, 109-10, 174; *see also* Tui Bua
 Buchert, Martin, 10, 28
 Buenos Aires, 15
 Buka, 245
 Buli Solevu, 117
 Buli Vuya, 117
 Bulu (Joel), 112
 Bundaberg, 263
 Burt, G. R., 150, 170-1
 Butaritari, 203, 204, 206, 207, 209, 211n., 213, 216, 222
 Buzacott, Aaron, 46, 52
 Bwaxat, 141, 142
 Cakaudrove, 47, 96-117 *passim*
 Cakobau, *see* Seru (Epenesa) Cakobau
 Calcutta, 10, 12, 14, 29
Calder, 8-23 *passim*
Caledonia, 249
 California, 53, 111, 150
 Callao, 13, 14
 Calvert, James, 89, 113
 Camden, 132
 Campbell, Robert, 41
 Canala, 140, 142
 Carl, 226
 Caroline Islands, 2, 234
 Cary, William, 80
Ceara, 238, 246-7
 Chaigneau, Eugène, 30
 Chambers, William Lea, 287-9 *passim*
 Chapin, Virginius, 82
Chapman, 37
 Charles X of France, 29, 30
 Chauvel, M., 79
 Chieftainship: accession to (Polynesia) 2, (Fiji) 98, 102, (Tonga) 56-7, (Solomon Islands) 253-4; powers of (Polynesia) 2-3, (Melanesia) 4, (Fiji) 3-4, (New Caledonia) 3-4, Gilbert Islands, 203-4; *see also* 'Big-man'
 Chile, 6, 12, 13, 42
 China, 204
 Chisholm, Alexander, 49-50
 Chrestian, M., 128
 Christian, Fletcher, 16
 Christianity: conversion to, 7, 24, 271; of Cakobau, 104-5; Tongan agency in Samoa, 106; Tongan agency in Fiji, 107, 108, 109, 110, 113; of Melanesia, 127-45 *passim*, 177-200 *passim*; of Tonga and King George Tupou I, 61-4; of Abemama, 212-13
 Church Missionary Society, 12-13, 20, 185
 Cicia, 107
Clansman, 225, 264, 265
 Clough, H., 151
Cleopatra, 154
 Codrington, Robert Henry, 190, 191, 196, 200
 Coe, Jonas M., 80, 86
 Coe, Phoebe, 86
 Cokonaut, 101
 Colcord, John, 81, 86
 Coleridge, Frances, 177
 Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, 177
 Colin, Jean-Claude, 131, 138n., 139
 Collomb, J. G., 131, 133, 135, 141
 Colonial Bishopsrics Fund, 185
 Comité de l'Instruction Publique, 144
 Confederation of Fijian Chiefs, 115-16
 Conference on Samoan Affairs, 282, 283; Final Act of the, 282-3, 286, 288
 Connel, Patrick, 80
 Connor, Nancy, 34-50 *passim*
 Consular activity, 83-4, 118, 271, 274, 277-8, 279, 283, 290-1; *see also* Brower, Dirickson, Pritchard
 Cook, James, 5, 13, 15, 18
 Cooper & Levey, 42
 Cooper, Ebenezer Vicesimus, 50, 52
 Cooper, Robert, 20-1
Coquette, 230
 Corney, B. G., 230-1, 232
 Cornwall, Frank, 278
Coronet, 220

- Corporation of Fiji Settlers, 173
 Corrie, Robert, 219
 Cover, J. F., 34
 Cowper, William, 38
 Croker, W., 67
 Cromar, John, 256n.
 Crook, W. P., 15, 37, 42, 45, 46
 Cross, William, 62
 Cudlip, Otty, 153
 Cullen, Peter, 248
 Cunningham, Mr, 45
 Cunningham, William, 79
 Curtis Island, 190
 Cusick, William, 80, 82
- Darling, David, 48
 Dart, H.M.S., 221, 222, 242
 Dauntless, 240, 241
 Davies, John, 35, 36, 39, 40, 48
 Deutsche Handels- und Plantagen-Gesellschaft, 293; labour recruiting for, 225, 247-8
 Dido, H.M.S., 179
 Dillon, Arthur, 10
 Dillon, Frances (Fanny), 10-11
 Dillon, John Peter, 12
 Dillon, Joseph Napoleon, 12
 Dillon, Martha, 30
 Dillon, Mary, 12, 15
 Dillon, Peter, 8-30 *passim*, 40, 42
 Dillon, Peter (the elder), 10
 Dillon Bay, 19-20
 Dirickson, Consul, 84
 Doane, E. T., 216
 Don Juan, 225, 226
 [Donu], chief of Moala, 108
 Douarre, Bishop, 132, 138
 Dowell, Peter, 245-6
 Dowie, Thomas, 167
 Drake, Richard, 37-8
 Draunibaka, 110
 Dreketi, 119
 Drift voyages, 16
 Ducos Peninsula, 143
 Ducrettet, Eugene, 136
 Dubreul, Antoine, 129
 Duff, 31, 33, 34, 57
 Dumont d'Urville, J. S. C., 80, 133
- Eagar, Edward, 41, 42
 Eagleston, J. H., 98-9
 Ebrill, Thomas, 24, 40, 42, 43, 44, 46, 50, 79, 81, 82
 Edith, 170
 Efate, 232; Tongans at, 44, 107; European plantations on, 225, 248-9; *see also* Havannah Harbour
 'eiki, 56
 Elenoa, 109
 Elisaia, 212-13
 Eliza, 34
 Ellice Islands, 2; labour recruiting in, 225-6, 243
- Emily, 204
 Emma Bell, 198, 226
 Epalle, J. B., 131, 132, 133
 Epeli Nailatikau, 121, 124
 Epi, 170, 240, 241, 248
 Equator, 222
 'Equator Town', 223
 Eromanga, 19-20, 24, 42, 44, 132, 247
 Erskine, J. E., 83
 Espiritu Santo, 241, 244, 247
 Ethel, 245
 Etoile du Matin, 138
 'Eua, 60
 Evangelical Revival, 31
 Eyre, John, 37, 39
 Eyre, Mrs John, 34, 39
- fa'ahinga, 56n.
 Fa'alata, 293
 Fa'asaleleaga, 268, 272, 279, 285, 296
 Faipule, government assembly, 276, 293; member of, 280, 286, 292, 295; *see also* Fono of Faipule; Ta'imua and Faipule
 Faka'ilootonga, 61
 Falealili, 270, 273, 287, 289
 Falkland Islands, 14-15
 Fanning Island, 84
 Favorite, H.M.S., 67
 Febvrier-Despointes, Admiral, 139
 Feillet, Governor, 140
 Fenuapeho, 16, 25
 Fiji, 6, 7, 9, 10, 17, 29, 53; land speculation in, 47, 117; Tongan interference in, 68-9; beach community, 77-93; nature of political power in, 95-8, 100; bêche-de-mer trade in, 98, 101-2; gods of, 99; cession of, to Great Britain, 112, 119, 120-3; European plantations and planter community in, 115, 117, 120, 147-75 *passim*, 225, 231; labour recruiting for, 225-51 *passim*, 260, 261, 264; failed planters from, in labour trade, 239-40, 247-8; *see also* under names of islands, districts, titles, individuals
 Fiji Planters' Protection Association, 172-3
 Fijian Weekly News and Planters' Journal, 160
 Fiji Times, 119, 149-62 *passim*, 171, 174, 175
 Filariasis, 37, 45
 Finau 'Ulukālala (William Lajike), 106
 Finau 'Ulukālala II, 66
 Finau 'Ulukālala Tuapasi, 60, 64-5
 Fiona, 229
 Firearms: supplied to islanders, 7, 13, 14, 23-4, 101-2, 120, 122, 271, 275; supplied in labour trade, 228, 242, 249-50; effect of, 249-50
 Fison, Lorimer, 167
 Fito, 264
 Fitzharding, Captain, 234
 FitzRoy, Robert, 40
 Florence, John, 14, 23
 Flying Fox, 153, 206

- fono, 3, 56
 Fono of Faipule, 295, 297
 Footaboory (Benjamin), 264, 265
 Forbes, Litton, 147-8, 163
 Foreign Residents' Society, 83
 Forrest, A. E. C., 199
 Forster, George and Johann, 18
 Fou'ia, 263
 Foulanger, 244, 245, 257, 258
 France, 29; intervention in Tonga, 70-1;
     takes possession of New Caledonia, 139
 Fraser, M., 248
 Fraysse, Bishop, 140
 Free Church of Tonga, 74
 Friend, H., 239
 Frémont, Jean, 136, 137, 138, 138n.
 Futuna, 18
 Fuuna Vou, 261, 262

 Gaga'emauga, 268, 285
 Gagaifomauga, 285
 Gaggin, John, 239
 Gaspard, Barthélemy, 248
 Gatoaitale title, 268, 270, 281, 288
 Gau, 103
 Gazelle, 138n.
 Gela, 197, 242
 Genii, 206
 George III of England, 7
 'George Turner', *see* Namu
 George Vakawaletabua, *see* Tui Bua
 Germany, 278, 280, 281, 282n., 289-92
     passim; treaty with Tonga, 74; adminis-
     tration in Samoa, 292-8; *see also* Consular
     activity, Naval activity
 Gibson, Walter M., 219
 Gilbert, Captain, 204
 Gilbert Islands, 201-24 *passim*, 298; British
     protectorate, 204; labour recruiting in,
     225-6, 242, 243
 Gleeson, James, 221
 Godeffroy, J. C., & Son, 82
 Golding, William, 170
 Golea Navanua, Tui Cakau, 112-13, 114,
     115-16, 119, 120, 121, 122, 172-3
 Gooding, F., 239
 Goodenough, J. G., 120-2
 Gorla, chief in Shortland Islands, 244, 259
 Gordon, Arthur Hamilton-, 123-4, 147-8,
     149, 156, 277
 Gossner's Society, 52
 Governor Macquarie, 41
 Gray, Bishop, 186
 Gray, Captain, 234, 237
 Greer, James, 50
 Grey, George, 70
 Griffith, S. W., 236
 Grimble, Arthur, 215
 Grundy, Elizabeth, 91
 Grundy, Thomas, 80
 Guadalcanal, 185, 228, 242
 Guasopa Bay, 134, 136
 Guillain, Governor, 143

 Gyles, John, 41

 ha'a, 56n.
 Ha'afeva, 60
 Ha'a Havea, 57, 61, 65-7, 68
 Ha'a Ngata, 61n.
 Ha'apai, 55, 57, 60, 62-5, 70
 Haehaetahi, 63
 Hale, Horatio, 205
 Hassall, Rowland, 35, 36, 38
 Hassall, Thomas, 34, 36-7, 38, 39
 hau, 56-7, 58
 Haumani, 44, 51
 Havannah, H.M.S., 180
 Havannah Harbour, 234, 236, 247
 Hawaii, 6, 47, 48; political relationship with
     Tonga, 71; constitution model for Tonga,
     73; beach community, 77-93 *passim*
 Haweis, Thomas, 33
 Haweis, 40, 41
 Hayward, J., 36
 Hayward, Captain, 220
 Heath, Thomas, 49
 Hector, 229
 Hedemann, F. C., & Co., 120, 122
 Helena, 236
 Henderson & Macfarlane, 218
 Hennings, F. & W., 115, 165
 Hennings, William, 125, 165, 166, 173
 Henry, Alfred, 49, 50
 Henry, Ann Elizabeth, 51, 53
 Henry, Ann Moorea, 47, 51
 Henry, Blanche Clara, 50, 52
 Henry, Caroline, 50, 51, 53
 Henry, Daniel Tyerman Bennet, 48-53
     passim
 Henry, Eleanor, 34, 35, 44, 53
 Henry, Elizabeth, 47, 51
 Henry, Faifaipua, 54
 Henry, George (senior), 31
 Henry, George Moody, 51, 53-4
 Henry, Isaac Shepherd, 48-54 *passim*
 Henry, Josiah Richards, 47, 51
 Henry, Philip Hitoti, 51, 53
 Henry, Samuel Pinder I, 24, 34-50 *passim*,
     79, 81, 82
 Henry, Samuel Pinder II, 50, 53, 54
 Henry, Sarah (junior), 34-50 *passim*
 Henry, Sarah (senior), 31
 Henry, Sophia (the younger), 51, 52
 Henry, Teuira, 51, 53
 Henry, William, 31-54 *passim*
 Henry, William Ebenezer I, 34, 44-50 *passim*
 Henry, William Ebenezer II, 44, 50
 Henry, William Ebenezer III, 50, 51, 53
 Henry family, genealogy, 50-1
 Henty, Joseph, 220
 Herald, 206
 Hienghène, 141, 142
 High Commissioner for Western Pacific, 234
 Hihifo, 60, 62, 67
 Hobart Town, 12
 Hocking, Henry, 238

- Holliwell, Walter, 206
 Holmes, Mr, 85, 86
 Honolulu, beach community, 77-93 *passim*
Hopeful, 246
 Hopkins, A. I., 262-3, 264
 Hort brothers, 82
 Houma, 68
 Houmofaleono, 57
Hound, 205
 Howley, Archbishop, 179
 Hoyt, Theodore, 239
 Huahine, 25, 31, 39, 69
 Hule, 66
 Hunt, John, 100-1
Hunter, 10, 17
 Hunter Island, 28
 Huntingdon, Selina, Countess of, 31-2, 33
- Ifwerson, Captain, 154
 I'iga Pisa, *see* Tofa I'iga Pisa
inaomata, 209
 India, 6
Inga, 206
 Ingava, 259
 Inman, W. A., 246
 Ireland, 10, 31; Church of, 31-2
 Isikeli, Roko Tui Viwa, 118
Ivanhoe, 236
 Ivens, W. G., 261
- Jackson Kaa, *see* Kaa (Jackson)
 Jaluit, 282n., 286
 Jamaica, 168-9
Janet Stewart, 241
 Japan, 267
Jessie Kelly, 241-2
 Joe (lascar), 10, 28
John Wesley, 105
 Johnston, Richard, 34
 Jones, H. M., 115, 118
Julia, 219
Jupiter, 14
- Kaa (Jackson), 258, 259, 262, 265
 Kaba, 104, 105; battle of, 105, 110
 Kabbou, 256, 262
 Kadavu, 100, 102, 105, 110, 150, 170, 171;
     Tongans at, 106, 110-11, 118
 Kaeaki, 204
kāinga, 56n.
kainga, 209
 Kaitu, 203, 204, 209, 219
 Kaiviti, 258, 259, 264, 265
 Kakaluae, 265
 Kalakaua, King of Hawaii, 219, 220
 Kalanimoku, 84
 Kamehameha I of Hawaii, 58, 79, 82, 83,
     84, 85, 91, 92, 219, 223
 Kanoara, Moses, 213, 216
 Karangaroa clan, 203
 Karotu, 204, 205, 210, 212
Kate McGregor, 220, 221
- Katonivere, chief of Macuata, 116
kaunga, 209
Kau Tangaloa, 55
 Kawakawa Bay, 26
 Kealakekua Bay, 79
 Keble, John, 178
 Kendall, Thomas, 20
 Kenna, 205
 King George Tupou I of Tonga, 44, 55-75
     passim, 113, 118, 124, 270; political am-
     bition of in Fiji, 103, 109, 113-16; politi-
     cal opponent of escapes to Fiji, 106; visits
     Fiji, 105, 106; places mission teachers in
     Samoa, 106; views on foreign rule in
     Pacific Islands, 113
 Kini Navuai, chief of Nadroga, 167, 170,
     174, 175
 Kirby, John, 205
 Kohimarama, 190, 191
 Kolovai, 67
 Kororareka Association, 77, 83
 Kubuna (people), 95, 96, 98, 104
 Kuria, 201-24 *passim*
 Kuila, chief of Cakaudrove, 113
 Kwai, 241, 262
 Kwaisulia, 244, 250, 253-65 *passim*
- Labour trade, 225-51 *passim*, 253-65 *passim*
Lackawanna agreement, 279, 288
 Lajike (William), *see* Finau 'Ulukālala
 Lakeba, 17, 95-125 *passim*
 Lang, J. D., 45, 52
 Langalanga, 257, 258
 Langham, Frederick, 118, 121
 Langi, 17, 20-1, 24
 La Pérouse, Jean François de Galaup de,
     28-9
Larne, H.M.S., 27
 Lasakau (people), 96, 98-100
 Lau (Fiji), 95-126 *passim*, 165, 172, 173,
     174, 175
 Lau (people, Malaita), 253-65 *passim*
 Lauaki title, 270-1
 Lauaki Namulau'ulu Mamoe, 267-99 *passim*
 Laucala, 102
 Laufilitonga, 60-1, 65, 68
 Laughlan Islands, 138
 Layard, E. L., 120-1
 Leefe, R. B., 167
 Leeward Islands, 16, 39
 Lemua, 244
 Lepa, 274
 Leulumoega, 268, 274, 277-80 *passim*, 287
 Lever Brothers, 236, 264
 Levey, Solomon, 42
 Levuka, 17, 104, 105, 118, 119, 120, 125,
     150-74 *passim*, 236; beach community, 77-
     93 *passim*
 Levuka Vakaviti, 87
 Lifu, 140, 141, 142, 180, 181, 187
 Lifuka, 57, 60
 Liholiho, chief, of Hawaii, 84
 Lima, 13-14

- Linnean Society, 131
 Little Makin, 203, 204
 Lizzie, 245-6
 Lizzie Davies, 234
 Logan, Ernest, 161
 Logan River, 225
 Lomaiviti, 96, 97, 104, 106, 117
 Lomaloma, 47, 107, 108, 112, 119, 120, 122, 125, 165, 173; Tongan community established at, 114, 115
 Lomanikoro, 101, 105
 London Missionary Society, 5, 12, 13, 15, 41, 43, 132, 140, 179; in Tahiti, 31-53 *passim*; in Tonga, 57; in Loyalty Islands, 187; in Samoa, 268, 270, 271, 276, 287
 Loongana, 236
 Lotofaga, 274
 Lovoni (people), 85, 90, 104, 162, 169
 Lowther, A. J., 221
 Loyalty Islands, 132, 140, 181, 182, 186n., 187
 Lualala (Zephaniah), 64, 65, 106, 107, 109
 Lufilufi, 268, 274, 278-9 *passim*
 Lupe Pau'u, 60
 Lyth, R. B., 108, 109

 Ma'afu (Henele), Tui Lau, 44, 57, 68, 95-126 *passim*, 165-6, 172, 174
 Maben, Sarah, 34, 50
 M'Cabe, George, 240
 Macaulay, T. B., 150
 McKay, John, 234
 Mackay, 245
 Macleay, W. S., 138, 139
 McLeod, Donald, 234, 249, 250
 McMurdo, R. A., 229, 239, 242-3
 McMurdo, W. A., 236-7, 239
 McNeil, Neil, 246-7
 McQuaker, Captain, 236
 Macquarie, Mrs Lachlan, 37
 Macuata, 102-3, 109-10, 112-16 *passim*; *see also* Bete, Katonivere, Ritova, Roko Mamaca
 Madeline, 246
 Mafi (Joni), 115, 125
 Magellan, Ferdinand, 4-5
 Mago, 107, 165-6
 Magoun, Caroline, 87
 Magoun, James, 80, 87
 Mahaffy, Arthur, 259, 264
 Mahlmann, John, 207
 Mahooalla (Billy), 257, 258
 Maiana, 203, 211, 216, 219
 Mair, H. A., 239
 Mairipehe, 42
 Makave, 64
 Makira Bay, 132, 133
 Makogai, 17, 165
 Makwana Passage, 253
 Mala, 259, 264
 Malani, Tui Nayau, 40
 Malaita, 185, 228, 233-58 *passim*, 263, 264
 Malcolm, Captain, 237
 Malekula, 4, 181, 233, 236, 244, 247, 248, 250
 Malie, 268, 281, 284, 288, 291
 Malietoa: family, 268-80, 272, 273, 276, 278, 281, 284, 290; title, 270, 271-2, 288
 Malietoa Laupepa, 271-4 *passim*, 276-80 *passim*, 282-6 *passim*, 288
 Malietoa Talavou, 271-2, 278-9
 Malietoa Tanumafili, *see* Tanumafili
 Malietoa To'oā Mata'afa, *see* Mata'afa Iosefo
 Malupō, 65
 Malu'u, 263
 Mamaca, *see* Roko Mamaca
 Manaoba, 241, 250, 253, 256, 260, 261, 262, 264
 maneaba, 203, 209
 Mangkia, 203, 204
 Manini, George, 82
 Manono, 270, 281, 284, 288
 Manu'a, 268n., 292
 Manuhangi, 24
 Maori Wars, 121, 148, 151
 [Kamises] Mara Kapaiwai, 103-4, 105, 106-7, 111
 Marakei, 203
 Maramasiki, 258
 Marau, Clement, 193
 Marching Rule, 265
 Mare, 180
 Marianas, 5, 297
 Marin, Francisco de Paula, 80, 82, 85, 87, 91
 Marion Watson, 132, 133
 Marist Mission, *see* Society of Mary
 Markham, Edward, 149
 Markham, G. H. W., 161
 Marquesas, 5, 6
 Marsden, Samuel, 12, 13, 34-45 *passim*
 Marshall, Captain, 204
 Martin, Isaac, 16
 Martinique, 10
 Mary, 134
 Mary Anderson, 247
 Maryborough, 228, 242-3
 Maskelyne Islands, 248
 Mata'afa Iosefo, 276, 278, 281, 282-4 *passim*, 286-96 *passim*, 298
 matai, 56
 matāpule, 3, 56n., 115, 270
 Matautu, 272
 Matavai, 31, 35, 84, 87
 Matavai Bay, 15
 Matekitonga, 64
 Matilda, 39
 Matuku, 98, 108, 114, 124
 Mau of Pule, 296-8
 Maungatabu, 203n.
 Mavis, 241
 Mazzucconi, Giovanni, 138n.
 Meg Merillies, 250
 Mehetia, 24
 Melanesia: cultures and political structures of, 1, 4, 95, 232, 242, 243, 253-4; Society of Mary in, 127-45 *passim*; indigenous

-
- religion in, 130, 134-5; cargo cult in, 138;
 labour recruiting in, 225-51 *passim*; *see*
also under names of island groups
 Melanesian Mission, 141, 179-200 *passim*,
 232, 262
 Meredith, John, 245
 Mere Tuisalalo, *see* Tuisalalo (Mere)
 Mervine, William, 83
Messenger of Peace, 270
 Methodism, 31-3, 52; *see also* Wesleyan
 Methodist Mission
 Ngwai Fou, 258
 Micronesia, cultures, 1-4, 131
 Middleton, George Augustus, 38
 Milan Foreign Mission Society, 138n.
 Miller, Edward, 153
Minnie Hare, 242
 Missen, Alfred, 167, 170
 Missions, *see* Australian Board of Missions,
 Church Missionary Society, Gossner's
 Society, London Missionary Society, Mel-
 anesian Mission, Milan Foreign Mission
 Society, New Hebrides Presbyterian Mis-
 sion, Roman Catholic missions, Society
 of Mary, Wesleyan Methodist Mission
 Moala, 98, 101, 103, 108, 114
 Moefa'au, 294, 295
 Moerenhout, Jacques-Antoine, 48, 79
moheofo, 60
 Mohn, Leopold, 52
 Montevideo, 15
 Montrouzier, Gabriel, 128, 129
 Montrouzier, Henri, 128
 Montrouzier, Xavier, 127-45 *passim*, 187
 Moore, W. Osborne, 221, 242-3, 246
 Moorea, 31, 35, 36, 41, 42, 49
 Moors, H. J., 215
 Morisset, J. T., 38
Morning Star, 216
 Mossman, Jack, 21-8 *passim*
 Mota, 188-9, 192, 194, 197, 200
 Moturiki, 97, 118
 Moulton, J. E., 72
 Mueau, 142
 Muir, Thomas, 167
 Mulekupe, chief in Shortland Islands, 244
 Mulinu'u, 271, 272, 274, 275, 280, 281, 284,
 288, 290, 292-7 *passim*
 Murray, Duncan, 167
 Murua, 133-8 *passim*, 142, 145
 Mwea, 203, 204
Mystery, 241

 Na Atonga, 203
 Nabeka, chief of Ba, 118
 Nadi, 96, 161
 Nadroga, 106, 114, 174; *see also* Kini
 Navuai
 Nailatikau, Vunivalu of Bau, 96
 Namoriki, 204
 Namu ('George Turner'), 247
 Namulau'ulu: title, 268, 270-1; family,
 270n.
 Namulau'ulu Atamu Faleseu, 270
 Namulau'ulu Pulali, 270-1, 272n., 294
 Napoleon I of France, 7, 10, 11
 Napoléonville, 142
 Nasova, Levuka, 120, 121
 Natewa, *vanua* of, 100, 101, 106
 Natewa Bay, 100
 Naulivou, Vunivalu of Bau, 17, 96, 98, 99,
 101
 Nauru, 2, 206
Nautilus, 204
 Naval activity, 67, 271, 277, 281, 284, 285,
 290-1
 Navarro, Joseph, 84
 Nayau, 107
 Neiafu, 64
 New Britain, 135, 234
 New Caledonia, 3, 7, 70, 125, 127, 130-45
passim, 179, 180; nickel mines in, 225;
 labour recruiting for, 225-6, 241, 247-8,
 250-1, 261
 New Guinea, 7, 133, 134, 135, 137; cultures,
 1; kidnapping off, 246
 New Hebrides, 7, 17-20, 42, 43, 44, 107, 132,
 139, 148; labour recruiting in, 169, 225-51
passim; recruiting for local plantations in,
 248-9; Melanesian Mission in, 179, 180,
 186n., 187, 189, 197, 200; *see also under*
names of individual islands
 New Hebrides Presbyterian Mission, 179,
 232
 New South Wales, 6, 7, 10, 13, 31, 34, 35,
 39, 43, 45, 48, 49, 204
 New Zealand, 29, 38, 54, 70, 133, 141, 148,
 151, 154, 162, 163, 164, 166; Melanesian
 Mission based on, 178-200 *passim*
 Newman, James, 247
 Newman, John Henry, 178
 Ngininginiolofanga, *see* King George Tupou
 I of Tonga
 Nichol, Captain, 215
 Niemann, J. H., 153
 Nikunau, 213, 242
 Nimatu, 220, 221
 Niue, 206
 Nobbs, Edwin, 196
 Nomuka, 60, 63
 Nonouti, 206, 220, 221, 222
 Norfolk Island, 10, 186; Melanesian Mission
 based on, 190-200 *passim*
 Norman, Mr, 170
 Nott, Henry, 15-16
 Nott, Mrs Henry, 24, 36
 Nouméa, 140, 143, 144; *see also* New
 Caledonia
 Nukapu, 198, 199, 226
 Nuku'alofa, 62, 67
 Numbo, 143

 Oahu, 80, 85
 Oahu Charity School, 88, 89
 Ofolanga, 57
 On Chong & Co., 234-6

- Oneaka Island, 223
 Ono Levu, 17
 Optat, Brother, 136
 Oro, 34, 36
 Orsmond, Cecilia, 47
 Orsmond, Eliza Teumere Opea, 51, 53
 Orsmond, George, 47
 Orsmond, J. M., 45-9 *passim*, 53
 Orsmond, John Griffin, 53
 Otway, Franc, 239-40, 244
 Ou (Peter), 258
 Ovalau, 78, 80, 83, 90, 97, 104, 151, 152, 169
- Paddon, James, 132
 Païta, 143
 Palauli, 279
 Pangai, 60
 Pao, 140
 Papeete, 43, 48, 53, 54; beach community, 77-93 *passim*
 Papetoai, 31, 34, 48
 Para, 234
 Parker, J. M., 53n.
 Patteson, John, 177
 Patteson, John Coleridge, 141, 177-200 *passim*, 226
 Pea, 66, 67, 68
 Peacock, U.S.S., 205
 Perrin, Mrs, 156
 Peru, 12, 13, 226
 Peter Ambuofa, *see* Ambuofa (Peter)
 Peter Ou, *see* Ou (Peter)
 Philp, Richard, 163-4
 Pillans, Mrs, 156
 Pilolevu (Sālote), 75
 Pinaki, 24
 Pines, Isle of, 44, 46, 132, 139, 140, 143, 180
 Pita Vi, *see* Vi (Pita)
 Pitcairn Island, 5, 15n., 16, 43; occupants resettled at Tahiti, 42; occupants on Norfolk Island, 186, 190
 Platt, George, 37
 Plymouth Brethren, 33
 Polynesia: culture, 1-4; beach communities, 77-93 *passim*
 Polynesian Company, of Melbourne, 118, 151
 Pomare I of Tahiti, 35, 58, 219
 Pomare II of Tahiti, 7, 35, 39, 40-1, 42, 81
 Pomare, chief at Bay of Islands, 26-7
 Pomare & Co., 40, 41
 Pomare Vahine, Regent of Tahiti, 24-5
 Pompallier, Jean-Baptiste, 67, 131
 Ponape, 133
 Porpoise, H.M.S., 289
 Port Adam, 241, 244, 257, 258
 Port Jackson, 78, 81, 204
 Port Resolution, 18, 247
 Port Sandwich, 236
 Potts, T. F. T., 239
 Poutasi, 273, 274
 Pritchard & Co., 82
 Pritchard, George, 48, 79, 83
 Pritchard, W. T., 112, 122, 150
 Pritt, Lonsdale, 187, 190, 191, 192
 Proctor, J. T., 247-8, 249
 Pueblo, 141, 142
 Pule, 268, 278, 290, 297; *see also* Tūmua and Pule
 Pulepule, 276
 Pusey, E. B., 178
- Qali*, Fijian political relationship, 95, 97, 104
 Qaraniqio, Roko Tui Dreketi, 101, 103, 105
Queen Charlotte, 42
 Queensland, 256, 257, 258; labour recruiting for and conditions of employment in, 225-51 *passim*, 260-3
 Queensland Kanaka Mission, 251, 263
- Ra, 118, 153, 166
 Rabi, 114
 Raffel, Dr, 289
 Raga, 247, 248
 Raiatea, 16, 25, 42, 49
 Raivalita, Tui Cakau, 108-14 *passim*
 Raivavae, 41
 Rakiraki, 167
ramo, 254, 260, 261
 Randell, Richard, 206-7, 209, 211, 216
 Rannie, Douglas, 229, 239
 Rano, 250
rang, 209
 Rarotonga, 46, 85, 272
 Rays, Marquis de, 145
 Reece brothers, 161-2
 Reilly, Eugene, 241
 Renton, John, 240-1, 256
 Rewa, 96-105 *passim*, 110, 113, 117, 126, 151, 161, 165, 174, 231
 Reynolds, Stephen, 86, 89
 Ribourt, Vice-Admiral, 144
 Richerie, Gaultier de la, 143
 Rimatara, 41
 Ritova, Tui Macuata, 102, 103, 109-13 *passim*, 116, 122
 Rives, Mr, 84
 Roberts, R. G., 209
 Robinson, James, 81
 Roboam, of Abaiang, 222
 Rochefort, Victor Henri, Marquis de Rochefort-Luçay, 143
 Rockhampton, 256, 257
 Rodd's Anchorage, 249
Roderick Dhu, 230, 234, 240
 Rodríguez, Máximo, 13-14
 Roko Mamaca, Tui Macuata, 102, 106
 Roko Tui, as title of office under the Fiji colonial government, 123, 124
 Roko Tui Bau title, 96, 99
 Roko Tui Dreketi title, 96, 98, 100-1, 105, 117; *see also* Cokonauta, Qaraniqio
 Roko Tui Viwa title, 99, 118
 Roman Catholic missions, 13, 29, 49-50, 125,

- 161; in Tonga, 67-8, 70; in Samoa, 79; in Gilbert Islands, 217; *see also* Society of Mary, Xavier Montrouzier
- Ross, George, 21-8 *passim*
- Rotuma, 220
- Rougeyron, Pierre, 142, 143
- Roviana, 259
- Rudd, Charles, 237
- Russell Islands, 264
- Ryder brothers, 165-6
- Ryder, Edmund, 166
- Ryder, George, 165-6
- Ryder, Rupert, 173
- Ryley, J. R., 175
- Sabatier, Ernest, 212, 223
- Safata, 273
- Saffron Hill, London, 38-9
- Safotulafai, 267, 268, 270, 271, 277, 278-9, 288, 296, 298
- Sagapolutele, 272-3
- St John's College, Auckland, 179, 180
- St Julian, Charles, 71, 72
- St Louis, 144
- St Patrick, 14, 20, 22-30 *passim*
- Saipan, 297, 298
- Saisset, Governor, 145
- Sālāfai, 273; *see also* Savai'i
- Sale'aula, 268, 285
- Salem, 102
- Sālote Pilolevu, *see* Pilolevu (Sālote)
- Saluafata, 272
- Sā Malietoā, *see* Malietoa family
- Samanunu (Litia), 98, 104
- Samoa, 2, 3, 179, 203, 267-99 *passim*;
Tongan interference in, 68-9; beach community, 77-93 *passim*; labour recruiting for, 225-6, 247-8, 250, 261; trade, 271, 275, 294; land alienation, 275, 278; laws, 279, 282, 283; *see also* Ta'imua and Faipule, Tūmua and Pule, and under island, district, and title names
- Sā Muliagā, 273
- San Cristobal, 132, 133, 134, 141, 145, 185, 189, 193, 197, 257, 259
- Sandalwood, *see* Trade
- Santa Cruz Islands, 181, 188, 199, 228, 248
- Santo, *see* Espiritu Santo
- Sapapali'i, 270
- Sapunaao, 273
- Sarawia (George), 183, 184, 192
- Satini, Carl, 246
- Sā Tupuā, *see* Tupua family
- Saua, 253, 262
- Savai'i, 267, 268, 273, 277, 284
- Savenaca Naucabalavu, chief of Bau, 110, 121
- Savusavu, 153, 170, 173
- Scott, Mr, 41
- Seemann, Berthold, 150
- Selwyn, G.A., 178-200 *passim*
- Selwyn, J. R., 242
- Serpent, H.M.S., 206
- Seru (Epenesa) Cakobau, Vunivalu of Bau, 58, 68, 85, 91, 95-126 *passim*, 151, 174-5
- Shelley, William, 36, 37
- Shepherd, Ann, 35-6, 51
- Shepherd, James, 47, 49
- Shortland Islands, 244, 259
- Sigatoka River, 150, 167, 170, 171
- Simpson, Alexander, 48, 49, 52
- Simpson, William, 80, 82
- Sinerango, 241, 257, 262
- Si'umu, 273, 274
- Sivaotele, 283, 298
- Slade, John, 237
- Smith, E. S., 150, 152, 171
- Smith, Harry, 219, 222
- Smith, J. H., 40, 47, 48, 51
- Smith, J. M., 239
- Smith, Randell & Fairclough, 210, 211
- Smythe, W. J., 147
- Société Française de l'Océanie, 79
- Society Islands, 7, 10, 34-54 *passim*, 69, 81
- Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 196, 199
- Society of African Missions, 128
- Society of Mary, 29, 128-45 *passim*
- Solevu, 89, 90, 91, 109, 110, 117
- Solf, W. H., 292-7 *passim*
- Solomon Islands, 7, 253-65 *passim*; Society of Mary in, 133, 134, 141; Melanesian Mission in, 180, 181, 183, 185, 188, 189, 197, 198, 200; labour recruiting in, 170, 225-51 *passim*
- Somosomo, 98-126 *passim*
- Soso (people), 96
- South Cape, New Zealand, 21
- South Sea Academy, 45, 46, 48, 53
- South Sea Evangelical Mission, 265
- Southern Cross, 181, 182, 183, 188, 190, 191, 197, 198
- Spain, 5, 13, 14
- Stanley, 230, 236
- Star, 46
- Steinberger, A. B., 275-7
- Sterndale, H. B., 212
- Stevens, C. G., 48
- Stevenson, R. L., 201, 211n., 213, 215, 217, 222, 223, 280, 281, 283, 284
- Stormbird, 249
- Suilolo, 272, 283
- Sulphur Bay, 247
- Sulu Vou, 240, 253, 255, 261, 262, 263
- Sunbeam, 219
- Surprise, 241
- Suva, 100; *see also* Fiji
- Svenson, O., 233
- Swanston, R. S., 121, 122, 172, 173-4
- Sybil, 245
- Sydney, 6, 20-1, 29, 30, 34, 35-8, 39, 42, 47, 49, 102, 115, 132, 133, 136, 138, 139, 166
- Sydney Belle, 233, 234, 260
- Sydney Gazette, 12
- Tabiang, 203n.

- Tabiteuea, 205, 222
 Tabontebike, 203n.
tafa'ifā, 268, 270, 271, 280
 Tafetemaui, 257
 Tagaloa, 272
Tagus, H.M.S., 16
 Tahaa, 16, 25
 Tahiti, 5, 6, 7, 13, 14, 15-16, 24-5, 29, 30, 31-54 *passim*, 70, 139, 142, 205, 221; European plantations at, 41, 42, 53, 54; labourers imported into, 42; French presence in, 48-9, 53; beach community, 77-93 *passim*; wars (1808-15), 79; *see also* Society Islands
 Tahuata, 5, 7
 Tahutini, Teihotu, 54
 Ta'imua, 275-6, 293-6
 Ta'imua and Faipule, 277-8
 Takai, chief at Lakeba, 16-17, 20-1, 24
 Taki, 257, 259
 Talcahuano, 13
 Talofuila, 264
 Tamaki Strait, 26
 Tamasoāli'i title, 268, 270, 273, 281, 288
 Tana, 18-19, 121, 132, 170, 171, 246-7, 249-50
 Tanapag, 298
 Tane, 34, 36
 Tanoa Visawaqa, Vunivalu of Bau, 98, 99, 100, 104, 106, 108
 Tanumafili, 287-91 *passim*, 292
 Tarawa, 203, 204, 211, 220, 222, 298
 Taroaniara, Stephen, 192, 198
 Tāufa'āhau, *see* King George Tupou I
 Tāufa'itahi, 57, 63
 Taveuni, 47, 95-126 *passim*; planters in, 147, 155, 160-1, 165, 169, 170, 175
 Tavua, 119
 Tawaia, 205
 Tawaki, Tui Ba, 117, 118
 Tea, 205
 Teatuli, 199
 Tebanga, 203, 214
 Tebuke, 222
 Tebureimoa, 222
 Teehuteatuaonoa, 16
 Teeko, Hiram, 203
Te Koro-rimoa, 203
 Tenu, 110
 Te'o Tuvala, 279, 290
 Teremai, 48
 Terianiboti, 204
Terra Australis Incognita, 5
 Terry, Captain, 206
 Tetabo, 204
 Thames, Firth of, 25-7
 Thomas, John, 44, 62-3, 70
 Thomassin, Joseph, 135, 136
 Thomson, Mr, 170
 Thousand Ships Bay, 132
 Threlkeld, L. E., 39, 45
 Thurston, J. B., 120-2, 124, 147, 148, 171, 199
 Tiarei, 31
 Tikini, 215
 Tikopia, 10, 28, 138, 139
 Tiliua, 109
 Timoci Vakaruru, chief of Naitasiri, 118
 Tivoli, son of Lauaki, 268
 Tofa I'iga Pisa, 274, 280, 297
toka, 209
 Tokemoana, 60
 Tomman Island, 248
 Tonga, 2, 3, 42, 44, 47n., 103-26 *passim*, 148, 179, 270, 298
 Tongatapu, 5, 6, 7, 16, 57, 60, 62, 65-6, 67
 Torneros, Aegisthus, 245
toro, 209
 Torres Islands, 228
 Totoga Creek, 156
 Totoya, 103, 108
 Touho, 141, 142
Tovata i Lau, 116, 121, 173-4, 175
 Towns, Robert, 207
 Towson, G. R. B., 157-8
 Trade, Indian 'country', 14
 Trade, island: fur, 6; pearl, 6; pork, 6, 10, 13, 16, 41, 42, 78, 81, 82; sandalwood, 6, 10, 15, 17, 19-20, 21, 24, 42, 43, 44, 78, 80, 81, 107, 141, 180, 225, 226-8, 229; whale, 6, 13, 81, 132, 204; *bêche-de-mer*, 6, 78, 80, 82, 98, 101-2, 132, 180, 205; potatoes, 13; timber, 14, 25-7; coconut oil, 79, 80, 81, 82, 117, 206, 207, 211, 275; copra, 82, 214, 217, 218, 225, 228, 248-9, 275, 293; sinnnet, 81, 82; arrowroot, 81; sharks' fin, 225; tortoise-shell, 82, 205, 225, 228
 Trade, trans-Pacific, 12, 22
 Traitor's Head, 19
 Trapenard, Pierre, 136, 138
 Tripp, Alfred N., 219, 220
 Tripp, Bartlett, 291
 Trood, Thomas, 47, 85
 Tuala family, 285
 Tuamasaga, 268, 272, 277, 297
 Tuamotu Archipelago, 6, 15, 24, 81
 Tuangaona, 203
Tubal Cain, 240
 Tuia'ana title, 268, 270, 279, 284, 288
 Tuiatafu, 272, 277
 Tuiatua title, 268, 270, 281, 284, 288
 Tui Ba, 117, 118
 Tui Bua, 106
 Tui Bua, George Vakawaletabua, 109-24 *passim*, 165, 174
 Tui Cakau, 47, 98, 104, 107, 110-22 *passim*, 172-3; *see also* Golea Navanua, Raivalita, Tui Kilakila
 Tu'i Ha'atakalaua dynasty, 56
 Tui Kaba, 104
 Tui Kanokupolu title, 55-60 *passim*, 66, 67, 68, 107, 124
 Tui Kilakila, 100-8 *passim*, 113
 Tuilagi title, 268
 Tui Lau title, 116, 124, 174; *see also* Ma'afu (Henele)

- Tui Levuka, 78, 91, 104, 153
 Tui Macuata, *see* Bete, Katonivere, Ritova, Roko Mamaca
 Tuimanu'a title, 268n.
 Tui Nayau, 98-125 *passim*; *see also* Malani, Wetasau
 Tu'i Pelchake, 60
 Tuisalalo (Mere), 165
 Tu'i Tonga, 56, 58, 60-1, 68, 296, 297
 Tu'ivakanō, William, 66
 Tui Vanua Levu title, to be conferred on
     Tui Cakau, 111-12
 Tui Viti title, 101, 104
 Tui Vuna, 100
 Tui Wainunu, 110
 Tui Yaroi, 108
 Tuku'aho, 57, 66
 tulāfale, 3, 268, 270
 tulāfale ali'i, 268
 Tulagi, 230, 259
 Tūmua, 268, 278, 297; *see also* Tūmua and Pule
 Tūmua and Pule, 271, 277, 287, 295, 298
 Tungua, 63
 Tupou College, 72
 Tupouto'a, 57, 66
 Tupua family, 268-70, 274, 276, 278, 281, 284
 Tupua Tamasese Lealofi, 285, 287-9 *passim*, 293, 295
 Tupua Tamasese Titimaea, 279-83 *passim*
 Turnbull, W. C., 79
 Turner, George, 44
 Turner, Nathaniel, 62
 Turner, Peter, 64
 Turpin, E. J., 158, 164
 Turpin, Mrs E. J., 164
 Tutuila, 292
 Tyrrell, Bishop, 186n.

 Uakeia, 203, 204, 209, 219
 Uea, 204, 209
 'Uiha, 57, 60, 63, 65
 Ukenezo, 140
 Ulakai, 61n.
 Ulawa, 185
 Ulualofaigā Talamaivao, 274
 'ulumotu'a, 56n.
 Ulunivuaka, *see* Bau
 Umboi Island, 134, 135
 Underwood, Achilles, 170-1
 Undine, 180
 United States of America, 6, 74, 148; claim of traders in Fiji, 104, 112, 114, 116, 118; activity in Samoa, 275-7, 280, 281, 289-92 *passim*; *see also* Naval activity
 United States Exploring Expedition, 205
 Upolu, 268, 271
 Upolu, 247-8
 Urassi, 253, 258, 259, 263, 264
 Uru, 262

 Vaha'i, 67
 Vaiala, 272, 281, 282, 284
 Vairaatea, 24
 Vaisigano, 285
 Vaiusu, 297
 Valparaiso, 14-15, 22-3, 30, 79, 81
 Van Camp, Aaron, 82
 Vanikoro, 28-9
 Vanua Balavu, 47, 107-16 *passim*, 166
 Vanua Lava, 183
 Vanua Levu, 17, 96-126 *passim*
 Varani, chief of Viwa, 104
 vasu, Fijian blood relationship, 96, 97, 103, 106
 Vava'u, 57, 60, 64, 65, 66, 67, 69
 Velata, 65
 Venus, 248
 Verata, 96, 99-100, 101
 Verguet, Leopold, 145
 Vi (Pita), 62-3
 Victoria, 123
 Vila Harbour, 239
 Villedieu, M., 248
 Vitiaz Strait, 127
 Viti Levu, 47, 95-126 *passim*, 150, 165, 166, 167, 168
 Viwa, 90, 96, 97, 99, 104, 118
 Vogelkop, 133
 von Werner, Captain, 214
 Vos, Captain, 244
 Vuna, 90, 95, 100
 Vuna Point, 169, 172
 Vunivalu of Bau title, 96-126 *passim*; *see also* Banuve, Nailatikau, Naulivou, Seru (Epenesa) Cakobau, Tanoa Visawaqa
 Vuya, 117

 Wagap, 142
 Waigeo, 133
 Waikava, 113-14
 Waikiki, 79
 Wainaloka, 265
 Wainikeli, 102
 Wainiqolo, 112, 113, 114
 Wainunu, 109, 110
 Wainya, 140
 Wairiki, 113, 161
 Wala, 250
 Walande, 257, 258
 Wales, William, 18
 Walker, John, 32-3
 Wallis, Samuel, 15
 Wallis Island, 247
 Wango, 133, 189, 197
 Wano Bay, 257
 Warburton, Mr, 170
 Wate, 257
 Waterhouse, Joseph, 111-12
 Wawn, W. T., 234-6, 244, 245, 249-50, 258, 261-2
 Wesleyan Methodist Mission, 43, 179; relations with King George Tupou I, 61-2, 67, 70, 74-5; in Fiji, 99, 104, 109, 110, 125,

-
- 160; teachers placed for in Samoa by King
 George Topou I, 106; Tongans as teachers
 in, in Fiji, 109
 West, Thomas, 71
 West Isles, New Zealand, 26
Westmoreland, 42
 Wetasau (William), 108, 109, 122
 Whaling, 6, 13, 81, 132, 204; *see also* Trade
 Whippy, David, 17, 27, 78-92 *passim*
 Whippy, David (junior), 82
 Whitford, Frank, 234
 Wilkes, Charles, 58
 Wilkinson, David, 165, 174
William Manson, 244, 263
 Williams, John, 16, 39, 42, 44, 79, 132
 Williams, John Chauner, 79
 Wilson, Charles, 15, 39
 Wilson, Samuel, 45
 Wilson family, 48
Winifred, 233, 241
 Winship, Captain, 87
 Winter, George, 47
 Wise, Charles, 87
 Wogale, Edward, 193
 Wood, Sophia, 42
 Woodford, C. M., 210, 218, 236-7, 254, 256n.,
 259, 264, 265
 World War, First, 298
 Wundenberg, Gottfried Frederick, 47, 51

Xariffa, 125

 Yandall, William, 79, 82
yaqona, 124, 125
 Yasawas, 111, 117, 118
 Yasur, 18
Yavusa, 98
 Young, Fisher, 196
 Young, John, 190
Young Dick, 241
 Ysabel, 132, 133, 261

 Zenteno, José Ignacio, 14
 Zenteno, Miguel, 23

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