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FROM THE
DEPARTMENT

THE ADMINISTRATION OF FRENCH OCEANIA,
1842 - 1906

by

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A Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Australian National University

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PREFACE

Colonial administration is the product of foresight and circumstance. From colonial policy, as generally conceived in Europe, and from the existing institutions of a colonial society, are framed the answers of the administration to national and local needs. Where policy is fragmentary, the administrator is thrown back on to his own judgement of what answers are the most fitting (or the most convenient). At this point, his own conception of the role of the colonial Power, based on precedent or conformity with practice elsewhere, and his knowledge of local conditions form a secondary colonial policy. The distinction is important and sometimes overlooked. The ambiguity of the content of " policy ", by the time instructions from abroad have been transformed into executive action at several removes from the original draughtsman, has brought reprimand to administrators and confusion to many generalizations in writings on colonial history.

There are always social and geographical factors in the colonial situation to be borne in mind. Where the people of the territory have evolved a culture different from the administrator's, he may well be forced to acknowledge the superiority of much in the indigenous political and social structure for the needs of the native majority. Or he may seek to change the structure on prompting from the metropolis or according to his own humanitarian or bureaucratic ideals.

The introduction of new conceptions of law and authority, in accordance with principles professed by the administering Power, has been characteristic of

French colonial policy. The origin and nature of these changes and modifications to them under circumstances peculiar to each territory form the history of French colonial administration. In broader perspective, France, like other colonial Powers, has had to contend with problems arising from general European contact with native societies. European expansion for trade, conquest or evangelism has not for long been separate from the expansion of European forms of justice and government. Change begets change: and the imported administration perpetuates and is subject to economic, religious and cultural factors which are no less important for the historian than for the indigenous social and political structure.

The purpose of this study is to describe French colonial policy in action in French Oceania and related changes in the organisation of the administered where their economic, social and political life was most obviously affected. The problems peculiar to the area which the first administration had to deal with had emerged, for the most important islands of the group, well before 1842 - the date of French annexation of the Marquesas Islands and French protection of Tahiti and Moorea. The effects of early European contact with eastern Polynesia had operated to different degrees and wrought far-reaching changes in the political and religious life of the islanders - particularly at Tahiti. Against this background, which I have found it necessary to describe in some detail, French rule began with a theoretical distinction in the forms of colonial administration applied to the two groups. The difference between these two measures is not entirely explained by the fact that the first was planned to obtain for France a naval base and a penal colony, while the second was hastily improvised on the initiative of a French

naval officer. The reasons lie also with the conception of the islands and their people which had been formed by the 1840's among consuls, traders and missionaries, and which found its way into official reports. The people of the Marquesas were unfriendly and little known; the long legend of the hospitality of the Society islanders and the interest of other nations in their welfare put them in a different category. The distinction was a rough acknowledgement of nearly half a century of Pacific history.

The study continues till shortly after 1900, by which date this distinction had broken down, and there had grown up an incoherent but positive policy and practice of assimilation in the various senses of the term. On the administered society, this, and the continued influence of other Europeans combined to change radically important features of its social and political organisation - though there were degrees in this process because of the isolation of many of the islands involved.

The period is long and the material bulky. With the generous provision made by the Australian National University I have been able to consult the relevant scattered sources. On these the study's claim to originality must rest. The important period of missionary penetration of the Society Islands has not been adequately covered before from the L.M.S. archives - least of all by the older missionary historians. Complete and thorough works on French colonies are so rare that one must of necessity go to French archives for adequate material. This is especially true of works on French colonies in the Pacific - with the exception of those on the early period of French activities in the area by M. Yves Person and M. Jean-Paul Faivre.

For access to French sources in Paris and Rome and for unfailing courtesy to a foreign student, I am grateful to M. Catineau Laroche of the Ministère de la France d'Outre-mer, the director of the Archives Nationales; M. Charles Braibant and his archivist, M. Olivier de Prat, M. François Kruger, librarian of the Société des Missions Évangéliques, the Very Reverend Father d'Elbée of the Picpus Congregation at Grottaferrata, and, in a great measure, to Father Patrick O'Reilly, of the Société des Océanistes, whose bibliographical knowledge and collection of rare documents were always at my disposal. In London, Miss Irene Fletcher's excellent catalogues of materials at the London Missionary Society and ready assistance were invaluable.

In the islands themselves, M. Paul Doucet of the Bureau des Terres, advised me on the many problems of native land tenure and made available the relevant land registers and official documentation; M. H. Jacquier, president of the Société d'Études Océaniques, kindly arranged access to material in the local Museum; the British Consul, Mr. Devenish, permitted me to sort out and read a great mass of consular records which have no duplicates elsewhere.

Acknowledgements are due to the Trustees of the Mitchell Library, Sydney, for permission to use other British Consulate Papers. I have also a good cause to be grateful to helpful librarians - whether in the Bibliothèque Nationale, the French Foreign Office, the Public Record Office, or the National Library, Canberra - whose interest in tracking down difficult sources often went far beyond mere duty to the research reader.

Finally, my supervisor, Dr. J.W. Davidson, Professor of Pacific History, has made valuable suggestions at various stages of the draft; and his own

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unpublished thesis on European Penetration of the South Pacific, 1779-1842 has provided a useful perspective of the earlier period and a lesson in presentation and historical writing. Mr. R.P. Gilson, Research Fellow of the same Department, has read and commented on most of the anthropological material, supplementing useful advice from Mr. Bengt Danielsson, Mr. Frank Stimson of Tahiti and Mme. Nordman-Salmon of the École Coloniale, Paris.

When this thesis is circulated, it is hoped that comments from those who will read it will help correct its deficiencies. In return, it is offered as a contribution to the historical and field work which remains to be done in the Pacific.

C.W.N.

Canberra,
May, 1956.

Note on Orthography and Abbreviations

There is no standardised form for Polynesian words, including place-names. Where possible, I have adopted the spelling of native words as given in Bishop Museum publications and have used the symbol (') to mark a glottal stop and to serve as a guide to the pronunciation of common noun and titles. It has been omitted from place-names. The orthography for these is sometimes contradictory in different sources. Admiralty charts have been the main guide; and I have refrained from separating the compoene of geographical names and from using hyphens.

Abbreviations

- A.A.É. Archives des Affaires Étrangères.
- A.C.O. Archives Coloniales, Océanie.
- A.M. Archives de la Marine.
- A.M.P. Archives, Musée de Papeete.
- B.N.N.A.F. Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouvelles Acquisitions Françaises.
- B.S.É.O. Bulletin de la Société des Études Océaniques.
- C.O. Colonial Office.
- C.S-C.P. Congrégation des Sacrés-Coeurs de Picpus.
- F.O. Foreign Office.
- L.M.S. London Missionary Society. (This has been used for convenience even where the early official title was " the Missionary Society ").
- M.L. Mitchell Library.
- N.L. National Library (Canberra).
- P.P. Parliamentary Papers.
- S.M.É. Société des Missions Évangéliques.
- T.B.C.P. Tahiti British Consulate Papers.
- T.L. Turnbull Library (Wellington).

period, the Society Islands became the new Arcadia.

Yet, even while the pamphleteers and the novelists were writing of Tahiti in savoury genteelisms, events were shaping in the islands themselves and in England which were to transform the customs and the cosmology of the Polynesian and draw his scattered and vast habitation into the restless and fragmentary course of European expansion overseas. By 1779, Bligh had bartered for breadfruit and salted down hogs at Tahiti - the forerunner of trading voyages from New South Wales at the end of the century. A few years later, the Bourbon mutineers took their women from the island; a few of them began the first European settlement in eastern Polynesia, at Pitcairn; others played their part in local wars; and one, a writer of talent, left a description of Tahiti and its society unequalled by the great navigators.

In England, three years after some of the mutineers had been brought to trial, men of a different stamp - " mechanics of improveable understandings of correct knowledge of the gospel, of sound experience in the power of divine grace " - were being selected by the founders of the (London) Missionary

- (2) The favorite theme was comparison of English or French society with the " ideal " society of Polynesia where, in the lines of one of the pamphleteers
- " Immodest words are spoke without offence,
And want of decency shows innocence.
A problem hence Philosophers advance,
Whether shame springs from Nature or from chance."
- Courtenay A Poetical Epistle (Moral and Philosophical) from an Officer at Otaheite To Lady Gr.v.n.r., ll. See, too, Gautier, " Tahiti dans la littérature française à la fin du XVIII^e siècle, quelques ouvrages oubliés ", J.S.O., tome III, no. 3, 1947, 44-56.
- (3) Morrison, The Journal of James Morrison Boatswain's Mate of the Bounty describing the Mutiny & subsequent Misfortunes of the Mutineers together with an account of the Island of Tahiti, (ed. Rutter), 139-240.

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Society. They had their own vision of the Pacific.

" A new world hath lately opened to our view, call it Island or Continent, that exceeds Europe in size, New Holland; and now become the receptacle for our outcasts of society -- New Zealand, and the innumerable islands, which spot the bosom of the Pacific Ocean, on each side of the Line, from Endeavour Straits to the Coast of America, many of them full of inhabitants, -- occupying lands, which seem to realize the fabled gardens of the Hesperides, -- where the fragrant groves, which cover them from the sultry beams of day, afford them food and clothing; whilst the sea offers them continual plenty of inexhaustible stores; and the day passes in ease and affluence, at the night in music and dancing. But amid these enchanting scenes, savage nature still eats the flesh of its prisoners -- appeases its gods with human sacrifices -- whole societies of men and women live promiscuously, and murder every infant born amongst them; -- whilst the turpitude, committed in the face of open day, proclaims, that shame is as little felt, as a sense of sin is known." 5

This sermon by Dr. Haweis bridged the gap between the pamphleteers and the pirates, between those whose thinking was remote from the realities of the South Seas and those whose business lay there. When the missionaries sailed on the Duff in 1796, they carried with them in addition to their evangelical zeal, current ideas about the Pacific gleaned from the voyage narratives and a Tahitian vocabulary compiled by one of the Bounty mutineers. Thus armed they went to change the manners of a race.

The " new world " they sailed into could not be summed up in a sermon. The area of eastern Polynesia which was later to become French Oceania is

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- (4) Burder to Rogers, 31 December 1795 (letter and circular regarding the purchase of the missionary vessel, Duff), Petherick Collection, 71/2, N
 - (5) Haweis, in Sermons, preached in London, at the formation of the Missionary Society, September 22, 23, 24, 1795: to which are prefixed, Memorials respecting the establishment and first attempts of that society, 12-13.
 - (6) Probably the work of Morrison whose vocabulary, mentioned in his Jou has never been located. For a reference to the manuscript given to Dr. Haweis by " an ingenious clergyman of Portsmouth " after the trial, see A Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean, performed in the Year 1796, 1797, 1798, in the Ship Duff, commanded by Captain James Wilson, compiled from the Journals of the Officers and the Missionaries, 13-14.

spread over 2,000,000 square miles of ocean. Together, the 118 or so high islands and atolls of this part of the Pacific make up only 1,500 square miles of land. The Marquesas, Society and Austral Islands and the Mangare group are formed of old castellated volcanoes. Their extinct cones rise several thousands of feet above sea level, split into deep valleys and fall away in bluff cliffs or rolling slopes which terminate in a narrow littoral. Around the shores where the sea floor is moderately shelved, coral reefs and broken shoals preserve the land between the hills and the lagoon from excessive erosion. The soil there is rich and well watered, the vegetation luxuriant. In islands not subject to drought, life for man has been easily sustained along the coastal belt or in the valleys by fishing, planting and fruit-gathering.

Of these islands, the richest was Tahiti, where the Bounty mutineers found hogs "large and Plenty", goats, dogs, fowls to supplement their diet of roots, fish and wild fruit. Cultivation, one of them observed, was limited to the tapa tree, the kava plant, taro and sweet potatoes and sometimes coconut trees and plantains without much "Labour and Toil"; and, he continued "as every (sic) part of the Island produces food without the help of man, it may of this Country be said that the curse of Eden has not reached it, man having his bread to get by the Sweat of his Brow nor has he Thorns in his path."

(7) Morrison, op.cit., 143-152.

By contrast, among the atolls of the Tuamotu Archipelago or on the few coral formations lying off the volcanic islands, there is no point above sea level higher than thirty feet. Stretches of sandy, coral soil enclosed the lagoons of the atolls supported little vegetation save the coconut palm, the meat drink and housing of the inhabitants. Everywhere, fish were plentiful.

Early in the Christian era of Europe, these islands were colonised by a brown-skinned people of Asiatic origin who navigated the Pacific and adapted their life to their environment skilfully and successfully. After several centuries, their racial features, their language, their religion, their social structure, despite regional variations, still retained a recognisable homogeneity that was Polynesian. In central and eastern Polynesia, the cradle of their culture was Tahiti, Moorea and the neighboring islands of Raiatea, Borabora and Huahine.

Wherever Polynesian society grew up, it preserved personal and corporate interests with practical efficiency and a religious ethos which made every department of life meaningful. This harmony of activity and belief which gave to every inhabited corner of Polynesia its legends and extended legend into daily ethic constituted the genius of the race. The strains imposed on this integration of livelihood and lore by aliens in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries form the Polynesian story of European expansion. It will never be fully written. Many of the details of the indigenous contribution to the meeting of Europe and Polynesia still remain to be collated by working from the present as well as the fragmentary records of the past. But there are some general features about this society which

the historian cannot afford to ignore.

Till the present day, the basic unit of importance in Polynesian society has been the family of varying size, under the authority of its headman, including often relatives and retainers - the model for much of the political structure and the effective source of labour for the subsistence economy typical of the area. Households were generally grouped into larger segments of the islands' tribal population. Membership of both households and larger units has been determined by blood ties, by marriage connections and generally qualified by residence, participation in group enterprises for sustenance or protection and entailed defined rights over lands and produce. Leadership at the two levels was hereditary with a usual, though not universal, preference for male titleholders. The functions of leadership were intimately connected with immediate social and political necessities - land organisation, warfare and social alliances.

At every level of the social and political hierarchy, from the chief of the largest segments down through its votaries, craftsmen and household heads, the qualifications of birth and skill were invested with a religious sanctity. In the case of high-ranking chiefs and sub-chiefs, the society recognised the degree in which the title-holder stood as the outstanding inheritor of the mana which charged the Polynesian universe and which was

(8) The main sources are those covered by Williamson in his Social and Political Systems of Central Polynesia - though his treatment of these did not always take account of historical events and changes in Polynesian society which separated the information of the voyagers from that of the missionaries and still later observers. See, too, Williamson, Religion and Social Organisation in Central Polynesia (ed. Piddington), esp. xi-xv; Firth, We, The Tikopia, esp. Chap. XVI, 575-599.

notably present among those who could prove descent through chiefly families from ancestor heroes and the pantheon of deities.

Kinship status and religious beliefs were of fundamental importance too, in determining the utilisation of local resources in Polynesia - including different types of land and their produce, lagoon and off-shore fishing. An individual might have well-defined rights over area and harvest, because of his membership of the resident household; there was, too, communally organised land usage. But claims to produce, from the level of household distribution, to the privileges of craftsmen, priests, chiefs, and the gods themselves in the form of offerings or sacrifice, were not land titles in European sense. Similarly, the defined boundaries of lands worked by households, or for the use of larger units of the society, were validated by group ancestry and the religious association of the useholders with the gods. At this point in the relationship of the Polynesian to the wealth of his environment, the principles of chiefly authority, religion and social status based on kinship commingled: a chief was the trustee by birth of the land rights of his descent group; the ceremonies accompanying exchanges and services to chiefs were important religious occasions; sanctions forbidding the taking of produce during times of shortage were recognised by virtue of the social and religious position of the chief who imposed them; the share which every household had in available land was the economic testimony of its genealogical ties with ancestor colonisers. Infractions of these principles by refusal of service (or by chiefs demanding too much) were not willingly tolerated and brought disgrace and punishment, or war, if the deviation

involved households or larger groups of the society.

From the arrival of the first Europeans, the history of eastern Polynesia was to a large measure the history of Tahiti. The Marquesas were the scene of only one unsuccessful missionary settlement in 1797. Neither the group, nor the Tuamotu, Austral and Mangareva groups were frequented with regularity by traders till the 1820's and the 1830's. It was at Tahiti (at Hawaii and New Zealand) that the problems arising from missionary contact and European lawlessness became most acute; it was there that the answers to them were first worked out in Polynesia.

Early descriptions of Tahiti suggest that the island was divided politically into three geographical divisions which corresponded with three major descent groups, or tribes, located in the northern and eastern, the western and the southern shores of the mainland and the peninsula. These, turn, were composed of a number of sub-tribes - some seventeen, according Morrison, but undoubtedly more according to missionary evidence. Sub-tribe membership was presumably determined by kinship within a number of localised extended families. The title and office of chief over a sub-tribe went to

(9) The major divisions, at the end of the eighteenth century, were Porionuu and Aharoa, Oropaa and Fana (sometimes called Atahuru), and the Teva districts of southern Tahiti and the Tairarapu peninsula. See map facing p. 14.

(10) These were the va'a mata'einaa listed in Henry, Ancient Tahiti, 70-9 and elsewhere. Precise terminology for the Tahitian mata'einaa is lacking. "Clan" will not do - unless it is used in the sense of a non-exogamous descent group which was not strictly patrilineal or matrilineal. I have used the term "sub-tribe", as meaning a non-unilinear descent group whose members were not necessarily resident within the district at all times. During the nineteenth century, district boundaries altered a good deal and some of the older sub-tribal headships were assumed by the chiefs of larger groups. For an attempted reconstruction of the districts of Tahiti and Moorea, see Williamson, op.cit., vol. I, 170, and compare with the list of the districts, below in Appendix I, 339-349.

the head of the highest-ranking family. Ideally, the number of followers a chief's command depended on the numerical extent and the genealogical antiquity of the descent group of which he (or she) was the titled representative. Other factors - personal qualities of leadership in war and justice and generosity in peace - were also important. According to one source, tribal headship was influenced by similar variables.

" The eight Teva districts recognised Teriirere or Temarii of Papar as their political head, though Teriinui o Tahiti, the Vaiari chi was socially the superior, and Vehiatua of Tairarapu was sometimes politically the stronger." 11

The social and political structure of the tribes and sub-tribes was inseparable from religious ceremonies which accompanied every social occasion and from religious sanctions which gave to the authority of chiefs rationale based on proven descent from ancestor-deities and on the belief inherited mana. For the chiefly class, the outward symbols of inherited accepted leadership were the title of ari'i, the right to wear the Red or Yellow Girdle, ceremonial precedence, services, the right to allocate land for occupation and cultivation, and ultimately, the function of representing the sub-tribes before the gods. For their followers, the outward symbol of land rights and religious status in relation to other kin groups was the

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marae temple.

Within this general pattern, the early voyagers and the missionaries named other gradations of rank - from the ari'i to the to'ofa, or sub-chiefs of several families, the iatoai, or relatives of chiefs, the ra'atira with land-controlling rights, priests, craftsmen and the manahune - a loose term

(11) Memoirs of Ariitainai, in Adams, Tahiti (ed. Spiller), 8.

(12) Henry, op.cit., 139-145; Poirier, Ethnologie de l'Union Française, vol. II, 807.

applied to all the lesser inhabitants without rank in the districts.

It did not always follow that the authority of the chiefs and sub-chiefs was automatically binding on all members in their districts - even less on the people of other districts, though the social respect due to an ari'i was not usually ignored wherever he was.

"...but if the Chiefs should not act up to the Dignity of their Office they may be divested of their Office, but they are still Chiefs, although the King may be stripped of his Government he still retains his royalty and none but one of the Two Families can ever enjoy that Dignity while they are in being -- so that it is no more than a change in the Ministry, with the other Chiefs it is the same and they oft change stations." (sic) 14

Of the mechanisms of consultation between chiefs, or between chiefs and the people of the districts, we know very little. At least, it seems clear that although Tahitian society had not evolved the complex forms of Samoan politics, nothing of importance could be done without a lengthy exchange of views through the chiefs' speakers, or without the general consent of the great body of ra'atira in meetings held at the district marae. Disputes, ranging from theft and adultery to insults to chiefs, land encroachment, title claims and claims to services from other districts, were settled by exchange of goods, banishment, death, council between the families concerned, or, failing any settlement, by recourse to war.

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- (13) Morrison, op.cit., 167; A Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean..., Appendix II, 318-325. Despite Williamson's plausible explanation that the Towha of the missionary accounts may be a cognate for hoa (friend, relative, companion), it seems more probable that the word is consistent with early phonetic representation of the Polynesian " f " is simply to'ofa, meaning " chief ". Williamson, op.cit., vol. II, 38
- (14) Morrison, op.cit., 167.
- (15) Williamson, op.cit., vol. II, 482-489.
- (16) Morrison, op.cit., 192-194; Williamson, op.cit., vol. III, 16-22.

Wars were frequent from the arrival of the Bounty mutineers till the arrival of the Duff missionaries. The struggle centered around the efforts of the leading family of Pare with headship over the Porionuu and the Ahare peoples in northern and eastern Tahiti to have their titles respected in other parts of the island and in Moorea. Many of the socially superior chiefs of the Oropaa and the Teva refused to pay homage to those who were favoured by the visits of European ships and whose dignities, acquired by marriage with chiefs at Raiatea, were relatively recent. The chief of Pare, Tunuiéaaité atua (or Teu) and his son Tu (or Pomare II), at war with chiefs in Moorea and with the Teva of the mainland of Tahiti, combined the north and west of the island against the south. The mutineers living at Tahiti assisted in the struggle against the people of Oropaa with Pomare's Raiatean allies and with English muskets. For a time Pomare II was moderately successful. Wars of similar pattern broke out between 1801 and 1806 and were followed, in 1808, by an uprising in the districts subjected by Pomare. Most of the missionaries were scattered to the Leeward Islands or back to New South Wales; a few returned with newcomers in 1812 to Pomare's protection and worked for the overthrow of polytheism with no less energy than their protector fought to overthrow the independent chiefdoms. By 1813, the arms traffic, neglect of the marae during the wars, the conversion of some of the lower classes of priests of

(17) All parties were eager for arms and European advice. When the Nautika arrived in 1798, her captain had nothing else to trade for fruit and hogs. The missionaries encouraged the practice. Davies, A History of the Tahiti Mission, vol. I, Chap. IV, MS., L.M.S.; Missionary Records, Tahiti and the Society Islands, 114.

(18) Ellis, Polynesian Researches, During a Residence of Nearly Eight Years in the Society and Sandwich Islands, vol. II, 79.

Moorea and the Leeward Islands and the growth of a Christian party in the north and east of Tahiti, dislocated the outward forms of the local religious structure. Exasperation with native prophets and tangible evidence of the power of the new Atua in the victory of Pomare II over the eastern and southern districts in 1815, hastened the collapse of the defenders of the old gods. Too late the chiefs of Oropaa and the two Teva areas united to stave off the political supremacy of the Porionuu family. The sudden centralisation of authority was accompanied by the wholesale destruction of traditional religious symbols.

" The King changed his Gods, but he had no other reason but that of consolidating his Government. After his conquest it is true he went by short stages to show his authority, receive presents from his subjects, drink the abundance of native spirits, and then in their inebriety, cast down their marae and destroy their Gods, thus by a stratagem taking away from any future rebellion thro' the power of the idols which were always leaders in war." 20

The European vision of the Pacific had changed on closer acquaintance with the reality: the optimistic zeal of the first missionaries had been replaced by caution among the more experienced who had learned to work through existing institutions - while still seeking to transform them. There was still " joy at coming through the great Darkness " - as in the first few years of the mission; but it was tempered after 1815 by the desire of some of the more intelligent of the missionaries to avoid " raising such ideas of the state of this people as really does not exist ".

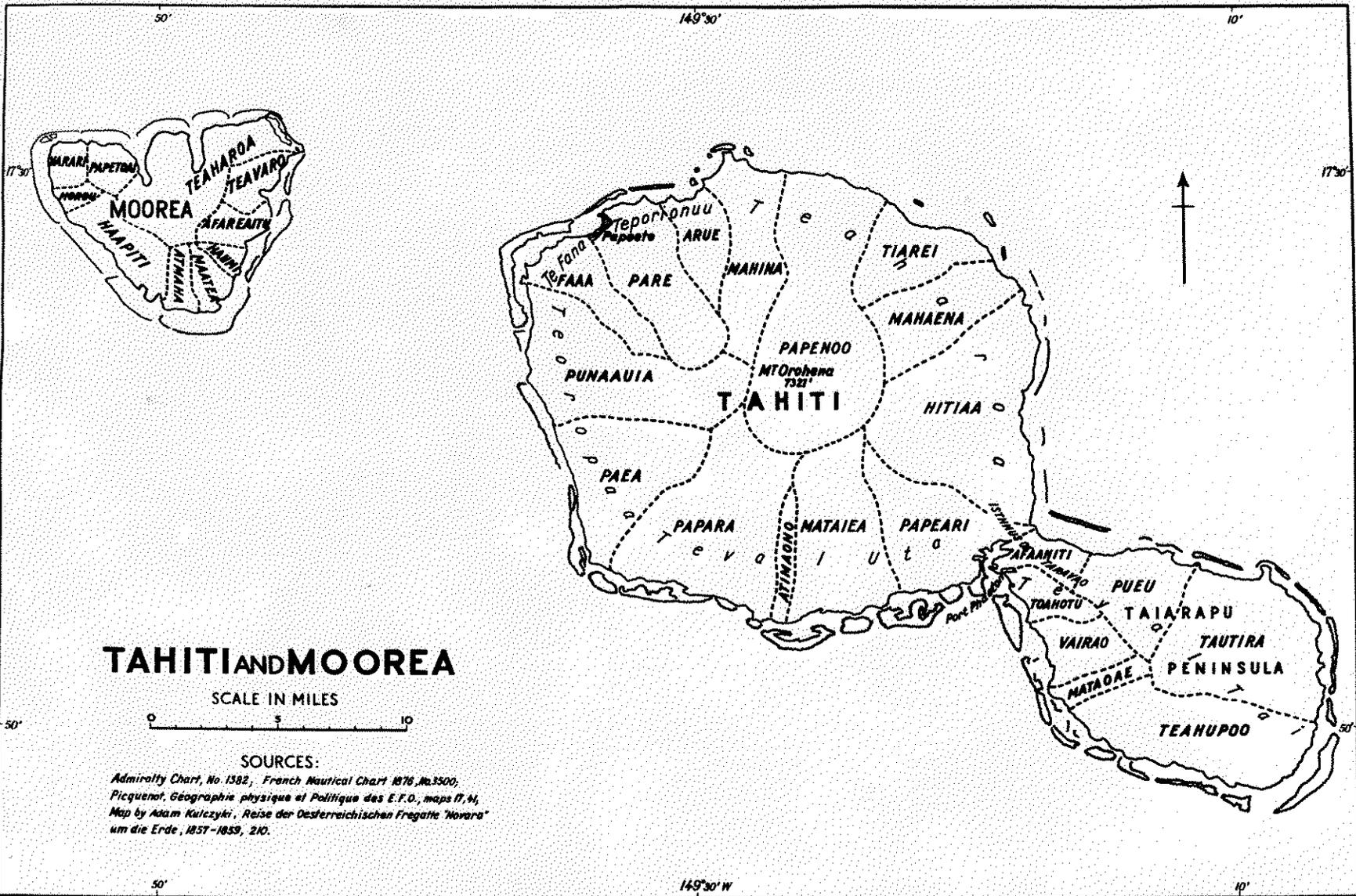
(19) Davies, op.cit., Chaps. XVI, XVII, L.M.S.

(20) Orsmond, The Old Orsmond MS., 1849, L.M.S.

(21) Harris to the L.M.S., 24 August 1798, Ropiteau-O'Reilly Collection;
Threlkeld and Williams to the L.M.S., 30 October 1818, L.M.S.S.S. 2.

Elsewhere, the vision had changed too. The murder of the French navigator, Marion du Fresne at New Zealand, Cook at Hawaii and the loss of Laprouse, led the French Minister for the Navy to caution a French officer in 1800 against " over-eager philanthropy " while in the South Seas. Commerce in whale-oil, sandalwood, pork and flax began after the turn of the century when the Dutch East India Company and the naval power of Spain declined and the monopoly of the English East India Company had ended. The waters of Polynesia were furrowed by new sailing routes. Bound for Hawaii from New Zealand or from Sydney, vessels swung north out of the westerly drift into the south-trades, sailing in an arc to central or western Polynesia. Tahiti to Sydney was only about 14 days sailing (though it took over a month to return); from Tahiti to Honolulu took about 20 days and at least 30 for the return journey. For whalers short of supplies in the South Pacific grounds or of the coast of South America, the closest (and the most lawless) harbours were to be found in the Bay of Islands or westward on the trades to the Marquesas and the Society Islands. With the rise of Kamehameha at Hawaii, Pomare II at Tahiti and the advent of missionaries, traders and deserters, a new phase in the history of Polynesia had begun.

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- (22) Instructions to Captain Baudin, cited in Faivre, *op.cit.*, 113-114.
(23) Hankey, in A Journal of the Cruises and Remarkable Events occurring on board H.M.S. the Collingwood, 1844-1846, vol. I, 134, gives a list of sailing directions and times. These are verifiable, of course, from the logs of traders themselves and deductible from the prevailing winds and currents in the area.



PART ONE

I.

European Contact and Native Society at Tahiti and Moorea, 1815-1842.

" Englishmen and Americans, how long will you submit to the oppressor wrongs, the proud man's contumely, the Tyrant's Yoke, the Missionar lash and the Heathen's diabolical system of plundering your property, dragging you to a damnable tribunal (falsely denominated a court of Justice) and the mercenary and unjustifiable manner of robbing you under the cloak of their petty and arbitrary Laws ? "

" Freedom and Justice ", Tahiti, 11 April 1837, MS., T.B.C.P. Pomare.

Behind the treaties which consolidated European expansion overseas lies the struggle of people of different races to come to terms with each other. In eastern Polynesia, the degree to which native societies were exposed to the agents of this expansion differed from group to group. The rise of a chiefly dynasty at Tahiti and Moorea and the missionary-inspired institutions which helped secure its leadership wrought important changes in the religious and political life of those islands. The ineffectiveness of missionary endeavour in the Marquesas Islands and the absence of any recognised central authority in the group left them comparatively untouched. At Mangareva, where the Picpus Fathers began their work in 1834, the situation by the 1840's presented characteristics common to other areas of contact in Polynesia - but modified by relative isolation.

(a) The chiefs and the missionaries.

In recognising the head of the Pomare family as paramount over the islands of Tahiti and Moorea, in 1815, the chiefs of other sub-tribes did not suffer any immediate loss of status. Their headships were respected

Pomare II. In turn, certain of the ari'i of the district of Papara - the stronghold of resistance - were united in marriage with Pomare's relatives and adoptive claim laid to their issue by the king's family. Rights were accorded to Pomare to assume leading titles in other districts throughout group, when on tour; and other marriages were arranged between the support of the dynasty and the oldest families of Tahiti.

Some of the chiefs' outward symbols of rank - a place in the marae enclosure and sacred personal objects - disappeared under the censure of the missionaries. The religious conversion which spread through the group in early 1820's under the patronage of Pomare ostensibly removed old religious sanctions based on inherited mana and gave them new forms. There grew up between the chiefs and the L.M.S. a reciprocity which was indispensable to work of the latter and not without benefit to the former. As the missionaries spread out in scattered stations under the protection of the district chiefs they discovered that they could not reform personal behaviour simply by preaching and leave all control of secular affairs to the sub-tribal authorities - nor to Pomare.

" Such a complete revolution having taken place thro' the Islands, the King, Chiefs and people from all quarters apply to us for advice and direction, not only in respect of moral and religious but likewise civil and political matters of every description... There is a strong propensity in the minds of all the people, Chiefs and others still mix and join civil and religious matters and to consider those that are leading men as Chiefs of the land to be also such in religious

(1) In this way, Ariitaimai (Mme. Salmon) was born of the chieftainess Moorea, Marama, and the son of the chief of Papara, Tati, and was later adopted by the mother of Pomare IV. Memoirs of Ariitaimai..., loc.cit., 161-162.

Ecclesiastical affairs, the Chiefdom and Priesthood having been formerly in most instances joined together. " 2

The missionary settled, then, wherever a chief was anxious to increase his prestige by making available to his sub-tribe the benefits expected to result from the advice and presence of a European. Great importance was attached to the location of the mission press at a district in Moorea, where the chief was one of Pomare's relatives. By satisfying the initial enthusiasm of the Tahitians for possession of the printed word, the missionaries were able to organise " Auxiliary Societies " of the parent body on the basis of contributions collected voluntarily or for sale of copies of the Scriptures. A Code of Laws was drawn up by the mission and promulgated by Pomare at a meeting of the district chiefs and ra'atira in May 1819. In it, the authority of the

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- (2) Bicknell, Hayward, Henry, Wilson, Tessier to the L.M.S., 2 July 1817, L.M.S.S.S. 5.
- (3) By 1825, the mission stations were situated at Pare, Arue, Punaauia, Papara, Tautira at Tahiti and at Papetoai, Afareaitu at Moorea. The Leeward stations were considered as separate churches. A typical early station was one run by Crook and Burder at Punaauia where the district chief, Utami, had a house and chapel built for them. There were about 70 to 100 pupils - including old men of the district - in the chapel every day repeating speaking books by rote. Crook and Burder to the L.M.S., 2 November 1820, L.M.S.S.S. 2.
- (4) The local " Societies " were organised in May 1818 at a meeting under the presidency of Pomare. The paramount chiefs of the five major divisions of Tahiti and Moorea (Porionuu, Oropaa, Fana, Teva i uta and Teva i tai, and the whole of Moorea) were appointed as Chief Governors, or " Patrons of the church; the district chiefs received the title of tavana (governors). Membership of the district churches as contributing societies of the L.M.S. was paid for in the form of annual tribute at the May meetings - " about 5 lbs. of Cotton or 2 gallons of Oil or 20 lbs. of Arrowroot or a Hog ". Bicknell to the L.M.S., n.d. (1818), L.M.S.S.S. 2; Quarterly Chronicle, vol. I, 1815-1820, 442-443.
- (5) For a discussion of the Pomare Code of 1819 and other missionary Codes see below, Appendix II, 351-371.

Pomares and the district chiefs was enhanced by clauses against sedition and rebellion; the preamble styled Pomare II as king and head of the church; the laws decreed in his name and in the name of the " True God " were to apply to the people of Tahiti and Moorea and all neighbouring islands - a vague delimitation meaning islets off the coast and possibly the Tuamotu. For each of the 23 districts named in the Code, the iatoai (varying from 12 to 100 per district) were appointed as judges. Possibly these officials, as relatives of chiefs or household heads, were a traditional conciliar body; the system was retained till it proved too unwieldy for a written Code, and by the 1830s the practice of appointing one or two judges to each district was adopted. For the major divisions of Tahiti and Moorea, 7 judges were appointed as a High Court - the To'ohitu. The bulk of the Code and its later revisions were concerned with murder, theft, troublemaking (defined exhaustively in 72 articles) moral offences and the form of judgements. Punishments ranged from fines in kind, labour on the roads, banishment, and, for a short period, death for murder or treason. A regular system of taxation was outlined and provision was made for the laws to be changed by consultation of the missionaries, the chiefs and the king.

The missionaries were not introducing any principle that sovereignty lay with the people of the districts - though the laws were expected to be applied to all, whatever their rank. It is clear that the Tahitians regarded the new dispensation as in force only so long as Pomare II was alive. After his death in 1823, the missionaries reported a general relapse in morals, the revival of prohibited ceremonies, songs and dances - implicitly forbidden in the Code - and widespread refusal to contribute to the L.M.S. " The native:

say " wrote Blossom " as the King has no longer a voice the law must be
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destroyed. The King being dead, the law must now die. "

But the Code did not die. It was promulgated again in 1824 at the coronation of Pomare III; and the responsibility for its enforcement against thieves, drunkards, adulterers and the seditious fell upon the district chiefs and their relatives as judges in the district courts. While they were sufficiently respected to be able to impose penalties in kind or in labour on their own sub-tribes, it is not clear how far their judgements could be enforced on wrongdoers outside their own districts - unless they themselves were the titular heads of larger units of the society, or unless their jurisdiction was encouraged by a chief who shared in the fine.

Despite the homage paid to the Pomares in the Code, the district chiefs - especially those who considered their titles older and of more sacred origin than those of the Porionuu ari'i - tended more and more during the weak rule of the boy-king, Pomare III, to stabilize their district authority along older independent lines. Meeting irregularly as an assembly from time to time, they looked to the missionaries for advice in their district affairs; the missionaries, in turn, were dependent on them for their congregations and their livelihood.

(6) Blossom to the L.M.S., 23 August 1823, L.M.S.S.S. 4; Orsmond to the L.M.S., 9 February 1825, ibid 5.

(7) Such were Tati, paramount chief of Papara and the districts of south-west Tahiti to the peninsula, Peueue (Vehiatua) of Teahupoo, Utami, chief of Punaauia and others of the Oropaa and Teva tribes who had resisted the rise of the Pomares.

" The greater the chief, the more he is feared, the more work is done the more the missionary seems to prosper; if bad, the harder his are... The Mission has ever been...the nursling of the Chiefs and Kings. A Missionary's influence away from the Chief is froth, that to effect their own purposes the Chiefs put the Missionary in the foreground while in the background they approve or disapprove of measures as suits their interests. " 8

At Punaauia in 1827, the district chief banished two visionaries - merely because they had preached heresy outside the local chapel, but because they threatened the titles and authority of the leading district family attacked the Code of Laws. The term mamaia (bad fruit) was applied to who transgressed in similar ways the teaching of the missionaries. It was extended to those who indulged in prohibited dances, songs and drinking and who followed the Pomare family on tour in the role of servants and entertainers. The mamaia sect never grew into an organised religious movement; nor was it stamped out, but remained as a nucleus of malcontent and a source of faction prompted by the visions of native prophets, the

(8) Orsmond, The Old Orsmond MS., 1849, loc.cit.

(9) There is little information on the nature of their visions, nor on the hymns which they probably adapted. Davies called them " sort of wild Anomians "; Moerenhout thought their visions originated in their reading the Bible: " au lieu d'être inspirés par Oro, Tané ... ils le sont par le Christ, par saint Jean, par saint Paul, etc. Pendant que j'étais dans l'île, une femme le fut par la vierge Marie. " Davies, Some Remarks upon the late Misrepresentations of the Moral or Religious Change in the South Sea Islands, MS., L.M.S.S.S. 6; Moerenhout, Voyages aux îles du grand océan vol. II, 504-505; Darling to the L.M.S., 27 September 1827, L.M.S.S.S. 6

(10) These were commonly known to the missionaries as the teu teu ari'i - " young men from 17 to 30 years of age, physically considered the flower of the people, who consider themselves emerging into light as they succeed in emancipating themselves from the obligations of law and religion ". Stevenson to the L.M.S., 25 July 1839, L.M.S.S.S. 12; Consul Elley to F.O., 8 February 1827, F.O. 58/14.

and example of European traders or the later teachings of the Roman Catholic missionaries.¹¹

Just as one of the chiefs had taken action against the prophets, others were prepared to take up arms to enforce certain clauses of the Code against unseemly ceremonials and forms of homage paid to Queen Pomare IV by district chiefs at Moorea in 1831. After serious infringements of the clauses on treason by chiefs who objected to the queen's marriage to Tenania of Raiatea in 1833, the bulk of the chiefs of Tahiti united again - this time with Pomare - to put down rebels from the Tairarapu peninsula.¹²

Politically, both actions strengthened the authority of the leading chiefs and judges as upholders of the Code: in their own interests they had sought to prevent the disorders which resulted from the example of the "wicked and profligate young queen" from spreading to their own district in the interest of their position as legislators, they had combined against those chiefs who flouted their decisions. During the early years of Pomare's reign,¹³

(11) The fear that the mamaia might serve the progress of Catholicism was later used to justify a law against Roman Catholic teachings: see below, p. 35; Wilks, Tahiti: Containing a Review of the Origin, Character, and Progress of French Roman Catholic Efforts for the Destruction of English Protestant Missions in the South Seas... 88.

(12) The homage in question was the ahu oto - presentation of cloth involving the ceremonial abasement of the contributing chiefs (which was not the liking of the chiefs of Tahiti) and dances frowned on by the missionaries and prohibited in Law VI of the revised Code of 1824. The offenders, including the queen's mother, were judged by Utami, temporarily deprived their titles and sent to other districts. Captain Sandilands (H.M.S. Comet) to Pomare, 29 March 1831, L.M.S.S.S. 8; Darling to the L.M.S., 2 April 1831, ibid.

(13) In this action, 20 to 25 of the rebels were killed and 6 of those on the queen's side. The chiefs concerned were judged and sent to a small island off the coast. Darling to the L.M.S., 10 April 1833, L.M.S.S.S. 9; Moerenhout, op.cit., vol. I, 313-323, 332-341.

(14) Davies to the L.M.S., 29 October 1831, L.M.S.S.S. 8.

rule, the district judges and the high court of paramount chiefs - the To'ohitu - were conscientious enough to maintain order. Europeans were impressed by the general decorum of the courts going about their business with a combination of lengthy Tahitian oratory and imported badges of office - in particular the To'ohitu, " robed in long scarlet dresses which ran nearly to their feet ", who went on circuit to settle land disputes and locate boundary stones.

To counter the spread of drunkenness in the 1830's, some of the chiefs formed temperance societies, following the example of Tati of Papara and his adviser, Nott. At the same time, new legislation drawn up with the help of the missionaries, made Sabbath worship and school attendance compulsory. A prohibition against the importation and sale of spirits came into force in May 1834, accompanied by lucrative raids on stores around Papeete. The immediate results of this burst of law-making were the over-crowding of schools and chapels, the trial of some of the white residents and the departure of others. The queen and the chiefs did not desire a puritan island: most of them wished to continue trade in spirits for their own consumption. But they hoped to decrease inebriation which had, in the words of the missionary, Simpson, " to a great extent unnerved the arm of civil law and

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- (15) Henry to the L.M.S., 22 March 1832, L.M.S.S.S. 8; Beechey, Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Bering's Strait... Performed in His Majesty's Ship Blossom, vol. I, 288-290; Darwin, Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of H.M. Ships Adventure and Beagle, vol. III, Journals and Remarks: 1832-1836; Moerenhout, op.cit., vol. I, 280-281, 338-341.
- (16) Nott to the L.M.S., 17 January 1834, L.M.S.S.S. 9.
- (17) Davies to the L.M.S., 18 July 1834, ibid; Darling to the L.M.S., 1 September 1834, ibid; Pritchard to the L.M.S., 11 November 1834, ibid; Nott to the L.M.S., 11 November 1834, ibid.

bidden defiance to lenient and half-measures ". The grog-shops continued operate in secret; occasional confiscation became an established form of licence and seizure from ships a form of port revenue. In the districts, chiefs enthusiastically enforced the laws on compulsory attendance by redistributing land rights and fining those who failed to comply. The principal churches of Papeete, Papara and Tairapu attracted congregations of up to 1,000; the schools of the same churches took in over 350 new pupils in 1835. It is significant however that only 28 persons became new communicant members for much of the increased attendance may be attributed simply to the authority of Pomare and the chiefs rather than to a sincere religious revival.

By the middle of the 1830's, then, the religious and political victory of Pomare II had been followed by the emergence of the sub-tribal chiefs and their relatives as judges and keepers of the Code and members of a mission advised assembly which acted both as a check to Pomare IV and as a forum for

(18) Simpson to the L.M.S., 5 October 1836, L.M.S.S.S. 9.

(19) Orsmond to the L.M.S., 5 October 1836, ibid; Simpson to the L.M.S., November 1840, ibid 13.

(20) The figures were taken from correspondence in L.M.S.S.S. 12.

1834	Papeete (Pritchard)	700 (congregation)	57 (members)	164 (pupils)
1835	" "	1,000	80	354
1834	Papara (Davies)	1,100	398	492
1835	" "	1,200	386	495
1834	Tairapu (Orsmond)	500	125	250
1835	" "	950	125	418

See, too, Orsmond's comment on the revival. " All of her (Pomare's) subjects, her ungodly mob, must now join the church, and it must be, too, on the same day. To make it more royal she sent round orders to all the stations for all to regard the missionary and go enter the church as she was and now the missionaries, and especially Mr. Nott, wrote home, ' There is a revival of religion in Tahiti '; it is given in golden letters in the Chronicle. " Orsmond, The Old Orsmond MS., 1849, loc.cit.

devising new laws. By this date, too, the growth of trade and contact with other Europeans gave rise to problems which tested and finally broke down the superficial resemblance to " monarchy " suggested by the annual convocation of chiefs and the codification of a number of moral precepts in the name of Pomare.

(b) Land tenure and European trade.

No adequate data exist for a complete reconstruction of the pattern of residence, cultivation and usehold at Tahiti and Moorea during the first half of the nineteenth century. The testimony of the missionaries suggests they had less success in grouping households into villages or parishes than in the Leeward Islands. By the 1820's, the bulk of the population - some 12,000 for the two islands - was living on scattered family lots along the littoral, engaged in a little planting, fishing and fruit-gathering in the valleys. Areas of family usehold were exactly defined by natural marks or by boundary stones. These formed part of a family inheritance, controlled for purposes of cultivation and harvest by the head of the family and by the sub-tribal chief. Succession to parts of this inheritance and to moveable property might devolve upon persons within or without the household by way of donation or marriage portion. The right of the sub-tribal ari'i, as trustee of sub-tribal lands, to allocate areas to lesser chiefs in return for services and labour for communal projects still formed an integral part of the general social structure. The rights of the family heads and their households to occupy and cultivate were determined by kinship.

The system of paying tribute as an acknowledgement of the rights of

lesser chiefs and the ari'i over lands continued under the missionaries, and an attempt was made, as early as 1830, to formalize the practice in the Code of Laws. There is evidence, too, that the opening of chapels, even after French occupation, was the occasion of restrictions on food consumption for a period prior to the ceremony and the presentation of "masses of food, and pork... in accordance with the custom in the times of dedicating the maraes".

But the contributions to the district church societies fell off in the 1830's, when they failed to produce any reciprocal benefits: the food surpluses were diverted into more profitable avenues by the chiefs. They eagerly associated themselves with the small plantations of cotton and sugar-cane begun by the missionaries - expecting their share from the sale of produce - though they made little attempt to cultivate them on their own account. Instead, many of them organised labour to build European-styled craft to transport crops to Papeete, and these were copied through the islands as far as the Tuamotu. Pomare II's schooner (chartered at Sydney) plied south to the Austral Islands and west to New South Wales, selling salted hog for merchandise.

(21) According to Nott, the annual tribute was: " 2 bamboos of oil (one gallon) to the Queen and 3 to the Governor. The second year, 4 fathoms Tahitian cloth to the Queen and 3 to the Governor, from every family. " Law XXI of the revised Code of 1842 states that donations of dollars, breadfruit, oil and pigs are to be paid by all men and women over 14 to the iatoai, the chiefs and the queen. Amounts due from the chiefs to each other and to the queen are also stated. Nott to the L.M.S., 25 October 1830, L.M.S.S.S. 7; Réédition du Code Tahitien, 1842, MS., A.G.O. 171.

(22) Orsmond, The Old Orsmond MS., 1849, loc.cit.

(23) For example, in 1827, Raiatean boat-builders laid down 6 or 7 craft an average of 26 tons. Williams to Tyerman, 7 May 1827, L.M.S.S.S. Odds

dise.

New avenues of wealth from barter and the desire for cotton goods, European housing and furniture did not, however, interfere with the traditional claim of the chiefs to a share of the collective produce of family and sub-tribal labour. Nor did the members of a household quite develop a sense of personal possession over the articles or money acquired by working and trading with Europeans. On the other hand, Tahitians were ready to apply prohibitions to the sale of produce till prices were more advantageous. The missionaries were drained of their scanty possessions at Moorea in 1823 and 1825 when controls were instituted by "all the judges and many of the leading chiefs" complained Blossom "to prevent any of the People selling us anything, so much as an egg without first going to a wicked lying native to have a price put on everything

By the 1830's, as a result of this activity, Papeete had grown from a collection of huts to a thriving port where "runaway sailors (lived) in idleness by keeping grogshops". It became the centre of local Polynesian trade in "Cloth Ribbands, Hardware, Slops and Musket

(24) " Their ambition is to possess a musket, a boat, a European dress but none of them know what it is to possess property in our sense of the word... if a native possess many articles of property, he must distribute and cannot withhold; all his friends have a kind of positive claim, and to refuse to give would be shocking. He would be a ' taata hamani ino ', literally, a man that works evil... friendship from whatever mercenary cause it was entered into is inviolate, and is a kind of real relationship in Tahiti." Crook to the L.M.S., 4 December 1824, L.M.S.S.S. 4.

(25) Blossom to the L.M.S., 5 February 1825, ibid 5. For other examples Orsmond to the L.M.S., 9 February 1825, ibid; Wilson to the L.M.S., 22 April 1828, ibid 6; Moerenhout, op.cit., vol. II, 505-507.

(26) Fritchard to the L.M.S., 6 January 1827, L.M.S.S.S. 6.

Ship's Stores, Boats, Pearls and Shells " (sic). There, whalers restocked New South Wales schooners shipped coconut-oil and hogs; and a handful of English, American and French traders set up stores and began to import through Valparaiso, Sydney and Honolulu. In numbers, they could not have been more than 70 around Papeete before 1842; many drifted out to the districts or to Moorea; many more, seamen, deserters from whalers, malcontent and vagabonds from South America and the Australian colonies, made up the floating population that brawled and bartered on the water-front. Their nationality ranged from British, American, French, Spanish to a sprinkling of half-castes. Many had commercial interests in the group and took up residence with Tahitians or hired huts and lands from them around the port. Some, like Captains Lucett, Mauruc, Ebrill, or Consul Moerenhout, were drawn from Valparaiso or elsewhere for Tuamotuan pearls; others, like Salmon, Pritchard, or again Moerenhout, invested in the island's feeble sugar and cotton production and made Peruvian dollars local currency.

French trading interests were negligible in comparison with the number of English merchantmen or American whalers. The 8 French men-of-war that appeared at Tahiti between 1838 and 1842 were hardly in proportion to the

(27) Armitage to the L.M.S., 25 March 1836, L.M.S.S.S. 10.

(28) One observer thought most of the pearl-shell trade was in the hands of Moerenhout. From 1832 to 1838, he estimated, the amount of shell which passed through the port was about 900 tons, valued at \$45,000 to \$55,000. Both Moerenhout and the consular records are silent on these points. Wilkes, Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition... 1838-1842, vol. I, 141.

need for protection among the dozen or so Frenchmen in the group. From 1830 to 1840, some 10 English trading vessels and 20 whalers called at Papeete, engaged in importing and exporting cargoes worth 200,000 piastres (£40,000). There were 6 English schooners sailing under the Tahitian colours. In the same period, 130 American whalers restocked at the port and 6 American traders brought English goods from Valparaiso. Only 1 French trader and 3 French whalers out of Havre appeared. American traffic increased after 1841: up to September of that year, 57 merchantmen with cargoes worth about \$500,000 swelled the local retail of spirits while their crews broke local laws. In the same year, the old missionary, Platt, returned after long absence to find Papeete "a much altered place from the quantity of ships and foreigners" with about a mile and a half of water-front built round from the residence of the English consul to the Fareute peninsula. Among other changes, he observed "several shops with goods exposed for sale, eating-houses and billiard rooms, three flag-staffs for foreign consuls on which fly the flags of three Nations, and one flag-staff for a Bethel flag - which is the least attractive". The tropical lagoon had become a roadstead.

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- (29) The French vessels were, La Vénus, 1' Astrolabe, Zélée, 1' Héroïne, 1839; 1' Artémise, 1839; Pylade, 1840; 1' Aube, Reine Blanche, 1842. French residents numbered 8 in 1841 and 15 in 1842. Pomare in her Manifesto to Louis Philippe claimed there were only 9 before 1842. Pomare to Louis Philippe, 25 September 1844, encl. in Seymour to the Admiralty, 24 February 1845, Admiralty I/5550; Mémoire sur les Affaires de Tahiti, 12 November 1841, A.C.O. 92; Les Citoyens français à Mons. l'Amiral Du Petit-Thouars, 16 September 1842, MS., A.C.O. 56.
- (30) Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Tahiti, vol. 1, 1836-1841; Moerenhout to the Minister for the Navy, 21 July 1840, A.M. BBA/1005.
- (31) The flags were English, French and American; the consuls were appointed in 1822, 1835 and 1839. Tahiti adopted a flag in 1829 consisting of red, white and red horizontal stripes. Platt to the L.M.S., 9 January 1841, L.M.S.S.S. 14.

(c) European complaints and the search for external advice.

In the 1830's and 1840's the legalistic framework under which the missionaries had attempted to house the Tahitian state was cracking from internal stresses. In addition, it was looked to as a shield against the problems which came in with every whaling-boat. The church societies, the Code, the assembly and the courts were held together by the authority of four or six of the paramount chiefs and judges. But contribution to the church was irregular; the Code tended to degenerate into a convenient source of labour and fines; the feasting and ceremony which accompanied meetings of assembly threatened to overshadow its legislative functions, and Pomare did not summon it in 1840 and 1841. Moreover, the centre of authority for the two islands, the missionaries realised, shifted from the royal house to the Tahitian To'ohitu who combined the prestige of ari'i with effective control of the native police, the district judges and the land courts. Pomare herself was harrassed by domestic troubles, financially embarrassed by her retinue of troops and court followers and opposed by a party of chiefs drawn largely from the old Teva districts subdued by her father.

The preponderance of English residents with commercial or religious

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- (32) Stevens, Statement for the Directors on the Political, Educational and Religious Aspects of Tahiti, 5 July 1841, L.M.S.S.S. 14. The penalty for theft, for example, had been increased to tenfold the value of the object stolen - two thirds of which was paid to the queen and the judges. If the thief could not pay, the goods of his relatives were seized.
- (33) Olmstead, Incidents of a Whaling Voyage, 291-292; Wilkes, op.cit., vol. I, 139; Lucett, Rovings in the Pacific from 1837 to 1839; with a Glance at California. (By a Merchant Long Resident at Tahiti), vol. I,
- (34) Wilkes, op.cit., vol. I, 139; Olmstead, op.cit., 285.

interests in the group led the more influential of them, such as Pritchard Charles Wilson and Alexander Salmon, to offer their services as consular agents. Together with the missionaries, they requested protection or suggested annexation, fostering among Tahitians a feeling that Victoria's distant friendship might bring active intervention. Pritchard, as British Consul 35 1839, mistrusted the French as potential rivals and secured leave in 1840 to plead for more effective naval support. The Tahitians, he thought, had come to look upon England as the sole cause of their " present position in the scale of Civilised Nations "; therefore, he continued, their islands might easily become a great centre for British trade - the " New West Indies " of the Pacific.

Similarly, the more vociferous of the French settlers and traders - De Sentis, the Belgian, Moerenhout, or the Catholic missionary Caret - aired 37 their grievances and their patriotic hopes to French agents abroad. At a

(35) Hitoti to the Marquis of Londonderry, 22 August 1822, F.O. 58/14; Pomare III to George IV, 5 October 1825, L.M.S.S.S. 5; Pomare IV and children to F.O., 7 January 1832, F.O. 58/14; Ellis to F.O., 24 November 1837, F.O. 58/15; Pomare, Hitoti, Tati, Paofai, Utami to the Queen of England, encl. in Pritchard to F.O., 9 November 1838, ibid; Directors of the L.M.S.S.S. to F.O., 15 April 1839, ibid; Acting-Consul Wilson to Consul Rouse, 15 August 1841, T.B.C.P. 8; Wilson to Rear-Admiral Ross, 15 August 1841, ibid; Salmon to F.O., 26 May, 29 July 1841, F.O. 58/16. For these requests, the Foreign Office promised little more than " moral support ". F.O. to Admiralty, 19 July 1839, F.O. 58/15.

(36) Pritchard to F.O., 10 March 1842, T.B.C.P. 8.

(37) Moerenhout to the Minister for the Navy, 21 July 1840, A.M. BBA/1005; idem, 1 June 1841, A.C.O. 56; Jore, Un Belge au service de la France dans l'Océan Pacifique..., 101-102; Lucas, Enquête sur les Evénements de l'Océanie de 1837 à 1847, MS., A.C.O. 92. Like others of the French party at Tahiti, Lucas had arrived from the Bay of Islands smarting from increased land rents and British rule. He petitioned the Ministry for the Navy to forestall England elsewhere in Polynesia, using the same economic arguments as Pritchard. Rapport du capitaine Lucas du navire la Justice de Bordeaux, 27 April 1842, A.C.O. 99.

lower level, all groups of nationals were clamorous for the privileges of European justice - without always wishing to sacrifice their interests to more definite form of European control. Added to this was a fear that either France or Britain might occupy the islands to the detriment of the commerce of other Powers.

By 1840, court cases involving Europeans and Tahitians were invariably heard in the presence of a consul and native judges. Sometimes the preliminary evidence was collected by the missionaries or other interested residents. At Huahine, in 1842, when the native judges were powerless to enforce their decision against a European, the British Consul referred the whole case to the Governor of New South Wales.

" From the insufficiency of the Laws of these Islands being established for the government of their own people, & the incapacity of the Native Authorities to satisfactorily and justly determine cases of complicated a nature and particularly where British interest is embraced, they have been induced to refer the case to the Colonial Authorities if the same can be made cognisable in a British Colonial Court." 39

This precedent was not imitated further; but the problem of justice for Europeans was no less acute. The enforcement of the law prohibiting the sale of spirits and the law imposing a nightly curfew brought most of the settle

(38) Henry to Pritchard, 16 June 1840, T.B.C.P. 2; Ebrill to Pritchard, 1 June 1840, T.B.C.P. Papeete. For similar cases in the Leeward Islands where native judges were influenced by Europeans, see Bury to Wilson, 13 February 1842, T.B.C.P. 2.

(39) The case concerned a British resident and master of the brig, Hannah who was accused by the former of theft. The native judges were unwilling to go on board the Hannah and return the stolen articles to the British trader. The Superintendent of Police at Sydney gave his opinion that all parties were guilty of fraud (without hearing the case). Wilson to C. 20 March 1842, T.B.C.P. 8; Bury to Wilson, 20 November 1841, ibid 2; De Thompson to Wilson, 11 July 1842, ibid.

of Papeete into conflict with the native police. The complaints showered a visiting French naval commander, in May 1842, were concerned with rum and brandy confiscations from French traders - " who despite this " wrote Capt Dubouzet " and growing rich on this illicit trade - the most profitable in land - claimed that they were ruined and persecuted because they were French. In this protest, the French were joined by those whom Consul Wilson called " the Lower Class of British Subjects " (after they had abused him for not protecting them).

The agents of this trouble - the mutoi - were appointed by the chief or by Pomare from her retinue. Despite regulations admonishing them to make arrests only with a warrant from the queen's speaker and to act " with diligence, with gentleness and good words ", they made little discrimination between the guilty and the suspect: stocks or the guardhouse awaited both; and their fines - one or two piastres - were divided among the mutoi themselves. Captain Dubouzet and Consul Moerenhout obtained a promise from the chiefs to have them disbanded, which was only made good in part - an omission later seized on by the French to justify the Protectorate.

(40) Captain Dubouzet refused to interfere with local laws - unlike his predecessor, Pénaud, commander of the Fylade, who, eighteen months before had ordered the Tahitians to cease forced entry and seizure of traders' property. The English and Americans, said Dubouzet, were content to cover their losses by further sales; " the French, on the other hand, would like to enjoy the enormous benefits and, at the same time, inviolability of their houses." Dubouzet to Du Petit-Thouars, 11 July 1842, A.C.O. 56; idem, Rapport, 4 June 1842, ibid 92.

(41) Wilson to Pritchard, 27 May 1841, T.B.C.P. 8.

(42) Regulations for the Police, encl. in Uata, the queen's speaker, to Wilson, 14 March 1842, T.B.C.P. 2.

(43) Dubouzet, loc.cit.; Jesson, Extracts from a Journal, 9 May 1842, L.M.S.S.S. 15.

Above all, Europeans complained of the lack of security in the local system of land tenure. At Tahiti, difficulties arose whenever settlers confused usehold rights with land ownership. Tahitians, like most Polynesians were unwilling to sell or lease for a long term the basis of their hereditary wealth and prestige.

" So powerful is this repugnance to the admission of foreigners to a share of the privileges arising from the possession of land, that those who are attempting to cultivate sugar etc., hold their leases by a tenure so uncertain as to prevent them making any permanent improvement." 44

Moreover, the lease or sale of land was forbidden by law in the late 1830's. European occupancy resulted mainly from outright donation by a Tahitian friend, or by marriage with a Tahitian. But upon the departure of the European - even in some cases before he left - the household related to the donator or to his wife might lay claim to the area, including any plantations, buildings or other improvements. 46

Cases of dispossession presented to Dubouzet and other naval officers were complicated by the part of two members of the Catholic mission in one of the more tangled disputes. Dubouzet, at least, saw clearly that the lease of land by the mission when it was already before a Tahitian court had been

(44) Wilkes, op.cit., vol. I, 141.
(45) Arts. XII, XIII, Réédition du Code Tahitien, 1842, A.C.O. 171.
(46) The case of a Frenchman, Lefebvre, is typical. " A relation of my wife made me a present of land on which I made a sugar plantation; later this relation wanted one of my foals and wished to buy it. I told her that as she had given me some of the land I would give her the foal as payment. But some time later she wished to take back her land and her husband and his friends continually break down my fence." Lefebvre to (Moerenhout) 25 December 1841, A.C.O. 92. For comparison, see similar cases of dispossession under the Roman Catholic mission at Mangareva, Appendix VIII, 424-441.

ill-advised; but he persuaded the chiefs to recognise part of the contract and a similar claim by another Frenchman as valid.⁴⁷

Such interference with matters of trade and land called into question local interpretation and execution of the laws. It raised the discussion of Tahitian and European relations to a level where the chiefs became dependent on the conflicting words of foreigners and a prey (feared one of the missionaries) to their "lofty pretensions and loud threatenings of the thunder power of Ships of War".⁴⁸ When an additional source of faction - the Roman Catholic mission - was thrown into the wavering scales of security by L.M.S. laws, or security by closer alliance with other advisers, the chiefs tipped them sharply in favour of the latter policy.

The question at stake where the Roman Catholics were concerned was the claim of a native and missionary government to control its external affairs to determine the conduct, and, if necessary, the right of Europeans to resettle, trade or preach in the group. In the last account, Tahitians could only appeal to the Code; Europeans could appeal to a man-of-war.

Naval treaties for the settlement of disputes at Tahiti had followed the development of European trade there. There is little difference between

(47) The two Catholic missionaries were members of the Picpus Society who were finally allowed to settle in Tahiti in 1841. They built a church as promised by Pomare - and obtained a lease of land from an Irishman, Archibald, who held it through his Tahitian wife. Archibald's right to dispose of the plot was contested by his wife's relatives and the missionaries were forced to move - after raising the French flag over the group. Dubouzet was uneasy over his position as arbitrator which he recognised was "somewhat false, since above all it was necessary to uphold the rights of a British subject". Dubouzet, Rapport, 4 June 1842, A.C.O. 92; Carte to Du Petit-Thouars, 3 September 1842, ibid 46.

(48) Henry to the L.M.S., 2 November 1840, L.M.S.S.S. 13.

the guarantees made to Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones, Captain Laws or
 49
 Captain Du Petit-Thouars. They were specifically concerned with retrieving
 deserters and with the right to trade. Twice, indemnities were paid on be-
 half of British nationals by the queen's government, before Du Petit-Thouars met
 50
 his demands in 1838. But prior to his arrival, the authority of the mission
 and the chiefs had been challenged after the missionaries had given advice
 on the right of the Tahitian government to exclude undesirable persons.
 Following on an unsuccessful attempt in 1835, two Catholic missionaries left
 the next year, but were forced to leave, being a potential source of opposi-
 51
 tion to the Protestant mission. The differences of view between influential
 Europeans like Pritchard who engineered and defended the expulsion of Fath-
 Caret and Laval, and the American consul, Moerenhout, who attacked it, bore
 little relation to the realities of district authority. Pritchard based his

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- (49) The relevant treaties were: Treaty of Commerce between Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones, the Queen Regent and Pomare III, copy encl. in Consul Alley to F.O., 12 December 1826, F.O. 58/14; Concerning Seamen leaving their Ships, and To Commanders of Vessels calling at Tahiti or Eimeo, 1826; Convention between Louis-Philippe I and Pomare Vahine I, 4 September 1838, P.F., 1843 (LXI), 473. For an account of the visit of Captain Laws, H.M.S. Satellite, see Nott to F.O., 11 March 1829, L.M.S.S.S. 5. For Du Petit-Thouars' exactions, see Du Petit-Thouars, Voyage autour du monde sur la frégate la Vénus...1836-1839, vol. II, 388-400.
- (50) Reports of Captain Freemantle re the cases of the Sultana and the Thetis, F.O. 58/14; Wilson to the L.M.S., 16 April 1834, L.M.S.S.S. 9; FitzRoy, Proceedings of the Second Expedition (vol. II of Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of H.M.S. Adventure and Beagle,) 520-555; Palmerston to Pomare, 14 February 1837, T.B.C.P. Pomare.
- (51) The incident is well known. Caret and Laval were sheltered by the American consul, Moerenhout, and forcefully removed by the mutoi. Moerenhout to the State Department, 24 December 1836 (with enclosures to and from Pritchard and Pomare), Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Tahiti, vol. I, 1836-1841; Pritchard to the L.M.S., 21 September 1838, L.M.S.S.S. 11; Vincendon-Dumoulin, Desgraz, Iles Taïti, Esquisse Historique et Géographique Précédée de Considérations générales sur la Colonisation Française dans l'Océanie, 828-832.

legal exchanges with the consul on Article 4 of the Port Regulations requiring permission from Pomare before a passenger could land. Moerenhout invoked "Laws of Nations", questioning the right of a missionary to act as an agent on international relations and suggesting toleration in the mission field. Fritchard's reply was unequivocal: "for Roman Catholics and Protestant Missionaries to labour together in peace and harmony in a small field like this or in the Sandwich Islands, is just as likely as it is for light to have fellowship with darkness, or Christ and Belial to dwell together in concord." 52

Where their advisers fell out, Tahitians were divided also. The unpromising position adopted by the Protestants was emphasised again in 1838 when some of their number turned to the device of law-making to prevent Catholics teaching at Tahiti. In the presence of a visiting naval officer, 53 one of the missionaries presented the law to a gathering of the chiefs. Moerenhout pointed out that France would not tolerate it and that only English naval power could enforce it. The British officer, Captain Elliot, would not be committed and advised the missionaries not to participate in the voting. The Tahitian chiefs, faced with the sole responsibility for passing the measure, hesitated. But after two days of discussion, it was adopted when

(52) Fritchard to Moerenhout, 3 December 1836, in Report addressed in February 1837 to the Reverend Ellis, Foreign Secretary of the L.M.S., (copy in Ropiteau-O'Reilly Collection; Jore, *op.cit.*, 57-66.

(53) Rodgerson to the L.M.S., 9 November 1838, *L.M.S.S.S.* 11; A Law concerning the propagation of tenets inconsistent with our Gospel (sic), enclosed in Fritchard to F.O., 9 November 1838, *F.O.* 58/15. Lord Palmerston condemned the measure as an "intolerant and indefensible Edict" and branded the expulsion of Caret and Laval as "an uncalled for act of violence". Fritchard to C.O., 23 July 1839, *ibid.*

missionaries promised that offenders would be dealt with by their respective consuls. Moerenhout refused to be implicated and threw the consequences back onto the unhappy chiefs. The abolition of the law the following year by a French naval officer marked the bankruptcy of mission attempts to renounce factional threats to an unstable government. And the three years that followed this loss of confidence saw a departure from the long tradition of asking for protection from England.

An increasing number of French naval vessels and the influence of Moerenhout (created French consul by Du Petit-Thouars in 1838) provided chiefs of the party opposed to Pomare with a new source of support.

" These very persons who are stamping and raving... upon the evils of Roman Catholicism and the conduct of the French, go on board and get presents from every French Man-of-War that comes, even this very 1 (L'Artémise, Captain Laplace, 1839); and in correspondence with Catholic Bishop of the Gambiers, Paofai, the Secretary of our Auxiliary Society - the chief instrument of the diminution of its last funds - received a pair of valuable silver spectacles. If anything done or undone that displeases these chiefs, they do not hesitate to threaten the brethren with receiving the Catholics. " 54

It was in such an atmosphere of uncertainty and mistrust that Moerenhout's " treaty " of 1841 took on the proportions of a full demand for political protection from France. In fact, it was little more than a request, solicited from and signed by Paraita, Tati, Hitoti and Paete, for aid from French naval officers to enforce laws against seamen and deserters. It is not certain t

(54) Stevens to the L.M.S., 25 July 1839, L.M.S.S.S. 12.

(55) Paraita, Tati, Hitoti, Paete to Moerenhout, n.d. (August 1841) enclosed in Admiralty to F.O., 6 May 1842, F.O. 58/16. Paraita was the queen's speaker at this date and responsible for law and order at Papeete during her absence; Tati and Hitoti were paramount chiefs of Papara and Tiarei; Paete is unknown to me. They looked to Moerenhout for advice during the / ricting

all the chiefs understood the document; but, whether or not they signed " a
were in the Dark " (as one of them later wrote), their loss of faith in
56
advice of the missionaries was confirmed.

For the mission itself, by the 1840's, was divided in opinion between
older and younger pastors. Those who had come with Davies, Henry or Pritchard
had continued to regard the political and religious affairs of Tahiti as
inseparable. They had seen conversion and political changes; they had seen
violence prohibited as a means of settling disputes, rules laid down for
marriage and schooling, the beginnings of reading and writing, the imitation
and importations of European fashions. Of them, only Davies and Orsmond were
57
openly sceptical of the results. New-comers to the field, like Thomas Heath
were anxious to make a distinction between the Church and the State, between
those things which might be left to " parliaments and police ", and the "
58
great multitude of sins " to be left to missionary discipline. But mission

rioting which occurred in 1841 after a Spanish vessel put into port.

" The gin, the drunkenness, the bloodshed that came out of that Spanish
ship, and the threats made by her officers to the Tahitians, (led them
to seek some antidote before those threats could be executed." Orsmond
The Old Orsmond MS., 1849, loc.cit.; Lucas, Enquête sur les Evénements de
l'Océanie de 1837 à 1847, A.C.O. 56; Wilks, op.cit., 110-112.

(56) Paraita to Consul Cunningham, 21 August 1841, encl. in Admiralty to
F.O., 6 May 1842, F.O. 58/16.

(57) Davies, History of the Tahitian Mission, MS., vol. II, L.M.S.

(58) Heath, commenting mainly from his experience in Samoa, made a shrewd
criticism of the practice of looking to written laws as a panacea for the
troubles of Tahitian society. " It is observable... that whenever laws
beyond the point to which the knowledge and moral feeling of the people
has yet reached, it is well known that they will ill attain their end."
Heath to the L.M.S., 26 February 1842, encl. a paper entitled, On Certain
Defects and Desiderata in the Polynesian Missions of the London Society
L.M.S.

advice and the inter-dependency of the missionaries and the chiefs had gone too far for there to be any withdrawal without bewilderment or bitterness the part of the Tahitians. Since the death of Pomare II, the prestige of chiefs had been enhanced by the benefits of trade, control of the courts and the collection of fines. They had applied sanctions to the sale of crops to Europeans and they took a large share in the formulation and revision of the Code of Laws. After the first conversion imposed on the people by the chiefs and Pomare, there had been a shift in emphasis from the moral hold of the district churches over their communicant members to the legal hold of the To'ohitu and the chiefs over their own kin and lawbreakers in general. The missionary and the chiefs were expected to be traders; and the chiefs were expected to be judges - not only for Tahitians, but for Europeans. At this point, the famous dictum of John Williams that "civil polity and religious practice" were inseparable, broke down. For Europeans, the threat of sanction or redistribution of land rights no longer applied. Fines or the stocks were too easily evaded. Pritchard might well show the Tahitians how to put iron on the legs of a runaway sailor or advise Pomare to exclude Roman Catholics from her islands; but such a policy could not be continued indefinitely.

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- (59) Pritchard to the L.M.S., 24 September 1840, L.M.S.S.S. 13; Howe to L.M.S., 12 October 1840, ibid.
- (60) "I have no desire to interfere in such cases" wrote Pritchard "but the natives are as so many overgrown children. They acknowledge that they are not capable of managing these base characters without our advice and assistance. As a missionary, I, of course, set my face against the vile conduct of these runaway sailors residing on shore. In consequence of this they are angry with me." Pritchard to the L.M.S., 6 January 1827, L.M.S.S.S. 6. Pritchard's dilemma may be usefully compared with the experience of Father Laval at Mangareva (see Appendix VIII), or with the study of dependency-situations in other areas of contact between Europe and primitive societies; e.g., Mannoni, O, Psychologie de la Colonisation (Paris, 1950) passim, esp. 31-42.

3

And when it failed, or when the missionaries debated the justice of their political role, the chiefs were forced to look elsewhere. Their problem was summed up by the chiefs who had signed Moerenhout's petition of 1841.

" Paraita replied that so many difficult cases had occurred and the Missionaries did not interfere to instruct him what he should do, therefore he signed the document which had previously been prepared by the French consul. Paiti (Paete) another who signed it brought the same important charge against the missionaries. Tati signed it as well and Itoti (Hitoti) because they saw the names of the two former chiefs attached to it. " 61

Three of these chiefs were prepared to act in a similar fashion when French Admiral was willing to take advantage of their situation.

The Protection of French Interests in the Pacific, 1815-1845.

Polynesia was brought to the notice of early nineteenth century French governments by the demands of science and trade. Under a series of energetic Ministers, the French Ministry for the Navy continued the great voyages of the previous century, filling in the outlines left by Cook, Bougainville and d'Entrecasteaux; in the wake of the French navy, the ship-owners of Bordeaux sent expeditions as far as Canton and Lima in search of new markets. Of six official naval campaigns between 1815 and 1830, one included Tahiti and three New Zealand and Hawaii. They opened the way for commercial relations, gathered scientific material and observed with care the expansion of Britain and the United States in the Pacific. In particular, the reports of Baron de Bougainville and Laplace, supplemented by traders' letters on the Australian colonies, emphasised the need for French consular agents in California.

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- (1) The voyages were carried out by Freycinet, l'Uranie, 1819-1820; Duperré, La Coquille, 1822-1825; Baron de Bougainville, La Thétis, l'Espérance, 1824-1826; Dumont d'Urville, l'Astrolabe, 1826-1829; Laplace, La Favorite, 1829-1832; de Tromelin, La Bayonnaise, 1828-1829. For the general policy of the French Ministry for the Navy during the period, see Gaffier, La Politique Coloniale de la France de 1789 à 1830, 468-484; Schéfer, La France moderne et le problème colonial, 1815-1830, 69 ff.; Faivre, l'Expansion Française dans le Pacifique de 1800 à 1842, 217-333; Tramond, Reuss' Éléments d'Histoire maritime et coloniale, 1815-1914, vol. II, 1-17; Duchêne, La Politique coloniale de la France, 155-176.

Hawaii, New South Wales, the Philippines and China.

Much of this information was simply theory about possible development but attention had been drawn to Polynesia, and the establishment of a permanent naval squadron at Valparaiso, in 1822, made longer patrols there certain. An early attempt at establishing a French post in Polynesia came to nothing; the government of Charles X flirted with the schemes of the adventurous Jean Rives in order to set up a commercial and religious centre at Hawaii in 1824 but the alliance of French capital with the first French Catholic missionaries in the Pacific proved as unpromising as the abortive plans of Peter Dillon who offered his services to the French government as "the only man in Europe capable of furthering French expansion in the South Seas."

By 1835, the transport of consuls and jurisdiction over whalers had become a recognised function of the Pacific squadron. France had set up some fifteen agencies along the coast of South America where French trade compe

- (2) Suggestions from Bougainville and Laplace for developing French commerce in the Pacific are in A.M. BBA/1001/1. For traders' reports and for one of the earliest offers to fill the post of French Consul at Sydney, see Mémoire de M. Herval, MS., encl. in Clermont-Tonnerre, Minister for the Colonies to Baron Damas, Minister for Foreign Affairs, 13 September 1826, A.A.E. Océanie I; Formation d'Établissements. Mémoire de M. de Rienzi, 20 February 1833, MS., A.C.O. 99.
- (3) The expedition, financed by the French government and commercial firms, arrived at Hawaii with six missionaries of the Picpus Society, in 1827. In 1831, the last Fathers, Bachelot and Short, had been forced to leave, and Jean Rives was known to be an imposter without credit in the islands. A good deal of information on Pacific trade was forwarded to Paris, however, by the leader of the short-lived colony, Morineau. A.A.E. Océanie I; Blue, "The Project for a French Settlement in the Hawaiian Islands, 1824-1842" Pacific Historical Review, vol. II, March 1933, 85-99; Duhaut-Cilly, Voyage autour du monde...1826-1829, vol. I, 111-118; Faivre, op.cit., 288-290.
- (4) Dillon, Mémoire adressé à M. le Préfet de l'Île Bourbon par le capitaine Dillon, 7 September 1829, MS., A.A.E. Océanie I; Dillon to Solages, 20 January 1830, ibid; Dillon to the Prince de Polignac, 31 March 1830, ibid; Goyau, Les grands dessins missionnaires d'Henri de Solages, 48-115.

favourably with that of the United States - though both were far below
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British figures. Seven French firms struggled against excessive tariffs;
traders smuggled and exported wines and brandies to Tahiti, Hawaii and
Australia; their consuls pressed for better commercial treaties with the
6
South American States and clamoured for naval support. Litigation and en-
into pillage became the monthly business of consul and commander. It was
easy step to apply the methods learned along this turbulent coast to the
islands.

Among the Pacific archipelagoes, commercial or religious competition
among small factions was exaggerated by the void around them. There, the
major results of the policy of naval protection were achieved by the initi-
ive and personality of the visiting officer and supported or undone by a
handful of Europeans. Ever present in the naval despatch or the covering
report was a tendency to elevate intrigue by foreign residents and the re-
se of native governments to European disorder into terms of European diplo-
But the diplomats worked from the trading store, the church or the roadster
rather than distant chancelleries: delayed directives from Europe were
interpreted for changed situations; the departure of the man-of-war and the
confusion of local advice deepened the misunderstanding for the Polynesian

(5) Faivre, op.cit., 354-365.

(6) Ibid, 357; for French policy in South America, see W.S. Robertson,
France and Latin American Independence (Baltimore, 1939), 523-586.

From such factors came the treaties arranged by Laplace and Du Petit⁷ Thouars at Hawaii and Tahiti, between 1837 and 1839. At both groups, the negotiations were characterised by the treatment of Kamehameha and Pomare as weak but independent sovereigns responsible for the external affairs of their islands. In return for the right of residence and for commercial privileges equal to those granted to the most favoured foreigners, Hawaiians and Tahitians were accorded the same advantages in France. At Tahiti, in Du Petit-Thouars increased the severity of the terms by demanding an inden of 2,000 piastres for the expulsion of two Catholic missionaries. Laplace reinforced the French position the following year, by inserting a clause permitting " the free exercise of the Catholic religion "; and at Hawaii,⁸ extracted similar priviliges and a bond of 2,000 piastres. The next few y were to test the capacity of the island kingdoms to protect foreign interest in the manner promised.

The nearest document to an official statement on this protective pol among islands where some form of native government along European lines ha grown up, was written by Laplace himself. He traced the activity of the French navy since the 1830's - supervising commercial and whaling interest

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- (7) Du Petit-Thouars to Kamehameha, 20 July 1837, A.M. BBL/1005; Du Petit Thouars, op.cit., vol. I, 343-347, vol. II, 388; Du Petit-Thouars to Pomare, 30 August 1838, A.M. BBL/1005; Du Petit-Thouars to the Minister for the Navy, 31 August 1838, A.C.O. 56; P.P., 1843 (LXI), 473, 3-5.
- (8) Laplace to the Minister for the Navy, 21 June 1839, A.M. BBL/1008; Laplace, Campagne de circumnavigation de la frégate l'Artemise... 1837-1839, vol. V, 404, 531-533. The clause allowing Catholics to teach went on to state that they were not, however, to interfere in the political affairs of Tahiti.

and dispensing justice by reparation and written guarantees. But this form of naval diplomacy, he recognised, would become much more difficult " as white race, by settling in every land washed by the Pacific Ocean " expanded with the approval and aid of European governments.

" Thus it is necessary, in order to carry out this role with success, to understand well the influence the present state of these countries will have upon their future, the methods used by the English to establish a kind of supremacy there, (and) lastly, the way to be taken by France, not to make conquests there, but to prevent her rival's plans for settlement until these Southern lands have undergone the great revolution which must give birth in that hemisphere to a new race, a new policy and new interests. " 9

So far as Hawaii and Tahiti were concerned, Laplace's despatch conformed with the views of his superiors in the Ministry for the Navy and the Department of Colonies - at least till 1842. By that date, the Minister of the Navy, Duperré, and the Director of Colonies, Filleau de Saint-Hilaire, would have been prepared to take a much more positive line about acquiring new territories; but Guizot's Foreign Office was cautious, believing that the United States, England or the Australian colonies might seriously contest intervention in areas where their missions and traders had built up a long tradition. The appearance of a coherent policy of territorial aggrandisement in the Pacific throughout the reign of Louis Philippe is misleading. For

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- (9) Laplace to the Minister for the Navy, 15 July 1839, A.C.O. 118.
- (10) Baron Duperré was Minister for the Navy for several terms: November 1834-September 1836; May 1839-March 1840; October 1840-February 1843 - except for a brief period when Admiral Roussin was in office, February-July 1843. De Saint-Hilaire entered the Colonial Department in 1819 and was Director, February 1826-March 1842, when he was replaced by a more conservative minister, Galos.
- (11) See Ward, British Policy in the South Pacific, 117-125; Russier, Le Partage de l'Océanie, 141-144; Hardy, Histoire sociale de la colonisation française, 136-137.

brief period only did the Ministry for the Navy and the Colonies fire the government's imagination sufficiently to embark on a system of posts at Madagascar, the South Philippines, the Marquesas, Senegal and Gabon - " projets grandioses... et résultats médiocres " - before which Guizot re-
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-ed when they had hardly begun.

The glowing report written by Du Petit-Thouars, in 1839, on the suitability of New Zealand and the Marquesas for settlement was filed away due to the uncertainty and embarrassment surrounding the French position at Akaroa
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in 1840. From the beginning, the plans to colonise a portion of the South Island of New Zealand had been curbed by a refusal to cause diplomatic complications. French interests there were small - four Catholic mission stations organised by Bishop Pompallier and an increasing number of French
14
whalers. In 1839, the Ministry for the Navy was ordered to send a vessel to the area and support, by loan of a transport, the Company of Bordeaux and Nantes formed to colonise some 30,000 acres claimed by a French whaleman
15
on the Akaroa peninsula. As a government project, the expedition of 1840

(12) Duchêne, op.cit., 189.

(13) Du Petit-Thouars, Note sur les îles Marquises et sur les avantages qu'elles offrent comme lieu de déportation, 22 August 1839, MS., A.A.E. Nouvelle-Zélande I; A.C.O. 55.

(14) By 1839, there were 22 French whalers in New Zealand waters. Du Petit-Thouars pressed for a commercial agent for the Bay of Islands with judicial powers over their crews. Du Petit-Thouars, op.cit., vol. IV, 368; McNair, The Old Whaling Days. A History of Southern New Zealand from 1830 to 1840, 246-247.

(15) Soult to Rosamel, 23 January 1839, A.M. BBL/1010; Buick, The French in Akaroa. An Adventure in Colonization, passim; Lavaud, Voyage et essai de colonisation sur l'île du Sud de la Nouvelle-Zélande entrepris par la corvette l'Aube, MS., T.L.; Blanchard, "La Nouvelle-Zélande et les petites îles adjacentes", Revue des Deux Mondes, vol. XLIX, 15 January 1842, 355-359.

was marked by a reluctance to commit France to military settlement or territorial claims to the three islands. It was never part of the plan to forestall the English: the French flag was to be hoisted only at Akaroa on land purchased for the State only through the agency of the Company. As a Company project, it was vitiated from the beginning by delay, financial temerity and the groundless assumption that the land claims were valid. Captain Lavaud, with the letters of a Royal Commissioner, preceded the colonists to New Zealand, arriving a month after definite British possession of the South Island and six months after the Treaty of Waitangi. The colonists were landed in August 1840; the rest was hardship, litigation and the liquidation of the Company.

Nor was there any desire in Paris to extend French sovereignty over the Society Islands in 1842. Almost in the same month as Du Petit-Thouars drew up the terms of the Protectorate agreement on his own initiative, the assurances which had been made to Pomare by his predecessor in command of the Pacific squadron were confirmed by the Minister for the Navy.

(16) For a discussion of the uncertainties arising from the terms of the agreement of 11 December 1839 between the Company and the State, see Lavaud, op.cit., loc.cit.; Buick, op.cit., 57-159. In addition to supervising the new settlement, Lavaud was ordered to protect whaling and collect sugar-cane and flax-seeds. Duperré to Lavaud, 14 January 1840 A.A.N. Nouvelle-Zélande I.

(17) Buglet to Pomare, 25 January 1842, A.C.O. 92. The significant statement by the Admiral was: " I know that your Majesty has been alarmed at the intentions of France concerning Her Possessions; but I can assure Her that His Majesty's Government wishes neither to conquer Her Dominion nor to take them under its protection. " Duperré highly approved of it as " conforming with the wishes and intentions " of the French Government. Duperré to Du Petit-Thouars, 2 November 1842, ibid.

Until 1843, French activity in the Pacific was motivated by the desire to compensate for the Akaroa farce and to continue the protective policy of the 1830's. The annexation of the Marquesas in 1842 constituted this compensation. Officially, the occupation of the group was subject to a great deal of post facto justification along the lines that it formed an integral part of a chain of naval posts in every ocean; it fitted well into Guizot's classic formulation of his country's policy - not to "compromise herself in any way by hostile collision with the natives of these lands, or foreign Powers generally". Instead, as he explained to the French Parliament in 1843, France was to have "points on the globe destined to become great commercial centres of trade and navigation". The two aims were not entirely compatible but they amplified the protective role described by Laplace in 1839. In practice, when this brief bid for footholds was checked, the Ministry for the Navy adopted the device which had secured the protection of French interests at Tahiti - a treaty giving guarantees without full sovereignty rights.

At this point, cooperation between the French Navy and French missionaries took on a political character. In general, till 1843, the government and the officers of Louis Philippe looked on the agents of the Societies of the Sacred Heart and Marie as pioneers of civilisation rather than flag-bearers for France. Instructions to Laplace and Du Petit-Thouars, in 1837, ordering reparations on behalf of Catholic missionaries at Tahiti, were evidence of protection of

(18) Guizot to the Chamber of Deputies, Moniteur Universel, 31 March 1843

nationals rather than a pact between the Minister for the Navy and the
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Catholic Orders. After 1838, however, missionaries were given free passag
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on naval vessels and consuls and officers told to see to their needs. The
eagerly accepted these offers of State assistance; and Mathias Gracia, mi
ionary in the Marquesas, hoped that the future of the Catholic mission in
21
Pacific would be " one and the same development " with French colonisation
22

For, as the dream of island posts faded before the realities of the
French budget and opposition from other Powers, there was left only the
protectorate treaty as a means of obtaining spheres of influence without
large financial responsibilities. The new policy was described to the fir
governor of French Oceania as " a question of accepting in principle the
type of sovereignty which the treaty signed by chiefs confers on us and ma
them understand, by sending a vessel from time to time, that the French
Government still has them in mind ". And to obtain this end, continued th
Minister for the Navy, Roussin, and " to gradually join the whole of the
Polynesian group to the French Establishments, missionary influence will l
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our principal means of success ".

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- (19) Rosamel to Laplace and Du Petit-Thouars, 10 June 1837, A.M. BB4/100
On the other hand, the policy of the Catholic missions themselves was
aimed at eradicating heresy in Protestant areas as well as converting
pagan: see Caret, in Les Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de
Foi, vol. X, 224; Vincendon-Dumoulin, Desgraz, op.cit., 32. For a def
of the Catholics against the charge of political activities (largely
hominem, i.e. anti-Protestant), see Perbal, Les missionnaires français
et le nationalisme, passim; and for an opposite view, Schéfer, op.cit.
(20) Minister for the Navy to Guizot, 5 May, 30 June 1838, A.A.E. Océan
(21) Mathias Gracia, Lettres sur les Iles Marquises..., 22.
(22) Roussin to Bruat, 20 July 1843, A.A.E. Océanie I.

The despatch of a vessel to the Wallis group, on the request of Bish
Pompallier, was approved by both the Ministry for the Navy and the Foreign
Office; a vague protectorate treaty resulted, and a flag with mission insi
was raised at the end of 1842.²³ Pompallier made a similar request for Tong
the following year;²⁴ but attention was turned to New Caledonia, when the
Minister for the Navy, Roussin, ordered Du Petit-Thouars to provide transp
for Mgr. Douarre to establish a headquarters for the Catholic mission in t
western Pacific.²⁵ Typically, the Admiral went a step further by instructin
the officer in charge of the expedition " to instigate on the part of the
chiefs of the island a request for the protection and even the sovereignty
France ".²⁶ A treaty was obtained, a flag was hoisted and left to the charg
the Catholic mission. In the same manner, Du Petit-Thouars communicated w
Father Laval at Mangareva, in 1844, urging him to procure a request for
protection or sovereignty to consolidate the French position in the Societ
Islands.²⁷ Before the Ministry had approved, a ship was sent and a protecto
ate treaty drawn up - for which, Captain Pénaud noted, the Superior of the
mission was " far more the negociator than the interpreter ".²⁸

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- (23) Lavaud to Dubouzet, 19 November 1841, A.A.E. Océanie I; Duperré to Guizot, 22 June 1842, ibid. The treaty between Captain Dubouzet and Lavalua of Vavau, soliciting protection in very general terms, was dated 5 January 1842. Port regulations were drawn up and the mission flag raised by a second French commander in November of the same year. Roussin to Bruat, 20 July 1843, A.M.P. Correspondence, 1842-1851.
- (24) Pompallier to Du Petit-Thouars, 15 February 1843, ibid.; de Mackau to Bruat, 8 December 1843, ibid.
- (25) Roussin to Du Petit-Thouars, 20 January 1843, A.C.O. 51.
- (26) Note au Ministère, 1845 (in the hand of the Director of Colonies, Galos), ibid.
- (27) Du Petit-Thouars to Laval, 11 January 1844, Documents officiels, Mangareva, II, C.S.-C.P.
- (28) Pénaud to Bruat, 19 March 1844, A.C.O. 1.

The same year marked a change of policy in Paris, after pressure had been brought to bear on the government to reduce commitments " to the small establishments possible, costing as little as possible " ²⁹. Complete indifference on the part of the Ministry greeted Governor Bruat's announcement of Mangareva treaty; the agreement was never ratified and Father Liausu was not ³⁰ paid his promised 2,000 fr. a year for acting as French Resident. In 1845 a retreat was ordered from New Caledonia. In other quarters of the globe, the Protectorates over Mayotte and Nossi-Be were reduced to a legal phrase the islands of St Paul and Amsterdam lost the flag planted in 1843; Basilan was sacrificed to Spain. So far as cooperation with the Catholic missionaries was concerned, Bruat and the commander of the Pacific squadron were ordered in 1845 to assist them " with all the moral force which may be necessary " but on no account were their stations to be given " any appearance of definite or temporary occupation or the simple investiture of Protectorate in the name of France " ³¹.

Despite this, the tricolor and the soutane remained firmly associated in the minds of Protestant missionaries and native peoples in their charge wherever patrols were carried on by the French navy. The suspicion that the association carried a definite political objective died hard. But France ³²

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- (29) Guizot to the Chamber of Deputies, Moniteur Universel, 10 June 1843.
(30) De Mackau to Bruat, 16 July 1844, A.C.O. 1.
(31) De Mackau to Bruat and Hamelin, 18 August 1845, ibid 51.
(32) The most immediate rumours of French intervention elsewhere were circulated at Samoa where Marists had begun their work in 1846. Mgr. Enos was eager to obtain a French consul to counteract the influence of Pritchard but nothing came of his request. Dubouzet to Hamelin, 10 June 1847, enclosed in the Minister for the Navy to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, 30 November 1847, A.A.E. Océanie III; Silvia Masterman, The Origins of International Rivalry in Samoa, 1845-1884 (London, 1934), 52-55. For French policy towards the Pacific Islands later in the nineteenth century, see below, Appendix V, 381-392.

had the bases she needed in the Pacific; and French attention, at least to the 1850's, was concentrated on the problems of administering two different island groups, the details of whose occupation illustrated the two levels ministerial and local - at which European expansion in the area was motivated.

140°

139°

HATUTU
EIAO

8°



NUKUHIVA

Taihoa Bay
Hakapehi Bay
Comptrolleur Bay

UA HUKA

9°

9°

UA POU

HIVA OA (DOMINICA)

TAHUATA
Vaitahu

MOTANE

10°

10°

MARQUESAS ISLANDS

SCALE IN MILES



SOURCE: Admiralty Chart, No. 1640

FATUHIVA

140°W

139°

The Annexation of the Marquesas and the Tahitian Protectorate, 1842.

The extension of French rule over the Marquesas Islands was determined by the general search for a whaling station and trading centre and by the set-back experienced in New Zealand. It was in no way an imitation of the methods of English expansion: large-scale emigration from France was not considered desirable; the plans of the government were drawn up with some thought of a penal colony in mind, but the possibility that French finance would promote another Company settlement so soon after Akaroa was remote.

Information provided by Du Petit-Thouars singled out two of the main islands in the north-west and south-east of the group for military settlement. There, at Nukuhiva and Tahuata, he expected land would be purchased as the freehold possession of chiefs, anchorage rights and port duties would be fixed, and French control of the islands in the vicinity would be extended.

(1) Duperré to Guizot, 14 March 1842, A.A.E. Océanie I; Duperré to Du Petit-Thouars, 17 September, 15 October 1841, A.C.O. 56; Guizot, Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de mon temps, vol. VII, 45. Penal settlements had occupied an important place in French colonial theory ever since small experiments were made in New England and Louisiana in the seventeenth century. In 1819, a Colonial Commission reported on the suitability of Western Australia, the Canary Islands, Patagonia and New Zealand; but no large-scale deportations took place till after 1848, and again after 1854. Comte de Mauny, Essai sur la fondation des colonies de déportation (Paris, 1839) passim; Maurice Pain, Colonisation pénale (thèse pour le doctorat) (Paris, 1898), 71-75; Yves Person, La Nouvelle-Calédonie et l'Europe, le découverte à la fondation de Nouméa, 1774-1854. Extrait de la Revue d'Histoire des Colonies (Paris, 1953), 150-158.

" by means of religious propaganda and trade ". The population - which he estimated at 26,000 - would, he thought, rise to 500,000; sandalwood, cotton and coffee would find ready markets in China and South America.

These illusions might have been corrected by an investigation of the work of Protestant and Catholic missionaries in the group. In the widely separated valleys of the islands, Marquesan families rarely acknowledged the authority of any leaders outside their own localised descent groups. When a number of sub-tribes were grouped together, the influence of the chiefs and the ceremonial priests never seems to have extended into a neighbouring bay except perhaps at Uapou and west Nukuhiva where there had been some contact with Tahiti.³ The missionaries had been unsuccessful in their attempts to follow the policy adopted at Tahiti and Mangareva by raising a suitable chiefly convert with new titles and goods to a position where his old and new prestige might help the mission cause.⁴ Like his predecessors from the L.M.S. (and like later Catholic missionaries), David Darling, at Tahuata in 1834, could find little difference between the tribal chief, Iotete, and other chiefs around the bay of Vaitahu. Each, he observed, was the head of

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- (2) Du Petit-Thouars, Note sur les îles Marquises et sur les avantages qu'elles offrent comme lieu de déportation, 22 August 1839, MS., A.C.O.
- (3) Linton, The Material Culture of the Marquesas Islands, 139-141; Hancock, The Native Culture in the Marquesas, passim; des Vergnes, l'Archipel des Îles Marquises, 22-25; Williamson, op.cit., vol. I, 320-324.
- (4) Missionaries of the L.M.S. and native teachers from Hawaii had worked intermittently in the group since the early 1830's. Catholic missionaries were landed at Tahuata in 1838 by Du Petit-Thouars and were reinforced the next year at Nukuhiva and Uapou. The last L.M.S. missionary left in 1841 after becoming involved in tribal wars at Nukuhiva on the side of his protector, Te Moana. Mathias Gracia, Lettres sur les Îles Marquises..., Rollin, Les Îles Marquises, 75-86.

groups of families with authority limited to " their own dependants... ex in the case of war "; and, he went on to note, " if they were under one h as the people are at Tahiti, we should have greater hopes of getting them conform in their outward conduct ".⁵ By sale of arms and spirits, sandal-traders, whalers and deserters were a continual source of opposition to Catholic mission. By 1840, Mathias Gracia went so far as to claim that European contact had brought the island of Hivaoa (Dominica) to " a permanent state of war and cannibalism, and in every separate tribe, a permanent state of feasting and merry-making ".⁶

(a) Nukuhiva and Tahuata, April - November 1842.

These difficulties were not appreciated in Paris. After receipt of his report on the Marquesas, the Ministry promoted Du Petit-Thouars to the rank of Rear-Admiral commanding the Pacific Station with seven ships of the line, 1,800 men, two companies of infantry, artillery and a set of instructions to annex the group. Treaties were to be obtained with the aid of 6,000 fr. set aside for presents; French sovereignty was to be consolidated with " humane and generous measures towards the population ". The greatest

(5) Darling to the L.M.S., 11 December 1834, L.M.S.S.S. 9.

(6) Mathias Gracia, op.cit., 93. For other evidence of European lawlessness see Porter, Journal of a Cruise made in the Pacific Ocean... 1812-1814,

(7) Marchand, Voyage autour du monde... 1790-1792, vol. I, 127; Waldgraber " Extracts from a Private Journal kept on board the Seringapatam in the Pacific, 1830 ", Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society 1888, 168-173; Bennett, Narrative of a Whaling Voyage... 1833-1836, 315; Darling, Journal, December 1834-September 1835, L.M.S.S.S. 8; Torrey, Torrey's Narrative... (ed. Wright), passim.

(7) Duperré to Du Petit-Thouars, 17 September 1841, 15 October 1841, A.A.E. 56; Duperré to Guizot, 14 March 1842, A.A.E. Océanie I.

secrecy shrouded the departure of the Reine Blanche from Valparaiso in April 1842 - though the activity of so many transports and warships which followed her drew a shrewd guess from the British chargé d'affaires at Santiago that their business was " to profit by the influence which the French Government has already obtained by means of the Priesthood in the Marquesas Islands " In fact, Du Petit-Thouars had already received information from the mission that a French warship would be welcomed by Iotete at Tahuata. And there, in May 1842, on the advice of the missionaries (and fearing perhaps reprisals for the pillage of an American whaler) Iotete signed away the independence of the whole south-east Marquesas. A similar ceremony took place at Hivaoa and at Nukuhiva, where Te Moana and five chiefs signed for the population of the north-east islands of the group and sold Hakapehi bay for 1,800 fr., protection from the detachment of troops, flour, seed and a red coat with colonel's épaulettes.

The group was to be provisionally administered as a squadron of

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- (8) Walpole to F.O., 31 March 1842, encl. in Stahley to Gipps, 23 September 1842, Despatches to Governors of New South Wales, August-December 1842,
 (9) Extraits d'une lettre adressée à M. le Commandant Du Petit-Thouars par M. Dervault, Missionnaire apostolique... Raitahu (sic), 14 January 1838 (sic, 1841 ?), A.C.O. 55.
 (10) Du Petit-Thouars to the Minister for the Navy, 18 June 1842, A.C.O. A.A.E. Océanie I. The original Act of Possession is signed by " O. Otet Halley, Du Petit-Thouars, O. Maheono, François de Paule Baudichon, Bourl
 (11) Act of Possession dated 5 May 1842, Hivaoa, signed by " Poki, Du Petit-Thouars, Halley, Radiguet, Oupehu, Toketahu ", A.A.E. Océanie I. Treaties with the chiefs of other islands were obtained at Uapou, 12 June 1842, signed " O. Heato, Béchon, François de Paule Baudichon, Postel "; at Ua-huka, 3 August 1842, signed " Teaitoua, Outocua, Noho, Itahiti, Dollient Terré "; at Fatuhiva, 24 August 1842, signed " Opi, Tuui, Hipaico, Ouite Toutia, Vekehoua-ou, Halley ". Ibid.

stationary ships with Captains Halley and Collet fortified on Tahuata and Nukuhiva with 200 men apiece. The two commandants were ordered to encourage and supply French whalers and traders and exercise only " external sovereignty until a native policy could be formulated. Temperance, conciliation and advice of the mission were to be used in the meantime. ¹²

But already, before he had left the Marquesas, Du Petit-Thouars had discovered (like Bugeaud in Algeria) that " limited occupation " brought with it a host of internal problems unplanned for in his instructions. Relations with Iotete deteriorated: his son was held as hostage when his tribe refused labour for the garrison; clothes and cloth - used for barter ran short; seed planted in the hope of making the posts self-supporting failed to come up. ¹³ At Nukuhiva, the Admiral found artillery and a fort insufficient for the responsibilities created by contact with the Marques

" It is no longer enough; King Te Moana and his chiefs, having recognised the authority of H.M. Louis Philippe, come to me today in order that I should settle their differences, not only with the men of the garrison, but also between themselves and between them and foreigners; they demand that I should regulate pilot, anchorage and watering fees, residence on the island etc., etc.; they even want me to fix the price of goods which up till now they have exchanged for muskets and war powder. " 14

Towards the end of August, when the Reine Blanche left for Tahiti, these questions were still unanswered. In his reports written at sea, Du Petit-Thouars pointed out that the present administration was in no position

(12) Du Petit-Thouars to Halley, 14 May 1842, A.C.O. 55.

(13) Halley to Du Petit-Thouars, 20 June 1842, ibid; Du Petit-Thouars to Duperré, 20 June 1842, A.A.H. Océanie 2.

(14) Du Petit-Thouars to the Minister for the Navy, 1 July 1842, ibid.

to control much beyond the immediate vicinity of the garrisons without es-
tablishing similar posts on other islands of the group or providing enough m-
of-war to set up a permanent naval station under a senior officer. Prese-
resources made both alternatives impossible. How were whalemen and deser-
to be restrained from the sale of arms and spirits and from conspiracies
the kind that had encouraged the hostility of Iotete to the French? Du
Petit-Thouars thought "forceful measures" were the only solution: comma-
dants, he advised, should be empowered to extradite suspects, or at least
be able to call in foreign consuls to help police the group. Traffic in
arms and spirits was to be prohibited at once, and prostitution more grad-
ually, as mission influence spread among the natives. He was uncertain in
his own mind whether land transfers should be made in the name of the Sta-
or as freehold rights of soldier settlers married to Marquesan women. The
French-Marquesan families he hoped to see grouped into villages to help
"draw these people out of the state of social degradation to which they

reduced". In the meantime he issued an order that land-speculation was
to be prevented by requiring all land purchases to be first approved in P.

But this order was not proclaimed in the group itself till November
1842, when it came too late to prevent disaster at Tahuata. There, Iotete
his tribe, dispossessed of their lands by would-be settlers from the garr-
fled to the valleys, leaving another chief to vie for favour with the Fre-

(15) Du Petit-Thouars to the Minister for the Navy, 25 August 1842, A.C.
55; idem, 27 August 1842, A.C.O. 56.

(16) Du Petit-Thouars to the Minister for the Navy, 25 August 1842, loc

A sortie to capture Iotete resulted in the death of Commandant Halley and
17
lieutenant. As a reprisal, the valleys of Vaitahu and Hanamai were declared
French property; Iotete was removed to another bay, and Maheono, a Catholic
convert, was raised in status in the eyes of the French - but not the people
of Tahuata - and made "king" of the island. Several chiefs who had not
to do with Iotete or Maheono demanded their property rights for their sub-
tribes. The new commandant granted them this favour - on certain conditions

" The bays belonging to the French can only be given to the natives
usufruct; the occupying natives will be no more than farmers for
French (métayers des Français), and they shall pay in fruit and
livestock the tribute which they were accustomed to pay to their
chief. " 18

Du Petit-Thouars, who knew nothing of these events, proceeded to Tahiti
occupied with plans for native tribunals, adapting native custom to French
laws, paying the chiefs a portion of port revenues and eradicating the vestiges
of cannibalism and superstition by instituting a mild form of assimilation.
Above all, he realised that it was impossible to hold the group with two
isolated garrisons. This conviction contributed to other factors at Tahiti
which moved him to enlarge the range of French rule in Polynesia and endow
the area with a more important administration.

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- (17) Captain Vrignaud to Du Petit-Thouars, 21 September 1842, A.C.O. 55;
Captain Laferrière to Du Petit-Thouars, 11 November 1842, ibid. The Ad-
miral did not learn of the episode till January 1843. Du Petit-Thouars to
Duperré, 19 January 1843, A.A.E. Océanie 2.
- (18) Cugnet to Du Petit-Thouars, 3 November 1842, A.C.O. 55.
- (19) This policy received no amplification at this date, though there is
a suggestion in some of the Admiral's reports that Marquesans should be
taught European customs and that cannibalism ("un vice d'éducation "
could be removed in a short time by teaching. Later, he sent two natives
to Valparaiso for mission training. Du Petit-Thouars to Halley, 11 Novem-
ber 1842, A.C.O. 55.

(b) Papeete, September 1842.

The reasons given for the Protectorate over Tahiti, either in the Admiral's reports or during debates in the Chamber of Deputies, obscured the important role of the French consul, Moerenhout. The hue and cry raised in Sydney and in L.M.S. circles in England ignored no less the willingness of the British and American settlers (including some of the missionaries themselves) to submit to French jurisdiction. Both Moerenhout and many of the other Europeans who had come to understand the Tahitians, agreed that the chiefs' dependence upon external advice was too great for them to govern alone and too uncertain in every case to expect them to apply the lessons they had learned with uniform justice. After the establishment of the Protectorate, members of the L.M.S. agreed privately that the mission policy of defending the Tahitian from the problems of contact with Europeans by local legislation had failed. In the mission minutes, it was admitted that " there has been too much occasion given by the Tahitian Government not only to France but to other Powers to act in a similar way had they been disposed to do so "; furthermore, the writers noted, " they have been in the habit of promising everything to Captains of Ships of War, and as soon as they have left, of performing nothing, or as little as they could help - and in this case they hoped to pursue a similar course ". Moerenhout, writing shortly

(20) Minutes of a Meeting held at Punaauia, 20 September 1842, encl. in Howe to the L.M.S., 27 September 1842, L.M.S.S.S. 15. The meeting also condemned (rather belatedly) the policy of Pritchard and Darling towards the Catholics. " It is also a matter of deep humiliation that Infidel France should have to teach the Tahitians religious liberty. Had their advisers in the affair of the arrival of the Catholic Priests inculcated those principles which have ever been held dear by British dissenters, this calamity would in all probability at least have been deferred, if not wholly averted. "

before the arrival of Du Petit-Thouars, blamed the Tahitians less and concluded that the effects of twenty-six years of European contact had been unavoidably detrimental to the self-confidence and the initiative of the islanders:

" The native is not equal to the change that has operated around him: our religion, our habits, our customs, our laws, our way of seeing things, our thinking and expressing ourselves, even when we express ourselves in his tongue, all confuse, bewilder and crush him. Feeling, therefore, his inferiority for work and perseverance in mechanical and other skills, as much as in understanding and intelligence, he is ashamed, no matter how jealous and discontented, and is only too happy to put in foreign hands the reins of government and the conduct of affairs; he no longer feels capable of managing. " 21

Firmly believing this and anxious for a position in a French colony, Moerenhout off-set his unpopularity with many of the European settlers, Moerenhout lost no time, when the occasion arose, in organising with a number of the chiefs a demand for protection. Finally, there was the temperament of Du Petit-Thouars himself: to the Tahitians, bombastic; to the settlers, conciliator; to his government, persuasive and authoritative.

His object at Tahiti was to investigate charges brought against Moerenhout by the Catholic mission. Upon his arrival, at the end of August 1842 he was greeted by a chorus of complaints from French residents against seizure of contraband by the mutoi and the prohibition of land sales and marriage between Tahitians. Rumours were abroad that Pritchard, absent in England, might return with an English treaty for Tahiti and that French actions in the Marquesas were not to go unchallenged. The Admiral proceeded to use the c

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- (21) Moerenhout to the Minister for the Navy, 1 June 1841, A.C.O. 56.
(22) De Sentis to Du Petit-Thouars, 3 August (sic, September ?) 1842; Fergus to Du Petit-Thouars, 3 September 1842; Caret to Du Petit-Thouars, September 1842; Bremond to Du Petit-Thouars, 8 September 1842; encl. in Du Petit-Thouars to the Minister for the Navy, A.C.O. 56.
25 September 1842,

of a handful of discontented nationals to cover any threat to the tenuous French hold over Tahuata and Mukuhiwa.

He promoted the queen's speaker, Paraita, to the position of " Reger (and therefore a legal signatory in the negotiations) while the queen herself was absent at Moorea. Other chiefs of Moerenhout's " French party "; he learned, were not unwilling to petition for protection so long as their titles and lands were guaranteed. But, until the evening of 7 September, was by no means certain that they would agree to all the clauses proposed Moerenhout; and " these digressions " wrote a French settler " which were only the invention of the Consul did not get the signatures and irritated Admiral who saw himself obliged to change his Role " .²³

The complaints of the French residents were now trumped up into a resounding Declaration, issued on 8 September. Many of these, Du Petit-Thouars himself recognised in his covering report, were simply the quibbles of " drink-dealers... ever at odds with the laws of the land by selling prohibited liquors, frequently caught smuggling by the police, yet claiming they should be compensated for the losses they suffer " .²⁴ But the Catholic he thought, and at least one of the French residents, had not been justly heard in their land disputes. There was enough material to serve his²⁵

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- (23) Lucas, Enquête sur les Evénements de l'Océanie de 1837 à 1847, MS. A.C.O. 92.
- (24) Déclaration du Contre-Amiral A. Du Petit-Thouars... à Sa Majesté la Reine Pomare et aux chefs principaux de l'île de Taiti, P.P. 1843, (LXI) 473, 8-11; copy encl. in Wilson to F.O., 26 September 1842, F.O. 58/16 I have been unable to find a copy in French archives.
- (25) Du Petit-Thouars to the Minister for the Navy, 25 September 1842, A.C.O. 56.

purpose.

" These facts have none the less seemed to me to be of such a serious nature, to so compromise our national dignity, and to so endanger countrymen if I did not ask for redress, that I decided, being charged with upholding the honour of our flag in these waters, and making it respected, to send Queen Pomare the Declaration. " 26

Violence, pillage, brutal usage at the hands of the mutoi (one of which was called " the murderer of a Frenchman ") were listed in tones of affront and patriotism. No treaty would suffice: a bond of 10,000 Spanish dollars or provisional occupation of the island and its defenses within 48 hours were demanded as security for better treatment and compensation. A loophole was left, however, for the negotiations of Moerenhout: the Admiral offered to consider " any proposal of settlement likely to gratify the just indignation of my country " .

Pomare never saw the Declaration - only a copy of the request for protection to which it seemingly gave rise. There is good reason to believe that this request, dated 9 September and signed by the queen, Paraita, Hitotia and Tati, had already been approved by the chiefs at a meeting on the Reine Blanche at the time the Declaration was drawn up. Du Petit-Thouars

(26) Du Petit-Thouars to the Minister for the Navy, 25 September 1842, A.C.O. 56.

(27) Déclaration..., loc.cit.

(28) Pomare, Paraita, Hitotia, Utami, Tati to Du Petit-Thouars, 9 September 1842, P.P. 1843, (LXI), 473, 11-12; Howe to the L.M.S., 11 September 1842, L.M.S.S.S. 15; Jesson, Extracts from a Journal, April-September 1842, ibid. According to French dating - one day behind the local calendar - the Declaration was issued on 8 September and accompanied by the signing of the petition for protection by the three chiefs and the Regent on the evening of 8 September. But the petition was officially dated by its last signature - Pomare's. U.S. Consul Blackler wrote that the request " previously signed by the four high chiefs, has this day received the signature of the queen ". Blackler to the State Department, 10 September (i.e. 9 September 1842, Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Tahiti, vol. 2, 1841-1850.

came near to dispensing with the queen's signature altogether. But a Tahitian translation of the request was rushed to Moorea on 9 September, where Alexander Salmon, Samuel Wilson and the missionary, Simpson, persuaded Pomare to consent.

The terms of the request were brief. After a short admission of the inability of the Tahitian Government to maintain good relations with Europeans, the protection of France was solicited on condition that the queen and the chiefs retain control of the internal affairs of the group; new laws were to be signed by Pomare; the Tahitian courts were to keep their jurisdiction over " all disputes " in matters of property; freedom of worship was guaranteed; and all external affairs of the land were to be left to French officials.

On the basis of these conditions, accepted by Du Petit-Thouars when Pomare had signed, a Proclamation was drawn up in her name and signed for her by Paraita. According to the Proclamation, the Tahitian Protectorate was founded on a theoretical distinction between French external sovereignty and Tahitian " possession of the soil ". The new administration by French officers and the queen was to draw upon the naval discipline in force in the Marquesas and the institutions and laws which had evolved during the period of missionary contact. It was to be a makeshift government by a European

(29) Moerenhout to Du Petit-Thouars, 9 September 1842, A.C.O. 56; Luce op.cit., MS., A.C.O. 92. Several versions of the original request exist; for a discussion of these and copies of the documents, see below Appendix III, 372-374.

(30) Proclamation au Nom de Sa Majesté la Reine Pomare, P.P. 1843, (LXI) 473, 14-18.

triumvirate, the chiefs and the judges. Moerenhout was appointed French commissioner. Together with a lieutenant and a naval ensign (as military governor and governor of the port) he formed an executive of three responsible for justice involving Europeans and for defence. From their decisions, made in the presence of consuls and native judges acting as assessors, there was to be appeal to Paris only in criminal cases. The native courts were maintained for petty justice involving natives; a mixed jury of whites and Tahitians was to be appointed by the triumvirate for hearings of land disputes between natives and European settlers. Property was declared inviolable - as a check to the mitoi; the mission Code remained in force - as a check to the Europeans who were now required to furnish certificates of nationality and apply for trading licences; finally, a clause of the Proclamation prohibited interference by whites with the Tahitian Government - as a check to the missionaries.

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On the departure of the Reine Blanche, the Provisional Government of three was left with six marines and instructions from Du Petit-Thouars to treat Europeans with prudence - since there was some doubt in his mind whether France would accept the Protectorate.

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But the reaction of Europeans at Tahiti was not at first unfriendly. Acting-Consul Wilson happily accepted " terms so moderate and favourable " twenty-nine of the British residents congratulated the Admiral on his

(31) Du Petit-Thouars to Moerenhout, 15, 18 September 1842, A.C.O. 56. The other two members of the Provisional Government were Reine and de Carpegna.
 (32) Du Petit-Thouars to the Provisional Government, 20 September 1842, A.C.O. 56; Du Petit-Thouars to Reine, 11 November 1842, A.C.O. 55.

Proclamation; the L.M.S. missionaries wrote promising to respect its conditions; only the Catholics were disappointed that Du Petit-Thouars had not
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further by annexing the whole group.

To his government Du Petit-Thouars justified his initiative on the grounds of strategy. He staked his career on France's approval by asking be recalled if the Protectorate was not ratified; if it was, he offered his services as first governor of the Polynesian possessions. His action was
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upheld in the Council of State on 7 April 1843. It remained to be seen whether the different sovereignty rights over the Marquesas and the Society Islands could be secured by a form of administration which would preserve the distinction the French had set up for themselves.

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- (33) Wilson to Du Petit-Thouars, 12 September 1842, A.C.O. 56; British residents of Tahiti to Du Petit-Thouars, September 1842, ibid; P.P. 1842 (LI), 529, 5-6; Howe to the L.M.S., 27 September 1842, L.M.S.S.S. 15; The Protestant Missionaries to Du Petit-Thouars, 21 September 1842, A.C.O. 56; P.P. 1844, (LI), 529, 5; Caret to Du Petit-Thouars, 10 September 1842, A.C.O. 56.
- (34) Résumé de motifs exposés par M. l'Amiral Du Petit-Thouars, n.d. (ministerial minute by Admiral Roussin), A.C.O. 56.
- (35) Schéfer, La Politique coloniale de la Monarchie de Juillet, 385-390

PART TWO

IV.

Official Policy and the Provisional Annexation of Tahiti and Moorea.

" There is continually from the outset a serious disadvantage for the European race to be in contact and sharing power with a race whose ideas, habits and customs are so completely different from ours. Absorption is almost essential, one might say it is the general and inevitable law to which these infant peoples are fated. "

De Carne' to the Chamber of Deputies, 29 February 1844,
Moniteur Universel, 1 March 1844.

The consolidation of the French position in Oceania has been better discussed from the diplomatic than the colonial viewpoint. The historian might well complain with Guizot that, in Europe, debate on events at Tahiti took on " in the eyes of the public, an importance out of all proportion with the truth of the matter and the interests of the country ". The exchanges between Paris and London, the noise of press and parliament on both sides of the Channel, from 1843 to 1845, tended to obscure events in the islands themselves. In point of fact, the future of French Polynesia depended less on the French Foreign Office than the work of Admiral Rous-
and the Director of Colonies, Galos, who hastily extended plans for the administration of the Marquesas to Tahiti; the financial provisions for the new posts were of more importance than the indemnity demanded for the

(1) Baldwin, " England and the French Seizure of the Society Islands ", The Journal of Modern History, vol. X, June 1938, 212-231; Ward, op.cit. 133-146; Russier, op.cit., 144-150; Brookes, International Rivalry in the Pacific Islands, 1800-1875, 110-120, 138-145.

(2) Guizot, op.cit., vol. VII, 41.

expulsion of the British consul.

Notice of the annexation of the Marquesas appeared discretely and raised little comment. Captain Armand-Joseph Bruat was selected as the first governor in February 1843 and stores and munitions were collected at Brest and Toulon for an early departure. But Bruat did not sail till May two months after the first garbled versions of Du Petit-Thouars' actions at Tahiti, complete with splendid rumours of the exodus of the English missionaries, reached the French press. His final instructions were delayed as Exeter Hall took up the cry against " the imposition of Popery by the arms of France ", and French assurances sped to the Court of St James that the Protestant mission would not be hindered in its work. The British Foreign Office made it clear, in March 1843, that it had no objections to the Tahitian Protectorate, providing it heralded no further expansion by the French - especially in the Hawaiian Islands. Consul Pritchard, on his way back to Tahiti after an unsuccessful attempt to persuade his country to annex the group, was informed along with the Admiralty that the limited sovereign rights of France over Tahiti were not to be called in question - however

(3) Moniteur Universel, 17, 19 December 1842.

(4) Note pour le commandant Bruat, 3 February 1843 (draft by Admiral Roussin), A.C.O. 56; Note du Ministre, 9 February 1843 (Roussin's minutes to the draft), ibid.

(5) Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires, 17 March 1843; Le Constitutionnel, 17, 18 March 1843; French Aggressions upon Tahiti, 25 March 1843 (L.M.S. Circular), L.M.S. Tahitian Mission, 211; Resolutions of the Meeting at Exeter Hall, 12 April 1843, 17 April 1843 (L.M.S. Circular), ibid. 212/2; The Times, 21, 29 March 1843; Saint-Aulaire (French ambassador in London) to Guizot, 10, 21 March 1843, A.C.O. 47; Baldwin, op.cit., 213.

they had been demanded. And this policy was not fundamentally changed as news accumulated of tension between British and French naval officers and disturbances on Pritchard's return.

The storm provoked in Europe after Pritchard's arrest and expulsion from Tahiti, in March 1844, is only of passing interest to this study. It had already been prepared by the news of the change from Protectorate to Provisional Annexation, after the arrival of Bruat in November 1843. It mattered little whether the French administration had a legal right or not to make such an arrest before the new status of the colony had been discussed in Paris. Guizot was prepared to compensate the consul; the British Foreign Office was prepared to remove him. The French Government was charged with anglophobia when it announced that the annexation of Tahiti was not to be approved; the British Government was petitioned afresh by the London Missionary Society for allowing Pritchard to be made a scapegoat.

(6) F.O. to Pritchard, 14 June, 12 July 1843, F.O. 58/20; F.O. to Admiralty 11 July 1843, Admiralty I/5535. The despatch to Pritchard reached him at the end of September 1843. Bruat to Tucker (H.M.S. Dublin), 8, 12 Jan 1844, F.O. 58/25. But the British decision to recognise the Protectorate was not known at Tahiti until January 1844; and Bruat did not learn that British navy had been ordered to recognise the Protectorate flag till March 1844. Buchanan to the L.M.S., 10 January 1844, L.M.S.S.S. 17; de Mackau to Bruat, 22 September 1843 (received, March 1844), A.M.P. Correspondence 1843-1851.

(7) For press comments on the annexation, see Morning Post, Morning Advertiser, Morning Chronicle, for February 1844; Le Constitutionnel, 18, 24 February 1844; Journal du Havre, 18 February 1844; for notice of the disclosure of the annexation, see Moniteur Universel, 26 February 1844. This did not reach Bruat officially till August 1844. De Mackau to Bruat, 9 March 1844, A.M.P. Letters.

(8)^e For French Parliamentary debates on Tahiti, see Moniteur Universel, April, 1 March 1844; A.C.O. 52 (for reports on the debates); L.M.S. Tahitian Mission, 212/2, 114; P.P. 1845, (LII), 603; Baldwin, op.cit., 214-215; Notice sur George Pritchard, MS., B.N.N.A.F. 9447; Jore, op.cit., 113-114.

But this was remote from Tahiti. The treatment of the Tahitian chief at this early stage of the administration had more lasting results than quibbles over points of honour and affront to nationals - observed, wrote the missionary, Orsmond, " by patriots with a telescope twenty-four thousand miles long of which prejudice is the fieldglass and that speck called Tahiti is the object of vision " ⁹. The military occupation of the island and the factors which led to the insurrection of 1844 were little influenced by the instructions from Europe. Indeed, it was despite official policy towards their situation that the islanders nursed a hope they would be able to receive help from overseas. Ultimately, it was left to Governor Bruat to settle in his own way the scope and meaning of the Protectorate and to determine (first with some costly mistakes) the character of the administration for the next forty years.

(a) The governor's instructions.

The Marquesas Islands fell conveniently into the pattern of administration by martial law that had recently secured the pacification of Algeria. ¹⁰ But while French generals in North Africa had been forced to enlist the aid

(9) Orsmond, Look again ! or a Few Observations on the affairs of Tahiti from 1845 to 1849 by an Eye Witness and Cast at the feet of the Protectorate..., MS., A.C.O. 40.

(10) From 1831 till the creation of the three Provinces in 1845, the authority of generals in Algeria was gradually restricted to military matters by the appointment of a Civil Intendant (later called Director of the Interior), a Director of Finance and an Attorney General who were not responsible to the Ministry for War. Rolland, Lampué, Législation Finances Coloniales..., 147-148; J. Alazard in Histoire et Historiens de l'Algérie (Collection du Centenaire de l'Algérie, Paris, 1931), 292-

of a civil administration to preserve order, the new posts in the Pacific inherited no more than their example of rule by military courts. And this draconian legacy was supplemented by a set of legal provisions enabling the naval governor not only to enforce French civil and military laws, but to invent new penalties if he thought fit. The ratification of the Protectorate over Tahiti did not alter these powers - outlined in the Royal Ordinance of 28 April 1843.¹¹ The extension of the governor's authority over the external affairs of Tahiti and Moorea left intact his powers in the colony of the Marquesas; and these he drew upon when he felt that civil war and English influence threatened the French position in Polynesia. This paradox of martial law in the Marquesas applied to the kingdom of the Pomares in 1844 is a more realistic starting-point for the history of the administration than the Proclamation of Du Petit-Thouars. For, despite the reserves outlined for the queen and the chiefs, the administration, as late as 1879, was still legally at this starting-point, headed by a naval officer who could take any measure he wished, according to Article 7 of the Royal Ordinance.

" The governor is authorised to issue all regulations and orders necessary for the continuation of the administration as well as in the interests of the good order and safety of the colony, and to decide, in the sanction of his orders, those penalties the urgency and the gravity of circumstances may demand. "

Furthermore, over all subjects in the Marquesas, Bruat was invested

(11) Ordonnance du Roi, concernant l'administration de la justice aux Iles Marquises, et les pouvoirs spéciaux du gouverneur, 28 April 1843, in Documents sur l'administration de la justice aux Iles Marquises, A.C.O. For the text and an analysis of the Royal Ordinance, see below, Appendix IV, 375-380.

with sovereign rights: he might execute the death penalty after judgement by Court Martial, pronounce a king's pardon, suspend or expel foreigners, natives and officials. Such authority in French colonies was unique, even at this date. For, as the Secretary to the Ministry of Justice pointed out there were to be no civil magistrates in the distant settlement to deal with French soldiers - " belonging to a class of bold, determined and unscrupulous men " - and whalers and deserters were expected to be little better.

Courts Martial for criminal cases and a Court of First Instance for civil cases were to be composed of officers nominated by the governor. For Frenchmen or for other Europeans, laws similar to those in force in Senegal or French Guiana were to be promulgated; for the Marquesans, the Ministry of Justice considered that Bruat should not interfere with local custom - except to moderate its penalties with " notions of mansuetude and equity ".

Bruat's general instructions indicated how little had been learned from the brief administration in the Marquesas by officers appointed by Du Petit Thouars. Marquesan lands were to be expropriated for " public use " and surrounded with legal formalities to prevent land speculation. Bruat was ordered to determine throughout the group " the nature, the aspect and the situation of Lands and other properties which, belonging in no way to private persons, may be considered as constituting the Colonial Domain of our new

(12) Desclozeaux, Rapport, fait au ministre de la marine et des colonies par une commission spéciale, chargée de la révision du projet d'ordonnance concernant l'administration des îles Marquises, 20 April 1843, in Documents sur l'administration de la justice aux îles Marquises, A.C.O. 50.

(13) Desclozeaux, ibid.

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establishment ". Upon these Crown Lands soldier settlements were to make the colony self-supporting and reduce expensive provisioning from Europe South America. No native policy was formulated. At most, a census was to be taken and the education of Marquesans left to the Catholic missionaries who were to indoctrinate them with " elementary ideas and the principles Moral Law ".
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Payment of the chiefs was contemplated but no amounts set down.

Admiral Roussin and his successor in office, Baron de Mackau, approved the organisation of the Protectorate sceptically. Roussin set little store by the agreements of 1842.

" The convention made between Admiral Du Petit- Thouars and Queen Pō will have to serve as the basis of our Protectorate; the powers that are attributed to us there are badly defined. You should nevertheless observe in the form of all your acts the ostensible character of authority, without, however, compromising the good of the administration and our political interests by too many scruples. You will understand that such an imperfect limitation to our power cannot be an insurmountable barrier to our influence and action. If you compare the Protectorate exercised by England over the Ionian Islands with that granted us over the Society Islands, already you will see how much the latter is restricted. " 16

(14) From the outset, then, Bruat was ordered to keep as much of the civ

(14) Roussin, Instructions pour le Gouverneur Bruat, 28 April 1843, A.C. 2; A.A.H. Océanie I.

(15) Idem, ibid.

(16) Idem, ibid. The first Protectorate in the British Empire was set up in 1815 and was looked to by the French as a precedent for sanctioning Protectorate of 1842. The Primary Council of Sir Thomas Maitland's Constitution of 1817 was not unlike the later French Administrative Council of officials and a few settlers; and Maitland's description of the Ionian Assembly - " so exceptionally fond of points totally in detail of making use of fine words..." - might have been applied to the Tahiti Assembly as it met in the 1850's. Maitland to C.O., 1 March, 7 May 1850. C.O. 136/186.

administration as possible in his own hands. The group of executive officers at Tahiti was to be little more than a consultative body of five officers whose advice was not binding on the governor - " however many opinions there may be expressed in opposition to your own ".¹⁷ During his absence from all of the posts, local commandants were to preside, exercising military control of the ports and collecting pilot and anchorage fees. At Tahiti, control of the police and separate courts for European cases was to be shared with Commissioner Moerenhout. The right allowed foreign consuls by Du Petit-Thouars to serve as judges was to be restricted to commercial matters. Nothing was said of land transfer or the Tahitian Assembly - though the new governor was advised to create " a political and judicial hierarchy " from the Tahitian chiefs and judges and to sanction their offices - even at the price of allowing a few of them to sit on the Administrative Council. For this was to be paid, either from the governor's funds or from port revenues, at the rate of 25,000 fr. a year in recognition of the donation of part of his sovereignty to France.

A few days before Bruat's instructions were completed, estimates of 5,000,000 fr. to pay for a garrison of 1,200 men were presented to the French Parliament.¹⁸ Both the preamble to the projet de loi and the reports of the Parliamentary Commission which supported it emphasised the military and commercial value of the new establishments - without settling the problem

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- (17) Roussin, Instructions pour le Gouverneur Bruat, 28 April 1843, A.C.O. 2; A.A.E. Océanie I.
- (18) Moniteur Universel, 25 April 1843; for debates in the Chamber of Deputies and in the Chamber of Peers on the estimates, ibid., 11, 13 June, July 1843; for Parliamentary Commission reports, A.C.O. 60.

their maintenance in future years at such enormous cost. The bill was passed - after some 500,000 fr. had been whittled away in debate. Bruat had already left and had no news of the financial provisions for his colony till he reached Tahiti with only 200,000 fr. at his disposal for general expenses. ¹⁹

After his departure, it was realised in Paris that the Provisional Government set up by Du Petit-Thouars might no longer be in power. A hasty despatch from de Mackau ordered Bruat to recognise no changes to the 1842 agreements. ²⁰ This was followed up by two out-dated copies of the 1819 Code Laws, forwarded to serve as a guide to native policy, " being generally imbued with humanity and making the necessary concessions to the customs and prejudices of the natives ". ²¹ But long before these after-thoughts arrived Bruat and Admiral Du Petit-Thouars who accompanied him had turned the ineffectual Provisional Government into Provisional Annexation and Bruat was learning to master the complexities of a society remote from the clauses of the 1819 Code and the vague conceptions of the Ministry for the Navy and the Colonies.

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- (19) De Mackau to Bruat, 19 August 1843, A.M.P. Correspondence, 1843-1851. The estimates, passed at 5,490,000 fr., were generous: they amounted to about one third of the total expenditure on the French colonies for the year - after the State had taken its share of local revenues. This large sum was to end when de Mackau became Minister at the end of July 1843. He found a deficit in the Ministry's finances. Moniteur Universel, 19 September 1843; Duchêne, Histoire des Finances coloniales de la France, 217
- (20) De Mackau to Bruat, 9 August 1843, A.M.P. Correspondence, 1843-1851
- (21) Idem, 10 October 1843, ibid.

(b) The Provisional Government and English influence.

For a year, between September 1842 and November 1843, the officials left at Tahiti by Du Petit-Thouars saw their authority abused, scorned and slowly reduced to a mass of unenforceable edicts. Until the return of Con Pritchard, Pomare and the chiefs were content to allow Moerenhout, Reine de Carpegna to control as best they might the affairs of Papeete and its residents. For a period inactivity assured peace. The first conflicts arose from attempts to apply the policy outlined in the Proclamation - to end the Tahitian Government's responsibility for European affairs. A threat to deprive spirits retailers of their business unless they paid for a licence was followed by roughshod judgements and convictions which alienated both British and French settlers. The rigorous interpretation of the Tahitian Code of Laws for the first time produced an ironical shift of alliance to the L.M.S. among Europeans " who saw the domination of France harder than that of the missionaries ". Moerenhout's attempts to reform the mitoi were followed by a series of apologies from the head of the police himself to outraged settlers and fines were imposed on members of his force for their misconduct. Finally, there was no way in which the French could prevent

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- (22) Pomare to the Provisional Government, 16 October 1842, A.C.O. 52; Pomare to Moerenhout, 16 December 1842, ibid; Gipps to C.O., 28 January 1843, New South Wales Governor's Despatches, vol. 42, 1843, 333-337.
- (23) Lucas, op.cit., A.C.O. 92; Provisional Government to Wilson, 30 September 1842, T.B.C.P. 2.
- (24) Provisional Government to Wilson, 6 October, 18 November 1842, ibid; Provisional Government to Paraita, Regent, 30 November 1842, ibid.

Pomare making laws of her own without consulting the French; and this she was encouraged to do when Sir Thomas Thompson entered Papeete harbour in January 1843, saluted the queen's flag and refused to recognise the Protectorate. At an assembly convened by the missionaries Darling and Simpson attended by the queen, the chiefs, Thompson and Moerenhout, the belief that Pomare had signed under duress in 1842 was encouraged as an argument to invalidate the Protectorate agreements. Paraita, the Regent, was denounced. Pomare retired to the district of Punaauia as conflicts between the chiefs of the French party and her own followers threatened; tearful letters were sent to the British Crown and the British Pacific station for help.

The conviction growing in Pomare's mind that somehow her independence might still be preserved was strengthened by the return of Pritchard in February 1843 and by the blatant opinions voiced by Captain Toup Nicolas that all English influence would be lost in that area of the Pacific if Pomare and the chiefs were allowed to feel they had been abandoned "into the hands of a Power which they so much dread and so heartily detest". Neither he nor Pritchard were prepared, either by orders or by temperament to cooperate with an administration established (according to Nicolas) by a "foul crime of Treason". The consul refused to supply jurors for

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- (25) Howe to the L.M.S., 8 February 1843, L.M.S.S.S. 16; Blackler to the State Department, 11 February 1843, Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Tahiti, vol. 2, 1841-1850.
- (26) Pomare to Victoria, 23 January 1843 (copy) L.M.S.S.S. 16; Pomare to Rear-Admiral Thomas, 23 January 1843, ibid; Simpson to the L.M.S., 21 February 1843, ibid; Lucas, op.cit., A.C.O. 92.
- (27) Nicolas to Rear-Admiral Thomas, 13 January 1844, encl. in Thomas to the Admiralty, 8 May 1844, Admiralty I/5550.
- (28) Nicolas to Moerenhout, Reine, de Carpegna, 7 May 1843, ibid I/5542

cases where British settlers were concerned; as a trader he introduced coin and encouraged the queen to set up a market monopoly as a means of gathering taxes; as an ex-missionary he mounted the pulpit to preach against the Provisional Government; and as adviser to Pomare he corresponded laboriously with the administration over points of etiquette and fabricated the illusion that Pomare would be restored to independence. He was backed up by Nicolas who expounded legal definitions of "sovereignty" (quoting Grotius and Plato for references), interfered in land cases, made changes to the Code of Laws and ordered all British residents to boycott the consular courts. This conduct he defended on the basis of his orders from Rear-Admiral Thomas to refrain from regarding the officers left by Du Petit-Thouars as administrators. In 1844, after censure, he was still prepared to disagree with the instructions from the Foreign Office to the Admiralty - which arrived too late to remedy his example. But his information - a good deal fuller than Pritchard's - earned the consul a reprimand for his reticence and explicit orders in September 1843 to "abstain from every act or word which might b

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- (29) Pritchard to the Provisional Government, 25 June 1843, T.B.C.P. 2; Provisional Government to Pritchard, 27 July 1843, ibid; idem, 7, 9, 10, 11 May 1843, T.B.C.P. Papeete. Pritchard's sermons were delivered in May and October 1843, according to Moerenhout, Mémoire sur Pritchard, 29 August 1844, MS., A.C.O. 52; Provisional Government to Pritchard, 7 March 1843, T.B.C.P. 2; Cambazard, "Le Gouvernement Provisoire", B.S.E.O., December 1943, 335-378; Pritchard, Polynesian Reminiscences; or, Life in the South Pacific Islands, 36.
- (30) Nicolas to the Admiralty, 22 September 1843, Admiralty I/5542; "Maramoe's declaration respecting Hamilton's land, 8 April 1843", and "Declaration to Toup Nicolas", T.B.C.P. Papeete; Nicolas to Pritchard (concerning changes to the Code), 2 April 1843, T.B.C.P. 2; "To the principal British residents", 20 June 1843, Admiralty I/5542.
- (31) Rear-Admiral Thomas to the Admiralty, 8 May 1844, Admiralty I/5550.

misconstrued into an intention to give offence ". Again, the despatch arrived after Pritchard had been engaged in exactly the opposite policy.

Neither Captain Lavaud nor Captain Vrignaud who called at Papeete in March and April 1843 could remove the impression that Britain would guarantee Tahitian independence and that the last word had not been said. Nor could they prevent the presentation to Pomare of a personal house-flag by Nicolas. It mattered little that the chaplet of leaves in the flag garlanded a cross remotely like the British Crown or that it floated over the queen's house despite protests from the Provisional Government. Its significance, as a mark of prestige, was that it was given by a British officer. For Moerenhout or for Du Petit-Thouars who arrived in the van of Bruat's expedition in November 1843, it symbolised the ultimate frustration of the Provisional Government and served as a pretext for annexation and the deposition of the queen.

- (32) F.O. to Pritchard, 25 September 1843, T.B.C.P. 2. These orders arrived via Honolulu in January 1844; they were not given any publicity by Pritchard - least of all to Pomare.
- (33) Vrignaud to Du Petit-Thouars, 16 April 1843, A.C.O. 52.
- (34) Accounts of this episode differ, but the main facts are clear. Du Petit-Thouars arrived from the Marquesas, 1 November 1843, informed Pomare of the ratification of the Protectorate agreements by France and requested Pritchard's cooperation. Pritchard clung to the view that the Protectorate had been "unwillingly" solicited by Pomare and that Acting-Consul Williams had been too drunk to disapprove of the affair. On his advice, Pomare refused to alter the design in her house-flag. On 6 November, the tricolor was hoisted, Pomare deposed and Tahiti and Moorea declared French territory. Pritchard struck his own flag in protest and took the queen under his protection in the consulate. Du Petit-Thouars, to Pritchard, 13 November 1843; Pritchard to Du Petit-Thouars, 3 November 1843; Pritchard to Rear-Admiral Thomas, 25 November 1843, encl. 1,2,3, in Miller to F.O., 24 February 1844, F.O. 58/25; Nicolas to Rear-Admiral Thomas, 11 May 1844, Admiralty I/55; Bruat to the Minister for the Navy, 10 November 1843, A.C.O. 50.

For Fritchard, its removal marked the end of his dream of a " New West India Company " among the Tahitians, it served as a rallying-point for those chiefs who were more impressed less by the possible words of Victoria than the positive deeds of Louis Philippe.

Bruat began his governorship, then, installed in Pomare's house, with full (if unratified) sovereignty rights over Tahiti won by the initiative of his superior officer, Du Petit-Thouars. He had at his command four ships of the line, over 500 men at Tahiti and 700 in the Marquesas - " labourer artificers, troops... and the officers necessary for a civil establishment ³⁵ Trader Lucett's guess that he was anxious to shift his headquarters from this inhospitable island of Nukuhiva was correct: he had been disappointed, in October 1843, to find little more than " magnificent plans " at the two ports ³⁶ at Taiohae bay and Vaitahu. He did no more than confirm the appointment of local commandants there. Nukuhiva never became the " Admiral's flagship " controlling a squadron of stationary ships - as outlined in his first administrative ordinance. ³⁷ Until the end of his governorship, his attention was concentrated on Tahiti - conquering the rebels, countering English influence and redefining the Protectorate in terms of the innovations his powers entitled him to make, before the legal status of the Society Islands was settled.

(35) Lucett, op.cit., vol. II, 17, 193.

(36) Bastide, " L'Expedition de Tahiti ", Revue d'Histoire des Colonies Françaises, no. 3, 1933, 164, (based on the correspondence of Paul Bourruat's secretary).

(37) Règlement sur le service administratif, 14 October 1843, encl. in Bruat to the Minister for the Navy, 1 November 1843, A.C.O. 11.



V.

The Insurrection and its Consequences for the Chiefs.

During the period of uncertainty that followed the annexation, fighting broke out and, for a period, disrupted the administration. The struggle began in error and was prolonged by rashness: had Bruat understood the extent of the consternation caused by French treatment of Pomare - even among the traditionally her enemies - it might have been avoided; had he refrained from extending French rule to the Leeward Islands, it might not have been protracted. As it was, the administration was hampered, not only by loss of face after the first campaigns, but also by the suspicion that the remaining members of the L.M.S. and visiting British officers were deliberately ignoring the views of their government and encouraging the Tahitians to resist.

Immediately after the exchange of the Protectorate flag for the tricolor, the question of the position of Pomare's relatives was uppermost in the minds of the chiefs of Pare, Arue, Faaa, Punaauia and several districts of Moorea. Bruat did not yet realise that her powerful kin, Atiau Vahine, paramount chief of four districts, and Teri'itaria, queen of Huahine, bore titles commanding a following of nearly 2,000 islanders. He was misled, perhaps, by the readiness with which many of the district chiefs turned to the governor for confirmation of their headships, in January 1844. These,

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- (1) For the districts and their titleholders in 1842, see Appendix I.
(2) Bruat to the Minister for the Navy, 16 January 1844, A.C.O. 52;
Platt to the L.M.S., 9 January 1844, L.M.S.S.S. 17.

along with the district judges, followed the lead of Tati and Hitoti of Papara and Tiarei and kept eighteen of the districts of the two islands neutral. Even Pomare herself, excluded from the January meetings, would have been willing to come to terms. But Bruat set little store by her pretensions while she remained under the protection of Pritchard and Captain Hunt of H.M.S. Basilisk; moreover, she was not essential, he thought, to Tahiti as French colony. And since there was still some reason to hope that the Protectorate would not be restored, Bruat was inclined to treat her as a paramount chief unlikely to fit into his policy of building up support among those chiefs inimical to the missionaries. And, for their part, the bulk of the chiefs not connected with the Pomare family would have continued to favour the change of rule as a chance of consolidating their local fortune and paying off old scores against the royal house.

But two incidents swelled the opposition to the French: letters from Pomare to district heads urging them to "remain quiet" till Britain intervened were intercepted; four of her followers were arrested and furnished evidence against the activities of Pritchard. On the advice of Moerenhout, Bruat

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- (3) Pomare to Bruat, May 1844, encl. in Miller to F.O., 22 June 1844, F.O. 58/25.
- (4) Bruat, Mémoire au capitaine de vaisseau Lavaud, May 1847, MS., A.C.O.
- (5) Pomare to the iatoai of six districts, 10 January 1844, encl. in Bruat to the Minister for the Navy, 13 March 1844, A.C.O. 52; Pomare to Captain Tucker (H.M.S. Dublin), 17 January 1844, MS., Tahiti, M.L. A similar letter from Pomare to the iatoai, dated January 1844, is cited in Cailliot Histoire de la Polynésie orientale, 210. I have been unable to find the original or a copy in French archives.
- (6) The natives were Mare, formerly the queen's speaker, Mamoe, an iatoa of Pare, and Paia and Uavea whose status is unknown to me. Bruat to the Minister for the Navy, 24 March 1844, A.C.O. 52; Cailliot, op.cit., 535, 5

proscribed four other chiefs from the eastern and southern districts, threatening to sequester their lands for receiving similar communications. This threat, in the words of Orsmond, " was a most unpolitic measure at this time on Tahiti... it raised frightful apprehensions - created insurmountable aversions to the French, and induced all to assemble in arms against them. Although two of the proscribed chiefs were connected with the Pomare family the movement was more generally directed against the terms of the proscription and against military installations being built on the Taravao isthmus back it up. Once the sorry train of raidings and burnings had begun, the fear of losing land rights was sufficient to keep part of the population in the field.

(a) The course of the war, 1844-1847.

In February 1844, the fort at Taravao was raided; naval bombardment of the eastern districts was followed by a costly action at Mahaena. During

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- (7) Proclamations, 17, 20 February 1844, Caillot, op.cit., 535-537 (where the names of the chiefs are misspelled). Terai, chief of Atimaono, was the father of Teri'itaria; Pitomai, a son of Teri'itaria, was sub-chief Atiau Vahine in Papeari; Pareahu was the chief of Mataiea; I have been unable to trace the position of Ta'aviri. Buchanan to the L.M.S., 22 February 1844, L.M.S.S.S. 17; Lucett, op.cit., vol. II, 63.
- (8) Orsmond, The Old Orsmond MS., 1849, loc.cit.
- (9) " They set fire to my town, and it has been destroyed with fire... they have chopped down my breadfruit, the coconut tree and the orange tree; they have killed the pigs and the cattle and they have seized the property of the foreigners and also of the natives of my country. " Ari'ipaea (Teri'itaria) to Captain Martin (H.M.S. Gramous), 13 November 1846, Admiralty I/5577.
- (10) Bruat to the Minister for the Navy, 22 March 1844, A.C.O. 52; Miller Thomas, 2 March 1844, F.O. 58/25; Mullot, " Bataille de Taravao ", B.S.E.O. no. 45, December 1932, 130-136; " Rapports sur les combats qui ont eu lieu à Tahiti de 1844 à 1846 ", ibid., no. 57, September 1936, 606-624; Caillot op.cit., 228-281. It was a foretaste of the Maori wars - on a much smaller scale. Bruat, like Generals Pratt and Cameron in New Zealand, learned to

Bruat's absence from Papeete, the movements of Tahitian forces gathered in hills behind the town caused the nervous commandant in charge of the garrison to declare a state of siege and to arrest Pritchard as the most likely instigator of the rising. The war took on the desultory pattern of patrols and skirmishing that characterised it for the next two years and restricted French authority to Papeete and the isthmus. Neither side was well prepared the Tahitians carried "broken, rusty and mutilated arms-with clubs, old swords, fish spears and bayonets"; Bruat's troops were unused to the climate and the terrain, short of rations and limited to actions along the coast under cover of one or two warships, till reinforcements raised their numbers from 800 to over 2,000, in 1846. The Tahitian resistance centered in the valleys between the districts of Papenoo, Punaauia, Faaa, Pare and Arue, with up to 3,000 natives drawn mainly from the western districts proved impossible to dislodge and remained a permanent threat to the port.

Their camps were considered by Bruat to be the nucleus of English hostility to the French occupation. Despite their assurances to Du Petit-Thouars, the remaining members of the L.M.S. constantly aroused the suspicion that they were actively supporting the rebels. In point of fact, the missionaries themselves differed widely in their personal views of their position but they inevitably were blamed by the French for imagined or real encouragement.

respect his enemy. There were other similarities, too - commissariat difficulties, the divided command of Bruat's land forces and the navy, speculation among personnel. See A.J. Harrop, England and the Maori War (London, 1937), 400; below, Chapter VI, (11) Orsmond, The Old Orsmond MS., 1849, ~~legit~~.

ments and were blamed by the Tahitians for imagined betrayal when England did not intervene.¹² Nothing could persuade the intransigent Thompson that the French would not be driven into the sea; according to Jesson, after the accidental death of one of their number, the annihilation of the mission "all but certain"¹³. Others, like Darling, clung to the hope that somehow they would be "delivered" by the British Navy - being content in the meantime to supply the rebel camps with the "means of Grace"¹⁴. Orsmond, Dav and Henry were more willing to face up to the changed situation and cooperate, fearing that distortions in the English press would only hinder their work.¹ Nothing damned them more in Bruat's eyes than the Directors' dismissal of Orsmond for "acts of hospitality and friendship" to the French and for refusing to aid the "oppressed Islanders engaged in an unequal struggle" for their civil and religious liberties.¹⁶

The next greatest source of consternation for the governor was the presence of British men-of-war at Tahiti - no less than a dozen between 1840

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- (12) Barff to the L.M.S., 28 May 1844, L.M.S.S.S. 17; Henry to the L.M.S., 1 November 1844, ibid. After four of their number fled to England, there were seven members of the L.M.S. left: Barff, Darling, Davies, Orsmond, Thompson, Henry, Simpson.
- (13) Thompson to the L.M.S., 20 October 1844, ibid.; Miller, Memoire of the Rev. Thomas S. McKean, M.A., Missionary at Tahiti, who was killed by a musket-shot, during an engagement between the French and the natives on the 30th. of June 1844, 192-193; Jesson to the L.M.S., 1 August 1844, L.M.S. Tahitian Mission 114.
- (14) Darling to the L.M.S., 30 September 1845, L.M.S.S.S. 18.
- (15) Davies to the L.M.S., 10 October 1845, ibid.; Henry to the L.M.S., 1 November 1844, ibid. 17; Orsmond, The Old Orsmond MS., 1849, loc.cit.
- (16) L.M.S. to Orsmond, 16 January 1845, copy encl. in Bruat to the Minister for the Navy, 21 August 1845, A.C.O. 51. Bruat thought that the mission would have pursued a similar policy even under English colonial rule - "which would not have failed to limit their ambitions". Bruat to the Minister for the Navy, 6 April 1845, ibid.

and 1846 - to raise the hopes of the disaffected chiefs. The opinions of their commanders about the French occupation ranged from open hostility to a stubborn conviction, summed up by Captain Hamond, that if the chance to forestall the French had been more intelligently used, " England might have been spared the pain of seeing the Pet Lamb she has fostered and brought 18 snatched from her protection by unprincipled Frenchmen ! ". The prejudice died hard, even after the receipt of definite orders, early in 1845, to 19 recognise the Protectorate and salute its flag. It was on the suggestion Captain Hope that Pomare was transported to the Leeward Islands, in July 1844; it was again Hope who refused to salute either the Protectorate flag 20 the tricolor. Bruat's anxiety was understandable: " it is a fact recognised by everybody " he wrote to Hope " that contrary to the intentions of your Government, the native insurgents pride themselves on receiving help from 21 English men-of-war. " The tension was further increased by the visit of Consul-General Miller from Hawaii and Captain Hamond to the rebel district

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- (17) The ships were: Talbot, Vindictive, Dublin, 1843; Basilisk, Cormora, Thalia, Salamander, Carysfort, 1844; Talbot, Modeste, Collingwood, 1845; Grampus, 1846.
- (18) Hamond to Governor FitzRoy, 9 November 1844, Letter-Book..., April -January 1845, M.L.
- (19) Admiral Seymour to Thompson (H.M.S. Talbot), 1 January 1845, Admiralty I/5550; Thompson to Hamond, 14 February 1845, Letter-Book..., January -May 1845, loc.cit.
- (20) Hope to Hamond, 20 June 1844, Letter-Book..., April 1844-January 1845, M.L.; Thomas to the Admiralty, 9, 23 October 1844, Admiralty I/5550. Pomare declined to believe that the Protectorate had been restored. Pomare to Bruat, 13 July 1844, Letter-Book..., April 1844-January 1845, M.L.; Pomare to Fareahu, Pitomai, Teri'itua, and " all the good people of Tahiti " n.d., ibid.
- (21) Bruat to Hope, 6 June 1844, Letter-Book..., April 1844-January 1845,

Punaauia to deliver letters from Pomare, in October 1844; and when the Protectorate was officially restored, Miller refused to participate in the ceremonies and Hamond refused to fire a salute (rather pointedly hanging his sails out to dry when the French ships broke their colours).

This discourtesy would have mattered little had not Bruat believed to be symptomatic of an alliance between Pomare and British advisers. Without her, there could be legally no Protectorate; but she showed no sign of trust at this stage in whatever terms the governor proposed. Bruat decided to end her exile by carrying out a plan he had thought over ever since his arrival at Tahiti: " to extend our possessions to the islands of Huahine, Raiatea and Bora-bora...for it would be disastrous to see them occupied by other nations than ourselves ". In February 1845, the Protectorate flag was raised over the group - and promptly torn down at Raiatea and Huahine. By April, Raiatea was in a state of blockade, the French had secured paid allies at Borabora, and an international debate on the status of the Leeward Islands opened with protests from the missionaries that the Pomares had no sovereignty rights there.

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- (22) Hamond to Rear-Admiral Thomas, 2 October 1844, ibid; Pomare to Matafiroa (a chief of Papenoo), n.d.; Avaiteva to Miller, n.d. (expressing confidence in English support), encl. in Bruat to the Minister for the Navy, 17 January 1845, A.C.O. 51.
- (23) Hamond to Thomas, 11 January 1845, Letter-Book... January-May 1845, Miller demanded that the flag of his nephew - George Miller, recently appointed consul at Tahiti - be saluted at the same time as the Protectorate flag. Admiral Seymour to Hamond, 25 March 1845, ibid.
- (24) Pomare to Miller, 6, 8 February 1845, ibid.
- (25) Bruat to the Minister for the Navy, 25 February 1845, A.C.O. 51; Lucett, op.cit., vol. II, 106.
- (26) Bruat to the Minister for the Navy, 30 June 1845, A.C.O. 51; Hamond to Seymour, 15 April 1845, Letter-Book... January-May 1845, M.L.; Rodgers to Miller, 23 May 1845, T.B.C.P. 3.

In Paris, Guizot agreed to the principle laid down by Aberdeen: the limits of the French Protectorate were to be determined by the extent of Pomare's sovereignty as it was in 1842 - though this was not known at Tahiti²⁷ till the end of 1845. Already, both Miller and Hamond, on their own initiative, were collecting information on the relationship between the chiefs of the Leewards and the Pomare dynasty. More British men-of-war appeared; the blockade of Raiatea became a farce; and as news of the resistance spread to the rebel camps at Punaauia and Papenoo, Bruat feared for the general position of the French in the Society Islands. "In view of the nature of our hold in the Leeward Islands" he wrote to de Mackau "a public enquiry, so far from leading to the discovery of the truth, would only stir up the means of dislodging us."²⁸ His fears of British meddling were justified: Admiral Seymour, during a visit to Raiatea, declared all French enactments there null and void.²⁹ It was irrelevant for Seymour to warn Hamond to discourage the impression that England would fight for the independence of the Leewards: resistance to the French had been strengthened merely by his interest.³⁰ The French allies at Borabora were threatened with expulsion by other chiefs in the group. An over-hasty French officer went beyond his orders by proclaiming to the people of Huahine that Seymour had lied in promising help to them.

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- (27) Guizot to de Mackau, 12 June 1845, A.C.O. 60; de Mackau to Bruat, 1 May, 16 August 1845, A.C.O. 63; Thompson to Hamond, 5 August 1845, Letter-Book..., July-May 1845, loc.cit.; Consul-General Miller to G. Miller, 31 July 1845, T.B.C.P. 3.
- (28) Bruat to the Minister for the Navy, 21 September 1845, A.C.O. 63.
- (29) Bruat to the Minister for the Navy, 15 December 1845, ibid.; G. Miller to Consul-General Miller, 15 December 1845, T.B.C.P. 8.
- (30) Seymour to Hamond, 19 April, 6, 7, June 1845, Letter-Book..., January-May 1845, loc.cit.

chiefs; and after attempts to exact reparations for the Boraboran allies had failed, he made a show of force and was put to rout with 63 of his men killed or wounded.³¹ The evacuation of Borabora followed immediately, and the ineffectual blockade of Raiatea was raised.

The reports of the abortive campaign in the Leewards " spread like wildfire through the camps " at Tahiti, and the war moved into the last stages.³² In March 1846, the rebels attacked the district of Haapape from the Papenoo valley; in May, Bruat commanded indecisive actions at Punaauia and Papenoo with over 1,000 men; the skirmishing continued till December when the heights of Fautaua were stormed and the final surrender made early in January 1847.³³

Pomare waited till all the chiefs still opposing the French had laid down their arms before she agreed to take her place next to the governor under the Protectorate. For over a year she had known the hopelessness of her case.

(31) " Bonard to the Chiefs of Huahine, 26 December 1845 ", encl. in Hamon to Bruat, 24 January 1846, Letter-Book..., July 1845-May 1846, M.L.; Bruat to the Minister for the Navy, 29 January 1846, A.C.O. 63; Bruat to Hamon 29 January 1846, Letter-Book..., July-1845-May 1846, M.L.; Lucett, op.cit. vol. II, 142-145.

(32) Lucett, op.cit., vol. II, 147.

(33) Bruat to the Minister for the Navy, 1 January 1847, A.C.O. 47; Mille to F.O., 9 January 1847, T.B.C.P. 9; Darling to the L.M.S., 14 January 1847, L.M.S.S.S. 20. Notice of the agreement between France and England to regard the Leeward Islands as independent was conveyed to Bruat at the end of 1846; but the islands were not officially recognised as independent until locally till July 1847. For the terms of the Declaration of London, 19 June 1847, see P.P. 1847, (LXX), 841; for the later history of the Leeward group, see below, Appendix VI, 393-413.

now the risk of losing further prestige was too great for her to delay
34 longer. Bruat, at the end of his governorship, and better acquainted with
Polynesian character, advised his successor to make her a firm ally with
stipend of 25,000 fr. a year and by the close observance of outward forms
"for Pomare " he wrote " sets more store by outward points of dignity than
real exercise of power, especially if those who have an interest in direc
her policy know how to manage and flatter her pride." 35 With due pomp and
ceremony she was met by Bruat at Moorea and conveyed to Tahiti where a
formal submission was signed on 7 February 1847 in which Pomare confessed
that in 1843: " my mind was darkened and I listened more to foreign words. 36

(b) Bruat and the chiefs.

Bruat's native policy was based on the assumption that the nomination and replacement of chiefs was a matter for the Tahitian High Court, the governor and the queen. From his reading of the Code of Laws he was doubtful whether the authority of the queen over other chiefs amounted to anything

(34) Pomare had first learned of the official policy of England towards Protectorate from Admiral Seymour. A personal interview was necessary to convince her, in November 1845, that Pritchard had misled her. Seymour Pomare, 11 August 1845, encl. in Seymour to the Admiralty, 23 August 1845, Admiralty I/5561; Recollections of an interview with Queen Pomare and R Admiral Sir George Seymour, Letter-Book..., July 1845-May 1846, M.L. Most of the chiefs who had fought in the war were unsympathetic to her and indifferent whether she remained queen or not. Minutes of a Meeting with 300 Chiefs, 1 January 1847, encl. in Bruat to the Minister for the Navy 1 January 1847, A.C.O. 47.

(35) Bruat to the Minister for the Navy, 3 November 1847, A.C.O. 47.

(36) Pomare to Bruat, 25 March 1847, encl. in Bruat to the Minister for the Navy, 28 March 1847, ibid. Ari'itaimai (her sister by adoption) and Alexander Salmon were instrumental in persuading her to return. I can find no evidence to support the claim that Bruat was planning to dispen with her in favour of Ari'itaimai. Memoirs of Ariitaimai..., loc.cit.,

more than a share in the fines extracted by their district judges; nowhere he noted, were " the manner of election or their functions stated ". The only custom he singled out for the attention of his successor was the practice of keeping the district headships among members of families approved by the rest of the district. In short, much that had been left unsaid in the Code Bruat thought to be unimportant; and with equanimity he set about building the Tahitian Assembly and the courts - especially the To'ohitu - into bodies favourable to the French and depriving some of the leading rebels of their titles and positions. With Pomare absent, he had aimed at using the authority in his hands during the state of seige and after the extension of the Royal Ordinance of 1843 to Tahiti to control European land tenure problems, the police, the spirits traffic and the courts. The chiefs who sanctioned this policy in the Assembly in 1844 and 1845 did so on the understanding that they would retain, with the governor's advice, the measure of independence in their district affairs which they had won back since the death of Pomare II. This was formed the core of the French party which grew during the truce of 1844 and was already considerable when the troubles of 1846 broke out.

In return, the governor agreed to confirm the chiefs in their titles by paying them and the judges from administration revenues. And at the end of the war, he agreed to take into account " the rights, the pretensions, and the political influence of every important family, in order to be able to favour partisans without contravening the rules and customs of the land, without offending the opinions of the population, and awaken in those who

(37) Bruat, Mémoire adressé au capitaine de vaisseau Lavaud, May 1847,
A.G.O. 47.

were opposed... a salutary fear which must have determined many to join t
(French) forces even before the complete suppression of the insurrectio

The only chiefs of importance missing from the meeting held in Janua
1845 to proclaim the Protectorate were Pomare, Atiau Vahine, Teri'itua,
Utami, Fanaue, Pitomai and Ori. In 1847, most of these were permitted to
remain as chiefs over their former districts. For others, such as Utami,
chief of Punaauia, and the queen's speaker, Nu'utere - who was too influe
cial to be ignored - there were compensations. " Several seats in the Hig
Court were vacant " wrote Bruat " and they were granted these - but in a
proportion which assured to our old allies a majority in this tribunal."³⁹

In the two islands, there were nine chiefs in all whose titles and
headships were re-allocated by Bruat. In six of the cases Bruat was care
to follow his own rule of selecting new appointees from the same leading
district family; in the other cases the chiefly titles went to relatives
the most influential members of the French party - Tati, Paraita and the
former rebel, Peueue, paramount chief over the Tairapu peninsula.⁴⁰ In th
other districts, during his governorship, Bruat sanctioned the new chiefs

(38) Bruat, Mémoire..., loc.cit.

(39) Idem, ibid.

(40) Teri'itaria was replaced as chief of Pare and Arue by Haumure, chief
of Atimaono; Fanaue was replaced by his daughter at Mahaena; Puna, chi
of Toahotu and Matavai, was replaced by his nephew; Fareahu Vahine, wh
husband had been one of the proscribed chiefs, was replaced as chief o
Papeuriri by a nephew; Utami, chief of Punaauia, was replaced by Aifen
Vahine - a member of his family; in the district of Atimaha, Moorea, t
rebel chief, Taumau, was replaced by his brother; in Haapape and Tauti
the paramount chief, Teremoemoe (mother of Pomare IV) was replaced b
sons of Peueue and Tati; at Paea, the chief, Noho Vahine, was deposed
a nephew of Tati. See below, Appendix I.

selected by the families of landholders. At Papenoo, this entailed the pardon of a leading rebel - Ori - son-in-law of the former chief (who had been pro-French). The powerful Atiau Vahine and the rebel Pitomai were left untouched.

From the French point of view, it was a sensible course to take: by 1846, the chiefs who had risen in the eastern districts and in the peninsula were pacified. There is no evidence of active opposition in any of the districts to the new chiefs. Heads of families, according to the missionaries were occupied with putting their lands in order after the war and in "ere ing houses to secure possession of them" ⁴¹ all round the island. Many of the young were attracted to the grog-shops and card-houses of Papeete and to the new source of dollars to be had by working for a short period for troops and officials. Both high and low, payment of chiefs and good prices for produce ⁴² vanquished " all their pretended hatred of the French ".

(c) The Protectorate Convention.

It was the task of the new governor, Lavaud, who arrived in May 1847 to preserve the administrative salient in Tahitian affairs won by Bruat and to conform to his ministerial instructions to make the Protectorate agreement ⁴³ 1842 " the unshakable basis " of his actions. Lavaud set about raising the

(41) Johnston to the L.M.S., 11 May 1847, L.M.S.S.S. 20. By 1847, there were eleven members of the L.M.S. in the field: Davies, Darling, Chisholm, Howe and Platt at Tahiti; Simpson at Moorea; Rodgerson, Charter, Johnston and Krause in the Leeward Islands; and (unofficially) Orsmond.

(42) Charter to the L.M.S., 25 October 1847, ibid.

(43) De Mackau to Lavaud, 11 September 1846, A.C.O. 46; de Mackau to Guillard, 15 September 1846, A.C.O. 5.

prestige of Pomare in the eyes of chiefs who had fought for her in vain a settling her share of executive power in the joint administration. The problem was to reconcile her preliminary agreements with Bruat - in which she claimed all internal sovereignty over Tahitians and Europeans - with authority wielded by the French administration during the war. In August 1847, Lavaud drew up a Convention to clarify the vagueness surrounding the position of Pomare and himself and obtained a written guarantee that the queen's promises would not be outweighed by any anachronistic wish for ⁴⁴ monarchy. Her reluctance to sign was overcome by the promise of an annual subsidy, presents and by the advice of Alexander Salmon (which earned him a nomination for the Légion d'Honneur ⁴⁵).

The Convention of 1847 embodied the two principles laid down by Bruat as a guide to the administration's native policy: the chiefs were to be paid by the French and their responsibilities encouraged - without allowing any one of them to exercise unchecked paramountcy over the rest; ⁴⁶ secondly, the tribute system and the division of revenues from the courts between the judges and the chiefs was to be ended or directed into the administration treasury. The cornerstone of the new " free and independent " state (as the Convention

(44) " Convention conclue à Papeete le 5 août 1847 entre la France et la Reine des Iles de la Société pour régler l'exercice du Protectorat ", e in Lavaud to the Minister for the Navy, 9 August 1847, A.C.O. 46; Caillat op.cit., 278-281.

(45) Pomare to Bruat, 30 May 1847, cited by Cottez, " Vieux papiers de l'Amiral Bruat", B.S.E.O., no. 71, June 1944, 422; Lavaud to the Minister for the Navy, 9 August 1847, A.C.O. 46. Typically enough, Pomare chose cutlery, crockery, furniture, muslins, ear-rings, épaulettes for her husband, and " de jolis habits militaires " for her sons .

(46) Bruat to the Minister for the Navy, 3 November 1847, A.C.O. 47.

termed Tahiti) was to be the Tahitian Assembly, elected by the district landholders and meeting annually to propose and discuss bills arising from its own forum or from the governor's Council. Two of its members were to sit on the council - which was to act as a parliamentary committee when the Assembly was in session. The Tahitian judiciary, headed by the High Court was to be nominated by the queen and the governor; appointment of the magistrates was left to the chiefs - subject to the approval of the joint administration.

Thus, the responsibility for revising the laws was to lie with the Assembly; their interpretation and enforcement was left to Tahitians the administration could trust or could replace. Furthermore, the Assembly was given an opportunity to make its wishes law without being continually overriden by the queen or the governor. " Every law " stated Article 26 " which has been voted in three successive sessions of the Legislative Assembly, and which, in each of these sessions, has received the approval of the queen and the Royal Commissioner, is in force." And when the Assembly was not in session, regulations concerning Tahitians were to have only temporary legality until they were adopted or rejected by the chiefs.

The Convention proved to be a promise without fulfilment. If it had ever been ratified by the French Government as a Decree of State it would have rendered the 1842 treaty obsolete - which was what Lavaud hoped for. But

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- (47) Arts. 1, 6, 8, 21, 22, 23, 24, Convention... 5 August 1847, loc.cit.
(48) Arts. 14, 15, 16, 17, ibid, loc.cit.
(49) Art. 26, ibid, loc.cit.
(50) Art. 28, ibid, loc.cit.
(51) Lavaud to the Minister for the Navy, 16 March 1849, A.C.O. 47.

no governor was ever legally bound to observe it - even though Lavaud proclaimed it in the Assembly of 1848. Its main defect was that it assumed maximum of good-will between Pomare and French administrators who would interpret its bare clauses in a way which would prevent the French from further invading that administrative area termed " the internal organisation of the Society Islands " where only the nominal supervision of the Protectorate Power was deemed necessary. In other words, Bruat's wish to encourage the responsibilities of friendly chiefs - as formulated by Lavaud - entailed the sympathetic recognition of objections made by the chiefs to the enactments of the administration. And this, naval administrators trained in a naval tradition and with some experience of other French colonies were not prepared to do. It was excellent to remove the stigma of venality from Tahitian judges by paying them a fixed stipend; but the probability that financial dependence of the chiefs and delegates in the Assembly (and the threat of suspension) might influence the way in which they voted did not occur to Lavaud.

These points were noted, however, in Paris. Neither Guizot, nor the new Minister for the Navy, Arago, were willing to submit such a novelty to the French Parliament during the last days of the reign of Louis Philippe during the first troubled months of the new Republic. Guizot thought the Convention had merits - recognising that Tahiti was unique among the colonies.

(52) Art. 3, Convention... 5 August 1847, loc.cit.

as a territory where " all the details of political and administrative org
53
isation should, above all, be determined by local circumstances ". But th
most he would permit was the proclamation of the Convention as an internal
measure between the queen and the governor - " susceptible to later modifi
ations " .

This last piece of colonial liberalism from a dying government found
place in the views of Arago. Like Guizot, he was willing to supplement th
1842 Proclamation; unlike him, he saw in the Convention and in its propose
Assembly a means of gallicizing Tahiti and wrote to Lavaud in this sense.

" By means of the active influence which you are able to exercise ov
the Queen and the Chiefs, by the confidence you inspire in them, y
will quickly accustom them to seeing you participate more and more
in the internal administration. Thus the Protectorate will become
an institution more apparent than real under which sovereign rule
will be progressively established...". 54

The prophecy was an accurate one. Already, in other ways, Lavaud wa
left with powers and precedents from Bruat's administration for which the
old Tahitian flag, quartered with the tricolor, was an inadequate symbol.

(53) Guizot to the Minister for the Navy, 17 January 1848, A.C.O. 47.

(54) Arago to Lavaud, 1 May 1848, ibid. Arago was a scientist first and
a Minister by chance; he brought to office " the rigor of the mathemati
... one common law was to be recognised; it was to be the same for Fran
and for her colonies ". Duchêne, op.cit., 197. His term was brief: in
May 1848, he was replaced by Vice-Admiral Casey.

VI.

The Consolidation of French Rule.

Next to the submission of district authorities, the second important feature of the transition from missionary to naval supervision at Tahiti and Moorea was the business and wealth which came in the wake of over 400¹ new traders and an army of soldiers and officials. The problem of keeping order among many nationalities and settling their disputes, which had proved too much for the Tahitian Government, was now a French responsibility. This task was closely linked with the collection of local revenues: those who benefited from the protection of French laws were to pay in retail and import licences - yet not so severely as to drive away the commerce on which the administration depended for food and hard currency.

There began, even before the end of the war, the long struggle between trader and official: one became dependent on the justice of courts in which administrators were the judges; the other juggled with budgets influenced continually by importers' fluctuating prices, erratic shipping and a South

(1) The first reasonably accurate census was taken by Lavaud in 1848. Accounts of the results differ: Lavaud's returns for the native population of Tahiti and Moorea give a total of 9,447; consular figures quote 9,450 for the native population and 514 for European settlers - excluding troops and officials who made up another 1,000 in 1848. There were generally two or three French men-of-war in the group, two schooners and a government steamer. Lavaud to the Minister for the Navy, 20 March 1848, A.C. 47; Miller to Rear-Admiral Hornby, 30 September 1848, T.B.C.P. 9; Miller to F.O., 26 February 1849, ibid; Kelly to the State Department, 24 November 1848, Despatches from U.S. Consuls at Tahiti, vol. 2, 1841-1850; Tessier, Étude Démographique sur les E.F.O. de Cook au Recensement des 17/18 Septembre 1951, 11, 13, 24.

American currency which could not be driven out by the franc. Even at the early date, as the attention of the administration was drawn to Papeete rather than the Marquesas as the centre of Polynesian trade in the eastern Pacific, the idea took root that Tahiti might " with care and perseverance² become completely French " and a rich agricultural colony.

(a) The courts and the Code of Laws.

Bruat abolished the system of mixed juries and consular assessors that had paralysed the Provisional Government. In its place, he promulgated the Royal Ordinance of 1843, introducing for the benefit of all Europeans French colonial laws in force in Martinique and Guiana and setting up a hierarchy³ of courts (for which there were no French civil magistrates). For cases concerning white residents and Tahitians, two native judges were to assist for land disputes and minor police cases concerning Tahitians alone, the district courts were to judge according to custom and the missionary Code.

The principle of the separation of the judiciary and the executive - dear to French constitutionalists of 1789 and 1848 - had no place at Tahiti. Under a governor with supreme military and legal powers, the members of the

(2) Lavaud to the Minister for the Navy, 19 May 1849, A.C.O. 47.

(3) Arrêté, 13 April 1845, Océanie Française, 25 April 1845. Article 4 of the original Ordinance was altered to include provisions for a Justice of the Peace, a Court of First Instance and an Appeal Court. The J.P. was authorised to impose fines, without appeal, of up to 200 fr. or 5 days imprisonment; he was also competent to deal with commercial cases (usually reserved for higher courts). The Court of First Instance had the power to judge commercial disputes concerning values between 200 fr. and 2,000 fr. from its decisions, when these exceeded 2,000 fr. damages or fines or 15 days imprisonment, there was right of appeal to a court of four officials. Criminal cases remained under the jurisdiction of Bruat's Courts Martial. For the text of Article 4, see below, Appendix IV.

Administrative Council were at once the disciplined subordinates of a man of-war and the presidents of local courts. By 1847, the shortage of qualified personnel made the Director of Native Affairs both Chief Magistrate of the Court of First Instance and legal adviser to the Protectorate's Examining Magistrate. All the members of the Administrative Council were def judges of the Courts Martial; and all of them were called on to play a multiplicity of official roles adopted from practice in other colonies - without the legislation in force elsewhere to determine exactly their responsibilities.

The dangers of abuse of power (or at best confusion) in such a system were patent. When, for example, a French settler was sued by Moerhout (Director of Native Affairs) for defamation of character, the Court of First Instance passed on the case to a Court Martial - which found for its own official. Moerenhout was not content with the mere 100 fr. damages awarded and called for a revision of the case. Legally, the civil case (heard before a criminal court) could only have been heard again in the

(4) Lavaud to the Minister for the Navy, 22 October 1847, A.C.O. 41.

(5) The Administrative Council (or Privy Council) dated from 1825 and 1827 when it was set up at Réunion and Martinique and Guadeloupe. It was little more than an advisory body of officials with power to judge members of the administration and hear (with the addition of civil magistrates) suits against the administration; it included a few settlers chosen by the governor. At Tahiti, the Council included the governor, his immediate subordinate - the head of the Administrative Service (finance and provisioning), an artillery officer, an officer from the marine, the Director of Native and European Affairs, the Treasury-Paymaster and the governor's secretary. Under Bruat two Tahitians were admitted - the Regent, Paraita, and the government speaker in the Assembly, Mare. Procès-verbaux du conseil d'administration, MS., A.C.O. 11, 13, 25; Langomazine Codification des actes du Gouvernement en vigueur dans les É.F.O. et le Protectorat des Îles de la Société et Dépendances, 91; Rolland, Lampué, op.cit., 62.

the Court of Appeal. Bruat intervened on behalf of the Director; a second Court Martial declared itself incompetent to deal with the case and the whole affair ended in a cloud of disagreement among the members of the Administrative Council on their qualifications to act as judges.

The main business of the Tahitian district courts was, as in the past, extracting fines for petty infractions of the Code - the main source of native revenues in the absence of any form of head tax payable to the French Government. Severe penalties were rare: the death sentence was only pronounced once at this period when six of seventeen Tuamotuans involved in the murder of a schooner's crew were hanged. Bruat favoured banishment rather than imprisonment for criminal offences - and then only for short periods of five to ten years, but sufficient, he thought, in Tahitian eyes.

The mission Code, in its 1842 form, was revised in the Administrative Council and the Tahitian Assembly, in 1845 and 1848. Of the thirty-one laws fifteen were retained in their original form, eleven were altered in wording and six were radically changed or abolished. Of the changes suggested by

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- (6) Affaire Lucas, procès-verbaux, MS., 1845-1846, A.C.O. 92. In France the case would have come before the Court of Assizes.
 - (7) See, for example, the judgements of Ta'amu, for June 1846, listed by J. Henry (son of the missionary and temporary Director of Native Affairs) A.C.O. 25: 10 of the convictions were for " drunkenness ", (\$3 each); 3 were for " making orange ", (\$5 - \$10 each); 3 were for " prostitution " (\$3 - \$4 each); 1 was for theft, (\$6); and 1 was for " bad language " (\$6).
 - (8) Procès-verbaux du conseil de guerre, December 1846, A.C.O. 41; de Mars to Louis Philippe, Rapport et recours en grâce, September 1847, ibid.
 - (9) Procès-verbaux de l'assemblée et du conseil d'administration, March 1848, encl. in Lavaud to the Minister for the Navy, 29 March 1848, A.C.O. 60; Code Tahitien, 1842...; Gaillot, op.cit., 248-252.

Assembly, the most important were to laws concerning Europeans - laws on the importation of spirits and the lease and sale of land. It was decided that all imports were the province of the French administration; the retailing of fermented liquors (except beer and wines) to Tahitians continued to be prohibited. Agreement about local distilling proved more difficult: in the 1845 Assembly, leading Tahitians - including the speaker for the French - supported Judge Ta'amu who complained he was not rich enough to buy beer and wines. Despite the foreboding of the prohibitionists during the debate, a law permitting local brewing of orange brandy was passed. Disorders ensued in some of the districts and Bruat rescinded the measure in Council.

The laws of the Code forbidding the sale and lease of land to Europeans were abolished and Bruat decided that henceforth the whole question of transfers was to be regulated by administrative decree. Intention to purchase blocks of land was to be posted up near the chief's house for ten days prior to sale or lease; opposition to transfer was to be heard by the district judge and referred, if necessary, to the To'ohitu who might sanction or annul the contract. White residents were forbidden to attend the land courts on pain of 25 fr. to 100 fr. fine or three days imprisonment; there

(10) Bruat to the Minister for the Navy, 4 June 1845, A.C.O. 41.

(11) Laws XII, XIII Code Tahitien, 1842...; Arrêtés, 15 January 1844, 13 October 1844, Océanie Française, 2 June, 14 October 1844; Revue Coloniale, December 1846, 402-420. Lands sold to the administration brought large profits to the proprietors. The 120 acres acquired around Papeete harbor for offices, barracks and stores, between 1843 and 1847, cost 38,000 fr. or over £12 an acre. Alexander Salmon was paid over 3,000 fr. for a quarter-acre section on the water-front, in 1847; the queen was paid nearly 6,000 fr. for a hectare (1.4 acres) in a similar position. Procès-verbaux conseil d'administration, 1844-1847, A.C.O. 51; Lagaud to the Minister of the Navy, 3 April 1848, A.C.O. 46.

were similar penalties for failing to vacate disputed property.

The belief of the missionaries that Tahitians should be forced by law to cultivate their lands was supported by the early French administration - more because of the local food shortage after the war than from adherence to the moral injunctions of the Code to be industrious.¹² Similarly, the principle of compulsory education and the law against breaking the Sabbath were upheld in Council, after they had been revoked by the 1845 Assembly.¹³ Among other changes, a legal distinction was drawn between mayhem and slander - which the mission Code had bundled into the same law; the scale of fines for damage to property was increased; marriage between Tahitians and Europeans was required to be registered according to French civil law. Some of the former Code's stringency concerning adultery was removed; changes, henceforth could only be brought against offenders by parents or relations of the affected party - and not by Europeans - "except in the case where a bad and shameful action has been committed in public."¹⁴

Of more importance to the future administration, the revision of the Code in 1848 replaced the tribute system by a Civil List for the queen and

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- (12) "It is a bad thing to ask for produce; each should manage to have what he needs and he will be able to do this by work; for God has said: Help thyself and Heaven will help thee. And His word should be obeyed; no one should give to anyone who asks if he does not work and help himself." Law XIV, Concernant la culture que chacun doit faire de sa propre terre, Code Tahitien, 1842...; Lois révisées dans l'Assemblée des Législateurs, mars 1848, pour la conduite de tous sous le Gouvernement du Protectorat dans les Terres de la Société, MS., encl. in Lavaud to the Minister for the Navy, 29 March 1848, A.C.O. 60.
- (13) Compulsory Sabbath worship, however, lapsed. "The man that does not go to the house of prayer is wrong - but the law does not require him to go there." Law XVIII, Lois révisées...mars 1848..., loc.cit.
- (14) Law VII, ibid, loc.cit.

decreed a number of days for the male inhabitants of each district to work on the roads - a corvée which might be commuted to cash contributions fixed at the rate of 2 fr. per day.

Much of the final version of the revised 1848 Code was still very close to the spirit of early mission legislation. Those parts which had proved difficult for the Tahitian judiciary to cope with had been removed. In one aspect only did the changes greatly affect district life: it was made clear that the royal house and the chiefs were dependent on the French administration for their official position.

" Let not the queen and the chiefs and the high-ranking men be offended by this; they are all under the protection of the Government of France; they are paid by it and this Government has thought it just, in that case, that the people should keep for itself the fruit of its work, time and its produce, after the tax (Civil List) has been paid."

The annual contribution from the members of kinship groups to their heads was formally ended. L.M.S. contributions suffered likewise; and the 1848 Assembly was pleased to support the suggestion of the administration that all church properties - schools, houses and chapels - be registered " inalienable national property ". These, it was made clear, were to be kept in order by the district congregations and not by services levied on all the district families so as to do away with " the exercise of tyranny

(15) The contributions to the queen's Civil List were fixed at 2 fr. p. for every unmarried male over 14 and at 1 fr. each for a man and his wife; 5% of the district collections was to go to the mutoi or judges who were responsible for gathering them. Law XXI, Lois révisées...1848 ..., loc.cit.; Law XXXII, ibid, loc.cit.

(16) Law XXI, ibid. loc.cit.

(17) Procès-verbaux de l'Assemblée législative, 24 March 1848, MS., enclosed in Lavaud to the Minister for the Navy, 25 March 1848, A.C.O. 60; Johnston to the L.M.S., 9 March 1848, L.M.S.S.S. 21.

by some of the chiefs which arose (as one of the missionaries apologised " out of modes of thinking and national customs formed during the time of
18
heathenism " .

(b) Finance and trade.

The income and expenditure of the early administration cannot be studied simply from the details of budgets and accounts - even where these
19
are reliable. Only in the Antilles, French Guiana and Bourbon was any careful attempt made in the 1840's to distinguish clearly between metropolitan and local expenditure. The sea-roads to Tahiti were long; no financial decree could have sorted out the confusion of charges made on the colonial and navy and army accounts during the first few years when Bruat administered the islands as stationary warships on funds allotted from the Ministry for Navy and had few local revenues to meet monthly deficits. For the administration, the major problem was not who was to pay, but how estimates, passed over a year away, were to be transformed into local necessities - South American dollars, flour and wine. The first funds sanctioned by Parliament

(18) Johnston to the L.M.S., 9 March 1848, L.M.S.S.S. 21.

(19) "... it is manifest that the financial documentation on French colonial history, even relatively recent history, is obscure or lacking Duchêne, Histoire des Finances coloniales de la France, 185; for similar comments on material for the history of administration in Algeria, see Martiel Douël, Un Siècle de Finances coloniales (Paris, 1930), 42.

as extraordinary credits for the Establishments had been set at 5,490,000 fr. over 4,000,000 fr. of this was intended for installations; the rest was intended for wages for troops, provisions, a military hospital and the wages of officials - in that order.

This sum would have been ample if communications had ensured the local treasury receipt of coin and drafts signed in Paris to back up French credit with trading houses at Papeete and Valparaiso. Again, in 1844, 2,230,000 fr. were apportioned to Oceania - to be sent in drafts and coin. There are no receipts for the amount of coin despatched either for 1843 or 1844; but the drafts - amounting to 1,243,166 fr. - were supplemented by the issue local of bills on Paris to the extent of 287,079 fr. which were not all honoured by the Ministry for the Navy, on the grounds that they were in excess of provisions already made. At Tahiti, Bruat's treasurer complained: " for eighteen months I have been almost always without money; the troops have not been paid; the installations are nine months behind; and yet I have always had at least 1,200,000 fr. entrusted to shipping - two thirds of which is for cashing in specie."

In July 1844, there were only three months rations left; visiting French warships were forced to issue ship-board drafts (traites de bord) and ca

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- (20) Rear-Admiral Leroy, Rapport no. 186 (for the Chamber of Deputies, 5 June 1843), A.C.O. 60.
- (21) De Mackau to Bruat, 38 September 1843, A.M.P. Correspondence, 1842-1851; De Mackau to Lavaud, 8 May 1847, ibid.
- (22) De la Massue, Procès-verbaux du conseil d'administration, April-June 1844, A.C.O. 11.

them locally for dollars at unfavourable rates of exchange; not only food had to be imported from Valparaiso, but also hard currency as traders grew wary of accepting administration paper. ²³ Troops were paid at the official, not the traders' , rate of exchange in piastres. When business along the South American coast began to favour the Chilean piastre (rated at 48 fr. 5c.), the silver dollar of Peru threatened to fall into disuse locally. The administration was forced to buy the new specie in Chili itself, rather than exchange drafts locally - at a loss of 9%. Over a million francs worth of the new dollars were imported between March 1845 and September 1846 - at great profit to the contractors; and troops paid in silver piastres saw the value of their wages fall.

Accounts for 1845 are lacking. But it is clear that the month to month expenses for that year were well above the budget for Tahiti and the Marquesas: for Lavaud found, on entering office, that the deficit resulting from the issue of drafts locally on the Ministry for the Navy during 1846 amounted to nearly a million francs. ²⁴ Bruat had given the impression that local finances were sound. The real picture did not become apparent till the end of his governorship when his optimism had encouraged the Minister for the Navy to reduce the total budget for the Establishments to 1,500,000 fr.

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- (23) The currency in use at Papeete was based on denominations of the Peruvian piastre, rated at 5 fr. 25 c. Bruat tried to stabilize the exchange rate at 5 fr.; but when currency was short, the piastre rose as high as 5 fr. 40 c. Bruat wrote to the Minister for the Navy, 20 April 1845, A.C.O. 13.
- (24) The expenses for 1846 amounted to 1, 869,839 fr. 66 c. Receipt of coin and paper from Paris accounted for only 874,233 fr. Lavaud wrote to the Minister for the Navy, 21 December 1847, A.C.O. 46.

" Assuredly, " wrote Lavaud " when Admiral Bruat envisaged the figure of 100,000 fr. revenues rising to 80,000 fr. and presented a picture of almost unlimited prosperity, he doubtless did not notice that the happy moment he was witnessing was only the result of considerable sums spent at that time on the post and which required, more than once, the issue of drafts.²⁵"

It was not till 1848 that there was any clarity about the proportion of the budget which was the responsibility of the State (wages of troops and officials, provisions for visiting ships, building materials) as distinct from the payment of chiefs, judges and interpreters, the upkeep of the hospital, land purchase and other expenses of internal administration. If Lavaud's figures can be trusted, the expenses for the Establishments during²⁶ 1848 were:

Expenses charged to the State.

Colonial officials..	81,564 fr.
Artillery.....	28,382 fr.
Engineers.....	25,242 fr.
Troops	39,583 fr.
Navy.....	<u>48,330 fr.</u>
Total.....	<u>223,101 fr.</u>

Expenses charged to the local administration.

Provisions.....	713,920 fr.
Police.....	57,380 fr.
Health.....	36,600 fr.
Hospital.....	34,600 fr.
Various agents.....	30,372 fr.
Ports.....	21,940 fr.
Bridges and Roads..	13,140 fr.
Treasury.....	10,240 fr.
Materials.....	<u>2,200 fr.</u>
Total.....	<u>920,392 fr.</u>

Of the total expenditure in these accounts (1,143,493 fr.), provisions

(25) Lavaud to the Minister for the Navy, 25 March 1848, A.C.O. 46. Lavaud however, was forced to use the same expedient. Lavaud to the Minister for the Navy, 22 January 1848, ibid.

(26) Lavaud to the Minister for the Navy, 5 March 1849, A.C.O. 60.

ing alone required 62% of the funds available to the administration. Food prices trebled at Papeete between 1843 and 1846. Traders blamed the administration for the huge sums in circulation and the decrease in the buying power of the piastre; in turn, Bruat and Lavaud pleaded high costs for contracting for supplies from Valparaiso.

There were other anomalies which did not help: failure to supervise the activities of the head of the commissariat, Arnoux, from 1843 to 1850, left open the way to incalculable peculation. Statements of purchases for nearly seven years were forwarded to the Ministry for the Navy without receipts or bills attached. At the level of the governor himself, it was impossible to account for the " secret funds " of up to 50,000 fr. set aside in each budget for use at his discretion. They seem to have been spent on presents for Pomare and the chiefs or for the wages of trusted servants like Salmon, John Henry and Orsmond. But they remained a source of mystification to every treasurer till the device was abolished in 1851.

Scarcely 10% of the expenses charged to the administration was covered by revenue from fines, business licences and spirits licences. Bruat's short-lived municipal bank which operated from January 1844 till February 1846 as a kind of subsidiary treasury for ready specie showed a profit of

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- (27) Miller to F.O., 26 February 1846, T.B.C.P. 8; Hawes to the State Department, 3 May 1848, Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Tahiti, vol. 2 1841-1850; Lecueq, Question de Tahiti, 74.
- (28) Rapport fait par le Commissaire de Marine, Eymir, au Conseil d'enq à Brest le 13 octobre 1851 pour prononcer sur le compte de Mr. le Sous Commissaire, Arnoux, A.C.O. 25.
- (29) Note sur l'emploi de fonds particuliers et secrets mis à la disposition des Gouverneurs de l'Océanie, A.C.O. 13.

800 fr.; but at the end of its life it had covered only a little over
³⁰
 60,000 fr. of local expenses. The bank's main source - trading licences -
 more than doubled after 1846, followed by a drop in 1849 after an exodus of
 the Californian gold-fields. It was a precarious income on which to balance
 a budget which might take up to two years to be put in operation from the
³¹
 time it had been sent to Paris for approval.

Even less could be expected at this early period from trade. Except
 for pilot fees and the requirement that local schooners sail under the
 Protectorate flag, no revenues or regulations hindered traffic. Returns of
 total trade through Papeete are far from complete. But it is clear that in
 the five years between 1845 and 1850, about one third of the tonnage entering
 the port was British. Of the 628 entries for the period (excluding whale
 at least 51 ships were laden with supplies for the administration; French

(30) Bruat to the Minister for the Navy, 30 June 1846, A.C.O. 25.

(31) Consul Miller listed the business community of Papeete as follows:

Professions and trades.	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850
Wholesale and retail dealers...	31	54	66	47	49
Auctioneers.....	3	4	4	2	2
Apothecaries.....	2	2	1	2	2
Hotel and wine-shop keepers....	11	18	30	16	12
Butchers.....	4	18	8	8	11
Bakers and pastry-cooks.....	3	11	16	6	7
Watchmakers.....	2	2	2	2	1
Carpenters, cabinet-makers....					
Coopers, sawyers, blacksmiths..	13	41	35	20	25
Wheelwrights, tinnerns.....					
Masons and painters.....	1	4	4	1	1
Tailors, shoemakers.....	3	11	9	4	8
Hairdressers.....	--	1	1	--	--
Trading and business licences..	73	167	176	108	118
Wholesale spirits licences.....	16	16	14	11	10
Revenue from licences	7,522 fr.	19,450 fr.	24,225fr.	15,950fr.	22

Miller to F.O., 15 February 1853, T.B.C.P. Annual Reports.

vessels accounted for 20% of the overseas tonnage, local schooners 17%, ships of the United States 9%, and other nations or schooners from other islands ³² 15.5%.

Some three-quarters of the imports declared at the port of Papeete were of British origin, shipped through Valparaiso or New South Wales, consisting of cotton-goods, general merchandise and spirits. From New Zealand came timber, flour and potatoes, and from the United States other food-stuffs, tobacco and furniture. Figures for the invoice value of cargoes are not complete in any records till 1850; even then, consular returns fail to distinguish the amount of imports declared from the amounts re-shipped to other islands, and the amounts declared but not landed. ³³ As a general approximation, imports - including supplies for the administration - rose from 1,750,000 fr. in 1845 to just over 3,500,000 fr. in 1850. ³⁴

Of the exports declared, only 276,750 fr. made up the invoice value of produce from Tahiti, Moorea and neighbouring islands, in 1850. The rest of the exports for the year were made up of re-shipments of European goods to the outer groups or of goods declared but remaining on board. South Sea Island produce itself was limited, at this date, to coconut oil, pearl shell, arrowroot, molasses, lime juice and a little tamanu wood and bêche-de-mer.

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- (32) T.B.C.P., Annual Reports; Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Tahiti, vol. 2, 1841-1850; Roy, Les Colonies Françaises, 105; de Robillard, Mouvement commercial des E.F.O., 1845, rapport a M. Bruat, MS., A.C.O.
- (33) Miller to F.O., 1 January 1846, T.B.C.P. Annual Reports; idem, 28 February 1846, T.B.C.P. 8; idem, 31 December 1850, T.B.C.P. Annual Reports
- (34) For details of imports and exports from 1850 on, see below, Appendix IX, 442-448

It had doubled in value since 1845 - the result of higher prices rather than
 35
 greater volume of exports.

Despite this sudden growth of Papeete and its settlers, the times were
 not prosperous for the administration. At the end of the war, there were
 too many to be fed, too much money and too few goods. Agriculturally, the
 Establishments were no more than experimental gardens for European crops
 where there was no credit for planters and no cheap labour. The only piece
 36
 of land utilisation attempted by the French in the 1840's was the settlement
 of a handful of discharged marines in the Amélie valley. Within two years
 they had drifted away, leaving their European-style plots for commerce in
 the town or turning to cattle-raising for quicker returns. Their example
 37
 was common among the small fortune-hunters who came in the wake of the
 occupation without the means to grow on a large scale crops that did not
 bring them into competition with the Tahitians who were getting good prices
 for surplus produce at Papeete.

Thus, by 1848, French protection of the Society Islands and the

(35) Except for 1849, the amount of coconut oil exported varied between
 144 tons and 220 tons during the period 1845-1850; pearl-shell export
 declined from 324 tons in 1845 to 178 tons in 1850. But invoice value
 rose:

	1845	1850
Pearl shell.....	150 fr. per ton.	200 fr. per ton.
Coconut oil.....	400 fr. per ton.	500 fr. per ton.
Arrowroot.....	500 fr. per ton.	600 fr. per ton.
Lime juice.....	300 fr. per tun.	375 fr. per tun.

Miller to F.O., 2 March 1857, T.B.C.P. Annual Reports; idem, 29 January
 1852, ibid; idem, 28 February 1846, T.B.C.P. 8.

(36) The Tahitians were profiting most by the inflation in 1847 there
 was a rise in wages of all kinds of labour of 30% to 50%. Lavaud to the
 Minister for the Navy, 20 March 1850, A.C.O. 46; Simpson to the L.M.S.
 24 July 1847, L.M.S.S.S. 20.

(37) Lavaud to the Minister for the Navy, 5 August 1847, A.C.O. 47.

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Tuamotu, and French sovereignty in the Marquesas were strictly limited to supervision of European and Tahitian justice and control of the main ports. It was already clear that the financial commitments entailed far outweighed the strategic or economic value of the posts for France. The garrisons were too isolated and too weak, by 1849, to defend the station and its scattered islands in time of war and too large to be paid and fed from the ever-diminishing portion of the colonial budget allotted to Oceania. "There is nothing to choose" wrote Lavaud crisply at the end of his governorship "learn how to spend in order to retain; or learn how to abandon in order not to spend."³⁸

(c) Failure in the Marquesas.

Neither in Paris nor at Tahiti was there any satisfaction with the administration of the Marquesas. Little attention was paid to the group during the war: Bruat, unable to spare a ship for an absence of twenty to thirty days, left the post almost defenceless after most of the troops had been transferred to Tahiti, and left the commandants powerless to check the commerce in guns and women organised by the community of freebooters living on Dominica.³⁹ At Nukuhiva, an attempt to enforce regulations against this traffic led to the imprisonment of the daughter of a chief. The chief massacred five of the garrison; he was given a summary trial by a Court Martial

(38) Lavaud, Mémoire sur le Protectorat de la France à Taïti, 20 March 1846, A.C.O. 46.

(39) Lieutenant Lavigne to Bruat, 31 August 1846, encl. in Bruat to the Minister for the Navy, 5 October 1846, A.C.O. 60.

40

and executed along with a kinsman, without reference to Bruat. Little was gained by the payment of Te Moana (at the rate of 3,000 fr. a year) or t Catholic convert, Maheono, who received a similar sum. Te Moana called in French warship in 1847 to bombard the neighbouring Taipi tribe and proclai himself " King of Nukuhiva ". But Lavaud disapproved of the policy of sub⁴¹sidising chiefs which he thought ran counter to the Catholic mission pract of avoiding offending the tribal chiefs by favouring one of their number; nor did he think that attempts to bring about " the unification of the tri chiefs " under one chief at Taiohae really served the ends of the French c⁴² Te Moana - a man of " no influence and little prestige ".

In Paris, these considerations and financial stringency which omitt⁴³ the post at Vaitahu completely from the budget of 1847 and left Nukuhiva with a bare eighth of the total estimates for the Establishments, decided abandonment of the Marquesas. The operation was carried out by Lavaud in July 1849 - a few months before a bill was presented to the French Parlian fixing on Mayotte and the Marquesas as suitable places to deport political

(40) The chief, Pokoko, was a warrior and relative of Te Moana. Command Almaric described him as " a wild and irascible man, breathing blood through every pore ". Almaric to Bruat, 11 March 1845, encl. in Bruat the Minister for the Navy, 5 April 1845, A.C.O. 50; Rapport sur les act de M. le chef de bataillon, Almaric, en ce qui touche l'execution du ch Pokoko et du Kanak Oko, ibid; Bruat to the Minister for the Navy, 25 A 1845, ibid.

(41) Lavaud to the Minister for the Navy, 8 May 1847, A.C.O. 43.

(42) Idem, 29 January 1848, A.C.O. 46, 47.

(43) De Mackau to Lavaud, 15 February 1847, A.M.P. Correspondence. The first hint of the abandonment occurs in a memorandum of the Director of Colonies, Mestro, dated April 1848, A.C.O. 43. This was set in motion orders from the Minister for the Navy, Vice-Admiral Casey to Lavaud, 30 September 1848, ibid.

44
 prisoners. But by the time new orders were received at Tahiti to prepare the deportees, the post at Nukuhiva had been left to the sole charge of the Catholic mission. Te Moana had been given command of the coal depot, the general store and a few livestock; and the whole group was officially under "reserve of sovereignty" - like the Wallis Islands.

The withdrawal, though temporary, was a recognition of the shift of administrative emphasis during the preceding five years from the argument of strategy to the practice of seeking the most suitable and agreeable locality; the annexed colony took second place beside the Protectorate as centre of French interest in Oceania. And this Protectorate, in turn, began its long transformation into a colony as attempts were made to encourage an excessively expensive investment in Oceania to bear fruit.

(44) Mestro, Memorandum, October 1849, A.C.O. 43; Lavaud to the Minister for the Navy, 20 March 1850, A.C.O. 47; Miller to Admiral Hornby, 18 February 1850, T.B.C.P. 9.

PART THREE

VII.

The Transformation of the Protectorate, 1849-1866.

" The State comes into collision with the Tribe and the shock of the collision silhouettes the outline of the State in a crude and blinding light."

Maunier, The Sociology of Colonies, vol. II, 556.

The governors, or more strictly speaking the naval commissioners who followed Lavaud, were posted as commandants of the Oceanic Naval Division a force reduced to one or two ships and a little over three hundred men. The area they were called on to administer included Tahiti and Moorea, the Tuamotu archipelago, Tubuai, the Marquesas, and, after September 1853, New Caledonia. They spent most of their time at Tahiti; during their absence their responsibilities were delegated to their immediate subordinates with the title of local commandant (commandant particulier) - generally two for the Marquesas and two for Tahiti and New Caledonia. In 1860, the last colony became a separate unit; the roving commission of the commandants-commissaires was confined to French Oceania under the orders of the new Ministry for Algeria and the Colonies.

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- (1) It had been decided in 1847 that the Tuamotu and Tubuai (one of the Austral Islands) formed part of Pomare's dominions. A contingent from Tubuai fought on the French side during the war and two of the chiefs subsequently paid a few hundred francs a year for their services. Lava to the Minister for the Navy, 1 October 1847, A.C.O. 46; Miller to F.O. 30 December 1847, T.B.C.P. 9.
- (2) The new Ministry lasted from 27 September 1858 till 24 November 1860 when the colonial department became part of the Ministry for the Navy and the Colonies. Duchêne, op.cit., 202-222.

Their powers differed little from those of Bruat: their omniscience rested on the 1843 Ordinance, sanctioned again by the Imperial Decree of 14 January 1860; and their decisions were local law after publication in the local gazette.³ Promise of further reorganisation and a clear definition of officials' duties was forgotten in Paris. The six commandants appointed after Lavaud, between 1850 and 1863, held no rank higher than that of captain.⁴ They were not furnished with complete instructions from France on all aspects of the administration; it was left to their own initiative to pick their way among the mass of uncodified legislation and to determine for themselves the meaning of the " Protectorate ". Like Lavaud - " a frank plain sailor " - their naval training fitted them more for shipboard discipline than the formulation of policy to cover the complexities of local politics.⁵ Like their subordinates, their aim was to inculcate locally some of the values of French civilisation before proceeding as quickly as possible to a new promotion. They were never long enough in the Establishments to grasp all the implications of their measures; their knowledge of the

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- (3) By Article 6 of the Imperial Decree, 14 January 1860, which separated New Caledonia from the E.F.O., the 1843 Ordinance was left in force " until otherwise decreed ". Bulletin Officiel des E.F.O., 1860-1861, 8. The local journal officiel - the Messenger de Tahiti - appeared from 1853 on in French and Tahitian.
- (4) Lavaud was followed by Bonard, 19 July 1849; Page, 5 September 1851; du Bouzet, 22 March 1854; Saisset, 19 May 1858; de la Richerie, 14 January 1860; de la Roncière, 14 December 1863.
- (5) Hill, Travels in the Sandwich and Society Islands, 382; Consul Miller always cautious in his praises of the French, admired Lavaud the most, compared with his successors. Miller to Hornby, 1 June 1849, T.B.C.P. 9 for an unfavourable account of their personalities, see Hort, Garden of Pacific, 29, 65, 95, 135-136.

Polynesian was gained through a few of the more important chiefs, interpreters, fêtes and receptions. For convenience they maintained the distinction between internal and external affairs at Tahiti; but none of them could resist the temptation to meddle in both administrations - " the right hand and the left hand of a people which can only develop by maritime trade and agriculture " (as one of the more ambitious of them put it).

This obsession for the " development " of the Tahitians was common to them all. The native courts were to be replaced by French courts; the native police was to be taken out of the hands of the district chiefs; Catholicism was to be encouraged and the teaching of French made compulsory; and land, so long the stumbling block to progress, was to be individualised. The arguments of strategy were replaced by a concern for the economic possibilities of the islands. Bruat, as governor of Martinique, defended his recent conquest on the grounds that the Protectorate (worth as much as a first-class frigate every year) would provide lands for deserving penal colonists from the Marquesas. And every commandant was obliged to look more and more to commerce and planting for revenues to support the cost of assimilation and for evidence to convince the metropolis of its desirability.

The hints and promises of a wealthy colony in the making were indifferently received in Paris. The anomalous conditions under which France would have to pay for such a policy of development frightened off positive support.

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- (6) Bonard to the Minister for the Navy, 16 July 1850, A.C.O. 44; idem, November 1850, A.C.O. 171.
 (7) Bruat to the Minister for the Navy, 27 June 1850, A.C.O. 44.

from Ministers for the Navy or Colonial Directors. So long as the position of the administration could not openly be defined contrary to the Protectorate agreements, there was no legal guarantee that large-scale investment could be carried on without serious risk; and any attempt to revise the status quo agreed to by England would, it was thought, meet with objection from the Australian colonies. Ducos, Minister for the Navy in 1854, could see no way to implement the suggestions of Bonard, Page and du Bouzet for assisted emigration to Tahiti.

" In this ambiguous situation, we can neither favour Catholic propaganda combated by the influence of the English missionaries, nor sufficiently control the interior in the interests of the health of the natives and the development of crops, nor organise a system of land grants which might attract a population from outside, nor, finally, can we regulate the customs so as to reserve certain advantages to our flag and obtain for the local treasury revenues to be used for the improvement of the country." 8

This view persisted officially till the end of the 1870's. Chasseloup Laubat, as Minister for the Navy from 1859 to 1867, came to the conclusion in a summary of French policy in Oceania, that the dream of an " island power " had not been replaced by anything more concrete. To justify the occupation and its expense, he thought France could hope for no more than " to lead Tahiti to support itself, to develop there civilisation in the narrowest measure possible ".

(8) Ducos, Note sur Taïti, 1854, MS., A.C.O. 44.

(9) Chasseloup-Laubat, Historique, n.d., MS., A.C.O. 2.

In the absence of clear directives from above, the commandants had a free hand in working out their piecemeal policy of assimilation without metropolitan dogma (other than strictures about finance) to guide or correct.

(a) Administrative personnel.

The transient nature of the office of commandant extended to the positions of the next most important officials. After 1855, the head of the Administrative Service (there had been nine since 1843) took the title of ordonnateur.¹⁰ As in other French colonies, the ordonnateur was the financial representative of France abroad; in 1861, a local decree further qualified him for the position of head of the judiciary, since there were no civil magistrates at Tahiti.¹¹ As in the case of other officials, his duties far exceeded his position and capacity. In 1863, for example, Ordonnateur

(10) The ordonnateur was a survival of the eighteenth century intendant the guardian of the State's finances and the official rival of the director of the Interior - the representative of the needs of the colony. Both functions were ended in the 1880's. One of the commandants outlined the ordonnateur's duties thus: " to check the balance between the monthly accounts and receipts...to ascertain whether the departments have given orders within the limits of their authority...to assure that the credit allotted are not overspent and to centralise the accounts, receipts and expenses of all branches." Saisset to the Minister for Algeria and the Colonies, 26 October 1858, A.C.O. 40; arrêté portant que le chef du service administratif prend le titre d'Ordonnateur, 23 February 1856, Messenger, March 1856.

(11) Arrêté ajoutant aux attributions de l'Ordonnateur les attributions conférées aux chefs du service judiciaire du Sénégal, 21 April 1861, Bulletin officiel des E.F.O., 1860-1861, 171.

Trastour found himself, paymaster, president of the Appeal Court, a judge of the Criminal Tribunal, president of the Committee for Public Education and member of the Administrative Council. But there was one area of the administration kept out of his hands - the native treasury, set up in 1859 in the charge of minor officials directly responsible to the commandant. When objections to this were raised in Paris, de la Richerie created a secretary general as head of the Native Affairs department - a position which lasted till 1866.¹² This was not approved either; but the financial distinction between the native and the colonial treasuries was maintained on the ground that it was contrary to the 1842 agreements to have Tahitian revenues listed under the local budget.¹³ There was confusion elsewhere, too. In the Public Works department (under an artillery officer or a naval engineer) where financial powers of the ordonnateur were supreme, officials were uncertain whether to work on naval or local budgets; it was an easy step from indecision to inactivity.

At the general level of minor officials, there was no system of selection to furnish the administration with permanent junior officers for

(12) Arrêté, 4 November 1862, encl. in de la Richerie to the Minister for the Navy, 15 November 1862, A.C.O. 117.

(13) The Colonial Department was inclined to regard the separate treasury as contravening the financial Decree of 26 September 1855 which laid down that where, as in Tahiti, there was no director of the Interior, the ordonnateur was to have complete charge of all the revenues. Later, de la Richerie was called from retirement to explain the purpose of the native treasury. He claimed that during his administration the ordonnateur was too burdened for the commandant to observe the finer points of colonial organisation. On the use of the receipts of the native treasury, he was silent. Note sur les impôts tahitiens et les caisses indigènes et le budget local du Protectorat, 17 September 1869, MS., A.C.O. 171.

lengthy training under local conditions. The turnover of clerks was continuous - a flow of middies and ensigns, dependent, like their seniors, on missionaries or the sons of missionaries for their brief contact with the life and thought of the people they administered.

(b) The commandants and native government.

Under Lavaud, the joint administration of the governor and the queen had been reasonably smooth. The Convention had made her position as paramount chief an essential part of the Protectorate with privileges and an etiquette to be respected. Whenever Pomare was on tour in the Tuamotu or Leeward Islands, Lavaud had been careful to request her approval before pardoning erring judges convicted by the To'ohitu, or before replacing mutoi who abused their office. In cases calling for the replacement of district chiefs, he agreed to the wish of the Pomare family and the district landholders to discuss in their own way the merits of the most suitable relatives in the leading family of the district.¹⁴

Under the commandants who followed, Pomare found cause to complain " friend Lavaud " that she was becoming a cipher in the administration (demanding in one sentence help from Napoleon, and in the next a gold necklace and new uniforms for her children¹⁵). The view of the commandants was

(14) For example, on the death of Teri'itua chief of Hitiaa, the governor sanctioned the request of the ra'atira to choose a member of the Pomare family who was represented by his father (the husband of the dead chief during his minority. Lavaud to Pomare, 17 February 1849, A.C.O. 46; ibid. 27 September 1849, ibid;idem. 13 October 1849, ibid.

(15) Pomare to Lavaud, 22 June 1852, A.C.O. 46.

that she was trying to entrench as many members of her family as possible in district headships and was exploiting her position by appealing to successive commandants for new privileges. Her place in the hierarchy of chiefships, contended Commandant Page, had been won at the expense of older and more titled families during the time of Pomare II, who, " with the aid of material foreign to his people, embodied a form of power which his successors and in particular the queen, would certainly not have been able to retain if the Protectorate (or any other) had not come about to give her a kind of consecration ".¹⁶ Another commandant complained of her pretensions to a " traditional right " to dispose of Tahitian lands under the shelter of French rule and disapproved of her district tours when district resources were squandered on feasts and tribute.¹⁷

Vain, ambitious and mindful of the potential opposition of families socially superior to her own, she was not innocent of these charges. Above all, the commandants (with memories of Pritchard) mistrusted the marriage of English and American settlers into the Pomare family and the influence of district affairs of Protestant deacons - many of whom were judges, and a few chiefs. It was de la Richerie who, in 1860, summed up the dilemma of administration through Pomare: on the one hand, he realised that the " queen's government, in the European sense of the word ", was completely impracticable without permitting her to form her own court of advisers; on the other, the body might easily become, he thought, " an engine to hammer a breach " in

(16) Page to the Minister for the Navy, 8 February 1856, A.C.O. 40.
 (17) Dubouzet to the Minister for the Navy, 5 July 1858, A.C.O. 40.

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French rule.

The reply of the commandants was to build up the Assembly and use it for passing their own legislation; to subject the district churches and churches to election by all the landholders of a district, in conformity with their view that " from the moment Tahiti was destined to become part of the great French family, the language, the ways and customs of France had to be made penetrate ".

19

1. The Tahitian Assembly.

Lavaud had intended the Assembly to be the cornerstone of the Protectorate. Bonard thought it had practical uses: he was impressed with the role it might play in countering the authority of the queen as an instrument whose decisions were accepted by Tahitians everywhere. From 1851 to 1866, it met almost every year at Papeete in the old Protestant chapel or the new Assembly House. In 1853, its members - numbering nearly a hundred chiefs, delegates and judges - were swelled by a delegation of 25 chiefs from the Tuamotus. Their business - revising the Code or sanctioning the commandants' measures was carefully prepared in the Administrative Council before being submitted.

(18) De la Richerie to the Minister for the Navy, 12 November 1860, A.C. 117. The chief object of suspicion was Alexander Salmon, married to Ari'itaimai, the queen's adopted sister. The first of his daughters married the wealthy trader Brander, in 1857; the second later became the wife of Pomare V; a third went to Germany; and a fourth married the U.S. Consul, Atwater. Salmon fell from grace in 1856 after making exorbitant claims of 70,000 fr. for alleged losses in 1846 and 20,000 fr. for the voyage to Paris to prosecute his case. His claims were refused. He acted as U.S. Consul for a period and died in 1867.

(19) Page, Messenger, 13 November 1853.

(20) Bonard to the Minister for the Navy, 16 July 1850, A.C.O. 44.

to the Assembly through the administration's paid speaker. The terms of 1848 Convention giving the proposals of the Assembly the force of law if passed in three sessions were never in fact applied. Bonard dressed it in a motley of European parliamentary procedure by introducing standing order the ballot and a clause making members " inviolable " - a safeguard eagerly voted by the chiefs after the action of the mutoi against the spectacular drunkenness of one of their number. They welcomed, too, a clause setting aside time for petitions; but the petitions themselves got a mixed reception. Those from the Tuamotuans went unheard; some, proposing a new Assembly House and payment of delegates were enthusiastically received; others, which were repetitions of laws already in the Code or which sought property rights for the L.M.S., were torn up or " flung out of the window ".

Sessions were entertaining but lengthy. The tendency was for the chiefs to talk till all agreed; the ballot was looked on as a tiresome interruption of parliamentarians who " could neither read nor write though they could prate in their way like a Demosthenes "; too often, there were more black or white balls in the voting-urn than there were voters; members were expelled for disorderly behaviour; the 1858 sessions commenced with the suspension of President Tairapu for drunkenness.

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- (21) Procès-verbaux de l'Assemblée des Législateurs, 3 March-31 March 1851, MS., A.C.O. 69.
 - (22) Ibid, 29 March 1851, 8, 10, 11 March 1852, A.C.O. 69.
 - (23) Orsmond, Look Again !...., MS., A.C.O. 40.
 - (24) Procès-verbaux...., 12 July 1858, A.C.O. 40.

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Commandant Saisset was not in favour of their meeting at all: like Pomare in the 1840's, he found that the annual meeting of chiefs and judges at Papeete was expensive, exuberant and " the origin of a train of orgies". De la Roncière held only one session of the Assembly during his term of office. After 1866, it was not called again - except as a brief formality in 1877 to proclaim Pomare V as king. It died from disuse and from an ignorance of laws it did not understand, after serving as a convenient forum for measures which made the Protectorate a misnomer and the Assembly itself anachronistic.

2. The electoral law and the District Councils.

In 1852, Bonard proposed to the Assembly that the practice of conferring chieftainships after consultation among the heads of families in the districts should be formalised into an electoral system and extended to district judges and pastors. The law, when approved, paid some homage to custom in Article 7 by stating that chiefs were to be chosen " from the family whose member has left the vacancy "; where the highest-ranking family of the district descent-group had died out or had no suitable candidates, the choice was to be left to the queen and the commandant from a list drawn up by the district landholders.

Bonard's object was to place in the hands of the administration " through its influence over the district chiefs, the opportunity of controlling meetings which anyone might call at any time ". District judge

(25) Saisset to the Minister for Algeria and the Colonies, 15 February 1859, A.C.O. 40.

(26) Loi électorale tahitienne, 22 March 1852, Bulletin officiel des É.I. 1850-1852, 312.

(27) Bonard to the Minister for the Navy, 7 May 1852, A.C.O. 44.

he thought, should be selected because of their ability rather than their connections with the leading district family. Moreover, the selection of native pastors on a basis wider than that of church membership would weaken the control of the L.M.S. and, in Bonard's view, end " the Secret Society of taata eteretia (people of the church) ". Eligibility for the position of deacon was also made as wide as possible; and if an agent of the L.M.S. was selected, his election was still subject to the approval of the commandant.

This entrenchment of the administration in district affairs was consolidated in the Assembly of 1855, when a measure was sanctioned restricting the composition of the District Councils to the chief, judge, mutoi and two elected landholders. The business of the Councils, as laid down in the new law, was provision of labour for the upkeep of roads, tax collection and the registration of contracts concerning lands. All their decisions were to be approved by the commandant. In 1862, de la Richerie re-grouped several of the districts of Moorea under one chief. In 1863, the population of the thirty districts of the two islands was required to shift to eighteen villages in order to facilitate the census and the district ²⁹ corvées. In Tuamotu, every island was regarded as an administrative district - except the more densely populated Anaa (divided into four districts) and those islands with a population of less than a hundred persons - which were officially without chiefs. A plethora of detail enmeshed the proposed Councils. Lo

(28) Messageur, 18 November 1855.

(29) Ordonnance, 19 February 1863, Messageur, 4 April 1863.

reports were to be drawn up for a Tahitian Domesday survey of canoes, cro fisheries, schools and native and foreign residents. None of the Council were supposed to leave the village for more than eight days. Local market prices were to be fixed and collective debts on whole households were forbidden.
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3. The district chiefs.

Whether this policy was to be successful in French terms depended on the extent to which chiefs approved by the French still commanded the support and labour of the landholding families. And the position of the district chiefs was complicated by the struggle between Pomare and the commandants to secure titles for their own nominees. The struggle came to a head in 1854 when the district headships of Papara and Papeari at Tahiti and Teaharoa and Moruu at Moorea, fell vacant.³¹ At Papara there was little difficulty: elections by the landholders were arranged and Ari'itaimai - grand-daughter of the former chief, Tati, was chosen and approved. The former chiefs of the two Moorean districts and Papeari had been original representatives of Atiau Vahine - the mother of Ari'itaimai. At Papeari, some eighty of the ra'atira met in the house of the old chief and chose one of his three lineal descendants. At Teaharoa, the former chief's nephew was chosen in the same manner. At Moruu, it was decided by the ra'atira that the chief had left no suitable lineal or collateral relatives;

(30) Among the many items the Councils were expected to have on hand were "two drums, a clock, an hour-glass and metric measures...". Art. 14, Ordonnance, 19 February 1863, Messenger, 4 April 1863.

(31) Page to the Minister for the Navy, 7 November 1854, A.C.O. 40; Appendix I,

accordingly, a list was sent to the commandant headed by the senior male member of a respected family. All of these choices were approved by Page

The queen, however, refused to sanction the election at Papeari - claiming that the candidate was no relation of Atiau Vahine; she presented herself as the inheritor of chiefly rights over Moruu, on the grounds that the chiefly title of "Tutaia was preserved in her family" wrote Page's successor, "and that formerly the district chief had carried this title". At stake were the lands which went with the title and which were worked by district labour for the chief's benefit. According to Alexandre Salmon, the fari'i hau lands at Papeari should have reverted to the family of Atiau Vahine (and therefore to Salmon's wife) on the death of her representative. Page replied that Bruat's confirmation of the district headships made no mention of representation of land-controlling rights by an absent paramount chief; nor, Page argued, did the title of chief imply any permanent right to "landed property or entail (apanage)". Nevertheless, the Assembly of 1852 had made a distinction between what it called "private lands" and "fari'i hau lands", which, as the law on land registration put it, were "for the purpose of assuring to chiefs of districts and their families the means of subsistence in keeping with their high rank". Page could not make up his mind whether such lands were "proper

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- (32) Dubouzet to the Minister for the Navy, 3 December 1854, A.C.O. 40.
 (33) Procès-verbaux du conseil d'administration; 21 October 1854, ibid.
 (34) Loi tahitienne sur l'enregistrement des terres, 24 March 1852, Bulletin officiel des E.F.O., 1850-1852, 410; see below, Chap VIII,

in tail, inheritable with a title, or...the personal property of the chief. Furthermore, he could not (or would not) believe that Atiau Vahine would have allowed Bruat's consecration of the chief of Papeari to take place unless it was agreed the land rights were to revert to her. The real reason was that he did not want relatives of the Pomare family with English connections to acquire more land rights or unsettle chiefs who were eager to look on the fari'i hau lands as the bequest of the administration, now that tribute had been officially abolished for over seven years.

Page published the new nominations without Pomare's consent and his successors upheld them. When, at Moorea in 1858, the chief Marama of Haapiti died, the Pomare household claimed that the successor to the titles of the district which had been formerly a dependency of Atiau Vahine should be taken from the family of Ari'itaimai. Dubouzet, like Page, was unwilling to see the daughter of Ari'itaimai (married to Brander) elected; the position of chief at Haapiti officially lapsed and the district was administratively joined with another in 1863.

The practice grew up, then, of regarding the districts as administrative units rather than the location of inter-related families under the " trusteeship " of the head of the leading family or an absent paramount chief. Where land rights pertaining to a chiefly title were in question, French administration regarded the areas surrounding the chief's house, the meeting-house and the district chapel as entail. As Salmon pointed out, t

(35) Page to the Minister for the Navy, 7 October 1854, A.C.O. 40.

(36) The district was placed under the chieftainship of Aromaiterai - president of the District Council located at Haapiti.

great difference between Tahitian " entail " and the European kind was that the latter was simply inalienable from persons; the former carried in addition prescriptive rights entitling the chief, or paramount chief, to donate or bequeath their patrimony upon their followers for reciprocal services.³⁷ This sense of " land rights " on the part of chiefs was now obscured.

The provision that a chief should be drawn from the family of his predecessor was vague. The rights of lineal descendants under the French could well be sacrificed to a distant collateral relative where this person was suitable in the eyes of the administration. Thus, the French practice of regarding the paid titleholder as the seat of district authority was not uniformly successful. When Commandant Saisset made a tour of the district in 1859, he found that cultivation was best organised in those areas where the families of landholders tolerated the advice of the administration through chiefs of proven unilineal descent. At Mataiea, however, Saisset observed that Bruat's nominee stood in a relationship " far removed from the line of old chiefs of the district which made his position difficult with the ra'atira who without exactly opposing him in no way helped him"³⁸ In other cases, the commandant noted that the titular chief was not the effective authority in the district. For example, the chieftainess of

(37) Salmon, Lettre concernant l'état actuel de Tahiti adressée à Sa Majesté Impériale Napoléon III, 9.

(38) Saisset to the Minister for Algeria and the Colonies, 15 February 1859, A.C.O. 40.

Faaa was a ceremonial front for her husband - a member of the To'ohitu and a pastor in the Protestant church. In five other districts of Tahiti, the local teacher, deacon or judge, as relatives (usually the husband) of the district chief, were the ruling voice in the District Council. At Moorea, where the three districts of Afareaitu, Haumi and Maatea were officially joined into one, the chief of Haumi was president of the Council; but the most influential person in the area was the pastor-teacher married to the chieftainess of Afareaitu.

4. Native revenues.

Increasing supervision of district affairs by the French was expensive. The Tahitian contribution to local revenues was irregular and incomplete. Besides the queen's Civil List, households were expected to furnish labour for roads, subscriptions or labour for the Assembly House (from 1850 to 1861) and, for a short period, the sum of 12 fr. to each district delegate to the Assembly. Parents were expected to pay 50 c. a month for each child at school, but little was ever collected, most preferring to deliver a quantity of food to the district pastor. It was not till 1863 that a general head tax of 10 fr. a year and 10 fr. in labour (rated at 1fr. a day) was imposed. In addition, Tahitians - with the exception of native officials - were liable to an indefinite amount of work on churches, meeting-houses, schools, bridges and roads and cleaning and planting fari'i hau lands.

But there was no complete civil register to check on defaulters; few Tahitians knew their ages and liabilities for taxation; name-changes confused collection. Accurate figures are hard to find for a branch of the adminis

tration's finances which escaped the eye of the official accountant - the ordonnateur. But between 60,000 fr. and 90,000 fr. a year were collected from 1855 to 1866. In 1859, the native treasury was set up directly under the control of the commandant. Originally in five sections, it was reduced to three in 1864 - the queen's treasury (for contributions to the Civil List), the general treasury (for head tax and court fines), and the district treasury (for fines exacted by the mutoi, fees from empounding and commutation of the corvée). Revenue from arrests and infractions of the Code was still divided proportionally between the administration and mutoi - as incentive to their vigilance; but judges and all other native officials were paid directly from the native treasury. The queen received a subsidy of 25,000 fr. a year; the chiefs were paid as much as 1,800 fr. (for members of the Pomare family) and as little as 300 fr. in the Tuamotu. No taxes were paid in the Marquesas which came under the French administration's budget. The total payments for the Protectorate's native administration were listed by Saisset for Tahiti and Moorea in 1858:

Tahiti (queen and 25 chiefs)	46,000 fr.
Moorea (10 chiefs)	3,660 fr.
7 judges of the <u>To'ohitu</u>	7,420 fr.
24 district judges.....	3,860 fr.
Pastors, teachers, deacons	7,320 fr.
<u>Mutoi</u>	19,440 fr.
Pensions	480 fr.
Total	<u>88,280 fr.</u>

Excluding the 25,000 fr. paid from the French budget to Pomare, expenses were almost covered by revenues from native sources. Saisset ma

(39) Saisset to the Minister for Algeria and the Colonies, 20 October 1858, A.C.O. 40.

a clean sweep of many petty officials - including the Regent Paraita who was pensioned off with 5,000 fr. a year. He increased the chiefs' stipend, reduced the number of mutoi and reorganised them into foot and horse and suspended the To'ohitu whenever they tried to hear cases involving Europeans and claimed a share of the fines.

Under de la Richerie, the cost of the native administration was increased, however, by the organisation of the District Councils and the payment of all their members. Expenses for native officials rose to 130,000 fr. in 1860; in 1864, de la Richerie was forced to admit that only 79,000 fr. of the native budget were met by district revenues. An examination of the expenses for 1864 reveals that well over half of the cost of the native administration was being paid from the French administration treasury.

Expenses.

Queen's Civil List.....	7,000 fr.	Queen's cavalry, court..	7,102 fr.
Subsidy to Pomare.....	25,000 fr.	Queen's palace.....	10,000 fr.
District chiefs.....	21,720 fr.	Presents.....	12,000 fr.
District councillors...	7,680 fr.	Native dispensary.....	7,460 fr.
Ex-Regent.....	5,000 fr.	Pastors, teachers.....	14,920 fr.
<u>To'ohitu</u>	8,100 fr.	Pensions.....	3,960 fr.
Tahitian Appeal Court..	2,500 fr.	Treasury personnel.....	7,100 fr.
District judges.....	7,000 fr.	Unforeseen.....	1,397 fr.
<u>Mutoi</u>	8,760 fr.	Total.....	183,799 fr.
Boatmen	27,100 fr.		

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- (40) Saisset to the Minister for Algeria and the Colonies, 5 May 1859, A.C.O. 40.
- (41) De la Richerie to the Minister for Algeria and the Colonies, 28 May 1860, ibid; de la Richerie to the Minister for the Navy, 31 August 1860, A.C.O. 73.

<u>Receipts from native sources</u>	<u>Receipts from the colonial budget</u>
Queen's Civil List... 7,000 fr.	
Head tax and fines... 45,000 fr.	
District work days... <u>27,000</u> fr.	
Total..... 79,000 fr.	Total..... 104,799 fr.

The total expenses for the year (183,799 fr.) represented the cost of keeping control of district affairs through the queen, the District Councils and the courts. ⁴² Of these expenses, about 57% were born by the general revenues coming in to the French administration from local trade and from the metropolitan subsidy.

(c) Education and the missionaries.

From the beginning of the Protectorate, the administration struggled with the dilemma that district schools were deeply influenced by the L.M. but the teaching of French could not be expanded while Roman Catholic missionaries were few and not well received on the whole by the population. Education was inseparable from the district churches; and the district churches remained Protestant. One solution, tried by Bruat and Lavaud, was to send the sons of chiefs to be educated in France in Catholic colleges in order to form a nucleus ⁴³ " of rivals to the English missionaries among the Tahitians themselves ". But this was extremely limited in practice

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- (42) This expenditure did not include bursaries for Tahitians at Catholic schools at Tahiti or in France - an additional 54,000 fr. for 1864. For the general administration of finance at this period, see Chap. X.
- (43) Bruat to the Minister for the Navy, 7 October 1847, A.C.O. 93; Lavaud to the Minister for the Navy, 12 July 1849, A.C.O. 47. Of the five young Tahitians who went to France for three years in 1848, only - Tari'iri'i and Ta'atari'i - were later prominent in the native administration. The rest succumbed to disease or the temptations of civilization. Catholic Fathers were few at this period. The mission register for 1841-1854 has only 143 baptisms. See Laval to Perdereau, June 1876, C.S.-C.P. 5.

in its success. Another solution, pressed for by Lavaud, was to introduce French Protestant teachers - especially for the children of the queen, entrusted to the care of the missionary, Thompson, and a sergeant of the marine⁴⁴ for their education.

" Our policy demands imperatively that the children of Pomare, who are called to rule in the Leewards, be brought up in a French way and not delivered into the hands of English Ministers; moreover, I say, their teachers should be Protestant because I have failed in all my attempts to confide their education to Catholic priests and the queen would prefer to have them in ignorance rather than take instruction from this quarter." 45

For the moment both solutions were postponed in favour of the plans Lavaud's successor, Bonard, to restrict the Protestant missionaries by administrative measures.⁴⁶ The remaining members of the L.M.S. were ordered to keep to one district each and forbidden to preach without written invitation from the district congregations and the approval of the director of Native Affairs. Their properties were " nationalised " as part of the Tahitian National Church; and with the creation of autonomous district parishes by the electoral law of 1852, the selection of deacons was left to the caprice of sections of the population who were not members of the Protestant congregations.⁴⁷

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- (44) Lavaud to the Director of Colonies, 4 September 1847, A.C.O. 93; Lavaud, Mémoire sur le Protectorat de la France à Taïti, ses relations son influence en Océanie, laissé à M. Bonard, 6 March 1850, MS., A.C.O.
- (45) Lavaud to the Minister for the Navy, 10 October 1850, ibid.
- (46) Bonard to the Minister for the Navy, 15 February 1851, ibid.
- (47) There were seven L.M.S. missionaries left in 1851. Of these, Chisholm was censured by the administration for advising his congregation to remove a school teacher who did duty as a deacon; Howe earned the displeasure of Bonard by preaching against the anniversary festivities of the 1848 Republic and was threatened with imprisonment. Chisholm to the L.M.S., 18 December 1849, L.M.S.S.S. 22; Barff to the L.M.S., 16 January 1850, ibid 23; Howe to the L.M.S., 1 August 1851, ibid 24.

The position of the L.M.S. was further weakened by a decree which prohibited ministers of the Tahitian National Church from having any relation with a foreign Power; nor could they legally take the title of minister itself without the permission of the commandant for fear of infringing clauses of the French Penal Code on the usurpation of functions. By 1853, there were only Howe and Darling left at Tahiti and Moorea as official members of the L.M.S. Simpson, though official head of the Tahitian Church had been excommunicated by the L.M.S. in 1851; and Orsmond, an irascible old savant, died in 1856.

By the mid-1850's, the attitude of the Ministry for the Navy towards religion and education at Tahiti was openly pro-Catholic. Commandant Page was reprimanded for his dispute with Bishop d'Axieri over church lands and for his authorisation of a Protestant catechism. The Minister for the Navy, Ducos, agreed with his policy of avoiding giving offence to members of the L.M.S.; but he thought that Catholics merited "most earnest support through the influence of the Imperial Commissioner over the queen, the chiefs and population".

A few years later, the curtain was rung down on the history of British Protestantism at Tahiti when the island which had cradled the South Seas

(48) Arrêté, 27 May 1852, encl. in Director of Native Affairs to Howe, May 1852, T.B.C.P. 9; Barff, A Brief Statement Regarding the Tahitian Society Island Mission, July 1855, MS., L.M.S.S.S. 26; Vernier, Tahiti d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, 178-180.

(49) Davies died in 1855; Chisholm, Platt and Barff went to the Leeward Islands; Howe departed in 1862, leaving his post to George Morris.

(50) Ducos to Page, 1 December 1853, A.C.O. 5.

mission was prepared to receive French missionaries. In May 1860, a bill and a petition were examined in the Assembly; there was to be no official head of the Tahitian National Church; the only ministers were to be French or natives of the Protectorate; and the French Government was asked to send two French Protestant pastors - paid for by the local administration and provided with house and lands by the population. The bill was passed by 51 to 18. On the face of it, it looked as though Howe would have to retire from his post and pastoral visits from the Leeward Island churches would have 52 cease. Neither Howe nor Consul Miller were inclined to press the matter; Howe was allowed to come and go as he liked by de la Richerie; and as he himself explained to the L.M.S., the clause excluding ministers other than French or Tahitian " was to crush a statement which has been industriously 53 sustained by a certain party (the Bishop), namely that Protestantism is necessarily opposed to France and is purely English...".

From the Protestant point of view, the petition was well-timed: de la Richerie and his Council had just fallen out with the Catholic Bishop over

- (51) Projet de loi sur le culte national, 11 May 1860, Messenger, 8 July 1860; Petition de l'Assemblée Indienne au sujet de deux pasteurs français demandés en France, 15 May 1860 (signed Maheanuu, President; Tamita, Vice-President; Taatari-Tairapa, Secretary; Mano, Paofai, Moecori), en-voiede la Richerie to the Minister for Algeria and the Colonies, 16 October 1860, A.C.Q. 20; Howe to the L.M.S., 16 August 1860, L.M.S.S.S. J.M.E., 1861, 263-265.
- (52) Howe to Miller, 10 July 1860, T.B.C.P. 5; Miller to F.O., 16 August 1860, ibid 10.
- (53) The petition also made this clear: " The enemies of our religion, (i.e. the Catholics) and who are equally the enemies of the French Protectorate, seek to calumniate us because we have no wish to be ungrateful to those who brought us out of paganism, and to wound our religious feelings by saying that we are not attached to France." Petition..., ibid.; Howe to the L.M.S., 16 August 1860, L.M.S.S.S. 28.

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the quality of schools run by Catholic priests; and from the administrative point of view, it was an excellent opportunity to reach the goal of teaching French without wounding the religious susceptibilities of the Tahitians.

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Advised and persuaded by the L.M.S., the Paris Protestant mission society agreed; and in 1863, Thomas Arbousset and his son-in-law, Atger, arrived as ministers of the Reformed Church of France.

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If the Protestant church was strong in the districts, its educational facilities were weak. Pupils were irregular and native deacons hardly paid at all for teaching in Tahitian from a few primers and prayer-books. At Papeete, the Sisters of St Joseph de Cluny and the teaching Brothers of Floërmel, established in 1848 and 1860 the only serious institutions outside the pastoral college at Raiatea. Of these, the Sisters were the most favored by the administration as hospital staff and teachers of twenty-five to thirty daughters of officials, chiefs and judges. Under de la Richerie, began a second school at Taiohae in the Marquesas, were allotted funds for twelve bursars and their portion of the local budget was raised to 14,800 in 1861.

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- (54) De la Richerie to the Minister for Algeria and the Colonies, 16 October 1860, A.C.O. 20.
- (55) De la Richerie to the Minister for the Navy, 25 February 1861, ibid.
- (56) Howe, who died in the same year, did much to encourage the decision Howe to the L.M.S., 28 March 1860, encl. in L.M.S. to S.M.É., 4 July 1860, S.M.É. Correspondence, 1860-1861; L.M.S. to S.M.É., 20 August 1860, 4 January 1861, ibid. Thomas Arbousset, a missionary pioneer in South Africa, left in 1865; in 1866, Atger was joined by a teacher, Viénot, in 1867, by Vernier. The L.M.S. was still represented by Morris till 1869 and by Green till 1881.
- (57) Only French was spoken in their curriculum. The Superior General the Minister for the Navy, 10 February 1854, A.C.O. 20.
- (58) De la Richerie to the Minister for the Navy, 10 June 1861, ibid.

The teaching Brothers with a staff of four were equally favoured with 9,200 fr. from the same source. Other Catholic schools organised by the Picpus missionaries in the districts of Papara, Paea, Papeuriri, Atimaono Punaauia, were subsidised from the budget at the rate of 240 fr. a year even though few of their pupils were Catholic converts. In the Tuamotu, there were three Catholic schools at Anaa, Taurua and Auurua, two of which were conducted by native teachers. It was not till 1864 that a Protestant boarding-school was opened at Papeete under Viénot to serve the desire of the Tahitians to learn French. The Protestant mission then set about waging its long war on the disproportionate subsidy for the Catholic schools and for a central Protestant church organisation to control the native pastors.

(d) The administration of the outer groups.

During the 1850's and the early 1860's, the greater part of the French Establishments hardly presented any problems to the French commandants. They were either ignored or were the object of a short gesture at administrative to satisfy a point of law and order. The abandonment of the Marquesas was partially remedied in 1851 when Page set up a token garrison at Nukuhiva to receive political exiles - who numbered no more than three and who were pardoned by 1854. Occasional bombardment of warring tribes and the prote

(59) In all the Catholics taught about 400 pupils in the district schools less than one quarter of whom were converts. In 1862, there were 26 district schools at Tahiti and Moorea with 20 to 100 pupils each - a total of 751 boys and 630 girls. At Papeete, the two Catholic schools had 100 pupils. Instruction publique, 1862-1863, A.C.O. 20.

(60) Atger to the S.M.E., 4 March 1867, S.M.E. Correspondence, 1867.

(61) Under the administration of de la Roncière the subsidy for Catholics was over 100,000 fr. a year, and for the Protestants, 15,000 fr. Atger to the S.M.E., 18 September 1866, ibid.

(62) Miller to F.O., 10 July 1852, T.B.C.F. 9; des Vergnes, op.cit., 6-

ion of European lives and property was the limit of French administration. The Ministry for Algeria and the Colonies considered abandoning the group again in 1858. De la Richerie, though he could see little worth in the island, advised against the proposal and set about using the Catholic mission to offset the lack of official personnel. Bishop Dordillon was invited to draw up a Code of Laws and was appointed director of native affairs in the Marquesas under the residency of a retired naval officer.⁶³ The missionary was authorised to select a native judge, a constable and two advisers for the chief of each valley; polygamy, tattooing, prostitution, dances and the slave traffic were prohibited under threat of fines in terms reminiscent of the L.M.S. Codes. Lands were declared to be the "property" of the occupying userholder; the position of the chiefs was enhanced by a clause making all livestock in the valleys their personal possession. The Code lasted till 1865, when Dordillon was relieved of his official functions. It had not been enforced outside the immediate vicinity of the two Catholic mission stations at Nukuhiva and Hiva Oa and de la Roncière cared no more about the Marquesas than his predecessor. Where the mission and the administration were weak, the influence of whalers was strong. From December till March, traffic in cloths, tobacco, rum and brandy was widespread; the ceremonial exchange of tapa gave way to sale of hogs and crops for piastres and European haberdashery; foreign whale-boats - traded or stolen - killed the canoe industry.

(63) Arrêté réglant le service spécial des îles Marquises, 19 March 1863; Annuaire des E.F.O., 1863, 43; de la Richerie to the Minister for the Colonies, 27 March 1863, A.C.O. 6.

around the ports. Disease, especially in 1866, took a heavy toll. ⁶⁴

To the east of Tahiti lay the Tuamotu, an oceanic nebula of over 80 coral atolls with an estimated population of about 8,000 most of whom were settled in the north-western islands. ⁶⁵ Missionary visitors had concentrated on Anaa where a few Tahitian teachers had already introduced the Bible and smattering of the Codes to its 2,500 inhabitants; the Catholic missionaries ⁶⁶ established a school there in 1850.

Traders were little attracted to the group in the 1840's; administration was limited to the establishment of a native court at Anaa and rough dispensation of justice in 1849 to a Spanish rum-runner by a "commission" including Brander, Lucett and two To'ohitu. ⁶⁷ A gendarme, sent there to keep order in the early 1850's, was killed; five inhabitants of Anaa were judged by the To'ohitu and sentenced to death; another forty or fifty were sent ⁶⁸ Tahiti for hard labour.

(64) Population figures for the Marquesas in the mid-1850's are:

Nukuhiva...	2,700	Tahuata...	600
Uapou.....	1,100	Uahuka....	300
Hivaoa.....	6,000	Total.....	11,900
Fatuhiva...	1,200		

Des Vergnes, op.cit., 37; Drioult, La civilisation des Iles Marquises. Des Vergnes' own census made in 1872 when he was administrator suggests the population of Nukuhiva and Hiva Oa had decreased by half by that date. Patu Hiva's population had decreased by more than two thirds. His total population for the group in 1872 is 6,045.

(65) Annuaire de Tahiti, 1863, 183.

(66) The islands were first visited by the L.M.S. in 1830. Davies, A History of the Tahitian Mission, L.M.S., Chap. XX.

(67) Lavaud to the Minister for the Navy, 15 January 1849, A.C.O. 47; Lavaud to Pomare, 17 February 1849, A.C.O. 46; Colvocoresses, Four Years in the Government Exploring Expedition; commanded by Captain Charles Wilkes, 62-72; Ricardi, Visite à quelques-unes des Po-Motu, Revue de l'Orient, 161-165.

(68) The British consul suspected that " some undue efforts were being employed

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In 1853, the group was surveyed and promising reports of rich coconut oil production led the commandants to set up a native administration at Anaa on the same pattern as at Tahiti with a chief appointed for all the six districts of the island, a native judge, a mutoi and a teacher. After a struggle to replace the French-paid chief by a Catholic convert, Dubouzet sent a gendarme to the island as resident-administrator who lasted till 1869 when four native mutoi were installed. Another gendarme was sent in 1866 with power to sentence up to 25 fr. fine or five days in prison.

During the middle of the 1850's, the trading houses of Brander and Hort began their long and lucrative monopoly over oil and copra in the group. Dubouzet, during his tour there, noted the sudden increase in the local demand for cotton goods and the extent to which the population, "accustomed to the use of flour", now looked on this change in their diet as "an object of primary necessity". By 1860, there were five or six schooners annually collecting copra and pearl-shell; Brander had credit stores on some six of the islands near Anaa where his agents bought and sold oil valued at 2 fr.

employed to bring about a Baptism as a Catholic of the Native who committed the act" and who was a pupil of the Mormons, established in 1846. Miller to F.O., 17 November 1852, T.B.C.P. 6; idem, 29 January 1853, ibid.

(69) Much was hoped from the gesture of "equality" with Tahitians made when a delegation from the Tuamotu was received into the Assembly. But this policy only concerned Anaa. In other islands - Raroia for example - a chief born at Tahiti and appointed by the administration had no authority over the 35 separate household heads. Messenger, 10 July 1853, 30 April, 2, 16, 23 July 1854.

(70) Dubouzet to the Minister for the Navy, 26 August 1855, A.C.O. 40.

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a gallon for 40 c. to 50 c. worth of flour or cloth.

But the administration was no more capable of effectively controlling the area than it was able to visit the waif island of Tubuai in the Austr group. In short, about two thirds of the population of the French Establishments - a little over 31,000 inhabitants in 1863 - saw an official rarely never at all. Administration meant Tahiti and Moorea where the last "reves" of the 1842 agreements were subjected to a series of measures to compliment the new district organisation and to promote agriculture.

(71) Lieutenant Corry to de la Roncière, 11 July 1867, A.C.O. 1; de la Roncière to the Minister for the Navy, 2 August 1867, ibid.

VIII.

Land Tenure and the Native Courts.

The commandants' preoccupation with efficient conformity in native affairs had brought about the refinement of the District Councils into bodies of fixed and paid membership, responsible to the French administration. During the same period, the commandants adopted the formula of Bonard -¹ "galvaniser les indigènes" - as he applied it to district economic life. Their aim was twofold: to encourage change to the production of cash crops; a widespread subsistence economy, and to free areas of uncultivated land from the multiple claims raised whenever transfer to Europeans was contemplated. At one level, this aim was simply an extension of the spirit of the old L.M.S. Code; at another, it was an applied conviction of Commandant de Richerie that Tahiti would not progress beyond the uncomfortable vagueness of the 1842 agreements until the population had done away with "all that² opposed to regularity in their old customs". In short, there could be no French colony to justify a redefinition of the legal status of the Society Islands until the islanders had, in de la Richerie's words, "renounced their communal life in which there was nothing fixed - neither house, nor name, nor individual property, in the French sense of the term".

The reorganisation of Tahitian land tenure in a "French sense" of individual peasant proprietors entailed enclosure. Bonard, once the prac

(1) Bonard to the Minister for the Navy, 2 March 1850, A.C.O. 44.

(2) De la Richerie to the Committee for Agriculture and Commerce, 7 December 1863, Messenger, 30 January 1864.

of converting money fines and taxes into corvées was established, decreed that 75 acres of every district were to be fenced off to use this labour³ grow cash crops - the proceeds of which were to go to the administration. Dubouzet abrogated the law along with that of the 1848 Code which require every man to fence his property. He found that the corvées on enclosed district lands had been directed by the chiefs onto fari'i hau lands - which supplied a surplus for district feasts but did little to provision Papeet⁴ or increase the sale of produce to visiting ships. Enclosure by itself was no more effective in changing district economy than it was a solution to conflicts between the owners of livestock and the cultivators of ravaged gardens. The Assembly of 1853 called on the commandant for the abolition of open grazing - but could not agree on who was to provide labour to erect⁵ fences. The Assembly of 1866 attempted a compromise: open grazing was abolished in the six western and north-western districts of Tahiti where plant⁶ were given the right to kill stock wandering onto their lands. The immediate result was the wholesale destruction of cattle in the area and the subsequent dependency of Tahiti on Hawaii for supplies of fresh meat. By 1866, enclosure had been subsumed under the more general question of individualising land by registration - a question which ought to have preceded it at an earlier date.

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- (3) Bonard to the Minister for the Navy, 16 July 1850, A.C.O. 44.
 (4) Dubouzet to the Minister for the Navy, 10 December 1855, A.C.O. 40.
 (5) Messenger, 17 July 1853.
 (6) The districts were Mahina, Arue, Pare, Faaa, Punaauia, Paea. Loi tahitienne interdisant de parcourir des animaux dans les îles de Tahiti Moorea, 3 April 1866, Bulletin officiel des E.F.O., 1866, 90.

(a) The registration of deeds and the Public Domain.

So far as land transfer to Europeans was concerned, the commandants followed the precedent of Bruat by regularising the conditions of lease and sale without making provision for an ad hoc survey of each new holding. An office for receiving copies of transfer documents was created in 1851.⁷ In Bruat's legislation, notification of donation, rent or sale was required ten days before definite occupation; a delay of a year and a day was then admitted before the deed of sale or the terms of the lease were regarded as binding. Then the written contract itself was deemed to be proof of possession on the part of the lessor or the buyer. Other formalities - the depositing of plans and payment of fees for survey - were not enforced while there were no competent surveyors in the territory. In the event of disputed contracts between Tahitians and Europeans, the case was to be heard before a Justice of the Peace who was to "listen to the opinion of the ra'atira and apply French laws.

The formal creation of Public Domain (administration lands) in 1851 left the way open for expropriation by the French on any pretext within five days.⁸ Where land for road-making was required, no compensation at all was to be paid - the real estate value of the road to the property being considered "sufficient indemnity".⁹ Except for the fort at the isthmus,

(7) Arrêté portant organisation du service de l'enregistrement et du domaine colonial, 15 October 1851, Bulletin officiel des E.F.O., 1850-1852, 235; Arrêté portant règlement sur les contrats entre les indigènes et les Européens, 15 October 1851, ibid., 253.

(8) The distinction in French colonies between State lands and Colonial (or Public) Domain raised few difficulties at Tahiti. The famous "fiat spaces" of royal property along the littoral of colonies applied only to the Marquesas.

(9) Art. 3, Arrêté portant organisation du service de l'enregistrement du domaine colonial, 15 October 1851, loc. cit.

Colonial Domain was restricted to the coast road and administration build at Papeete. Schools, the houses of native officials and church lands were declared " communal property " for which each district was responsible and which was inalienable either to the administration or to private individuals

(b) The registration of titles.

To supplement proof of possession by deeds, Bonard organised a land registration commission in 1852. A distinction was made between lands pertaining to chiefly office and " private lands " (or " the little breadfruit lands of each man ").¹⁰ Useholders were to declare their lots which were to be inscribed on a local register kept by the District Council and checked by a commission consisting of the son of a missionary and official interpreter Adam Darling, a member of the To'ohitu, the chief, the judge and the " oldest ra'atira " of each district. If no agreement was reached among households which members were to be inscribed, the case was to be submitted to the To'ohitu. The charges made by the commission were 3 fr. for the first lot and 1 fr. 50 c. for subsequent lots; two thirds of the fees were to go to Darling and one third to the other members. A special registration was to be made of fari'i hau lands as the inalienable usehold of district chiefs.

The commission's surveys, made between 1852 and 1860, covered only

(10) Loi tahitienne sur l'enregistrement des terres, 24 March 1852, Bulletin officiel des E.F.O., 1850-1852, 314; Procès-verbaux de l'Assemblée des législateurs, 1852, MS., A.C.O. 69.

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nine districts. It was a piecemeal affair. According to the committee register (puta tomite) for Punaauia, drawn up in 1853, a little over 40 names were written down for 778 blocks of land; in some cases - particularly Pomare and the chief Teri'itua - up to six or seven blocks of land were inscribed for the same person. The amount of land transferred to European was small. By 1866, in the same district, there were only four or five white planters occupying about 80 acres. With a native population of a little over 450 persons grouped in 30 to 40 households around the littoral, the district was registered for 375 acres of land cultivated for vegetables and other crops. It seems clear that in many cases the head of a household must have registered for the whole family (and for absent co-owners). Nowhere were whole families listed in detail as useholders.

There is no way of knowing accurately the amount of land devoted to

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Polynesian staple - the coconut; but at least 650 acres must have been occupied by coconut plantations at Punaauia. In all, then, a little over

- (11) Pare, Arue, Faaa, 1852; Punaauia, Paea, 1853; Papeari, 1854; Papanui, 1855; Punaauia, Paea, Mataiea, 1856; Mahina, 1860; by 1860, there were no less than seven separate registers for each district: the committee register (puta tomite); inheritance register (puta monoraa); sales and donation register (puta faahurueraa); conciliations register (puta faatitiaifaro); transfer register (puta huri); sales register (puta hoeraa); and the chiefly lands register (puta fari'i hau). Bureau des terres, Papeete.
- (12) Rapport fait à M. le Commandant Commissaire Impérial par la Commission d'Inspection des Cultures, passim.
- (13) The superficial littoral cultivable at Punaauia is about 3,750 acres, making allowance for the fact that the agricultural survey of 1866 only took account of land used for vegetables or European crops and that not all cultivable land was in use, some 3,375 acres are unaccounted for. Coconut plantations have a " density " of about 30 palms to the acre. Later surveys of the district in 1877 counted some 19,500 trees which would occupy some 650 scattered acres. Rapport, 1 July 1877, A.C.O. 1.

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1,000 acres in Punaauia - or one third of the area between the mountains and the sea - was yielding an easy livelihood for a native population with a density of about 1 person to every two acres of land in use. It was to similar areas in eight other districts of the island that the commission restricted its activities, fractioning roughly to one adult member of each family the gardens or plantations claimed for the whole household. Nothing was said of the land rights of collateral members of the family who might have been absent; nor were the rights of minors for whom a relative might hold land in trust clearly distinguished. For the present, litigation was small and restricted to discussions with the District Council or the To'ohitu in order to settle the boundaries of family inheritance.

Bonard's system of registering European deeds and titles and listing some of the Tahitian useholders did not satisfy local traders whom de la Richerie encouraged to invest in agriculture. The Committee for Agriculture

(14) For example, a section called Atitupua in Punaauia was registered by Darling's commission in 1853 for the sister of a household head named Puarui Tetuaiteuru. The block was measured as "hoe umi e iva etaeta maa tape te aano", ("19 brasses and a little more in breadth"), and "e maha umi e ma pae", ("45 brasses in length"). This would make an area of the block about 2,835 sq. metres: (1 brasse = 1.8 metres approximately). Putatōmīte no. 130, folio 215, Bureau des terres, Papeete. Interesting enough, the puta faahurueraa for Punaauia, no. 7, 13, records that on 7 July 1860, before a second visit of the Darling commission, some 2,400 metres were sold by the sister of Puarui Tetuaiteuru (during his absence?) from the same block for the sum of 175 fr. This did not prevent his brother from inheriting the whole of the area - including the portion sold - at a later date and passing it on through a series of proprietors to the present owner: Puarai Tetuaiteuru to Raauri a Piritua (by sale to his mother while still a minor); Raauri a Piritua to his sister, Aia a Piritua (by inheritance); Aia a Piritua to Toarere a Piritua and Remi a Pou (by inheritance to direct descendants); Toarere a Piritua and Remi a Pou to Maroa a Tepaua (by sale in 1942).

and Commerce, set up in 1861, pressed for compulsory land-titles for all
Tahitians to safeguard their purchases. Their proposals were embodied in
tangled decree of 5 November 1862 which organised a survey department for
island and demanded the registration of all Tahitian property-rights by
February 1863 under threat of 50 fr. fine. Unclaimed lands were to be
declared Colonial Domain; leases were to be noted and plans furnished at
price of 2 fr. for 2 hectares and 10 fr. for larger areas. No commission
detailed to supervise the project; the initiative for the success of the
scheme was left to the Tahitians themselves.

By July 1864, the head surveyor complained that the whole attempt was
impossible: the Tahitians did not come forward in great numbers to declare
their rights; and there were no surveying instruments to accurately measure
their lots anyway. De la Richerie's false report that cadastral survey was
welcomed by the population as a "godsend" made no impression in Paris where
the measure was viewed unfavourably. As in the 1850's, little was done
beyond the vicinity of the littoral; if the fines had ever been enforced,
nearly the whole of Tahiti and Moorea would have been in debt to the administration. As it was, the major effect of the attempt to compel individualisation of holdings was to produce a feeling of insecurity on the part of

(15) Procès-verbaux du comité consultatif d'agriculture et de commerce,
15 November 1861, 16 October 1862, A.C.O. 117.

(16) Arrêté portant organisation du service du cadastre, 5 November 1862,
Bulletin officiel des E.F.O., 1862, 188. As a safeguard against the
expected rush of land sales, de la Richerie declared that areas set as
for villages were inalienable. Arrêté, 14 August 1864, Messenger 20 Au
1864.

(17) Faucompré to Secretary-General Hubert, 20 July 1863, A.C.O. 70.

(18) De la Richerie to the Minister for the Navy, 12 November 1863, A.C.O.
70; Chasseloup-Laubat to de la Richerie, 8 February 1864, ibid.

Tahitians and a growing volume of litigation as the members of different families sought written guarantees in the courts both to safeguard their rights to cultivate and harvest certain areas and to back up their claims to the family lands of others. Everywhere there was the fear that "ownership" terms of area might be used to exclude the usehold rights of distant kin. And in the case of disagreement, who was to decide when such decisions were to be binding on families and their patrimony for generations to come? Were the District Councils to hear opinion when their sessions were legal? restricted to the chief, the judge, the mutoi and one or two of the ra'at - who might have a vested interest in the decision? After 1855, disagreement among the members of the Council could be settled in a Tahitian Appeal Court at Papeete consisting of three or four native judges presided over by a French official. Further appeal might be made to the To'ohitu. Then the final judgement of this slow machinery might be reversed by a decision of the queen and the commandant - to begin all over again.

For the administration, the question of Tahitian land tenure now became a judicial rather than a cadastral matter. The same period which saw the centralisation of Tahitian affairs through paid chiefs and the incorporation of native finances into that area of the administration under the immediate supervision of the commandants, saw too the extension of French laws to the last preserve of the 1842 agreements. In 1859, the mixed tribunals set up by Bruat to hear cases between Europeans and natives (usually over land) came to an end, because, as the decree of the commandant put it, it was necessary to avoid " the ascendancy which a resident

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may unconsciously exercise over an unenlightened native judge ". De la Roncière, in order to clarify the judicial tangle which resulted when Tahitians took their cases directly to the To'ohitu, issued an ordinance signed by himself and the queen re-defining the area over which the Tahitian courts were competent. In future (slightly contradicting the 1859 decree) French law was to apply in land disputes between Europeans and Tahitians - but this was in the To'ohitu which was to be presided over by a French magistrate. In 1866, the last Assembly of the Protectorate was persuaded to ratify the 1859 ordinance as a Tahitian law and to enlarge it to bring under French jurisdiction all cases involving Tahitians alone. The Assembly began by refusing to ratify the suggestion of the speaker for the French administration, Paofai, that all land cases be judged by a Justice of the Peace with the assistance of a few ra'atira chosen from the district where he happened to be residing. In some confusion, Paofai, sought the opinion of de la Roncière (his promoter) and the first article of the new law was passed considerably altered from the form in which it had first been presented to the Assembly.

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" Cases between natives of the Protectorate relative to property rights over land shall be taken to the district councils where the land is in dispute." 22

At the district level, at least, a French judge was excluded. If there was no appeal, the Councils' decisions were to be ratified by the To'ohitu.

(19) Arrêté, 4 March 1859, Messenger, 15 March 1859.

(20) Ordonnance portant réorganisation du service judiciaire tahitien, 14 December 1865, Bulletin officiel des E.F.O., 1865, 122.

(21) Loi sur l'organisation judiciaire tahitienne, 28 March 1866, ibid., 1866, 40; Assemblée Législative de 1866, Messenger 19 May 1866.

(22) Loi sur l'organisation judiciaire tahitienne, 28 March 1866, loc.cit.

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appeals (to be made between 20 and 50 days after the Councils' decisions were to be taken to the same court - presided over by the Attorney-General. The old intermediary Appeal Court was abolished; but To'ohitu decisions were still subject to ratification or cassation by the queen and the commandant. By article 7 of the new law, verbal proof and the citation of genealogies was admitted in all courts - " except in the case of definite inscription one of the parties producing written proof...". Finally the Assembly was misguided (or misinformed) enough to pass a clause which invalidated the distinction between French and Tahitian land laws in the territory. Article 9 of the law in its final form stated that all land cases based on rights acquired after the promulgation of the law were to be judged according to French Codes. The clause was a muddled one: it was not clear whether cases arising from titles and leases among Tahitians were to be judged by French tribunals, or whether the District Councils and the To'ohitu were to apply French laws to all land disputes. The interpretation was left to later administrators and the boundary between the two judiciaries became vaguer the process.

In the same spirit and under the same administrative pressure, the Assembly on the last day of its career rang the knell on the Tahitian Code of Laws. All save 14 laws - including those passed in the recent session

(23) Either the clause was never read to the Assembly or they did not understand its implications. At least one later governor suspected that the speech of the queen and the administration speaker on the law must have been prepared in French at the opening of the session and translated to the Assembly " in terms other than those reproduced in the minutes " Procès-verbaux du conseil du gouvernement, October 1885, MS., A.C.O. 8.

of the same Assembly - were abrogated. Those which remained had been passed between 1851 and 1857; the legal basis on which the native judges had operated was swept away at a blow. French tribunals, the gendarme and the mutoi were now the sole agents responsible for enforcing petty justice. The pseudo-Protectorate had reached the stage where only radical legislation could stem the inroad of French supervision of every department of Tahitian affairs, where only the abolition of the 1842 agreements and a constitution could legally sanction a colony in fact, but not in name.

(24) Abrogation des lois tahitiennes, 7 April 1866, Messageur, 17 November 1866. Those left were mainly concerned with land registration, the Assembly itself, the electoral law and some miscellaneous legislation on schools and cemeteries. See Appendix II.

IX.

Agriculture and the Atimaono Plantation.

After the failure of the land laws and the enclosure system to promote a wide-spread change to cash crops among the Tahitians, the administration was left with a miscellaneous white population as the sole agents of agricultural enterprise. Before 1860, their efforts in this direction were small. The area given over to cotton, cane and coffee during the 1850's did not amount to more than 250 acres with a production limited to some 20 tons of sugar a year, 4 to 5 tons of coffee and a few hundred pounds of raw cotton. Cheapness of imports discouraged a brief attempt at subsidising these products: Tahitian coffee, sold at Papeete for 20 piastres per 100 kilogrammes, could not compete with the Costa Rican brand sold for 10 to 20 piastres; sugar was of small importance beside the distillation of rum; there were, as yet, no cotton ginning plants. Tahitian labour was costly and inefficient; and the Europeans themselves were attracted more to the commercial activity of the port. After 1860, however, an increasing number

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- (1) Saisset to the Minister for Algeria and the Colonies, 15 February 1858, A.C.O. 40; Miller to F.O., 12 April 1858, T.B.C.P. Annual Reports.
 (2) Scherzer, Tagebuch geführt während einer Reise um die Erde, 1857-1859, 118-119, MS., M.L.
 (3) In 1860, the European male population of Tahiti, Moorea, Tuamotu, Tubuai, numbered 660.

<u>Males</u>	<u>Married to Europeans</u>	<u>Married to Tahitians</u>
French..... 313	20	26
English..... 151	6	17
American.... 113	4	17
Others..... 83	2	9

By 1865, they had increased to 785; officials and troops made up another 400. Annuaire des E.F.O., 1863, 335-336; Messenger, 2 December 1865.

tried their hand at small plantations in the western districts on blocks varying from 1 to 26 acres. But there were not more than 90 in 1866 - and many of these were simply supplementing their trading businesses at Papeete.

(a) Subsidies and the Agricultural Bank.

With better port facilities and a rise in prices for fine Sea Island cotton during the American Civil War, greater interest was shown in opening up some of the 75,000 acres estimated as suitable for supporting large-scale plantations. A number of ancillary measures to aid planters were taken by de la Richerie and de la Roncière. In 1863, a new system of subsidies, based on areas brought under cultivation, took effect: 1,000 fr. were promised for every new hectare of coffee, 100 fr. for a hectare of cotton or sugar-cane and 50 fr. for a hectare of young coconut-trees. In the same year, an Agricultural Bank was set up with powers to buy and lease lands for the administration, to make loans up to 2,000 fr. at 5% interest, and to act as a local savings bank with 3% interest on deposits.

The Bank - which was never separate from the administration treasury - was a suitable cover for all kinds of operations, ranging from the issue of

(4) Between 1859 and 1869, 115,000 fr. were paid out by the administration in loans, subsidies and for the cost of an experimental garden. Procès-verbaux du comité des finances, 1883-1884, A.C.O. 73.

(5) Arrêté créant une caisse agricole à Papeete, 30 July 1863, Bulletin officiel des E.F.O., 1863, 151; Messenger, 19 September 1862. The balance sheet for the period 5 August-31 November 1863 read:

<u>Receipts</u>	<u>Expenses</u>
Official subsidy..... 29,100 fr.	Land purchase..... 12,570 fr.
Deposits..... 25,680 fr.	Loans to planters..... 1,800 fr.
Sale of lands..... 10,550 fr.	Expenses of the committee and planters' subsidies. 12,063.7
Sale of produce..... 55 fr.	General expenses..... 37,969.2
From the treasury.... 4,000 fr.	Total..... 64,403.0
Total..... 69,385 fr.	
<u>Messenger, 2 November 1863.</u>	

paper currency to land purchase. Land sold through the Bank was first acquired by the administration - with no evidence that either the Darling commission or later surveys had clearly determined whose land it was, and without ministerial approval. In January 1863, over 117 hectares were bought by de la Richerie at Punaauia; only 49 hectares of the purchase were reported to Paris. Chasseloup-Laubat suspected that "pressure" had been brought to bear on the proprietors; the president of the Bank's committee, Faucompré, hurriedly protested that the sales had been regularly made; but evidence of transfer deeds is lacking.

This help was not enough. In 1865, de la Roncière admitted that the Bank's short-term facilities and lack of the simplest mortgage institution at Tahiti did not encourage immigration from France or French colonies. A small plantation of 25 acres cost 15,000 fr. to begin; for larger properties up to 125 acres at least 50,000 fr. were required at the outset. New coconut trees did not begin to pay till the end of seven years; sugar-cane produc-

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- (6) Procès-verbaux du conseil d'administration, 12 January 1863, encl. de la Richerie to the Minister for the Navy, 2 October 1863, A.C.O. 70. The average price quoted by de la Richerie for a hectare was 47 fr. 50. The unmentioned 68 hectares were bought for prices between 20 fr. and 50 fr.
- (7) Chasseloup-Laubat to de la Richerie, 24 August 1863, A.C.O. 70. The 49 hectares may well be the 5 lots nos. 71, 72, 73, 77, 78, marked in the margin of the puta tomite for Punaauia as sold in 1862-1863 to the "colon agricole"; no other such sales for the period are recorded. Bureau de terres, Papeete.
- (8) Among the items the prospective colonist was required to bring with him were, "shovels, spare handles, pick-axes, rakes, a small straw-cut for cattle-food, portable wheel-barrows and spare wheels, hammers, pinc saws, axes, hatchets, iron beds, mattresses, furniture, ovens, kitchenware, crockery, bridles, saddles, harnesses, clothing etc., etc.". De la Roncière to the French Consul at San Francisco, 2 July 1865, Messenger, December 1865.

at the end of nine to ten months, coffee plants at the end of five months Cotton brought the readiest returns every six months, but required more labour. In 1866, the amount of land held by European planters at Tahiti amounted to about 1,500 acres - less than half of which was producing cot cane and a little coffee, fruit and vegetables. A commission from the Agricultural Bank found, during its survey, the same features everywhere guava weeds, armies of rats and no labour other than 34 Cook islanders spread over 80 planters. The greatest advance in agriculture was in cott⁹ production. About 400,000 lbs. of ginned cotton came from Tahiti in 1866 uncleaned cotton fetched 4d. to 5d. per pound overseas, and the cleaned variety as much as 7d. or 8d. By 1868, production had doubled, but labour remained dear - about 2/- a day or 8 piastres a month for casual workers and the instruments of cultivation primitive - " hoes, spades, whalers' spades, pickaxes, American mattocks and crow bars "¹⁰.

(b) The Tahitian Cotton and Coffee Plantation Company.

The backbone of this flourish in land exploitation at Tahiti was the enterprise begun by William Stewart. Stewart was an energetic and persuasive Irishman of Scottish Presbyterian stock " with a long black beard and black hair... and with a black piercing eye " who made powerful patrons and

(9) Rapport fait à M. le Commissaire Impérial par la Commission d'Inspection des Cultures, 1866, passim.

(10) Report on the Cultivation of Cotton in the Island of Tahiti, encl. Miller to F.O., 19 November 1866, T.B.C.P. 11; Report on the Cultivation of Cotton in the Georgian or Windward Islands and in the Society or Lee Islands, South Pacific, encl. in Miller to F.O., 14 November 1868, ibid.

influential enemies with the same high-handedness. The meteoric rise of Terre Eugénie plantation lent a brief glory to the administration of the mid-1860's; the garish light of its decline illuminated a gilbertian revolution which led to the fall of a commandant.

On the advice of Stewart, a wealthy Portuguese banker, Augustus So... floated the Polynesian Plantation Company in 1862 and petitioned the Minister for the Navy for concessions at Tahiti. Stewart arrived to make a survey in September of the same year. Confusion surrounds his first transactions. But it is clear he offered the administration of de la Richerie 50,000 fr. for an area which he later claimed amounted to 12,000 acres. The Administrative Council considered his offer and decided that the choice was to be left to individual Tahitians. At least three officials were against any sort of sale; the rest agreed with de la Richerie who thought that all Tahitian lands would pass to Europeans anyway - "for a few cases of rum or gin or by other equally common frauds". The area in which Stewart was permitted to make his purchases was the rich littoral covering the districts of Atimaono, Papara and Mataiea; in addition, it was

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- (11) Of his early life little is known. He began his career in the Pa... in 1858 by working with his brother James Stewart as a wine and spirit merchant. His brother became an official in the Sydney Customs; together they retailed spirits - ostensibly for export to New Caledonia - in the suburbs of Sydney. Young, Atimaono, 1928, M.P. There is a photograph of him in Bolton, Old Time Tahiti, Appendix, vol. 18, 445, MS., M.L. See Ramsden, "William Stewart and the Introduction of Chinese Labour in Tahiti", Journal of the Polynesian Society, vol. 55, September 1946, 187-214.
- (12) Atimaono has a superficial area of about 5,000 acres. Exactly what the other lands were to be sold is unknown. Stewart to F.O., 18 April 1865, encl. in F.O. to Miller, 1 November 1865, T.B.C.P. 5.
- (13) Procès-verbaux du conseil d'administration, November 1862, MS., A.C.O. 79.

promised (whether verbally or by written agreement is not clear) that t
 imports and exports of the new enterprise were to be free of customs. St
 must have been given to understand, however, that the administration woul
 obtain land for him too. At least as much was suspected in Paris; for
 Chasseloup-Laubat, in his instructions to de la Richerie in the matter,
 pointed out that the administration had no legal right to expropriate an
 so large for " public use " and then make it over to a company - which he
 thought was going beyond " equity and principle " ¹⁴. In London, the compa
 changed its name to the " Tahitian Cotton and Coffee Plantation Company "
 bought from Stewart rights (supposedly guaranteed by the administration
 6,000 acres for £ 30,000 - fifteen times the sum Stewart claimed to have
 paid. At Tahiti, in 1863, Stewart's agent found that the administration
 would not accept the money. On his return, in 1864, Stewart set about bu
 and leasing himself from individual Tahitians as the accredited manager o
 the new plantation. De la Richerie made a tour of the districts to persua
 the chiefs to sell; but great care was taken to give the appearance of
 neutrality by the publication of a letter to the members of the District
 Councils of Atimaono, Papara and Mataiea, stressing that they were " comp

(14) Chasseloup-Laubat to de la Richerie, 6 January 1864, A.C.O. 2.
 Chasseloup-Laubat, was, however, anxious to develop cotton plantations
 other French territories - especially in the French posts in French We
 Africa among the native population rather than by large-scale concessi
 to European planters. See his instructions to the Governor of Senegal
 Jauréguiberry, 17 December 1861, in Schéfer, Instructions Générales
données de 1763 à 1870 aux Gouverneurs et Ordonnateurs des Établisseme
Français en Afrique Occidentale, vol. II, 332, 246, (2 vols. Paris, 19

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ely free " to make transactions or not. By the end of 1865, Stewart was in possession of 8,500 acres on, and extending either side of the Atimaono plain. Not all the leases or deeds of sale are extant; the chief transactor was F. Miller herself who disposed of some 33 blocks without consulting the districts

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concerned.

(c) The indentured labour system.

About the time of Stewart's arrival at Tahiti, efforts were already being made by the administration to reduce local production costs by subsidizing immigration from other islands. In 1862, 98 natives from Penrhyn were introduced on the local naval schooner, Latouche-Tréville. The administration paid for the cost of transport and sold them out to planters for 20 fr. a head. The procedure was approved in Paris (with a caution to keep clear

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- (15) Secretary General Trastour to the District Councils of Mataiea and Maono-Papara, 11 January 1861 (sic 1864), Messenger, 5 March 1864. Col Miller headed Stewart's opponents by spreading rumours of " pressure " the part of the administration during the land purchases. Stewart sued Miller for slander, but the case was dismissed. Brander to Miller, 4 March 1864, T.B.C.P. Papeete; Miller to Brander, 15 March 1865, T.B.C.P. 10; Miller to Stewart, 19 March 1865, ibid.
- (16) The area has been exaggerated; only about 2,000 acres were suitable for plantation. Some surveys of the property claimed by Stewart showed a frontage of $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles along the coast and 7 miles into the mountains - over 17,000 acres. But when the plantation came up for sale in 1875, the area was only 9,875 acres - much of it swamp. Young, op.cit., M.P.
- (17) The fari'i hau lands of the chief of Mataiea were also leased. Copie des baux emphytéotiques, 1 and 2., n.é. encl. in De la Roncière to the Minister for the Navy, 1 March 1868, A.C.O. 14. The leases were for 50 years at 50 fr. a hectare on the plain and half the price for land " in the mountains ". The only other contracts known to me are the sale of 46 blocks to Stewart without prices listed in the Messenger, 16 April 1864.
- (18) Penrhyn (Tongareva) lies about 600 miles north-west of Tahiti. The natives (33 men, 22 women, 27 boys, 17 girls) were collected by a contractor named Parker - who was paid for only 50 of the immigrants. 4 of them seem to have stayed on at Tahiti. A.C.O. 34.

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Peruvian slavers operating in the same area); regulations limited the contract to two years; nothing was said of repatriation.

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In 1864, permission was granted to Stewart to introduce up to 1,000 Chinese coolies (including wives and children over 10) through the French Consul at Hongkong. Food and clothing allowances were laid down; their working-day was fixed at 12 hours for 26 days a month; at the end of a seven-year contract they were to be repatriated at the expense of the company. In addition, Stewart was authorised to introduce 500 Polynesians for three-year contracts with similar obligations to repatriate.

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Stewart brought in just over 1,000 Chinese in three cargoes in the 1860's. When their contracts were ended, most of them settled down as gardeners, domestics and retail traders at Papeete. In 1872, the administration was forced to recognise the impossibility of repatriating them and issued them with residency permits. Similarly, many of the Polynesians either for want of shipping or because of assimilation into Tahitian families, became small planters and fishermen on their own account. The amount of known immigration during the early '60's and '70's may be shown

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- (19) Their wages were fixed at 78 c. a day for 26 days a month; they received in addition 250 grammes of fish or meat and 4 lbs. of fruit and vegetables a day. Arrêté, 9 June 1862, A.C.O. 79.
- (20) Arrêté, 30 March 1864, Bulletin officiel des E.F.O., 1864, 127; Message, 2 April, 1864.

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thus:

	Cook Islands	Gilbert Islands	Penrhyn	Tuamotu	New Hebrides	Chine
1862			98			
1864	96					30
1865						69
1866			49			
1867		399		15		
1870		192			73	
1872		96				
Total	96	687	147	15	73	99

By 1868, at least 1,297 of these immigrants were employed on the Ter Eugénie estates, together with 28 Europeans working as mechanics and overs Straggling sheds, ginning mills and a shanty town for the Chinese occupied several acres around a jetty at Atimaono. A few piastres a month satisfied Polynesians so long as regular supplies of fish came from Taravao where Stewart had organised a dozen skilled fishermen to keep the plantation supplied. The Chinese gambled, lived in squalor and patiently waited for end of their contracts. The Europeans found employment as doctors, carpenters, masons, clerks and ran two schooners used to transport bales to Papeete. To keep order, de la Richerie posted two gendarmes and a handful of marines in district.

For the period from the foundation of the enterprise in 1863 till its

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- (21) Deaths on the Stewart plantation were heaviest among the Chinese. Of the original cargoes numbering 1,018 persons, 25 died during the voyage and another 93 had died before 1868. The causes were listed by one observer as: privation of opium (60); chest diseases (11); wounds (2); Candé Plantation de Coton de Tahiti, Compagnie " Tahiti Cotton and Coffee Plantation ", Océanie Orientale (extract M.L.), 5; A.C.O. 35,38; de Jouselard the Minister for the Navy, 25 April 1870, A.C.O. 108; Langrolet (immigration official) to Girard, 7 July 1871, ibid.
- (22) By 1868, the installations included 30 stripping machines run by a 2 h.p. steam-engine (the ruins of which may still be seen near the village of Mataiea); 2 hydraulic presses, a maize mill, a sugar mill, 5 cotton sheds and a foundry. Stewart built himself a palatial house on the hill behind the main plantation and named it Montcalm. Young, op.cit., M.P.

zenith in 1868, about 4,500,000 fr. were expended by the company. Receipts for the sale of cotton and other crops are more difficult to estimate: there was a marked tendency in the reports printed in the Messenger to exaggerate the success of the plantation - a success which did not go beyond 1872 when cotton prices in England fell from 3/- or 4/- per pound to 1/- and less. The most reliable observer who worked at the plantation (and who was not entirely dependent on official reports) estimated that returns from the sale of cotton and maize had netted about 4,919,249 fr. at the end of 1868 - which covered the costs of the previous six years without leaving much for the share-holders in England.

As the cotton prices fell off, other factors increased Stewart's difficulties. After the murder of three Chinese coolies and the execution of one, rumour ran rife both locally and overseas about the conditions of labour at Terre Eugénie; despite glowing reports by a visiting commission of local officials and planters, the reputation of the plantation was not improved by the murder of one of its captains engaged in blackbirding in the Gilbert Islands and the investigations of French naval officers into this traffic in French Polynesia. Shipping became more difficult to find: de

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- (23) Messenger, 11 November 1865, 17 November 1866; Candelot, op.cit., 1
- (24) Stewart to Miller, 15 September 1867, T.B.C.P. 6; Miller to Stewart 21 September 1867, ibid; "Tahitian Slavery", San Francisco Times, 30 June 1867; "Letter from Tahiti", Daily Herald (San Francisco), 7 June 1867; Messenger, 3 August 1867; Stewart, An Outline of How it Came Pass that So Many Absurd Stories have been Circulated about the Cotton Plantation on Terre Eugénie, Tahiti, passim. See too, the evidence of overseers recruited from ex-army and navy personnel: Walter to F.O., 2 January 1870, T.B.C.P. Miscellaneous; Ramsden, op.cit., 201.
- (25) The barque, Moaroa, under Captain Blackett, had been chartered by Stewart in 1869 to bring labourers from the Gilbert Islands. Blackett was unsuccessful and took over the human cargo of another blackbirding

Roncière was forced to lend to his protégé administration transports when Brander and Hort (who owned the best local schooners) refused to extend their facilities to their rival. Finally, the brothers William and James Stewart fell out over the management and sale of one of their stores; a lawsuit followed in April and July 1868 and William was ordered to pay 25,000 within 24 hours with the plantation as security. De la Roncière came to the rescue with money from the Agricultural Bank; James Stewart fled to San Francisco before news arrived that his brother was solvent and could have met his fraudulent demands. But the plantation never recovered. William Stewart wrote continuously to the Minister for the Navy about alleged plots against him; in 1873, a new manager arrived and Stewart's books were found to be in such disorder that he was declared a bankrupt and died in September 1873. Debts at San Francisco and registration fees at Tahiti amounting to £13,000 were discovered: the plantation drifted into liquidation and was declared

the Annie (or Anaa) - who broke loose on the homeward voyage and murdered the captain, mate and some of the crew. The others saved themselves by blowing up a section of the ship. Miller to F.O., 30 September 1869, T.B.C.P. 6; Miller to Rear-Admiral Farquhar, 20 March 1872, T.B.C.P. 11; Miller to Girard, 31 December 1871, ibid; Miller to Captain Mainwaring, 2 April 1873, ibid.

- (26) The magistrates of the Tribunal of First Instance and the Superior Tribunal were among the anti-Stewart party at Tahiti. All documents relative to the case are enclosed in de la Roncière to the Minister for the Navy, 7 August 1868, A.C.O. 29; Jacolliot, La Vérité sur Taïti, 30-39; Young, op.cit., M.P.
- (27) Miller to James Stewart, 20 August 1870, T.B.C.P. 11; Consultation pour la Compagnie Tahiti Cotton and Coffee Plantation dont le siège est à Londres, contre M. James Stewart, négociant à Papeete, île de Tahiti (Océanie), (an enquiry by judges of the Imperial Court, Paris), A.C.O.
- (28) Miller to F.O., 2 June 1873, T.B.C.P. 11; Miller to Gilbert-Pierre, 19 June 1874, ibid; Miller to F.O., 21 September 1874, ibid.

Colonial Domain in July 1874.

What had become a commercial fraud now turned into an administrative débâcle. The great plantation experiment which had failed through over-dependence on a single crop, mismanagement and financial scandal, was irrevocably linked with the patronage of de la Roncière. The fall of Stewart emphasized the great weakness of the French Protectorate - lack of impartial justice. As a direct result of the Stewart trials, the judges Langomazino and Boyer were removed from office by the commandant. This was but a prelude to a more serious clash between de la Roncière and his subordinates over his constitutional proposals and his financial administration.

(29) Miller to F.O., 2 June 1873, T.B.C.P. 11; Miller to Gilbert-Pierre, 19 June 1874, ibid; Miller to F.O., 21 September 1874, ibid.

X.

Trade and Revenue, 1850-1870.

Despite the arguments of politicians and officials in 1843 on the economic value of Tahiti and the Marquesas, the commercial life of French Oceania occupied little space in the general correspondence between Papeete and Paris. The complex nature of the Pacific entrepôt trade was never explained in detail by the commandants; Ministers for the Navy and the Colonies during the Second Empire limited their observations on tariff policy to a cautious approval of port duties and customs without the remotest appreciation of their importance for the general budget. In 1869, the administration (under orders from Paris) soberly proclaimed the Imperial Decree of 9 July which swept away the Navigation Act of 1793 and permitted imports " of every kind and of every origin... by all flags " into the port of Papeete - this, in a colony which had depended on British and American trade for three-quarters of its imports for the past fifty years.

(a) Imports and exports.

During the 1850's and for the first half of the 1860's, the total annual value of trade through Papeete varied between 3,000,000 fr. and 4,000,000 fr. The origin and destination of goods were multiple. Import

(1) The free trade policy of Napoleon III - from the Treaty of Commerce with England in 1860 to the Law of 19 May 1866 - has received very little detailed treatment with reference to colonies other than Martinique and Guadeloupe. The general requirement that customs duties be regulated by Imperial Decree, after assessment in the General Council or the Administrative Council of a colony, was never enforced at Tahiti. For an account of the policy towards the older colonies, see A. Girault, The Colonial Tariff Policy of France, (Oxford, 1916), 66-76.

(2) Arrêté, 18 November 1869, Message, 20 November 1869.

cargoes of European foodstuffs, clothing and hardware were valued at 1,000,000 fr. to 2,000,000 fr. a year; all such goods were declared as imports in official returns - though about half were re-exported to the dependencies of Tahiti and groups further afield. Pacific island produce which also found its way into both import and export returns, fluctuated between 300,000 fr. and 700,000 fr. a year and showed a marked tendency to rise in value while goods of European origin remained stable or declined in quantity and value.

The bulk of overseas shipping sailed under British, American or South American flags. The local traders, sailing under the flag of the Protectorate or the flags of other islands, accounted for about one third of the shipping entries, handled over half the island produce and played the role of lighters to the heavier tonnage anchored at Papeete. The adverse trade balance of 500,000 fr. to 1,000,000 fr. a year was met by a small export of specie to South America and by the despatch of drafts through the United States consulate, the British consulate, the L.M.S. and the administrative treasury.

Before the encouragement of local agriculture began to produce results in the mid-1860's, trade for the years 1852 - 1862 may be taken as representative of a small but complicated traffic in which the same items four

(3) The United States drafts were not accepted locally during the Civil War. Drafts on London were rated at 25 fr. to £1; drafts on the French treasury carried a 2% premium. Vandenborch to the State Department, 30 December 1866, Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Tahiti, 1861-1868, vol.

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their way into both import and export figures. During the period, imports of produce from the outer groups - coconut oil, pearl shell from the Tuamotu, cotton from the Leewards and a miscellany of less valuable items - more than doubled in value. The import of European goods (and consequently the re-export of these) declined.

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In round figures, total trade rose by at least 4,000,000 fr. by 1870. This is supported by consular evidence on the export of cotton from Tahiti between 1865 and 1870: the export of ginned cotton rose from 130,000 lbs. just over 700,000 lbs for the last three years of the decade. In value, it could not have netted less than 1,750,000 fr. at the peak of cotton prices in 1866 and 1867; thereafter, the fall in price was compensated for by

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increased production.

Only one observer has left an account from which one may reconstruct the details of the comparative increase of the export of island produce :

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- (4) Miller to F.O., 16 February 1853, T.B.C.P. Annual Reports; *idem*, 30 March 1864, T.B.C.P. 10. For a comparison with administration figures, Annuaire de Tahiti, 1863, 339, where the produce of islands other than those under the Protectorate is not included. There are no returns of trade in consular reports or French sources for the important period immediately after 1865 to detail the increase in volume and value of cargoes. For statistics, see Appendix IX, 442-448.
 - (5) Miller estimated the value of imports and exports for 1869 at 6,750,000 fr. Miller to F.O., 10 April 1872, T.B.C.P. Annual Reports.
 - (6) The price of 1 lb. of clean cotton was as high as 4/- in 1866, but fell to 1/ 6d. and less by 1870. Vandoer, Report for 1866, n.d., Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Tahiti, vol. 5, 1861-1868; Doty to the State Department, 7 July 1893, *ibid.*, vol 8, 1887-1897; Miller to F.O., 10 April 1872, T.B.C.P. Annual Reports.

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the more recent European crops - cotton and maize. According to Boyer (ordonnateur and magistrate under de la Roncière), the exports were in hands of five principal traders and ten smaller enterprises, including the Agricultural Bank. Exported items (excluding European re-exports) handled by these traders in 1868 were valued at 1,457,372 fr. Of this, some 57% went through the firm of Brander and Co.; the rest was shared by Amiot, Gibson, Hort and Wilkins, the Agricultural Bank (only 6%) and smaller concerns. Coconut oil, pearl shell and cotton made up 76% of these exports; other items included cotton-seed, molasses, rum, oranges, fungus, coconut, trepang, arrowroot, lime juice, hides and whale oil.

To this export value should be added exports from the Atimaono plantation for 1868 - some 1,288,116 fr. of cotton and 170,400 fr. of cotton-seed and maize - which were shipped on Stewart's vessels or government schooners. If the total value of local exports for the year (2,915,888) is compared with the value for 1852 (608,352 fr.), it is at once apparent how great a part the cultivation of new European crops, particularly at Atimaono, played in the commercial activity of the late 1860's. Exports of coconut oil had tripled in value; ten times as much molasses was exported; the export of coconuts had increased a thousandfold. But these items and

(7) Boyer, La Vérité sur Tahiti, 12 January 1869, MS., A.C.O. 45. Boyer's document throws much light onto dark corners of the administration in the late 1860's and contains unique sets of financial and commercial statistics for this period.

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sugar, trepang, oranges etc. accounted for less than one third of the general rise in exports. Just over 300% of the increase in exports in 1868 over 1852 figures for 1852 was made up in cotton and maize.

The greatest exporters were not the greatest planters. The securest investment for the wealthier traders at Papeete was in the growing volume of schooner traffic and the easy profits to be had from the two staples of the Polynesian economy - coconut oil and shell. None of the exporters mentioned by Boyer in 1868 suffered like Stewart from the fluctuating returns of a single crop - except Hort who went bankrupt in 1869. The acknowledged prince of these Europeans was John Brander. Agriculturally, his wealth was limited as a trader, he was the largest single agent for island produce. It was probably his good fortune to be refused concessions of land and labour by de la Roncière who was anxious not to help a man who was " a millionaire twice over " and married into the Salmon family. In the Tuamotu, he won

(8) In the case of coconut oil and shell value as well as production has risen for the same period:

	<u>Coconut oil</u>	<u>Pearl shell</u>
1850	500 fr. per tun	176 fr. per ton
1855	537 fr. per tun	375 fr. per ton
1860	748 fr. per tun	720 fr. per ton
1864	631 fr. per tun	504 fr. per ton

Miller to F.O., 2 March 1857, T.B.C.P. Annual Reports; idem, 7 April 1868, ibid.

(9) Message, 17 April 1869. A.W. Hort was encouraged to put all his capital into a sugar plantation at Moorea by de la Roncière, but could find no steady supply of labour. Miller to de la Roncière, 27 November 1866 encl. in de la Roncière to the Minister for the Navy, 4 April 1867, A.C.O. 14; Hort, op.cit., 275-299.

(10) Brander died at Tahiti in 1877 leaving an estate and business worth 6,000,000 fr. His inheritors were enabled to set up the German trading - the Société Commerciale d'Océanie. De la Roncière to the Minister for the Navy, 12 July 1866, A.C.O. 14.

struggle against the French Resident who tried to control sales of oil and shell in favour of Stewart. He was quick to take advantage of the inability of the administration to force all contracts between traders and natives to be countersigned by an official. Cotton goods and flour were sold on credit and debts contracted were paid by diving teams sent to the eastern lagoons of Tuamotu or by seizure of lands for the their coconut harvest. The market price of shell at Papeete was over seven times the price paid to the diver the profit on a tun of coconut oil was over 300%.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the bulk of the revenue on imports into Tahiti fell most heavily on those who, like Brander, controlled the local cabotage. The agricultural boom in cotton paid no dividends to administration; but the entrepôt traffic became a primary source of income

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- (11) The French Resident has left a good description of these transactions. "Every piece of land is the property of a whole family; however, the traders had seized the greater part of the lands (at Anaa) as payment for individual debts. At Anaa, where the presence of the Resident required that some semblance of justice be preserved, the merchant took land only by making a member of the family sign to the effect that the property was pledged until the complete payment of all private debts. If the kaitiaki refused, a bottle of spirits soon triumphed over his scruples." Correy de la Roncière, 23 June 1868, encl. in de la Roncière to the Minister for the Navy, 12 July 1868, A.C.O. 14.
- (12) Correy to Magee (sic, Brander's agent), 31 October 1867, encl. in de la Roncière to the Minister for the Navy, 12 July 1868, ibid; Cuzent, "l'Archipel des Pomotou", Bulletin de la Société Académique de Brest vol. 9, 70. At this date, oil was processed on the spot by fermenting coconut pulp in a raised trough or canoe and draining out the oil into hollow palm trunks. The practice of exporting the dried kernels did not become widespread in French Polynesia till the 1870's.
- (13) For example, Brander in 1868, paid 201,338 fr. in duties (excluding spirits duties) - or about one third of the customs revenues for the year. Boyer, op.cit., MS., A.C.O. 45.

for an ailing budget.

(b) Metropolitan and local budgets.

The financial administration of French Oceania during the '50's and '60's was marked by a gradual shift of charges from the State to the colonies. An imposition which de la Richerie and de la Roncière were optimistic enough to encourage in the expectation of great agricultural and commercial developments. Apart from the payment of leading officials, troops and the cost of refitting and provisioning warships, there was no very clear distinction between the charges of the metropolitan and local budgets. The method evolved in French colonial practice of separating "sovereignty" expenses from the cost of internal administration was complicated at Tahiti by the payment of an annual subsidy from Paris to assist local revenues. Some 300,000 fr. to 400,000 fr. a year were used to cover part of the upkeep of local courts, police, ports and the colonial supplement to the wages of officials. A brief experiment was made in 1864 to apportion exactly the charges to be met by the local and State budgets; but this failed for want of agreed classification of the items; and, in general, it was left to the commandant and the members of the Administrative Council to decide how the subsidy would be used.

For the period 1850-1870, the total cost of administering and defense

(14) The expenses singled out in 1864 for part or complete payment by the Ministry for the Navy were the wages of the secretary-general, judicial port repairs, education the hospital and provisions - which amounted to 322,420 fr. out of a budget of 591,212 fr. This was no more than the subsidy for previous years; but its use was decided beforehand in Paris A.C.O. 66.

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Tahiti, the Marquesas and the islands of the Tuamotu and Tubuai, rose from 800,000 fr. to just over 1,000,000 fr.; over half of this cost was born by France - at least till the mid-1860's. After 1865, the subsidy decreased from an average of 300,000 fr. a year to 175,000 fr. in 1870. The share of the civil and military expenditure paid by France remained between 330,000 and 362,000 fr. But the figure for expenses met from local revenues increased from 167,000 fr. in 1850 to 532,470 fr. in 1870. In other words, the administration had to meet 22% of the total cost of the Establishments from local revenues in 1850; by 1870, this responsibility had risen to 40%. The burden was not heavy for a small colony. But Tahiti, complained de la Roncière, had no share in the financial largesse of the Second Empire towards its overseas possessions. Between 1855 and 1865, the expenses born by the State of Guadeloupe, Martinique, Senegal, and Réunion rose from 16,000,000 fr. to 24,000,000 fr.; even the struggling colony of New Caledonia was in receipt of over 1,000,000 fr. by the same date.

There was little reason why the metropolis should spend comparable sums on posts of little economic value and without an expanding European population. The point of de la Roncière's comparison was that increased financial responsibility of the local administration was made more onerous by distance from Europe and mismanagement. Under Bonard, the arsenal and

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- (15) A.C.O. 66, 74; de la Richerie, Établissements Français de l'Océanie, 53-62. Figures are given only where they can be checked from financial accounts. Full accounts are lacking for 1866-1867, except for some details; similarly, the minutes of the Administrative Council 1865-1866 were unobtainable except as references in scattered correspondence.
- (16) De la Roncière to the Minister for the Navy, 30 August 1865, A.C.O.

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government stores were allowed to deteriorate with a loss of 55,000 fr. worth of material; five government schooners were laid up for three years; a small dry dock and a careening slip on Mare Ute peninsula, begun in 1851, cost 70,000 fr. to repair and put in order.¹⁷ In addition to this costly scandal the colony of New Caledonia remained a financial mill-stone to the Protectorate administration till it was separated in 1859. It drained away a third of metropolitan subsidy annually; and as late as 1860, money was still drawn from the Papeete treasury to build Port de France. Finally, there was never enough ready currency for month to month expenses. South American condors and piastres flowed in despite regulations forbidding their import: by 1866 there were about 219,000 fr. worth of condors in circulation, bought for 47 fr. each and sold at Papeete for 50 fr. It was not until the administration withdrew 150,000 fr. worth of them from circulation in exchange for drafts from the local treasury that traders accepted French paper without hesitation in lieu of drafts on Paris or French coin.¹⁸

Budgets for the period are many and detailed; but accounts for each

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- (17) Page to the Minister for the Navy, 19 April 1853, A.C.O. 44; Chasse Laubat to de la Richerie, 12 September 1862, A.C.O. 12.
- (18) Arrêté autorisant l'émission par le trésor de bons de caisse, 25 July 1865, Bulletin Officiel des E.F.O., 1865, 69; Messenger, 5 August 1865; Minister for the Navy to the Minister of Finance, 10 April 1866, A.C.O.

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financial year are few. There is so much evidence of discrepancy between projected revenues and the real collection that the financial picture of year is not clear till all debts have been paid off - usually two or three years later. The practice of commuting Tahitian taxes to labour, for example brought nothing to the treasury, but is often set down as a receipt in the device of "abatements", or postponing the payment of licences during absence or insolvency, was widespread among European residents. The two staples of the budget, business licences and the road tax (called a head after 1862) accounted for an average of 50,000 fr. a year, or only 8.3% the average annual revenues for the period - including the metropolitan subsidy. The source of revenue which received most attention was derived from trade.

(19) As an example of the use of revenues, the local budget for 1862 may be cited in a condensed form for its expenses:

Public works.....	115,000 fr.	Rations.....	14,325
To the native budget..	81,450 fr.	Cost of Tax collection	
Pastors, schools,		and abatements.....	12,000
Catholic mission.....	66,425 fr.	Fêtes.....	6,000
Printing, mail,.....	37,250 fr.	Gendarmerie.....	5,050
Officials in Native		Lighting.....	3,500
Affairs Department....	33,575 fr.	Port.....	3,300
Purchase of land.....	33,000 fr.	Miscellaneous.....	6,350
Agriculture.....	29,000 fr.	Extraordinary.....	15,500
Courts and judges.....	25,000 fr.		
Prison, hospital.....	23,175 fr.		
Financial service.....	18,200 fr.	Total.....	528,100

The accounts for the same year show that expenses were 40,566 fr. lower than expected. A.C.O. 66.

- (20) In 1861, the Administrative Council gravely considered ways and means of collecting abatements for five previous years, but were discouraged by the treasurer who refused to send his only clerk around the district to serve "Warnings, court orders and summonses" on persons either unregistered or away trading through the Pacific. Procès-verbaux du conseil d'administration, June 1861, A.C.O. 78.

From 1850 to 1857, pilotage and spirits duties furnished only 3% to of annual revenues (or about 17,000 fr.). By 1864, duties on enumerated articles raised the revenues from trade to 23% of total revenues. After a fixed contribution from importers on a pro rata basis, plus the usual p fees and spirits duties, provided 18% to 33% of annual revenues - which little enough compared with trade revenues from small British possessions earlier in the century or other Pacific colonies at a later date.

In 1857, Dubouzet set up a Committee for Commerce with the aim of enlisting the knowledge and advice of the trading community in his plan to impose new duties on imports. Though they had no say in the general management of the budget, they provided an example for later forms of resident representation. In 1861, their number was expanded to fifteen under the of the Committee for Agriculture and Commerce. They revised all trade taxes, reduced navigation fees, increased spirits duties, fixed a charge of 1% ad valorem on all entrepôt goods and enumerated a wide range of imports on which ad valorem duties were to paid for a five year period.

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- (21) A.C.O. 66; T.B.C.P. Annual Reports. In 1836, revenues at Gibraltar from trade made up 40% of total revenues; In the Ionian Islands Protectorate they made up 75% of revenues. Robert Montgomery Martin, History of the Colonies of the British Empire (London, 1843), 565, 598.
- (22) Arrêté, 12 January 1857, Messager, 25 January 1857. The Committee included the director of native and European affairs, two lawyers and two traders selected from a list of European residents.
- (23) The ad valorem duties were fixed on luxury goods, coffee, vanilla, conserves. Hardware, livestock, vegetables were exempt. Re-exports to the Tuamotu were charged an extra 6%. There were no tariffs in the Marquesas. Procès-verbaux du comité d'agriculture et de commerce, 26 October, 5, 6, 12 November 1861; 21 October 1862, A.C.O. 117 ; Ministère for the Navy to de la Richerie, 7 April 1862, ibid.

In short, revenues from trade were increased by over one third after 1861. This, together with a host of petty imposts levied by the administration from the late 1850's and early 1860's should have been adequate to meet annual expenses under de la Roncière. But, in his desire for a self-sufficient colony and renown in the eyes of a parsimonious Naval Ministry, he overtaxed the willingness of the European community to bear the cost of his plans. In 1865, the old customs tariff and the traders' Committee were swept away. In place of the ad valorem duties, de la Roncière imposed a monthly contribution on every trader in proportion to the estimated value of his imports for the year. The pro rata contribution for 1865 was fixed at 106,000 fr. for traders' licences and 21,000 fr. for spirits importers. The small traders were hard put to find their monthly proportional licence before their cargoes had even come to port. The abatements multiplied; the transfer of three government schooners to New Caledonia cost the administration an extra 82,000 fr. a year for a mail contract between Papeete, Payta and San Francisco; the treasury-paymaster, Faucompré, hurriedly sailed from the island, leaving a deficit of 49,000 fr. in his accounts; and, as it became clear that de la Roncière intended to impose further taxes on the European community to pay for his constitutional reforms and operate with

(24) New revenues were additional court fees (1859); increased print charges (1860); use of money from the native treasury (1860); sale government cattle (1860); postage tax, bread tax (1861); increase licences (1863).

(25) Arrêté fixant les tarifs des taxes locales, 21 December 1864, Bul in Officiel des E.F.O., 1864, 458; articles by " Consommateur ", Hier aujourd'hui. Patente proportionnelle et octroi de mer, Messager, 17, February, 2 March 1872.

any metropolitan subsidy, the regime collapsed in an official coup d'état
 26
 the commandant's subordinates. By 1870, when de la Roncière had departed
 administration was bankrupt. Traders had refused to pay proportional
 licences which amounted to 20% ad valorem of their imports - or had at le
 postponed payment till the administration crisis was over. It was left t
 the new commandant to restore order and make drastic reductions in expens
 at a time when the metropolitan subsidy was nil and the commander of the
 French Pacific Naval Division had to send to Hawaii for French treasury d
 amounting to 100,000 fr. to meet the demands of impatient creditors.
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For sixteen years, from 1850 till 1866, the policy of the administr
 ion had aimed at turning the naval Protectorate into a plantation colony.
 Its crowning achievement was its patronage of the Atimaono plantation. S
 years later the pretension collapsed and the increase in revenues from
 trade was compromised by the ambitions of Commandant de la Roncière.

The administration of native affairs produced more significant, if
 spectacular, results. The missionary and Tahitian structure of government
 through the courts and the Assembly was used for the extension of French
 Pomare, in her own words had " been deprived of a share in the government
 of her people. The dynasty aided by the missionaries had become a cipher
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- (26) Procès-verbaux du conseil d'administration, 19 April 1869, A.C.O.
Messenger, 18 June 1868. For the events leading to the fall of de la
 Roncière, see below, Chap. XI.
- (27) Procès-verbaux du conseil d'administration, December 1870, A.C.O.
- (28) Pomare to " His Highness the President of the French Republic ", 2
 August 1851, Ropiteau-O'Reilly Collection.

PART FOUR

XI.

Judicial Reforms and de la Roncière's " Tahitian Kingdom ",
1866-1870.

" The rights of the protector are not a reflection of the rights of the protected. They are new rights which are substituted for old rights and are imposed on all."

Louis Brunel,
l'État et l'individu dans la colonisation française moderne, 31.

In the last years of the 1860's, the administrative framework of the French Oceanic Establishments was in need of re-adjustment. In 1869, the two broad trends of administrative policy - the preservation of the 1842 agreements and the steady innovation of French laws - came into conflict and revealed contradictions which were not removed till 1880. The year 1869 marked the end of the Assembly and most of the Code of Laws; the tribute system had gone; the survival of the Tahitian courts for land cases rested solely on the vague clauses of Pomare's Ordinance of 14 December 1865. Financially, all revenues from Tahitians were under the personal control of the commandant, while the local budget and the State subsidy were administered by the ordonnateur. Commercially, the European section of the population had acquired business, lands and wealth without proper credit institutions and were under the jurisdiction of courts lacking competent judges. All these factors combined to make Tahiti a colony without a constitution. By comparison, the islands of the Marquesas - the only legal French colony in the Pacific outside New Caledonia - were administrative orphans.

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A French settler summed up the situation for the Director of Colonies in 1862:

" Everything here is outside ordinary rules; everything is affected not only by distance from the metropolis, but also, and more important, by the hybrid constitution which has no parallel anywhere among French possessions. One would only find terms for comparison in foreign countries, such as England or Holland for example, which exercise their Protectorates in the Ionian Islands and in some parts of India; and these comparisons themselves would be of little use if one considers that the acts which bind these nations to the peoples they protect differ markedly from that which exists between France and the Society Islands; Tahiti, therefore, should be studied, observed, judged in isolation and apart, without possible comparisons. Similarities exist only in certain details of military administration." 1

While the statement is not true in all respects (the financial administration was not very different from that of New Caledonia), Laumas spoke for the European residents who demanded " unification of the laws " and a constitution to end the commandants' extraordinary powers. And this demand was heeded - at least so far as a reform of the local judiciary was concerned.

(a) The Decree of 18 August 1868 and French laws.

In Paris, Pomare's Ordinance of 1865 which extended French laws to Tahitians for all matters except land cases was agreed to be a temporary measure. It was considered that the time had come, as in New Caledonia, to institute a system of French courts supervised by magistrates appointed in France rather than by local officials often without legal experience.

(1) Laumas, Étude sur Taïti, (extract, Revue du Monde Colonial, 15 Mars 1863) Messenger, 16 May 1863.

A Decree was signed by Napoleon III in 1868 which incorporated the 1865 Ordinance without change, and which laid down the organisation and procedure for a Police Court, a Civil Court of First Instance and a Superior Tribunal with civil and criminal jurisdiction. An Imperial Magistrate (or Attorney General) was appointed to supervise all judicial matters, to preside over the Superior Tribunal for criminal cases and to choose European assessors for the Commercial Tribunal. In the Marquesas and the Tuamotu, Residents were given the powers of Justices of the Peace. Nothing was said of the right of the commandant to suspend judges as well as other officials. Land cases were to be left to " the special jurisdiction maintained by the Ordinance of 1865 of His Majesty, Pomare "; where a native was party to a court case, a Tahitian assessor was required to be appointed by the presiding judge. In short, the all-important Article 9 of the 1865 Ordinance, stating that all land cases founded on rights acquired after 1865 were to be judged according to French law, was not mentioned; and this was, as Laumas had pointed out, one of the legal cornerstones of more recent colonial administration at Tahiti. From now on, the judiciary appointed in France were to join with the French residents in their demand for legal conformity.

(2) Arrêté promulguant le Décret Impérial de 18 août 1868, 16 March 1869, Messenger, 20, 27 March 1869. The expenses for the new system were to be allotted to the local budget and to the State budget in equal proportions. The Attorney-General was to be paid 9,000 fr. a year, the magistrate of the Superior Tribunal, 8,000 fr., the judge of the Tribunal of First Instance, 6,000 fr., an assistant magistrate, 5,000 fr., the clerk of the court, 3,000 fr., and the two officials acting as Justices of the Peace, 2,000 fr. each. Zoepffel, Director of Colonies, to Rigault, Minister for the Navy, 21 February 1868, A.C.O. 94.

(b) The fall of de la Roncière.

Of the two issues raised by the 1868 Decree - the powers of the commandants and Tahitian land rights - the second was not a matter of dispute till the 1870's. The first, however, split the local administration from top to bottom shortly after the Decree was promulgated at Tahiti and produced a storm of controversy in other colonies. The struggle between de la Roncière and the judiciary began at the time of the lawsuit between the Stewart brothers; it reached a climax when the commandant made changes to the dual administration of the Protectorate designed to compensate for the extension of French justice to Tahitians in 1865 and 1868.

In July 1868, the ordonnateur, Boyer, and Langomazino, as magistrates of the Court of First Instance and the president of the Appeal Court respectively, were exiled to Moorea for upholding the fraudulent charges of James Stewart against the commandant's protégé, William Stewart, and for arresting the Justice of the Peace who had defended William Stewart and confiscated produce and supplies from the Atimaono plantation.³

Whatever the merits of the Stewart case, de la Roncière's excuse for intervening in a matter which he admitted he understood "only very superficially" was a curious one: he claimed that the magistrate appointed to replace Boyer, though with no legal experience, was "calmer and free from

(3) For the law suit, see Chap. IX, 164; Boyer, La Vérité sur Tahiti, January 1869, MS., A.C.O. 45; Affaire de la Roncière, Notes et Rapport à l'Empereur, 1866-1869, MS., ibid; Ristelhueber (Procureur Général en retraite, Défenseur choisi par l'Ordonnateur Boyer, n.d., MS., ibid; Jacolliot, La Vérité sur Taïti, 7-8.

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passion ". A commission of judges set up in Paris to examine the matter
thought differently and found the dismissal of Boyer to be " an abuse of
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authority ".

This finding in itself would have been enough to bring about the
commandant's replacement. More fuel was cast on the fires of local opposi-
tion to de la Roncière when it became known that he planned to give a great
share of local government to Pomare. On his return from Moorea, Boyer with
the new Imperial Magistrate, Holozet, and judge Langomazino, headed the
leading French residents in their outcry against three ordinances of Pomare
and the commandant which appeared in May 1869. The sum of the proposed
reforms was no less than to call in question the application of the Imperial
Decree of 1868 by making some compensatory provisions for the queen's admini-
stration - now " completely annihilated by the Imperial Commissioner " ⁷.
De la Roncière planned to offset the legal innovations by setting up a
council composed of Europeans and Tahitians to advise the queen and take
complete control of all native revenues; it was also to have an undefined
jurisdiction over white residents - a right which had been given up to
Du Petit-Thouars in 1842. Furthermore, there was to be a General Council
of Europeans elected by the white population to advise the French admini-
stration on the local budget.

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- (4) De la Roncière to the Minister for the Navy, 7 August 1868, A.C.O.
(5) Rigault de Genouilly, Rapport à l'Empereur, 25 December 1869, A.C.O.
(6) Ordonnances, 1 May 1869, Messenger, 14, 19 May 1869; Affaires du Protec-
torat; modifications ordonnées ou proposées, 30 April 1869, encl. in
de la Roncière to the Minister for the Navy, 12 May 1869, A.C.O. 29.
(7) De la Roncière to the Minister for the Navy, 12 May 1869, A.C.O. 29.

De la Roncière wished to turn the clock back to pre-1842 and yet en-
the Protectorate with resident representation: there was to be a complete
distinction between the French and Tahitian administration of the interior
and white residents were to be responsible to both. Financially, the measure
meant that " the two budgets, being perfectly distinct in their sources and
their application, there only remained to leave to the ordonnateur the
administration of funds coming from Paris and apportion to the queen's
government the administration of those arising from the Tahitian Kingdom "

It was not decided how the expenses of the internal administration -
roads, hospitals, education, for example - were to be shared between " two
budgets " of unequal revenues; nor was it made clear who was to pay for the
new judiciary. It was very unlikely that the General Council would ever have
consented to further taxes and duties; and no less than this was necessary
when de la Roncière proposed, in a bid for ministerial approval for his
schemes, that the State subsidy be ended. It is difficult to understand his
motives and tempting to ascribe to him an administrative imagination rare in
Tahiti and a sincere desire to see some form of Tahitian executive preserved.
It is more likely that he was simply ambitious to make his mark and go down
as a liberal administrator - but not at the price of any real liberality.
Nothing, for example, was said of the Tahitian Assembly; certain clauses c

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- (8) De la Roncière to the Minister for the Navy, 12 May 1869, A.C.O. 29
(9) His ally, Jacolliot, who arrived in the middle of the affair at the
end of 1868, described de la Roncière as an " enemy of routine, dated and
mistaken ideas on administration, whose constant preoccupation has been
to allow individual initiative to develop freely ". Jacolliot, op.cit.,



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the Ordinances signed by Pomare were never published in the Messenger: the trusted Jacolliot (who had arrived as magistrate from French India) was be made president of the To'ohitu with power to select and appoint judges all the Tahitian courts; finally, de la Roncière himself believed that the creation of the " Tahitian Kingdom " would not impair in the slightest the over-riding position of French administrators: " If I have created an authority and an administration for the queen " he reassured the Minister the Navy " both are more than ever dependent upon the Imperial Commission as representative of the Emperor."¹⁰
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Boyer and the Imperial Attorney-General, Holozet, were arrested in 1869 for their part in an alleged plot to ship de la Roncière off to New South Wales. When the new commandant, de Jouselard, arrived at Tahiti in June 1869 with orders to put an end to the " Tahitian Kingdom ", he learned that Boyer and Holozet were on their way under guard to San Francisco. There, they were turned back, on instructions from Paris. By 25 June 1869 de la Roncière was writing hysterically to the Minister for the Navy that his cherished schemes had been countermanded by de Jouselard.¹²
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Order in the administration was not restored till the end of the year after the arrival of the commander of the Pacific Naval Division and a wo

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- (10) Decrêt, 25 May 1869, encl. in de Jouselard to the Minister for the Navy, 8 July 1869, A.C.O. 29.
(11) De la Roncière to the Minister for the Navy, 14 May 1869, A.C.O. 2
(12) Boyer to de la Roncière, 3 May 1869, ibid; Rapport de Holozet, Aug 1869, ibid; Jacolliot, op.cit., 45-46.
(13) " Enfin, M. le Ministre, tout, tout, tout est démoli, renversé en moins de vingt jours." De la Roncière to the Minister for the Navy, 2 June 1869, A.C.O. 29.

letter from Napoleon ordering the resumption of French control of white
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settlers at Tahiti. Pomare, " in terms calculated to save appearances ",
15
revoked her Ordinances.

The storm blew over, after raging briefly in other colonies where the
partisans of resident representation printed lurid accounts of the affair
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a caution to commandants and governors elsewhere. But, at Tahiti, the cry
had been against an excess of liberalism - for which the white population
would have to pay in increased duties and taxes - and, so far as Boyer and
Holozet were concerned, against the invalidation of the new legal system
up in 1868. The word " assimilation " was not yet part of the official
vocabulary; but practice preceded the doctrine; and officials like Holozet
and residents like Laumas were captured by the idea of legal conformity of
the inhabitants of French Polynesia as a solution to the inconsistencies of
successive administrations. In Paris, the Minister for the Navy, with a
better grasp of the historical perspective of French rule in the islands,
was caught in two minds: he recognised that the Protectorate was an
" admitted fiction "; but he objected to de la Roncière's answer to the
problem in setting up a Tahitian executive - " without reducing the

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- (14) Admiral Cloué to the Minister for the Navy, 2 December 1869, A.C. Messenger, 13 November, 11 December 1869.
- (15) Miller to F.O., 13 November, 13 December 1869, T.B.C.P. 11; Messenger, 13 November, 11 December 1869.
- (16) La Liberté Coloniale, 19 August, 23 September, 9 October 1869; Jacolliot's defence of de la Roncière was published in succeeding issues of the same paper: 30 October-12 December 1869; Les Antilles, 17 July 10 November, 1 December 1869; Le Commercial de Guadeloupe, 14 August 1869; Le Propagateur, Journal de Martinique, 22 September 1869; Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires, 18 September 1869; Sémaphore de Marseilles, 27 October 1869.

necessity for our constant intervention in the management of affairs " .

There were really only two solutions: to devise a way, as clumsily suggested by de la Roncière, of ensuring a stronger voice for the queen at her court in the internal affairs of the Protectorate; or to annex. For a moment the Ministry for the Navy and the Colonies chose neither. Only Admiral Cloué, commander of the Naval Division, in a general report written at the end of 1869, was bold enough to state bluntly the results of French administration at Tahiti for the previous twenty-seven years. The queen, he observed, had become a figure-head; the Assembly - " whose title is as pompous as the institution is null " - had served its turn to rubber-stamp the introduction of French law; therefore, he concluded, France had better annex immediately before Pomare died and the reign of her son, Ari'iaue, became a time of troubles. A further ten years of Protectorate and additional arguments were needed before the " admitted fiction " was ended.

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- (17) Rigault de Genouilly, Note sur le développement de Tahiti, Septem 1869, MS., A.C.O. 2. This closely follows Chasseloup-Laubat's Histor MS., n.d., ibid, a document which emphasised the inevitability of French rule over all departments of native government.
- (18) Admiral Cloué to the Minister for the Navy, 2 December 1869, A.C. 36.

XII.

Native Administration, 1870-1880.

The ideas of de la Roncière did not greatly affect the native population of the Protectorate; and the promise of a General Council to the Europeans was not made good till after the annexation. In the meantime, the administration continued much as it had before 1868: commandant followed commandant in short terms " invested with the terrible rights which Charles X conferred on the governor of Cayenne in 1829 " ; the Administrative Council included a token representation of three Europeans and seven officials - including the new Attorney-General.² Its time was taken up with the monotonous struggle to cover the expenses laid down in the budget, maintain existing installations and supervise at long intervals, the business of the Residencies in the outer groups. For the Tuamotu, this entailed little more than reading reports from a gendarme stationed at Anaa; for the Marquesas, administration was limited to Nukuhiva. No far-reaching policies came from the deliberation

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- (1) Martiny (" négociant à Tahiti "), to the Minister for the Navy, 2 April 1871, A.C.O. 36. The commandants who followed de la Roncière were de Jouselard, June 1869; Girard, August 1870; Gilbert-Pierre, January 1871; Michaux, April 1876; Laborde (who did not take office); Brunet-Millet, June 1877; Serre, September 1877; de la Bâtie (who did not take office); Planche, February 1878; Chessé, December 1879. All, with the exception of Rear-Admiral Serre, held the rank of naval captain or naval commissioner.
- (2) With the advent of a regular judiciary, the old Courts Martial were abolished. For the purpose of hearing cases involving members of the administration or charges against the administration by a civil party, the Administrative Council with the addition of two judges might form a Court for Disputed Claims (conseil du contentieux). Arrêté, 23 September 1873. Messenger, 26 September 1873.

the Council; the status quo was preserved in each petty detail of taxes, licences, land sales, public works and marriage registration that passed through its hands. The centralisation of all business was its achievement. And for this reason, the commandants discouraged in the early 1870's the annexation proposed by Admiral Cloué till workable administrative subdivisions could be arranged for the outer groups and permanent officials were stationed in the Australs.

Despite this conservatism at the executive level (strengthened by 1868-1869 affair), there were pertinent questions raised by the Tahitians themselves which could not be ignored.

(a) The royal court and the succession.

The commandants, following the precedent set by de la Roncière, were drawn more and more into the labyrinth of Tahitian politics. Pomare never relaxed in her attempts to have her prestige respected with something more than an annual subsidy and a palace. She clung to the remnants of her advisory council of relatives formed in 1869; she protested in vain to Marshal MacMahon against the incorporation of native with colonial revenue and she objected so vigorously to ordonnateur La Barbe acting as temporary commandant in 1876 that Rear-Admiral Serre of the Pacific Naval Division was obliged to take over the administration till a new official arrived.

(3) Girard to the Minister for the Navy, 4 January 1871, A.C.O. 36.

(4) Michaux to the Minister for the Navy, 14 June 1876, A.C.O. 1; Pomare to Marshal MacMahon, 29 December 1875 (two copies in Tahitian and French) A.C.O. 36. Serre put de la Barbe under arrest when he refused to give his position. Gordon Cumming, " The Last King of Tahiti ", The Contemporary Review, n.d., 824.

Her house was a source of embarrassment rather than a serious threat to the steady increase of responsibility on the part of the French for all branches of the Protectorate administration. Accompanying the commandant their tours of the districts was the limit of her association with the government during her last years. When, in 1877, some members of the Administrative Council claimed she should be consulted about a proposal to reorganise the Native Affairs Department, Commandant Michaux refused to submit the measure to Pomare and her advisers - " an entourage for the m⁵ part hostile to the French administration ".

This entourage and its influence on the royal succession became a matter of concern when Pomare died on 17 September 1877. Her second hus⁶ Ari'ifa'aite, had died in 1873. Of her six children by this marriage, t had also died; of the rest, the heir apparent, Teratane, had married a daughter of an ari'i of Huahine, but had left (or divorced) her in 186. Through the manoeuvres of the Salmon family and with the sanction of Comdant Gilbert-Pierre, he married Marau Salmon in February 1875 - on the understanding that Marau was to replace Queen Pomare immediately. Pomar refused to give up her stipend of 25,000 fr. a year and the marriage was strained by the dissoluteness of both parties. Nor was the alliance bet the Salmons and the Pomares favoured in Paris where a close check was ke the health of the royal house - especially that of Teratane as the next Tahitian representative of the Protectorate, who was reported to be

(5) Procès-verbaux du conseil d'administration, 16 April 1877, A.C.O.
(6) Messenger, 21 September 1877. For the genealogy of the Pomare fami see Appendix I, 350.

suffering from syphilis, tuberculosis and bouts of pneumonia after excess
7
drinking.

No sooner had the funeral procession ended, than Rear-Admiral Serre called a meeting of the district chiefs, proclaimed Teratane as Pomare V, created an advisory council of four Tahitians without whose consent the r
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" sovereign " could take no measures of his own. Three fifths of the Civ
List were apportioned to Pomare and the rest fractioned among other membe
the family. Queen Marau was persuaded to join her husband, but her child
(whom Pomare did not recognise) were excluded from the " throne " in fa
of Pomare's neice, Teri'ivaetua, and her cousin, Prince Teri'ihinoiatua.
Serre's successor, Planche, would not tolerate the possibility of Marau
(a daughter of John Brander) or Teri'ivaetua (married to Norman Brande
acceding to the royal title as powerful allies of the Salmon-Brander grou
the advisory council he damned as " useless " for French influence, dissc
it and left the whole question of the succession " hanging while reservir
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freedom of action " for the French. Serre's arrangements were undone and
the way cleared for the stage-management of the annexation. To Planche,
role of Pomare V was left in no doubt: " we shall do what we like with hi
and his family ".

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- (7) Jallout (Medical Superintendent), Note confidentielle, 4 October
A.C.O. 36.
(8) Messenger, 24 September 1877; Miller to F.O., 25, 26 September 1877,
T.B.C.P. 12. In the event of a dispute among the members of the council
the director of native affairs was to decide the issue. Adams, " Une
Quinzaine à Tahiti. Pomare IV et Pomare V ", Le Correspondant, 10 Decem
1887.
(9) Planche to the Minister for the Navy, 6 March 1878, A.C.O. 36.

(b) The administration of the districts.

After the unofficial end of the Assembly in 1866, the District Council and the church pastors and deacons were the only native authorities recognized by the French in the districts; and the congregations with Protestant Catholic advisers were regarded with a fair amount of suspicion as rivals of the Native Affairs Department. The business of the Councils, so far as the French were concerned, was simply registration of births and deaths, the provision of cheap labour for the roads and schools, the registration of lands and the collection of commuted taxes. Where the district chief was more than president of the Council, nominated and paid by the administration, his opinion and authority do not seem to have carried much weight. The person most respected in the deliberations of the Council was more often a district pastor or the head of a leading family - unpaid and inimical to the French.

Of the 31 districts officially recognised before 1870, 9 were substituted in larger groupings before the end of the decade and shared the District

(10) The only detailed description of district communal planning in the 1870's has been left by Jérusalem, "Le Festin de jour de l'an à Tahiti", Extrait de la Revue Britannique, October 1876. As early as November, the ra'atira began to meet with the district chief and/or the president of the Council, the redundant deputy to the Assembly and the district speaker to discuss the coming New Year feasts down to the smallest detail of drink and food. Other organised activities for the benefit of administrators were less reputable. "If a debauchery is ordered for the high amusement of the passing commandant, all have to take part in it under pain of prison and a fine. This is the only point at which the absolute authority of the chiefs has been preserved: they are the accredited providers of the little pleasures of their protectors." Vienot to the S.M.E., 18 April 1876, S.M.E. Correspondence, 1875-1877.

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Council with other districts. In 12 of the districts the presidents had appointed by the administration with no traceable family connections with chiefs of the 1850's and 1860's; in 9 others there was a titular chief who did not preside over the Council (though he or she was paid an annual stipend). At Pare, the director of Native Affairs acted as the official president. In many cases the titular headship of the district had been allowed to lapse; in others, a good deal of care had been taken to observe the letter of the electoral law - sometimes against the wishes of the community for the sake of conformity. For example, in March 1876, Teri'itopunui was elected to the headship of the district of Papetoai in Moorea. Commandant Michaux refused to sanction the election on the grounds that Teri'itopunui was already chief of Mahina; and the position was given to Teamo a Teri'itopunui - a member of the leading district family. The district, however, elected his wife as chief and Teamo acted as president of the Council. All parties were satisfied till the chieftainess was deposed by the administration in 1877 for drunkenness. Her husband, as president of the Council, consulted with the ra'atira for a replacement. The majority chose an old man, wise in district affairs - to the exclusion of the members of the former titleholder's family. The president of the Council (in the interests of his relatives) pointed this out to the French administration which asked for a new election. A woman of the leading family was chosen - but encountered the opposition of her own relatives. A third election was held and the youngest son of Poi

(11) Décision, 16 May 1876, Messenger, 19 May 1876.

was chosen. A brother of the former chieftainess obtained one voice - his own. The director of Native Affairs then sanctioned the claim of the candidate who had voted for himself - despite the opposition of the queen.¹²

The principles at work are clear: paramountcies over several districts by members of the Pomare family were restricted; the notion that it was a native custom to replace chiefs by members from the same family - as codified in the electoral law - was sometimes rigidly adhered to as an article of native administration, whatever the wishes of the district might be.

In other ways the desire for conformity was less successful. The regulations of the late 1860's requiring every Tahitian to live within two kilometres of the "central point" of the village were impossible to enforce. In 1877, the district of Punaauia had a population of 454 Tahitians; but they were not grouped around any central point. An agricultural survey for that year states that the 63 native houses of the district were scattered along the littoral with a few in the main valleys.¹⁴ In addition to the Tahitians there were 92 other Polynesians and Chinese presumably living in native houses and possibly intermarried with Tahitian women - though this is not stated in the district census.

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- (12) Brun to S.M.E., 7 April 1877, S.M.E. Correspondence, 1877-1879.
(13) Arrêté, 3 October 1868, Message, 10 October 1868. Native houses were to be built on lands near the village which were to be at least 2,000 sq. metres in area. The penalty was 5 fr. for every house outside the 2 kilometre limit; it was never collected.
(14) Statistics, 1 July 1877, A.C.O. 112.

If the immigrants are included, the average household numbered 8.6 persons - a relatively high figure when the averages for other districts examined. ¹⁵ Certainly the figures were not collected by trained observers. But the average of 5.0 persons per household for 16 districts of the two islands is an indication of a decrease in the size of extended families ¹⁶ fairly early date in this part of Polynesia.

There were also 3 French families, 1 English family and 14 other Europeans living at Punaauia; their dwellings are described as maisons rather than cases in the survey, and they have not been included in the average households for Punaauia or any other district. The census for Punaauia, 1 July 1877 was as follows:

Nationality	Men			Women			Children	
	Married	Widowed	Single	Married	Widowed	Single	Boys	Girls
Tahitians...	80	14	70	80	19	43	82	66
Polynesians.	12	2	9	11	1	4	5	2
Chinese.....	0	0	46	0	0	0	0	0
French.....	3	0	11	3	0	1	5	7
English.....	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0
Germans.....	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Others.....	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Total.....	96	16	139	95	20	49	92	75

(15) For 16 districts from both islands, the average household (including Polynesians and Chinese) was 5.0 persons. The district averages ran from 3.2 (for districts with a population under 200) to 9.0 (for populations over 300). It should be remembered that the census did not distinguish between resident and actual population. Statistics, 1 July 1877, A.C.O. 112.

(16) It would also indicate, if it is true that the "size of the household group may in fact be taken as a rough index of the degree to which the Polynesian in general has assimilated patterns of white behaviour that acculturation (and disease?) had broken down the Tahitian household to a considerable degree by the 1870's. The number of Chinese and Polynesian immigrants at Punaauia were exceptional. See, Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, "Pangi, Village in Tonga", Polynesian Society Memoirs 18 (Wellington, 1941), 69.

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The district itself had a superficial area of 6,509 hectares. Of the 194 hectares were under some form of cultivation - mostly for cotton, vegetables and hay for livestock. The number of labourers were 70 - presumably made up of Chinese and immigrant Polynesians. Copra, oranges, vanilla and cotton were the principal cash crops for the district - in the main, the responsibility of the European families, except for the first two items.

There is no way of knowing how the population spent its time - especially on communal projects. There was, however, a tendency on the part of French administration to supervise district affairs by the gendarmerie rather than through the chiefs or the presidents of the Councils. In 1877 Tahiti was divided into three areas - the Tairarapu peninsula, the western and south-western districts and the north-eastern districts - for which the officer of the military post at Taravao, the gendarmes posted at Atimaono and Tiarei were each responsible. In the same year, the obligations of Tahitians to furnish a number of days a year for labour on the roads and the upkeep of district buildings were listed in one regulation. Each male was to make himself available for at least 8 journées de prestation each year (without pay) for public works; in addition he was expected to work on the chief's house, the house of the district mutoi, schools and church again without pay; but he had the right to commute his services at the re

(17) Cultivated land: cotton 89 h.; hay 53 h.; vegetables 45 h.; vanilla 4 h.; sugar-cane 2h. The livestock consisted of 82 horses, 54 head of cattle, numerous goats, pigs and fowls. Statistics, 1 July 1877, A.C. 112.

(18) Arrêté, 29 February 1876, Messenger, 3 March 1876.

(19) Arrêté, 22 May 1876, Messenger, 26 May 1876.

of 1 fr. 50 c. a day to the native treasury for "travaux d'embellissement" (windows, doors, furniture, etc.) for the district buildings. In 1877, the task of keeping district registers and collecting the commutations was taken out of the hands of the District Councils and given to the gendarmes. Only the responsibility for hearing land cases was left.

(c) The native treasury.

Financially, native administration during the last decade of the Protectorate became integrated into the general administration by the French. There was no doubt in the minds of French officials that the queen or Pomare V should not be allowed to manage this section of the local budget, discussed and voted in the Administrative Council along with European revenues. When at the end of 1876, the Native Affairs Department was reorganised and expanded into a Secretariat, much of its business overlapped with that of the Department of the Interior; but its finances were singled out for the purpose of detailing receipts and expenses. Its personnel consisted of a director, a secretary, three interpreters and two clerks. No provision was made for recruiting other personnel locally into any department of the administration.

The native budget itself was modest, amounting to about one sixth of the local colonial budget and ranging between 150,000 and 170,000 fr. a year.

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- (20) Arrêté, 15 November 1877, Messenger, 23 November 1877; arrêté, 29 August 1879, Messenger, 5 September 1879.
- (21) Arrêté, 28 December 1876, Messenger, 5 January 1877. The functions of the department were to supervise the District Councils, nominate or suspend native officials (including the chiefs), the native budget, and taxes, abatements, churches, education, health, the Residencies (except the Marquesas), archives, police, Chinese, cemeteries, agriculture and land registration. The Marquesas were under a Resident responsible to the ordonnateur.

Transfer of funds between the two accounts was not uncommon; and it was not till 1875 that deficits in the native budget were paid off for the two previous years. After that date taxes were collected by the gendarmes; population movements and the uncertain census of all the districts and immigrant Polynesians and Chinese made complete collection impossible. The budget for 1877 records the main receipts which were used to cover expenses for native administration at Tahiti, Moorea, the Tuamotu, Tubuai, Raivava

The budget totalled 162,000 fr. The main sources of native receipts were head tax (72,000 fr.), arrests and impounding of livestock (27,850 fr.) and a subsidy from the local budget (23, 300 fr.) - in all 76% of the receipts. Small sums were added from the queen's Civil List, court fines, dog tax, revenue from the sale of produce from fari'i hau lands. Commutation of work-days netted only 100 fr. - which is significant of the native preference to pay in slow labour rather than money. Of the expenses entered under the native budget, police (37,600 fr.), subsidies to native and European pastors and teachers (27,510 fr.), the department itself (22,000 fr.), the chiefs (17,800 fr.), the native courts (11,100 fr.) and the To'ohitu (9,200 fr.) made up 76%. Miscellaneous items included pension purchase of chiefs' lands, interpreters, a pittance to the District Council for hearing land cases.

Compared with the budget for 1864, native revenues and expenses had

(22) Procès-verbaux du conseil d'administration, December 1874, A.C.O.
ibid, June, December 1876, A.C.O. 81.

(23) Ibid.

decreased slightly. Many charges, such as the dispensary, had been taken over by the local budget - though Tahitians benefited as much as Europeans. With the advent of Pomare V, the subsidy to the Civil List ended; the chiefs were paid less; no district councillors were paid (except a small percentage from charges for hearing land cases); there was no Tahitian Appeal Court and no other native judges outside the To'ohitu. On the other hand, the cost of the mutoi and the French gendarmerie had increased nearly fourfold since the 1860's. The largest items in the 1877 budget - police - and the smallest - the District Councils - reflected the change from district autonomy to centralised supervision that had come about towards the end of the Protectorate.

(d) Education and the missionaries.

Throughout the 1870's the history of elementary education in French Oceania continued to be inseparable from the history of the missions, both Catholic and Protestant. And the attitude of the administration continued less favourable to the Protestants. In part, it was because of the long tradition of the L.M.S. in the islands and the fear of a revival of a Christian organisation to rival French control of district affairs; and, in part, because the Catholic schools were better organised, better staffed and better financed from abroad.

In the Committee for Public Education, composed of officials and European residents which met from 1877 on, the Protestants were not

(24) See Chap. VII, 133-134.

represented. The revenues allotted to the missions for their churches and schools were never in proportion to the congregations or pupils of each denomination. For example, the district schools and the French Protestant schools taught at least twice as many children as the Fathers of the Picpus Society or the Brothers and Sisters of the Floërmel and Cluny Orders throughout the decade. In 1879, financial assistance for all churches and schools in

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French Establishments was as follows:

<u>Catholic</u>		<u>Protestant</u>	
Brothers' school.....	20,600 fr.	Two French pastors	
Sisters' school.....	20,980 fr.	and twenty-three	
Bursaries.....	7,200 fr.	deacons.....	6,960 fr.
Materials.....	4,300 fr.	Forty-nine native	
Hospital expenses.....	2,000 fr.	teachers.....	1,400 fr.
Buildings, transport..	6,460 fr.	Subsidy for materials	
State subsidy to		from the local budget.	3,500 fr.
<u>the Picpus mission....</u>	<u>13,000 fr.</u>		
<u>Total.....</u>	<u>74,540 fr.</u>	<u>Total.....</u>	<u>11,860 fr.</u>

Instruction beyond the most elementary level was restricted to Papeete. By 1874, there were two Catholic schools and a Protestant school for boys and girls with a Normal school attached to train native teachers. Two other Protestant schools at Papaoa and Papetoai taught French as well as Tahitian under French pastors. In the Catholic schools, the education was limited

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- (25) Viénot to the S.M.É., 13 January 1879, S.M.É. Correspondence, 1879; Messenger, 5 January 1877.
- (26) Viénot, who ran the Protestant school at Papeete, has left an account of his curriculum: "General lessons for all on Arithmetic at the blackboard and oral sums. For the little ones, little questions and for the bigger ones something more difficult. General lessons in French and Tahitian - for example Repetition every day of religious Instruction in both languages. Grammar, Geography, followed by Reading - every page corrected by me. Next comes Reading from the board - I use monitors - while I work with the first two divisions." Viénot, Notes pour le Comité des Missions, 4 December 1869, MS., S.M.É. Correspondence, 1869-1872.

primary instruction - " essentially Catholic " wrote a colonial inspector
1874 " accompanied by almost compulsory Masses despite legal texts ".²⁷ The
colonial inspector was even harder on the district schools, restricted to
district chapels: " From time to time the Department of Native Affairs
distributes class-room furniture which is immediately wasted for want of
place or a mere shelter to keep it... The teachers are too often the equals
of the schools. A Tahitian is taught when he knows the four fundamental
operations of Arithmetic. If he has started on fractions he is a phoenix."²

The French mission with only two or three pastors had no personnel
keep up with the request of Tahitians to have their children learn French.
The Tuamotu and the Marquesas were Catholic fields - except for a few native
teachers from the seminary at Raiatea and the Mormons; the Australs were
visited no more than once a year. The needs of education were seriously
reviewed only once by the administration, in 1877.²⁹ Powers to examine
curricula and buildings were vested in the Committee for Public Education.
Two new schools were classified as " European " with lay teachers appointed
by the commandant for teaching French, physical science and " elementary

(27) A circular of a colonial inspector on the state of education at Tahiti
and Moorea, encl. in Vienot to the S.M.E., 7 July 1874, S.M.E., Correspondence, 1873-1875.

(28) Circular, loc.cit. The inspector went on to complain of the wage
paid to native teachers - 10 fr. a month, compared with 2 fr.-3 fr. a
month for labourers or the 60 fr - 100 fr. a month for domestics. These
complaints were supported by the mission and by European residents. Vienot
to the S.M.E., 4 June 1872, S.M.E. Correspondence, 1869-1872; Ponsonby
to the S.M.E., 28 September 1871, ibid.

(29) Arrêté, 21 November 1877, Messenger, 30 November 1877.

agriculture "; native schools were to be supervised by the Native Affairs Department with native teachers elected by the district; in the church schools (écoles libres), teachers were to possess a proficiency certificate similar to that required in schools in France. Where Tahitian deacons were at the same time teachers, all religious instruction was forbidden. But the plans of 1877 were little more than a paper scheme till after annexation.

In the meantime, the energies of the French missionaries were directed towards the formation of an autonomous Tahitian church with full disciplinary powers over its pastors and deacons elected within the parish congregations. The quality of the district church leaders in the early 1870's had, by all accounts, to be kept up by close supervision by French missionaries; the annual Pastoral Conferences begun by Vernier in 1869, chastised the fallen and refused the Sacraments to congregations whose children went to Catholic schools, and refused to consecrate Tahitian pastors who were simply chiefs or members of the To'ohitu appointed by the administration.

The administration made its reply: " very unfriendly letters were sent in the form of circulars to the districts requiring them to be on their guard against the illegal intervention of certain people without permission or recognised authority. We understood " wrote Viénot " that we were coming to a serious crisis out of which would come the liberation or the complete disorganisation of the Tahitian church." A project for a Tahitian Synod

(30) Viénot to the S.M.É., 2 September 1869, S.M.É. Correspondence, 186-1872; idem, 7 September 1870, ibid; L.M.S. to the S.M.É., 25 November 1870, ibid; Green to the L.M.S., 18 October 1870, L.M.S.S.S. 32; J.S.M.É., vol. 47, 1872, 370-374, 388; ibid, vol. 48, 1873, 167-174; ibid, vol. 49, 1874, 260.

(31) Viénot to the S.M.É., 5 January 1874, S.M.É. Correspondence, 1873-

rejected by Commandant Girard on the grounds that it would be the only b
 to legally consecrate or depose Tahitian church leaders - " contrary to
 electoral law of 22 March 1852 and... the authority of the administratio
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 The French missionaries pointed out that the existing laws concerning di
 churches were intended primarily to restrict the movements of members of
 L.M.S. and were too close to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy in Fra
 in imposing on the " religious community the candidate of an unbelieving
 33
 indifferent majority ". For their purposes, the electoral system simply
 made discipline difficult.

A legal Synod was held in 1876 and two pastors were immediately ex
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 unicated; others who were warned looked to Commandant Gilbert-Pierre to
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 tect their offices. His successor, Commandant Michaux, would neither sa
 the new constitution for the Tahitian church nor abolish it. In 1879, t
 temporary organisation was rescinded by the Ministry for the Navy and th
 Colonies; a new measure was formulated by a commission in Paris, approve
 36
 the local churches, and promulgated in 1880.

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- (32) Girard to Viénot, 17 February 1873, encl. in Viénot to the S.M.É.
 January 1874, ibid.
 (33) Viénot to the S.M.É., 5 January 1874, ibid.
 (34) J.S.M.É., vol. 69, 1876, 290-293.
 (35) Viénot to Gilbert-Pierre, 3 February 1876, S.M.É. Correspondence,
 -1875; Gilbert-Pierre to the Synod committee, 25 February 1876, ibid.
 (36) The commission was composed of the Minister for the Navy, Jauregu
 berry (a Protestant), ex-Commandant Michaux, Guizot and a pastor of
 Reformed Church of France. Vernier to the S.M.É., 11 November 1879,
 Green to the L.M.S., 16 February 1880, L.M.S.S.S. 36; Messenger, 24 Oc
 ber 1879; Ordonnance, 3 February 1880, ibid, 6 February 1880.

The independence of the Tahitian churches was re-affirmed. A hierarchical structure of parish councils, three conseils d'arrondissement for two islands, and a conseil supérieur composed of delegates from the other bodies assured the French mission of the disciplinary control lost in the 1850's. Decisions on political and administrative matters were forbidden; the French administration was represented on the conseil supérieur; and in the event of disputes between the church and the administration, final decisions lay with a special commission which included a delegate of Pomare V, a member of the conseil and two judges of the To'ohitu, under the presidency of the director of Native Affairs. The Ordinance was re-promulgated as a Republic Decree in 1884 and accompanied by a body of Discipline ecclésiastique drawn up by the local conseil supérieur. An important section of local distribution organisation at last received the "solid framework and cohesion" which had lacked from the beginning of the Protectorate.

(e) Land litigation.

On the whole, the commandants of the 1870's were more cautious than Bonard or de la Richerie in setting for themselves the goal of flourishing plantations based on a system of individual land tenure. The fall of the Stewart estates in 1872 made the administration reluctant to patronise large scale enterprises at the mercy of uncertain labour supplies, shipping to overseas markets. More important, the changes to the local land tenure

(37) Titre III, art. 16, titre IV, art. 22, Ordonnance, 3 February 1884
loc.cit.

(38) Vernier, op.cit., 190.

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system which had begun in the 1850's did not produce the revolutionary r
expected: great sections of Tahitian family property (whether cultivate
not) did not become available for European exploitation. Only in the
Marquesas, looked on as Colonial Domain, were there any new attempts to
transfer areas of a size suitable for European settlers.

In the last years of de la Roncière's administration, Stewart had
promised rights to 4,000 hectares at Nukuhiva - land which the Resident
bought from local Marquesan families for 9,500 fr. According to the
commandant's instructions, these 8 to 11 families had " no real property
rights " and were allotted 100 hectares each for subsistance. Stewart r
fulfilled his obligations, either by paying the sum of 35,000 fr., or by
employing at least one labourer on every 5 hectares of the estate at the
of three years. Succeeding Residents distributed blocks from the area c
their own initiative, often without written deeds or titles; and the Adm
istrative Council was forced in 1874 to examine the whole question of la
concessions in the Marquesas. Of the transfers made between 1866 and 18
(mainly at Nukuhiva), 28 were approved for 18 Europeans - including th
Bishop, Mgr. Dordillon - on the condition they were under cultivation
within six months; 6 other sales were approved pending registration and
were annulled.

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- (39) De la Roncière, Instructions pour M. le Lieutenant de Vaisseau,
Lachave... 1 November 1869, MS., M.L.; procès-verbaux du conseil d'ad
istration, September 1872, A.C.O. 80.
- (40) Procès-verbaux du conseil d'administration, February 1874, A.C.O
Messenger, 24 April 1874.

Elsewhere, especially at Tahiti, land concessions were few. When Atimaono plantation was put up for auction, the administration backed a syndicate with official funds to prevent it falling into the hands of any one French trader. The plan was to have the lands bought for the Agricultural Bank through the syndicate " by simple issue of mortgage bonds ". But the Bank's finances were not strong enough to cover its share of the operation and the syndicate lost confidence. All five sections of Atimaono were bought by a French capitalist, Merlhis, for a mere 101,300 fr. and then sold in small sections. At Moorea, lands appropriated in 1867 for planters and the administration were given back to their proprietor families. In 1868 an attractive scheme for leasing three islands of the Tuamotu was put forward by a French trader, Manson. The administration agreed and asked for 250 fr. for the first 10 years, on the condition 250,000 coconut trees be planted; then Manson was to pay 500 fr. a year for 99 years, with free use of the lagoons for oyster cultivation. The trader would not accept the terms.

1. Land registration.

In 1868, the terms of the 1866 law on land registration were promulgated again. Tahitian property was again divided into " private " and fari'i hau lands; both were required to be inscribed publicly throughout

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- (41) Procès-verbaux du conseil d'administration, June 1876, A.C.O. 81.
(42) Ibid, March 1872, A.C.O. 80.
(43) Messenger, 7 March 1873; procès-verbaux du conseil d'administration, March 1874, A.C.O. 80, 36.

island before a commission composed of the district chief, a member of the District Council and the " oldest ra'atira ", presided over by members of To'ohitu.⁴⁴ Each proprietor (or the head of each family) was to declare name, the limits and the area of his lands together with the names of neighbouring lands. When this declaration was not contested, inscriptions to take place immediately. One month after publication in the Messenger, inscriptions were to be considered as freehold titles and a final cadast survey was to define them exactly. Lands already registered in 1852 were to be inscribed again. Opposition to the declaration of ownership of an block was to be lodged within a month of publication; preliminary judgments were to be made by the District Councils and appeal was allowed to the To'ohitu - with a fine of 200,fr. for the losing party. A further appeal for revision of the case could be made to the queen and the commandant. After five years, the published title became definitive in law - though might be leased or sold within that period before the To'ohitu. The status of fari'ihau lands was not changed: they remained the permanent patrimony of chiefly families - assuming that all chiefs for a district were chosen from the same family.

The new survey, like previous attempts, was never completed. The principal effect of the complex system (where it operated) was to speed up the mass of litigation which began to come before the To'ohitu after

(44) Ordonnance, 6 October 1868, Messenger 17 October 1868. For a discussion of the 1866 law, see Chap. VIII, 152-153

2. The settlement of disputes.

The business of the land courts arising from the legislation of the 1850's and 1860's was at its zenith in the early years of the last decade of the Protectorate. An examination of the cases revised by the To'ohitu in 1869 and 1870 presents a detailed picture of the main features and problems of all hearings and decisions for the period. ⁴⁵ Not all the districts were affected to the same degree by inscription commissions. Of the 147 cases classifiable according to the original location of the land dispute, the highest proportions were from Fare, Punaauia and Fa'aa. Only 32 cases during this period were recorded for other districts of Tahiti; and 5 of the eastern districts were not mentioned at all. Each of the cases was based on appeal to the To'ohitu from the decision of a District Council. There were 19 from the Tuamotu (for Anaa and Fakarava) and 5 from Tubuai and Raiavavae. Some 68% of the cases were concerned with outright proprietorship between different families; 20% were disputes about inheritance between parties claiming a common ancestor; the rest were concerned with demarcation of boundaries. A great number of the cases were dismissed because the appellant had lodged an appeal five years after title publication by the defendant, or for other legal technicalities unappreciated by Tahitians.

3. Proprietorship.

The inscription of one or several blocks in the name of one member

(45) Cases 276-433, in sessions of the To'ohitu under the presidency of the Attorney-General: Message, 11, 18 December 1869, 22 January, 5 February, 7, 14, 21, 28 May, 4, 11, 18, 25 June, 16, 23, 30 July, 2 August, 3, 10, 17, 24 September, 8 October, 26 November, 3, 10 December 1870 and 21 January 1871.

a family produced a variety of disputes between " the possessors or land holders and other parties who said they were the proprietors of the same lands... claiming that possession, certain in fact, and sometimes of long standing, was based on a long-continued tolerance on the part of their ancestors ⁴⁶". This roundabout way of describing tolerated usehold or usufructory rights on the part of Tahitians who were not in possession of by inscription, sale or lease, formed part of an exhortation from the To'ohitu urging the necessity for written deeds rather than the verbal testimony of the useholders.

In the absence of such deeds, other proofs were admitted - the burial of ancestors on the land, the placing of a boundary stone, the planting of trees - " which constitutes an act of ownership ⁴⁷". On the other hand, such usehold, even for a period of twenty years, was no sure title to ownership in cases where a descendant of the original occupier could prove a right to the land by a genealogy. ⁴⁸ It may well have been possible, in Polynesian custom, for a family to enjoy planting and harvesting privil

(46) Message, 24 September 1870. There was no general inscription in the Australs till after 1876 - and then only in the most perfunctory manner. Arrêté, 26 May 1876, Message, 2 June 1876.

(47) Case 367, session, 4 April 1870, Message, 2 July 1870. Planting was an old criterion of land rights at Tahiti; an instance was cited before the To'ohitu in 1847 by Pomare herself after some of her land had been apportioned to another Tahitian. " You have divided it as if it were a contention of limit; look at the coconuts which have been planted by my ancestors; you have also given them to Tea'au; I am not at all satisfied with your dark decision; I make known plainly to you I will not give it up." Pomare to the To'ohitu, 10 November 1847, ⁴⁷.

(48) Case 374, ibid. There were cases, however, where usehold for 30 years constituted a freehold title in the eyes of the French magists

without being able to prove any formal donation of the land concerned, this period. But the emphasis in the judgements of the To'ohitu (under the influence of the Attorney-General) lay on the proven ownership of area rather than on a right to the fruits of the area.

The difficulties arising from casual usehold on the part of Europ before and during the early Protectorate were numerous; now, by 1870, it seemed that inscription had brought to light similar instances among th Tahitians themselves. But in these cases, the rights of the land-using groups could not be made explicit without reference to the chiefly sanc in operation among the district sub-tribes before the 1852 inscriptions. And these land rights were simply the fragments remaining from a comple inter-class reciprocity to a time when district heads no longer had aut ity to dispose of sub-tribal lands, and when the heads of district fami were no longer expected to furnish food, materials and man-power in ret

4. Inheritance.

The basic principle governing the inscription of titles was prove membership of the descent group originally occupying the land. Where t were a number of lineal descendants, the Tahitian law stated that " lan should be equally divided for lack of agreement between them "⁴⁹. The fr ional divisions among members of the same family, which began to invade records of the To'ohitu, resulted in sections of 1/30th. and even 1/50t

(49) Loi tahitienne sur les jugements, 30 November 1855, Bulletin Off des E.F.O., 1859, 4.

of the original block. The claims of collateral relatives were often dismissed. The only other criteria governing cases of disputed inheritance were drawn from the Napoleonic Code. An adopted son took precedence over his mother as the two sole inheritors of the deceased father's lands. A Tahitian woman married to a foreigner was forced, at his death, to conduct her case in the Tahitian courts, rather than appeal to French jurisdiction.

5. Boundaries.

The demarcation of properties for which titles were granted was carried out badly. Disputes resulted in numerous expeditions by members of the To'ohitu to the districts concerned and in long delays. An interesting feature, later to cause great concern in the Tuamotu, was the number of claims for the delineation of rights over sections of the shore, fishing holes or sections of the reef. According to article 538 of the French Code, these areas were part of the Public Domain and inalienable. At least six decisions of the To'ohitu were based on the Code and refused to extend boundaries over the coastline - though the Code itself was not promulgated fully at Tahiti till after the annexation.

(50) Generally, when the District Councils adjudicated an inherited block to the eldest surviving lineal descendant, the Attorney-General made fractional division.

(51) Art. 767 of the Napoleonic Code stated that a widow could only inherit from her husband in default of natural children. The Tahitian widow in this case was charged with appropriation of the lands of her husband's adopted son, who had gone back to his own family. Case 363 session, 26 January 1870, Messageur, 18 June 1870.

(52) Ordonnance, 2 July 1870, Messageur, 13 August 1870.

(53) Sessions, 28 July 1866, 20 February, 7 December 1867, 19 January Messageur, 29 September 1866, 25 January 1868, 4 June 1870.

By the end of the Protectorate, there were three classes of land in Tahiti and Moorea: those lands for which a title had been issued on the basis of an undisputed or successfully contested inscription - mostly in the western and north-western districts; those still in a chaos of litigation and the vast majority, unoccupied or uninscribed. Fractional division was little where the land was communally held and worked by the members of a family; but where lots were scattered, the division often resulted in ridiculously small portions in the middle of other holdings. Land cases were confused and expensive and most Tahitians neither understood nor cared for the legal difficulties, unless their rights were challenged by other families.

Difficulty was caused by the refusal of the administration to record the decisions of District Councils whose members were related to one of the parties concerned in a dispute; and in the smaller districts, all the important ra'atira families (indeed, the only members of the local society who were wealthy enough to prosecute a case) were represented on the Council.

Finally, as the delays increased, the five-year limit for counter-claims for titles was waived by the To'ohitu as it was clear that a high proportion of useholders would have been legally dispossessed if the letter of the 1868 regulations had been adhered to. The value of keeping the Tahitian courts at all was doubted by some members of the administration. When, in 1875, a proprietor from Punaauia appealed in a boundary dispute with another Tahitian to the Superior Tribunal, the magistrate decided in

his favour on the grounds that " French laws (had) become the laws of land ". In the eyes of the French judge, Tahitian procedure no longer satisfied the needs of justice at Tahiti; and land boundaries, in his opinion were no longer a preserve of Tahitian justice but a matter separate from the question of land ownership. This decision gave rise to debate among officials. If the last corner of Tahitian jurisdiction was to be demolished what was there left to justify the pretence of dual administration ?

The debate came to a head in 1876 over the disputed inheritance of five blocks of land in the district of Haumi, Moorea. The lands had already been divided among the claimants in 1875 by the District Council and the To'ohitu. One of the parties to the case then took it to the Court of First Instance - and got a larger share according to a judgement based on the Napoleonic Code. The case was then brought to the Administrative Council to decide which of the two legal systems was to prevail. The matter of ownership was not in doubt; and a large section of the Council - in opposition to the Attorney-General - thought that at this point in land cases the Tahitian judiciary had done its work: French law should decide subsidiary questions of apportioning the inheritance and setting the boundaries.

The administration could reach no agreement; Commandant Gilbert-Pierre ruled that the case did not come under French jurisdiction, and sent it back to the District Council for Afareaitu-Haumi-Maatea, at Moorea. The Minister for the Navy upheld the decision. The Tahitian Protectorate (for the local courts at least) was to be preserved.

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- (54.) " Rua a Terii v. Hupehupe a Teamai ", 2 September 1875, encl. in Gilbert-Pierre to the Minister for the Navy, 5 December 1875, A.C.O.
(55) Procès-verbaux du conseil d'administration, March 1876, A.C.O. 80
(56) Fourichon to Gilbert-Pierre, 27 March 1876, in ibid, April 1876,

XIII.

Agriculture, Trade and the Budget, 1870-1880.

Agriculturally and commercially, the French Establishments during last decade of the Protectorate made little advance on the developments the late 1860's. The European population of Tahiti and Moorea engaged trading and planting increased by only about 550 persons between 1864 and 1882; Papeete, however, as the capital of eastern Polynesia, grew from 1,541 inhabitants to 3,224 by 1881 - an increase which may be mainly attributed to a growing concentration of Chinese retailers and a large floating native population from the districts and other islands.

Papeete covered an area of one and a half miles along the water-front by a quarter of a mile inland - " a little provincial town filled with gossip " - with fourteen French, English and American trading stores, or three administration buildings, the queen's palace, two churches, buildings and huts, and a confusion of stores, boats and rusted materials along the Fare Ute peninsula.

(1) Between 1863 and 1882 there was no complete census taken of Tahiti and Moorea. A survey of the districts, made in 1877, is useful; but no distinction was made between temporary and permanent residence. From the census for 1882, it is clear that the native population (including immigrant Polynesians) numbered from 9,308 to 9,454; there were at least 441 Chinese; the Europeans numbered 1,206 - excluding some 400 officials and troops. Annuaire de Tahiti, 1885, 15; Tessier, op.cit., 13-25; Meerker, 2 December 1865.

(2) " The metropolis has spoiled Tahiti; it has sent spares and materials to fit out a fleet of ten ships. There number eight coastal beacons and a dozen compasses in the arsenal store; there are fifty ships' cradles you have to count in millions the metres of sail lost at Tahiti; the pulleys alone would make several ship-loads; there is enough to replace the ports of a whole fleet after a naval battle. There is only one thing missing: the ships to use this material." [Anon (Admiral Layrle ?)], "L'Année en 1870 d'après le journal d'un officier de marine", Revue d'Hist. des Colonies, no. 6, 1933, 307.

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Outside the district of Pare, where most of the white popula lived in the town, there were about 164 planters by 1877 - twice as many in the mid-1860's. Both the traders and the planters (and many had int in lands as well as shipping) condemned the fiscal burdens imposed by t administration of de la Roncière, while demanding better solutions for t problems of production, labour and revenues, which had been raised by th events of the previous decade. The passions aroused by the misguided in iative of de la Roncière had subsided; but the French, English, American Germans and the ten other nationalities who competed with each other for produce and markets were united only in one feature of their colonial li they had neither " trust nor respect for authority " .

In 1876, Commandant Michaux made a gesture at better representatio for the more intelligent and influential among them. The defunct Commit for Agriculture and Commerce was revived to include three Tahitians and nine whites (five of whom were to be French) nominated by the commanda with sub-committees of five in the Tuamotu and the Marquesas. The busin of the new Committee was to enlighten the local administration and the organisers of the Paris Colonial Exhibition on the " needs and resources o the country " . In practice, their number always included four or five officials; they had no means of enforcing their decisions on the Admin-

(3) /Anon (Admiral Layrle ?)/ op.cit., 309.

(4) Arrêté, 26 May 1876, Message, 2 June 1876. The sub-committees wer include the Resident, two whites and two natives. Commandants before and after Michaux did not favour elected representative bodies from a white population in which Frenchmen were in the minority. Girard to t Minister for the Navy, 11 June 1872, A.C.O. 1.

istrative Council; attendance was irregular and vacant seats not always filled. But their deliberations illuminate the economic life of the Protectorate during the later 1870's; and the experience gained by some of the members promoted them to more militant roles after annexation.

(a) Enclosure and immigration.

In 1871, the legislation permitting the destruction of trespassing stock by planters was abolished as incompatible with French law. The first sessions of the Committee for Agriculture and Commerce were rent with the old feud between the growers of cane and cotton and the owners of cattle⁵ pigs. In particular, the three Tahitians were opposed to any prohibition of free grazing and presented complicated schemes for controlling the movement of their stock, or at least requiring a second chance for the trespassers before slaughter. Nothing came of the debate; Hawaii and California continued to dominate the local beef market, to the chagrin of the local stock-owners; and the plantations continued to be ravaged, to the despair of the planters.⁶

By the middle of the decade, the problem of finding steady supplies of labour to replace the immigrants of the 1862-1872 period was becoming acute. Nearly 2,000 Chinese and Polynesians had been introduced into the Protectorate by 1872; no more than 250 were still working as wage labourers in the

(5) Sessions, 8 June, 16 August, 9 September 1876, Messenger, 15 June, 20 June, 20 July 1877.

(6) Importers were not in favour of encouraging local beef production with cattle, loaded at Honolulu for \$15 to \$16 a head, brought \$45 a head at Papeete. Losses were heavy - usually a dozen out of 70 to 80 beasts; but profits were high. Comité d'agriculture et de commerce, 14 February 1878, Messenger, 3 March 1878.

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districts in 1877. Many of the contracts had not been renewed; little attempt had been made at repatriation; the Chinese, greatly reduced by deaths, had become hawkers and small retailers around the port; a few of the Polynesians were running plantations of their own on land rented from Europeans for a third of the produce. The system of recruitment had encountered such severe criticism after the passing of the British Kidnapping Act in 1872 that the local administration was ordered to cease its patronage of the "blackbirders".

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The Committee for Agriculture and Commerce were unanimous on the 10 for labour, but were suspicious of further Chinese immigration. Proposals were put forward for a special immigration treasury, for a labour corps of prisoners and vagrants, and for reductions in taxes for Tahitians offering their services to planters. None of these efforts on the part of the 11 Committee were in time to save the cotton harvest in 1878 which, for want of pickers, fell to the ground "in a thick soft carpet, the shroud of"

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- (7) See Chap. IX, 163.
- (8) Comité d'agriculture et de commerce, 11 August 1877, Messageur, 24 August 1877.
- (9) Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Minister for the Navy, 9 November 1871, A.C.O. 108; Girard to the Minister for the Navy, 4 May 1872, ibid.; Miller to Girard, 31 December 1872, T.B.C.P. 11; Minister for the Navy to Girard, 5 May 1872, A.C.O. 34; Courrier du Havre, 13 February 1873; Minister for the Navy to Admiral Lapelin, 26 February 1873, A.C.O. 108.
- (10) Comité d'agriculture et de commerce, 9 September 1876, 11 August 1877, Messageur, 20 July, 24 August 1877. Proposals to refuse the Chinese business licences were dismissed by the Committee.
- (11) Comité d'agriculture et de commerce, 16 March, 8 June 1878, Messageur, 19 April, 12 July 1878; arrêté, 30 January 1879, Messageur, 31 January 1879.

agricultural richness ", as a member complained. The Tahitians had been busy organising district celebrations for the September fêtes; the price 3 fr. a day for casual labour was too high for the smaller planters.

The lesson impressed the administration: money was found to subsidise an immigration treasury and recruiting was permitted from the Gilbert Islands, Samoa, the Solomons and the New Hebrides in proportion to the cost and for advance payment of the cost of importation and repatriation.

Contracts were to be for three years and the labourers were encouraged to sign on again for an extra term of five years; those wishing to remain in the Protectorate might do so and receive " all or part of the sums paid for repatriation ". The general conditions for wages and food remained the same as in earlier legislation.

In 1879, a contract was made with a firm of Bordeaux ship-owners and 235 natives from the New Hebrides arrived in March 1880; 15 of the local planters received small subsidies from the Agricultural Bank on the recommendation of members of the Committee to help pay the cost of contract and repatriation.

(b) The Agricultural Bank.

By 1871, the funds of the Bank which had been used in vain to stave off the fall of the Atimaono plantation, were exhausted. The Committee in charge

- (12) Martiny, Comité d'agriculture et de commerce, 7 August 1878, Messenger, 6 September 1878.
 (13) Arrêté, 22 April 1878, Messenger, 3 April 1878.
 (14) See Chap. IX, 162.
 (15) Messenger, 17 September 1880.

of its operations was revived by de Jouselard and a fresh start was made with a subsidy from the local treasury. Its most useful function during 1870's was to buy up cotton at a guaranteed price (always low - at less than 1 fr. per kilo) and issue administration paper currency. The profits acquired during the 1860's was sold to pay off loans from the treasury. In 1877, it was authorised to receive, as a general savings bank, sums from 20 fr. to 15,000 fr. at an interest of 4%, and to make loans up to 11,000 for ten years at the high interest of 8%. But business was small: its relations with the administration were too close for traders to risk long term borrowing; and its largesse never again achieved the proportions which had encouraged planters during the 1860's.

(c) Local production and entrepôt trade.

The only detailed information on agriculture during the 1870's was gathered by a commission which surveyed the districts in 1877. From the findings it is clear that the amount of land in use for European crops and Tahitian subsistence crops was about 4.9% of the superficial area of the main island and represented 11.2% of its cultivable land. The areas given over to the seven main types of produce were for coconuts (2,226 h.), grassland (975.75 h.), vegetables (987 h.), cotton (928.75 h.), sugarcane, maize and vanilla (57.75 h.).

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- (16) Messageur, 12 January 1877. Loans made on mortgageable land were only one third its value, or half the value of produce.
- (17) Statistics, 1 July 1877, A.C.O. 112. There was also an annual production of 12,000,000 oranges; there is no way of ascribing area to these. For production and European investment in the Leeward Islands see Appendix VI.

Among the details of the commission's findings it is interesting to note that those areas with large cotton plantations - Punaauia, Atimaono Papara - were proportionally low in native subsistence crops such as breadfruit and taro. Little cultivation was carried on in areas where oranges provided a ready cash crop or where large numbers of livestock enclosure expensive.

The staple of the local export trade was cotton; and the average harvest of about 337 lbs per¹⁸ acre was high. From 1871 on, the export of ginned cotton from Tahiti, Moorea, plus a little from the Leeward Islands and the Marquesas, rose from 700,000 lbs. to just over 1,000,000 lbs. in 1888. By the middle of the decade, copra had replaced coconut oil in value on export list. Mother-of-pearl shell from the Tuamotu, edible fungus and oranges came next in importance. Below these, exports of South Sea Islands produce multiplied in variety and value. The total value, by 1875, was nearly double the export figures for island produce in 1868.

The details of these exports through Papeete in 1875 are reasonably representative for the decade: of the 2,366,069 fr. at which they were valued, cotton, copra and shell made up 69%; the value of other items - fungus, oranges, coconut-oil, lime juice, cotton seed, coffee, vanilla and whale-oil ranged between 200,000 fr. and 12,000 fr. each; a miscellany of

(18) Consul Miller estimated an average of 300 lbs. per acre - including the Leeward Islands where cultivation was less intense and soils poor. Miller to F.O., 7 April 1878, T.B.C.P. Annual Reports.

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lesser items made up the balance.

If these exports are examined in relation to the import and export of European goods during the decade, it will be seen that the general figures for island produce were maintained at this level by a steady increase in the value of imports into Tahiti from the outer groups; and there was a proportionate increase in the amount of European goods re-exported to these groups (particularly cottons and foodstuffs) by way of payment for copra and shell. From 1870 to 1879, total trade through Papeete increased from 6,000,000 fr. to over 8,000,000 fr. The value of all imports rose by 1,200,000 fr; exports rose by only 600,000 fr. The difference is significant: the increase in imports from Europe may be accounted for by the rise in local prices for, and the increased volume of, island imports (for which they paid). This is borne out by the rise in the value of European goods re-exported to the islands from 600,000 fr. to over 1,000,000 fr. by the end of the decade.

This increase in the value of inter-island traffic to and from Papeete is also illustrated by the growing amount of tonnage sailing under the flag of the Protectorate, compared with the amount of shipping coming from

(19) Messager, 27 October 1876. Miscellaneous items were, trepang, bancoul nuts, hides, purau bark, wax, nono root, guava jelly, pearls, dried bananas, pulu vegetable silk, ma'ava cockles, lemons, objects of natural history, ginger, shark fins, nut fibre, matting, orange peel, castor-oil plant seed, dried nuts, turtle shell.

(20) T.B.C.P. Annual Reports; Rapport sur le service des contributions 1874-1885, Procès-Verbaux des Séances du Conseil Général, 1886-1887, 31 January 1887.

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American, Australian or New Zealand ports and sailing under other flags:

Another factor which kept the value of the South Sea Island exports up was the variation in prices for the staples - cotton, copra and pearl shell - during the decade. Cotton, for example, decreased in price (not in quantity); copra rose slightly; pearl shell remained steady in price and rose in quantity towards 1880.

The general picture of trade, then, at Papeete during the 1870's, was that of an entrepôt port whose imports rose in value by nearly 1,000,000 fr. worth of European goods and island produce, and whose exports rose in value by only half this figure. The difference must be explained in part, by the increase in goods required as payment in kind for island produce and by the static position of Tahitian agriculture whose contribution to the general exports declined for lack of labour, new settlers and a reliable credit institution.

The trade deficit was met (as explained by Consul Miller) by remittance of bills of exchange on Paris, as issued by the administration.

(21) Total annual tonnage entering the port of Papeete, 1870-1879, averaged 26,000 tons, with a fall at the end of the decade. The amount under foreign flags was fairly constant - 12,000 tons to 19,000 tons; the amount under the local flag rose from 3,901 tons in 1870 to 13,709 tons in 1875; then it dropped to 7,299 tons by 1880, due to the transfer of German or Leeward Islands' flags on the part of many traders after a regulation restricted the command of Protectorate vessels to Frenchmen or natives. T.B.C.P. Annual Reports.

(22) Ibid. For trading figures for the period, see Appendix IX.

(23) Miller to F.O., 20 April 1879, ibid.

Whenever the supply of bills was exhausted, French or South American gold was exported. The extra insurance expenses and the risk involved in this expedient were considerable; and bills of exchange fluctuated in price whenever the necessary remittances exceeded the value of bills on the market. This monetary problem and the rise in imports were the points which the commercial life of the Establishments most concerned the administration and the Committee for Agriculture and Commerce.

(d) Trade revenues and the budget.

The period of financial stringency which accompanied the re-establishment of law and order in 1870 forced the administration to overhaul its methods of accounting and tax-collecting. The metropolitan subsidy had risen above 150,000 fr. a year for most of the decade; the list of "tax payers proposed for abatements" grew; there was no legal way of deterring European residents for defaulting in their payments; and the cost of recovering licences in isolated cases was often greater than the amount concerned.

Moreover, traders in the Committee for Agriculture and Commerce and officials in the Administrative Council called for an end to the system of proportional licences: the former, because the burden was born by the smaller importers, and the latter, because the wealthier importers were paying enough. A proposal to return to the customs duties of the 1850's

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- (24) Procès-verbaux du conseil d'administration, January 1871, 1872, November 1874, A.C.O. 80.
- (25) Ibid; procès-verbaux du comité d'agriculture et de commerce, 7 March 1870, Messenger; 2 February 1872.

was rejected on the grounds that it would cost the administration 50,000 a year to maintain the service. Instead, a general ad valorem duty (octroi de mer) of 9% invoice value plus 25% of the local market price imports was favoured.

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The new system had its difficulties: agreement on the quarterly market prices at Papeete was not easy to obtain when the same class of goods of different origins included different freight charges in their retail prices. Furthermore, importers added on the new ad valorem duty for the consumers to bear. And collection by the administration, on a monthly basis, involved the work of more clerks than the treasury possessed. In 1875, the market-price method was abolished and a single duty on all imports was fixed at 12% invoice value.

The octroi de mer was a success (by local standards) as the revenue for the local budget came to depend more and more on the value of European imports through Papeete. After the change from proportional licences, revenues (including pilotage and spirits duties) doubled by 1879. This increase represented a rise from 30.8%, in 1871, to 47.1% of total revenue.

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- (26) Arrêté, 28 December 1871, Messenger, 10 February 1872. Strictly speaking, the octroi de mer was a tax on consumer goods imposed by a municipality (which did not legally exist at Tahiti).
- (27) " What is to be done, for example, with those (traders) who embark over the rail of foreign ships, without papers...? It is the same for the Chinese who escape all vigilance by their nomadic habit. Treasurer to the Administrative Council, procès-verbaux du conseil d'administration, November 1874, A.C.O. 80.

in 1879 (including the metropolitan subsidy).

The next most important sources of revenues were business licences a little under 200,000 fr. a year - and the head tax of 20 fr. for all Europeans, which was extended to the Chinese population in 1873. The proportions of these and other imposts may be illustrated by the accounts for 1875.

RECEIPTS

(a) <u>Direct taxes</u>		
Head tax, 2% property tax.....	22,569 fr. 50.	
Traders' and retailers' licences.....	100,935 fr. 00.	
From previous years.....	7,831 fr. 00.	
		131,335 fr.
(b) <u>Indirect taxes</u>		
<u>Octroi de mer</u>	370,937 fr. 73.	
Spirits duties, pilotage, entrepôt...	80,046 fr. 50.	
Land registration.....	44,541 fr. 04.	
Land sales (Agricultural Bank).....	30,072 fr. 53.	
Metropolitan subsidy.....	101,220 fr. 00.	
Miscellaneous (court fees, fines, empounding, mortgages, dog tax.....	191,795 fr. 89.	
		<u>818,613 fr.</u>
		949,949 fr.

EXPENSES

(a) <u>Persomnel</u>		
Supplement to official salaries.....	26,692 fr. 62.	
Supplement to the queen's Civil List.	25,000 fr. 00.	
Marquesan chiefs.....	1,562 fr. 00.	
Education (native teachers, Catholics)	52,666 fr. 60.	
Salaries for public works, cadastral survey, police, port, hospital.....	275,459 fr. 87.	
		381,381 fr.
(b) <u>Material</u>		
Roads, beacons, lighting, wharves, provisions, Catholic church, arsenal.	553,740 fr. 65.	
		<u>553,740 fr.</u>
		935,121 fr.

- (28) Procès-verbaux du conseil d'administration, December 1871, January 1873, December 1874, A.C.O. 80; ibid, January 1876, A.C.O. 81; A.C.O.
- (29) Comptes, A.C.O. 66. The above is a summary of the accounts, tho

Finances for the rest of the decade were equally sound (if small though some later expedients for obtaining revenues, such as the opium monopoly begun in 1877, were open to criticism. And criticism of all f
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of taxation was not lacking. In 1877, 34 traders, headed by the German trading firm - the Société commerciale d'Océanie - petitioned the Minis for the Navy for " a liberal constitution "; they complained (erroneou that the trading community paid nine times the metropolitan subsidy, an (correctly) that the average annual sum paid by a European resident t
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administration was 270 fr. Admiral Serre, in his minutes to the docume noted that the imposts fell on those who could afford them; he felt th was some justification, however, for a greater voice on the part of the
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traders in the annual budget.

There was general concern, too, in the late 1870's, about the shortage of negociable bills on Paris. In their absence, South American

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- the main divisions are the same. Some of the material expenses for Education must have been included under Personnel. The business comm was divided into eight classes, from traders and ship-owners to hawkce they paid licences ranging from 600 fr. down to 50 fr. a year. Spirit licences were high and were paid according to the location of the gro shop - at Papeete (4,000 fr.), at Fare, Pare, Arue (1,000 fr.), c elsewhere in the Establishments (500 fr.). Message, 21 November 18
- (30) The French settler, Cardella (a member of the Administrative Cou was leased the opium farm for two years at 45,000 fr. The expedient " as its aim the retail supervision of a poisonous substance while tu the consumption of opium by the Chinese into a means of revenue for t local budget ". Arrêté, 4 October 1877; procès-verbaux du conseil d' ministration, 4 October 1877, A.C.O. 36.
- (31) Société commerciale d'Océanie to the Minister for the Navy, 18 De ber 1877; Mémoire sur Tahiti, n.d. (appended), A.C.O. 36.
- (32) Serre, Mémoire sur Tahiti, n.d., loc.cit.

dollars tended to supplant French coin (used to pay administration debt at a higher rate of exchange than at Valparaiso. On the other hand, the who could not profit by importing dollars and exporting French coin, for that the dollars depreciated heavily at Honolulu and San Francisco. French gold disappeared from circulation: it was sold at Chili or bought up by local Chinese " to make jewellery out of it or ingots " for smuggling overseas. The situation was not helped in 1878, when the administration arranged a mailing contract with an English trading firm for 70,000 fr. year, to be paid in French treasury drafts - or about half the drafts sent to the Protectorate from Paris annually.

In 1879, the local treasury was felt to be strong enough in French specie for the administration to curtail the import of dollars. The rate of exchange was fixed at 4 fr. 50 c. per piastre, and the South American specie was subjected to the general octroi de mer of 12%. More paper money was issued through the Agricultural Bank. The confusion was much worse: all the old bons de caisse put into circulation through the Bank in the early 1870's were recalled; the larger trading houses continued to buy up Chilean and Peruvian specie at 3 fr. 80 c. to 4 fr. 10 c. overseas and sell it locally for French coin. By the time of annexation, there were at least

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- (33) Raoulx to the Comité d'agriculture et de commerce, 24 July 1877, Messenger, 19 October 1877.
- (34) Idem, ibid, 4 May 1878, Messenger, 24 May 1878.
- (35) Arrêté, 24 October 1879, Messenger, 31 October 1879. The U.S. Consul Atwater, thought there would " not be a dollar left within six months to pay for trade with San Francisco if the measure were enforced. It is not. Atwater to the State Department, 12 November 1879, Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Tahiti, vol. 7, 1875-1876.

200,000 fr. worth of new paper in circulation and under 500,000 fr. in French specie to cover it in the treasury.

By this time, the Committee for Agriculture and Commerce had adequately revealed their incapacity to cooperate with the administration, while they had no real powers of representation. At best, they had managed to gain two places for their members on the Administrative Council - in an advisory not a voting capacity. ³⁶ Commandant Planché merged them with a general Commission for the Revision of Taxes. This body deliberated during the last months before annexation on the total expulsion of the Chinese, on extending the sale of spirits to Tahitians, and on the merits of raising (or lowering) business licences and the octroi de mer. ³⁷ From its twenty six sessions no recommendations were adopted by the administration. The futility of the Commission was apparent to all while the colony lacked a constitution to give traders and settlers something more than a gesture of representation and to end the anomalous Protectorate.

(36) Message, 6 December 1878.

(37) The Commission included 30 Europeans (all French) and 3 Tahitians. Fewer than half were present at most meetings. Message, 7 May, 14, 28 May, 4, 18, 25 June, 2, 16, 23, 30 July, 6, 20, 27 August 1880.

XIV.

Proposed Reforms and the Annexation of Tahiti, Moorea and Dependencies

In 1870, the collapse of de la Roncière's definition of the Protectorate raised questions about the type of administration most suitable for the French Establishments. Alternative solutions - a revision of the 1842 agreements, or their abolition by an Organic Decree - were not given serious consideration by the Ministry for the Navy and the Colonies. Nor is there any evidence that the extension of French sovereignty over the area was on the minds of French ministers till 1879 when arguments based on motives other than a desire for constitutional reform were brought to bear. For the activities of the local administration were not felt to be curtailed greatly by the Proclamation of 1842 - except in land tenure jurisdiction; " in practice " wrote Commandant Michaux " these activities, happily for the subjects of the Protectorate - so much is the incapacity of the queen and her chiefs for government manifest - have been progressively extended under the shelter and influence of native laws to the management of native affairs.

If the Protectorate had ceased to fit the facts as a title, it was a particularly troublesome misnomer except to the minds of local magistrates to Europeans desiring sweeping land reforms, and to the Colonial Inspectors Jore and Le Clos, who made their rounds at Tahiti in 1874.

(1) Michaux to the Minister for the Navy, 28 May 1877, A.C.O. 60.

In their general report, the Inspectors declared the local administration to be unwieldy and many of its officials to be redundant. The number of departments and the personnel modelled on colonial practice elsewhere were on too large a scale, they thought, for a small post like Tahiti and were concentrated too much at Papeete to supervise the outer groups. The administrative services for the interior - Bridges and Roads, Provisions, Hospital, Engineers, Native Affairs - wrote Le Clos, were "considerably backward" because of the absence of continuous responsibility by any one set of officials; the administration adhered too closely to the organisation of the great ports of France or the older colonies; the energies of its personnel were "divided... not by reason of the amount of work to be carried out, but according to imaginary specialities". For example, there were less than four officials for the Commissariat, dating from the days when Bruat's naval post depended on overseas supplies. But, to quote Le Clos "each employee, using his time seriously, would not have more than two hours work a day". Financially, he thought, the Establishments were sound and could afford to take over more charges from the State - provided the national budget revenues were not kept separate.

At this point, the weight of the report was directed against the continuation of a Native Affairs Department whose finances were outside the control of the ordonnateur and whose personnel were responsible to an

(2) Le Clos to the Minister for the Navy, 15 August 1874 (with margin notes by Inspector Jore), A.C.O. 60.

official directly under the commandant. Both Le Clos and Jore were criti-
 de la Roncière for removing this branch from the preserves of the ordonna
 and thus holding up assimilation - " which the French Government intended
 bring about ³". This administrative assimilation, thought Le Clos, had be-
 nearly achieved when the post of secretary-general had been created betwe
 1862 and 1866 for the supervision of all internal affairs:

" And if the local government had persisted in this course, what
 remained of the old Kanaka customs would have completely disappea
 today and the administration of the colony would be in a state of
 order, clarity, regularity and economy which it is far from havin
 achieved with the present organisation of the native department.'

Jore, in his marginal notes, did not go quite so far - recognising
 that the Native Department was a principle of the Protectorate agreement.
 He thought, however, that it " oppressed " that section of the native
 population which paid head tax, a contribution for the queen's palace and
 which commuted work-days. Both inspectors condemned the practice of pass
 deeds of sale and lease in a department which was not an official Registr
 Office. If the contracts, counter-signed by the director of Native Affai

(3) Idem, loc.cit.; Jore to the Minister for the Navy, Question de la
Caisse Indigène, 20 June 1876, A.C.O. 171. This is the first reference
 have seen to anything so positive regarding " assimilation "; I can fir
 no evidence to support Le Clos' belief (except perhaps from Arago).

(4) Le Clos, loc.cit.

(5) " It is quite understandable that, in this way, the Native Departme
 always acquainted with intended transactions, has every means of reserv
 the business for itself and drawing up the deeds for it, from which it
 makes a great profit. It goes without saying that all these deeds - ir
 ular moreover, cannot have the rights which the parties claim when they
 produced in suits. Above all, have they the value of contracts; and ag
 is the native obliged when he wishes to make use of them, to have them
 regularly registered and at an extra fee because he has exceeded the ti
 limit ? " Le Clos, loc.cit.

were "irregular", they asked, then what was the validity of many European and native land claims ?

(a) Proposals for an Organic Decree.

Neither Le Clos nor Jore suggested annexation as a solution; but it was hard to see what other alternative the Navy Department had, if their criticisms were to be remedied. In Paris, nobody outside the Director of Colonies was really interested in the Protectorate. Benoist d'Azy ordered the revenues and expenses of the native budget to be voted in the Administrative Council along with all other finances of the administration; but his position of director of Native Affairs was not ended.⁶ In the same year the commandant was ordered to form a local commission to revise the responsibilities and the procedure of the Council itself.⁷

The commission, composed of the chief magistrate, a minor official and two French lawyers, extended their suggestions to the administration as a whole and drew up a model for an Organic Decree - based largely on the Decree of 12 December 1874 for New Caledonia.⁸ A new Administrative Council of officials and residents was proposed with the right of consultation on financial matters by the commandant. As a compensation, the commandant (governor, as he was to be called) was to be allowed to alienate land to a value of 20,000 fr., use his powers to fine or sentence above the usual

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- (6) Director of Colonies to Gilbert-Pierre, 4 September 1875, A.C.O.
 (7) Minister for the Navy to Gilbert-Pierre, 7 September 1875, A.C.O.
 (8) Rapport et procès-verbaux, 4 December 1876, February-April 1877, in Michaux to the Minister for the Navy, 28 May 1877, A.C.O. 60.

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100 fr. or 15 days imprisonment, and retain his command of all military naval forces in the area. In short, Michaux and the commission hoped to steer between the Protectorate agreements and annexation: the Native Affairs Department was to be left; but the Establishments were to have an Administrative Council with some of the powers of a General Council (without the name of an elected assembly reserved for full colonies). In Michaux's opinion, this state of affairs would pay homage to " the sort of autonomy which the Protectorate Act reserves for the country for the management of its internal affairs, and give satisfaction to the legitimate aspirations of its inhabitants " . The " satisfaction " was to be limited, however, to representation on the Council by three French residents and two Tahitians chosen by the governor for a term of two years. And Michaux, in his cover despatch, proposed these ⁹ be reduced to four only. ¹⁰

The Ministry for the Navy was not satisfied with these timid but interesting suggestions. And the plan for a constitution was thrashed out once more in 1878 in nineteen sessions of the old Administrative Council swelled with members of the Committee for Agriculture and Commerce and the ¹¹ original commission. Once more the conclusions of the debate stopped short of advising full colonial institutions. The commandant was to be obliged

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- (9) Michaux to the Minister for the Navy, 28 May 1877, A.C.O. 60.
- (10) There was a suggestion during the commission's debates that the Tahitian representatives be dispensed with altogether. In any case, knowledge of French was to be made a prerequisite for selection.
- (11) Projet d'organisation coloniale pour Tahiti, encl. in Planche to the Minister for the Navy, 15 October 1878, A.C.O. 42.

consult the Administrative Council concerning the budget and include its recommendations; but the Council was not to be elected by general suffrage. The post of ordonnateur was to be abolished and the Native Affairs Department was to come under the control of a director of the Interior. The governor was to keep his full powers - especially over the press in which there was to be no discussion of the Protectorate agreements: for, as Commandant Planché wrote, "to cast doubts on our very existence in the country would not be interpreted by a court as an offence of the press, and yet, that is a pre-¹² action which the administration cannot tolerate at any price".

Nowhere, in any of the proposals was the position of the outer groups examined; nor was the advisability of administering the colony of the Marquesas from the Protectorate at Papeete discussed.

(b) The administration of the outer islands.

During the early 1870's, the French position in the Marquesas, the Tuamotu, Tubuai and Raiavavae, was tenuous and badly regulated. At Nukunui Bishop Dordillon's Code of Laws was a dead letter. The authority of the chiefs, wrote the Resident in 1875, "from the moment it is used to lessen the habits of rapine and drunkenness of the people becomes suspect and is ended either by expulsion or by killing the chiefs who have tried to use¹³ for an orderly and moral purpose". Fines in labour or cloth, imposed by

(12) Planché to the Minister for the Navy, 14 October 1878, A.C.O. 42.

There were, as yet, no independent newspapers at Tahiti.

(13) Eyzé to Gilbert-Pierre, 26 January 1875, A.C.O. 34.

Resident as Justice of the Peace, were ignored. The population, estimated at 12,000 in 1863, had decreased by half that number in 1875. Outside Nukuhiva and Tahuata, the population was openly hostile to the French. Dominica was bombarded in 1873; the mission there was pillaged and restored by force the following year. In 1879, two gendarmes were posted on the island to protect a settler's plantation. In 1880, an expeditionary force of Tahitians and Nukuhivans was called in to re-conquer the island of Hi

Some progress was made in trade. Hart's plantation at Dominica, the Catholic mission gardens, and the scattered concessions on Nukuhiva - some 243 hectares in all - were producing cotton for export through Papeete to the San Francisco markets after 1872. Customs duties - a general 10% ad valorem on all imports - were established for the group in 1873 and yielded about 100,000 fr. a year. There were only two schools run by the Catholic mission with about 120 children.

(14) Resident Ezymé listed " endemic sickness (?) epidemics, wars, drunkenness and the use of the stupifying drink kava " as the main causes. His list of births and deaths for Nukuhiva in 1874 gives a ratio of one birth to two deaths; no age groups are given.

(15) Rollin, op.cit., 272-276.

(16) Exports for 1874 were valued at 487,745 fr. 50 c., and imports at 127,290 fr. 68 c. The main exports were:

Raw cotton.....	243,515 k.	Copra.....	18,500 k.
Ginned cotton.....	87,000 k.	Cotton seed...	30,000 k.
Edible fungus.....	74,891 k.	Bancoul nuts..	5,000 k.

Cloth was common currency - except for the mission which issued metal discs accepted only at its store. Ezymé to Gilbert-Pierre, 26 January 1875, A.C.O. 34; des Vergnes, op.cit., 69-74. Des Vergnes gives a much lower figure for exports in 1874; but he was no longer Resident

Administratively, the colony was in the charge of the Resident (of whom there were three for the decade) acting as Justice of the Peace, registrar, commander of the garrison, consul for all nations, surgeon and captain of the port. He was assisted, after 1872, by a naval clerk, as treasurer, a few gendarmes, a pilot, an interpreter and a few marines.

In the Tuamotu, the token administration by a Resident and two gendarmes was shifted from Anaa to Fakarava in 1879 and port duties similar to those in force at Papeete were exacted. ¹⁷ The same limited policy was applied to Tubuai and Raivavae which were under a police commissioner.

(c) Annexation and the question of the Leeward Islands.

To Commandant Planche in 1879, it seemed that the time had come to gather under one flag and one set of laws the Marquesas and the scattered ¹⁸ islands of the Protectorate. He was confident that Pomare V and the chiefs would raise no objections, and asked for permission to annex. In Paris, the head of the Colonial Department, Michaux, recalled to the Minister for the Navy, Jauréguiberry, the criticisms of Admiral Cloué, Admiral Serre and the colonial inspectors; in the main, he agreed with the view that the Tahitian share in the Protectorate administration would have to be revived or abolished; but he could not take another " Tahitian Kingdom " seriously.

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- (17) Miller to F.O., 23 February 1880, T.B.C.P. 12; Messenger, 13 February 1880; Planche to the Minister for the Navy, 31 October 1879, A.C.O. 1.
 (18) Planche to the Minister for the Navy, 6 March 1878, A.C.O. 36; idem, 12 June 1879, A.C.O. 1.

19

without fear of ridicule. Jauréguiberry was concerned not only with the clarification of an anomalous treaty, but also with German commercial activities in the Pacific - particularly when he thought they threatened independence of the Leeward Islands. There, a branch of the firm of Godeffroy had been established for several years. In 1879, the German C and manager of the firm and the commander of the German man-of-war, Bism signed a commercial treaty with some of the chiefs of Huahine, where the French naval schooner, Arorai, kept a close watch on the negotiations.

The treaty was simply for anchorage rights, duty-free imports and privileges for Germans equal to those accorded other nationals. The who affair served, however, to point to a great weakness in the French revenue system in the Establishments - which the Société commerciale d'Océanie had escaped in 1877 by shifting its centre of operations to the Leeward Islands. Many American traders were similarly favoured. Jauréguiberry was convinced after this episode, that the growth of German and American commerce so near to Tahiti imposed on the French " the necessity of affirming without delay French supremacy in this area ", and, at the same time, ending the Tahitian Proclamation in which Pomare V was unworthy " in his character, conduct and lack

(19) Michaux to Jauréguiberry, 31 May 1879, A.C.O. 1.

(20) Jauréguiberry to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, 19 July 1877, A.A.E. Océanie 3.

(21) " Reported tenor of a proposed treaty between the German Government on the one part and the Government of the Leewards on the other part " encl. in Green to Miller, 9 May 1879, encl. in Miller to F.O., 10 May 1879, T.B.C.P. 12; Miller to F.O., 9 August 1879, ibid; Captain Fontaine (Arorai) to Planche, 27 May 1879, A.C.O. 1. See Appendix VI.

ability for affairs " to continue longer as partner in the joint admini-
22
tration. On 9 September 1879, Planche was ordered to proceed with
23
annexation.

Thus, for commercial, constitutional and dynastic reasons the for-
ending of the Protectorate was set in motion; the position of the inde-
pendent Leeward Islands was also called in question. Much amateur and prof-
essional diplomacy was to be involved.

Commandant Planche bungled his task badly: he over-estimated his
influence with the chiefs and Pomare; and a petition for annexation
24
received only three signatures. One of the reasons for the set-back was
the unwillingness of the French Protestant ministers to persuade their
deacons (many of whom were relatives of chiefs) to agree while Planche
refused to sanction the new constitution for the Synod. This difficulty
was removed late in 1879, when a despatch from Jauréguiberry ordered the
measure for the Synod to be published before the arrival of Planche's
25
successor, Chessé. When Chessé arrived in February 1880, the French mi-
nister was ready to aid him, not only at Tahiti, but in the Leewards where the
German threat to trade was associated in the minds of the French pastor

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- (22) Jauréguiberry to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, 19 August 1879
A.C.O. 1. Queen Marau had separated from her spouse after his refusal to
recognise her children in April 1879. She was pensioned off with
6,000 fr. a year.
- (23) Message, 28 January 1881.
- (24) Vernier to S.M.E., 11 February 1880, S.M.E. Correspondence, 1879-
Chessé, Note sur les Iles Sous le Vent, 23 January 1882, MS., A.A.E.
Océanie 5.
- (25) Planche to Vernier, 11 October 1879, encl. in Vernier to S.M.E.,
November 1879, S.M.E. Correspondence, 1879-1880.

with the growing proportion of German priests in the Catholic mission²

Chessé, with orders to carry out the task in which Planche had failed, moved first to Raiatea, organised a request for protection from some of the chiefs, and hoisted the Protectorate flag on 9 April 1880². Consul Miller was informed of this on 17 April and objected, indicating that the flag would not be recognised by a visiting British naval officer.²⁸ Miller was not convinced that Germany wanted the group; he thought the request for protection was "to be made use of as the basis of some ulterior proposal from the French to the British Government: the latter to consent to set aside the Convention of 1847"²⁹.

In some respects, Miller was right: the chiefs had been told by Chessé that Germany was seeking to establish a penal settlement and coaling station in the Leewards.³⁰ Only the Raiateans believed this; Borabora and Huahine, the overtures to save the islands from the German peril were rejected outright. But Miller did not know that the British Government had tentatively approved of the operation in return for

- (26) Vernier to S.M.E., 11 March 1880, *ibid*; Jauréguiberry to Admiral Landolfe, 23 September 1882, *A.C.O.* 2.
- (27) Chessé, *Note sur les Iles Sous le Vent*, 22 January 1882, *loc. cit.*
- (28) Miller to Chessé, 19 April 1880, *T.B.C.P.* 12; Miller to "The King and Government of Raiatea and Tahaa", 20 April 1880, *ibid*; Miller to Captain Hervey H. A. Court (*H.M.S. Osprey*), 21 April 1880, *ibid*.
- (29) Godeffroy to Miller, 18 April 1880, encl. in Miller to F.O., 23 April 1880, *ibid*; *Messenger*, 23 April 1880.
- (30) Pearse to the L.M.S., 20 June 1880, *L.M.S.S.S.* 36; Green to the L.M.S., 24 April 1880, *ibid*. Both Green and Pearse were in favour of the extension of the Protectorate.

31

over territory in French West Africa. By the end of the year Chessé knew that his actions had been disapproved of by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, after news had come through from Berlin that German interest

32

had protested. It was then common knowledge at Tahiti that the French had been restrained from interfering further in the Leewards. But the flag remained " provisionally " over Raiatea; and the date for final ratification of the Protectorate was repeatedly postponed during eight

years of negotiations between the French and British Governments till

33

whole of the group was annexed.

At Tahiti, negotiations were easier. Pomare was persuaded to sign

a Proclamation donating " Tahiti and dependencies " to France with " the

34

guarantees of property and liberty ". This was accepted by Chessé

35

29 June 1880. There was some surprise at Tahiti when the coup was

announced: Consul Miller declined to take part in the " consecration

this new state of things "; Pastor Vernier wrote to Paris congratulating

(31) As early as January 1880, the Foreign Office had informed the French Ambassador that Britain would not contest the extension of Protectorate and would cede the island of Matakong for rights over Kotonou territory. De Freycinet, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to Admiral Pothuau (Ambassador at London), 6 March 1880, Documents Diplomatiques Français, 1er. série, tome III, 1880-1881, 47.

(32) De Freycinet to Canclaux (chargé d'affaires), 22 July 1880, 186.

(33) The reasons for the delay are discussed in Appendix VI.

(34) Proclamation de Pomare V aux Tahitiens, Messenger, 2 July 1880; Miller to Chessé, 29 June 1880, T.B.C.P. Papeete; Chessé to Miller 29 June 1880, T.B.C.P. 12.

(35) Proclamation du Commandant Commissaire de la République aux habitants de Tahiti et dépendances, Messenger, 2 July 1880.

himself on his " little part in our recent peaceful conquests ".

In January 1881, it was known at Tahiti that the French Parliament had ratified the annexation; and the terms of Pomare's abdication and the law ratifying the cession were published. In the preamble to the bill presented to the Chamber of Deputies in November 1880, the Minister for the Navy, Vice-Admiral Cloué, recalled the events of 1842, and the application of the 1843 Ordinance for the Marquesas to the Society Islands; he reviewed the extension of French laws during the 1860's at the demise of the Tahitian Assembly - " a somewhat null and void institution ". After the death of Pomare IV, he continued, the need to safeguard French economic interests in the area in view of the projected Panama canal, determined the annexation. Pomare's hesitation was brushed aside; his health and the uncertainty of the royal succession, said Cloué caused him to feel " that the force of circumstances was drawing his country towards (French) civilisation and that it was necessary to yield to a law of progress whose grandeur he understood without being able to control its effects ".

(36) Miller to Chessé, 29 June 1880, T.B.C.P. 12; Miller to F.O., 8 July 1880, ibid; " It surprised us, it was quite a Beaconsfieldian act." Green to the L.M.S., 5 July 1880, L.M.S.S.S. 36. " Our friend should remember too that the annexation has been made, in reality, with the help, direct or indirect, conscious or not, of Protestant influence." Vernier to S.M.É., 23 December 1880, S.M.É. Correspondence, 1879-1880.

(37) The Minister for the Navy to the French Consul, San Francisco, December 1880, Message, 28 January 1881; Projet de loi, Chamber of Deputies, 20 November 1880, ibid; Declaration of Pomare V, 29 June 1880, ibid; Loi portant ratification de la cession faite à la France par S.M. Pomare V de la souveraineté pleine et entière des archipels de la Société dépendant de la couronne de Tahiti, 30 December 1880, Message, 25 March 1881.

(38) Projet de loi, loc.cit. Compare with the official version the / opinion

And with this fine republican interpretation of the end of the Protectorate the Minister revealed that Chessé had promised Pomare a pension of 60,000 fr. a year and 31,000 fr. for the royal court. In return, Pomare and the chiefs agreed to cede the Society Islands and undefined "dependencies" providing "all little matters" of jurisdiction were left to the District Councils and all "matters relative to lands" were left to the Tahitian courts.

Neither of these conditions feature in the text of the law ratifying the cession; nor were the "dependent archipelagoes" attached to Tahiti enumerated. But in one sweeping gesture French nationality was extended to all Pomare's former subjects; and all foreign residents were encouraged to apply for naturalisation while the formalities and fees were waived.

Early in 1881, Chessé completed his work by visiting and annexing the Gambier Islands and the distant island of Rapa to the south-east of the Austral group. The French Establishments now comprised five annexes

of the American Consul: "The old Queen, Pomare, was a nonentity harassed into signing objectionable measures and was led a most miserable life. Her son, the present king, a most degraded brute, never troubled himself about the affairs of state...". Atwater to the State Department, 15 July 1880, Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Tahiti, vol. 7, 1875-1886.

(39) Those to be paid were, Marau Salmon, Tamatoa and Teri'itapunui the brothers of Pomare, their daughters and the widow of Pomare's brother, Tuavira.

(40) Chessé to Miller, 13 March 1881, T.B.C.P. 12. Rapa, with a population of about 150 persons, had been under the Protectorate since 1867, but was not administered in any fashion, except for the visit of a naval lieutenant, December 1867-April 1869. Small quantities of coal were reported there and the island was kept out of English hands. Messenger, 29 June, 31 August 1867; Océanie Française, 14 August 1867; Caillot, Histoire de l'Île Oparo ou Rapa, 76-79.

groups (Tahiti and Moorea, the Marquesas, the Tuamotu, Mangareva, R and two Protectorates (Raiatea and part of the Australs), with a population of just over 25,000 inhabitants. It remained to endow the colony with a new constitution, settle the question of the Leeward Islands and devise forms of regional administration to cope with so many scattered responsibilities.

PART FIVE

XV.

Assimilation in Practice in Oceania, 1880-1906.

" Notez donc icy, beuveurs, que la manière d'entretenir et retenir pays nouvellement conquêtes, n'est... les peuples pillant, forçant... Comme personne sauvée de longue et forte maladie et venant à convalescence, les faut choyer, espargner, restaurer, de sorte qu'ils conçoivent en soy cette opinion, n'estre au monde roy ne prince que moins vouldissent ennemy, plus optassent amy."

Rabelais, Pantagruel, III, Chap.1.

Tahiti and dependencies became a colony at a time of much general debate about the value and organisation of the French Empire. Three influences were at work to counter the opponents of expansion overseas. The first was simply a greater appreciation in France of the extent and diversity of French possessions in the 1880's - an enlightenment fostered by geographical and commercial societies and consummated by the Colonial Exhibition of 1889. The second drew its strength from ideas old as the First Republic and was concerned with the extension of the French Constitution overseas and the use of French provincial government as a basis for colonial administration. Finally, there were changes in the Ministry of the Navy and the Colonies itself which facilitated control of new possessions.

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- (1) D. McKay, " Colonialism in the French Geographical Movement ", Geographical Review, vol. XXXIII, 1943, 214-237; Agnes Murphey, The Ideology of French Imperialism, 1871-1881 (Washington, 1948), passim.
- (2) See parliamentary debates on Africa and Indo-China, Moniteur Universel, December 1885-August 1886; Pety de Thozée, Théories de la colonisation au XIX^e Siècle et rôle de l'État dans le développement des colonies (Bruxelles, 1901-1902), Chap. IV, 205 et seq.

" Assimilation " - a label frequently used to sum up French colonial policy for the last two decades of the century - really covered three policies, two of which were not new to Oceania. Legal assimilation of the Polynesian populations of Tahiti, Moorea, the Marquesas and the Tuamotu to the obligations and penalties of the French Civil and Penal Codes had stopped short of land tenure and was practised only within the short radius of French courts in the islands. With some truth, one of the local partisans in favour of the completion of the process claimed that the legislation of 1866 which ended the Tahiti Code " gave to France the key of Tahiti "; Chessé, in arranging the annexation, " had only to open the door "³. In another (and vaguer sense, assimilation implied the extension through education of French language, customs and values - a policy which various of the commandants since Bruat had tried to promote through the Catholic mission with little success. Finally, economic assimilation, or the extension of metropolitan tariffs to local trade, was to make its appearance as a republican doctrine in 1892.

At the administrative level, the theory and practice of assimilation was modified by tradition and experience. " Imbued with the idea, consecrated by the Revolution, that there exists an absolute formula to make people happy, independent of time and place ", colonial commissions, during the late 1870's, led by delegates from the Old

(3) Goupil in Océanie Française, 13 May 1884.

Colonies under the Colonial Director, Dislère, tried unsuccessfully to adapt the 1875 Constitution for promulgation abroad. The search for a formula failed in the face of an administrative principle set down in the Charter of 1815, the Law of 24 April 1833 and the Senatorial Decree of 3 May 1854; this principle recognised the necessity for separate legislation for individual colonies. Theorising about assimilation did not imply administrative conformity in practice. The system of General Councils and Communes, similar to that in operation in French local government, applied overseas in various degrees since 1854, was a uniform policy only in the sense that it promoted the ultimate political hegemony of Paris over possessions abroad. It also set limits to local aspirations towards autonomy: for abroad, the governor's Council was a Council of State; and autonomy for a General Council in the colonies however near the metropolitan pattern it might be, could never mean anything more than limited powers over the budget and the right to voice an opinion on other matters. In short, along with this tendency to export the machinery of centralised administration, the Colonial Department maintained " a régime of exceptions...dominated by bureaucratic caprice "; although the Colonial Pact was abolished, de Thozé complained, " its place was taken by an administrative tutelage hardly any better ".

(4) L. de Saussure, Psychologie de la colonisation française dans ses rapports avec les sociétés indigènes (Paris, 1899), 26; Duchêne, op.cit., 242, 250.

(5) De Thozé, op.cit., 222.

This centralisation was helped by better communications abroad
 6
 and by the creation of a Ministry for the Colonies in 1894. Tahiti,
 in 1881, received news of the ratification of the annexation via the
 San Francisco telegraph only a month after the measure had been
 sanctioned by the French Parliament. From 1883 on, naval officers who
 had founded and administered the Pacific Establishments for fifty years
 began to be replaced by civil officials responsible to a variety of
 ministers and under-secretaries concerned less with naval posts than
 training of obedient administrators in the newly-founded Colonial
 7
 School at Paris.

The new Oceanic colony had to wait five years for an Organic
 Decree to bring its administration into line with these developments.
 In the meantime, there was some preliminary re-shuffling of the local
 officials to absorb the business of the old Department of Native
 Affairs and some experimenting in representation by suffrage. The
ordonnateur's functions in centralising the finances of the garni

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- (6) After 1881, the Colonial Department was directed by an under-secretary of State and was annexed in turn to the Ministries of Commerce, Justice and the Navy. By the Law of 20 March 1894, it was made into a separate Ministry; by 1910, it had been under fifteen different ministers and was installed in its present offices in Rue Oudinot. Thierry Ma, l'Organisation du Ministère des Colonies. Et trait des Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales (Paris, September-November 1910), 13-14, 26.
- (7) The Colonial School was established in 1889 with two-year courses in one of four sections - Commissariat, Indo-China Posts, African Posts, Penitentiary Administration - with general courses on law, economic history, medicine and anthropology. E. Boutmy, Le Recrutement des Administrateurs Coloniaux (Paris, 1895), 20.

the naval base and the administration of the interior were no different to those of the director of the Interior in other colonies; from now on he was to be called such and nominated by the governor, subject to the approval of the Colonial Department.⁸ It was decided by the Minister of the Navy, Jauréguiberry, that the Department of the Interior should be organised on the same lines as the service in French Guiana with a Secretariat, an Office of Colonial Administration and an Office for Finance and Provisions; the staff was to include the director, four subordinate officials and ten clerks and scribes; its portion of the local budget was fixed at not less than 70,000 fr. a year.⁹

As the acting-governor, Des Essarts, pointed out, the full organisation of French Guiana was hardly warranted in a colony with little agriculture and few immigrants; the burden of the work fell on the Office of Colonial Administration and the Office for Finance and Provisions with the business of the old Native Affairs Department to superintend and a great number of native officials in the districts and the outgroups.¹⁰ In short, the central organ of the administration was to co-

(8) Décret portant création d'une direction de l'intérieur dans le E.F.O., 13 March 1882, Annuaire de Tahiti, 1885, 184; décret portant réorganisation de la direction de l'intérieur, 9 November 1883, ibid. 184.

(9) The director's salary was fixed at 12,000 fr. a year; those of four senior officials ranged between 4,000 fr. and 8,829 fr.; those of the clerks were between 1,000 fr. and 7,000 fr. These included official supplements; they were hardly calculated to attract men of talent.

(10) Des Essarts to the Director of Colonies, Michaux, 16 July 1882. A.C.O. 2.



twice as much as the old Department of Native and European Affairs under the Protectorate. Till its abolition in 1898, the Department of the Interior was certainly worth less to a small colony than its cost, despite reforms and whittling down of staff in 1891 and 1893. It might have provided a better opportunity for the employment of Tahitians and advancement from the lowly position of écrivain had not the General Council pressed for a change of the Department into a General Secretariat which employed clerks (commis) whose standard ¹¹ few Tahitians could reach without initial training. Whatever the theory of assimilation, it did not extend to the encouragement of administrative responsibilities among the Polynesian population.

The liberal donation of French nationality to Polynesians by annexation Decree presented problems of a different order. With French nationality came male adult suffrage, and (to pursue the line of assimilation) a proportional share in representing local interests in an elected assembly. One of Chessé's first acts when annexation in sight was to provide for a Colonial Council of twelve members; h

(11) Governor Lacascade (himself a créole) protested vigorously against blocking a valuable source of minor local officials. Few Tahitians rose from the grade of scribe. The examination standards were based on the traditional French system of orals followed by written dictation, a test in arithmetic and written composition. At least an 80% pass was necessary in the orals before a candidate could sit for the rest. Over all, a 50% pass was required. The conditions were revised slightly in 1900 and successful scribes graded into three classes with salaries between 2,500 fr. and 4,000 fr. Lacascade to the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, 8 April 1893, A.C.O. 6; arrêtés, 5 April 1893, 13 March 1900, ibid.

were to be elected by Europeans and half by Tahitians, from two separate lists by secret ballot, for one year.¹²

Of the elections for 1880, 1881 and 1882, little is known, except that only two out of the twelve members elected on the Tahitian poll were considered sufficiently fluent in French to sit in the Council; the other four Tahitian representatives were Europeans. The electoral colleges were limited to Tahiti and Moorea and forwarded their results through the local Justices of the Peace.¹³ There were no elections in the outer islands. The powers of the Colonial Council were purely advisory; its chief function was to combine with the governor's Administrative Council of officials to form a Financial Committee which discussed the budget and nominated members to other resident committees on education, health and commerce.¹⁴

More is known of the elections for 1883 and 1884. There were 2,200 male electors on the roles for Tahiti and Moorea; as many as

- (12) Arrêté, 30 June 1880, Annuaire de Tahiti, 1885, 45. Colonial Councils were simply General Councils with fewer powers. They were set up in the Old Colonies, 1833-1848, with electoral lists for French subjects as well as French citizens.
- (13) Procès-verbaux du conseil d'administration, August 1883, A.C.O. 82.
- (14) There were no publications of the minutes of the Financial Committee or the Council: Governor Morau warned that they "would be likely to arouse public feeling if the country's delegates expressed opinions different from those of the administration". Morau in procès-verbaux du conseil d'administration, November 1880, A.C.O. 82. The MS. minutes of the Financial Committee are extant however, in A.C.O. 87, November 1880-January 1881, November-December 1881, encl. in Des Essarts to the Minister for the Navy, 10 February 1882, A.C.O. 88.

1,500 Europeans and Tahitians voted in each year; and of these, only
 15
 8% were white settlers. The strain of unaccustomed democracy produced
 some electoral peculiarities: the district chief or the local mutoi
 advised how to vote; in 1883, three districts sent in returns which
 tallied exactly with their rolls, and one of these inscribed the same
 candidates on all of its 67 voting-cards; at Faaa, in the same year,
 with 112 male electors making 6 votes each - with a possible maximum
 16
 672 returns, 692 votes were recorded. Other districts produced similar
 phenomena; bribes were commonplace and the influence of French officials
 was used in favour of some of the candidates.

From the beginning, the lilliputian electorate with its division
 into two lists threw up two main parties - French Catholics elected
 Papeete traders, and Tahitian and French Protestants elected by the
 17
 districts. Candidates for these two blocks were consistently returned
 to office till the Colonial Council was abolished in 1884 and a temporary
 General Council of 12 was elected from a single list of

(15) For example, during the elections for the Colonial Council in
 July-August 1884, inscribed male electors over 21 numbered 2,188
 of whom 1,567 voted. Subtracting the 0-20 age-group from the total
 male population of Tahiti and Moorea (about 500 per 1,000) some
 2,265 males over 21 are left. Presumably 100 or so were disqualified
 from the lists for civil or criminal offences. Océanie Française
 12 August 1884; Messageur de Tahiti, 18 August 1884.

(16) Océanie Française, 21 August, 25 September, 30 October 1883.

(17) For the European list, Cardella, Raoulx, Martiny, Bonet, Lam
 mazino and Liais were elected annually; Pastor Viénot, Tati Sal
 Tihoni a Arato, Vai a Petea and Goupil formed the nucleus of the
 district candidates. The official organs of each side were the
Messageur de Tahiti and the Océanie Française.

18
 candidates. Some respect had to be paid to the principle of equality between the two electorates for the new Council. The governor's decree which ended the first experiment claimed that by calling " 344 electors among the Europeans and 2,188 native electors to nominate separately from distinct lists the same number of representatives ", no account was taken of the numerical difference between the white and Polynesian population. Henceforth, there was but one list. Nothing was done to represent the outer groups; their budgets were matters for the governor's Administrative Council alone.

Elections for the new General Council were marked by the same factionalism between the interests of the districts and Papeete. Perpetual infringements of the voting rules, shortage of voting cards, unverified lists, and hot exchanges between the rival newspapers - the Océanie Française (run by Cardella and Raoulx) and the Messenger de Tahiti (run by Goupil) - almost obscured the purpose for which the Council was elected. All parties were united on one point: an Organic Decree needed to define the Council's powers; and a census was needed in the outer groups to enfranchise the rest of the colony.

19

(18) Arrêté portant dissolution du conseil colonial et instituant conseil général dans la colonie, 30 September 1884, Journal Officiel des E.F.O., 2 September 1884; Messenger de Tahiti, 6 October 1884.

(19) Such a census was made in 1884 to complete a partial count made in 1882. According to the Annuaire de Tahiti, 1885, 15, results

	<u>Polynesians</u>	<u>Europeans (excluding officials)</u>
Tahiti, Moorea...	8,629	1,606
Marquesas.....	5,776	
Tuamotu.....	7,270	
Gambier Islands..	547	
Tubuai, Raiavavae.	679	
Total.....	8,629.14,272.	1,606

Total native and white population, plus 447 Chinese = 24,954. This figure is approximate only; the figures for the Marquesas and the

∟ Gambier

(a) The Decree of 28 December 1885.

1. The governor and the Privy Council.

At the end of 1885, a constitution for the new colony was decre²⁰ and signed by the President of the Republic. Full military and naval powers were vested in the governor as representative of the President abroad - except in time of war when local shipping was to be under the command of the admiral of the Pacific Naval Division. Responsible to the governor were five principal officials: the director of the Interior, the attorney-general, a chief of Naval Administration, a medical superintendent and the treasury-paymaster. These, plus two nominated residents, formed the Privy Council which the governor was obliged to²¹ consult on certain matters and which discussed all local legislation.

All other local officials - including ministers of religion - were considered to be under the governor's orders, though he could not re-define their functions, except in cases of dispute between them; nor could he interfere with judgements made in French courts. His power of suspension could only be exercised in the Privy Council; and finally

Gambier Islands differ from those obtained in 1881 by Dr. Clavel (4,865 and 480). See Caillot, *op.cit.*, 71.

(20) Décret concernant le gouvernement des Établissements Français l'Océanie, 28 décembre 1885, in Documents concernant le gouvernement de la colonie et l'institution d'un conseil général, 5.

(21) Matters which had to be reviewed by the Privy Council included estimates for public works and administrative purchases below 5,000 francs, markets, the budget, fishing and navigation rights, the interpretation of French laws, export of foodstuffs and livestock, education, churches, sanitation and the promulgation of laws in the colony. Titre IV, chap. III, Du Conseil Privé, Décret...28 décembre 1885 loc.cit.

decision on the behaviour of an official was reserved for the Minister in Paris. In short, as a writer at the end of the century put it, " a governor in our colonies is responsible for the errors of his officials, but he has not sufficient power to prevent them making errors ". His power to spend was similarly curbed: all expenses in excess of 5,000 fr. had to be justified to the Ministry before action was taken; he might also sell on the State account - but again not in excess of 5,000 fr. The governor's powers of expropriation were left conveniently vague: at least the Privy Council had to be consulted.

Governors at Tahiti during the last quarter of the century were many - some 19 between 1880 and 1905, 10 of whom were other officials acting as governor. Few, except perhaps Lacascade and Petit, made the mark in colonial administration elsewhere; none were long enough at Tahiti to gain more than a superficial knowledge of the surrounding islands; and none had sufficient influence in Paris to promote the

(22) Louis Brunel, l'État et l'individu dans la colonisation française moderne (Paris, 1898), 97.

(23) The governors (or acting-governors) were: Ghessé, 3 December 1879; des Essarts, 5 July 1881; Morau, 20 April 1883; Moracchini, December 1885; Lacascade, 23 March 1886; d'Ingremard, 29 October 1886; Lacascade (second term) 1 July 1890; Papinaud 2 April 1893; de Cassagnac, 4 June 1893; Bommier, 24 October 1893; Ours, 7 December 1893; Papinaud (second term) 20 April 1894; Gallet, 1 April 1896; Gabrié, 31 January 1897; Gallet (second term) 1 February 1898; Fous, 25 March 1899; Rey, 14 July 1899; Gallet (third term) 30 November 1899; Rey (second term) 19 January 1901; Petit, 25 February 1901; Cor, 5 February 1904; Lanrezac (did not take office) Jullien, 20 February 1905.

development of the colony by investment or immigration. " The govern
 wrote Paul Gauguin " the elect of the administration, shine like star
 with all their glitter on their arrival; like shooting stars they com
 and shoot off to another latitude."²⁴

2. The General Council.

Along with the Organic Decree defining the powers of the admini
 tration's officials was appended a decree of the same date endowing t
 colony with a General Council of 18 members of whom 4 were to be elec
 from Papeete, 6 from Tahiti and Moorea, 4 from the Tuamotu, 2 from th
 Marquesas and 2 from the Gambier Islands and the Australs.²⁵ The attri
 ions of the Council were clear, but limited: matters on which the
 governor was required to accept their opinion included the revision o
 the electoral lists, all purchase of property by the administration
 (except that required for " public use "), transactions with privat
 companies, public charities, pensions and the " voting of taxes of ev
 kind necessary to meet the expenses of the colony ", except customs a
 wharf fees.²⁶ In all other matters, the Council was permitted to recor

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- (24) Gauguin in Le Sourire, 13 October 1899 (a newspaper produced
 illustrated by the artist himself, August 1899-April 1900).
 (25) Décret instituant un conseil général dans les E.F.O., 28 décer
 1885, loc.cit; Annuaire des E.F.O., 1891, 186-187.
 (26) Arts. 36-40, 41, 45, Titre III, Décret instituant un conseil
 général..., loc.cit.

its opinion - which might be accepted or rejected. In the matter of annual budget, the Council's powers were severely restricted by the peculiarities of the French financial system in the colonies. The budget and the annual accounts were to be presented by the director of the Interior - the official link between the Council and the administration - and were to include everything except State subsidies, wages of higher officials and military expenses. The influence of the Council over expenditure was limited to optional expenses, as distinct from obligatory expenses - which the governor could write in if the Council refused to pass the amounts stipulated in the budget. ²⁷ Optional expenses could not be changed in Privy Council after they had been voted by the assembly - unless the governor judged that there were not sufficient revenues to meet the obligatory charges. Accounts were to be examined every year by a permanent commission appointed by the Council and acting as an interim committee between sessions.

Only one other concession was made to resident representation: the Council might correspond with the Ministry over the governor's head, set up an investigating committee on its own initiative with the right to examine any relevant documents from local heads of departments.

(27) Arts. 52-58, Titre IV, Décret instituant un conseil général. loc.cit. Obligatory expenses, as enumerated in art. 54, were: debts contracted by the administration, all expenses for personnel and material fixed in Paris, expenses of the Department of the Interior, justice, churches, Government House, the Secretariat, prisons, education, the gendarmerie, native police, indentured labour, printing, harbour officials, special drafts for the treasury-payer, contingent expenses paid to Paris and "unforeseen" - an item at the governor's discretion.

Until 1890, the General Council was the sole representative body in the colony with a voice in the general administration. In the main its work was protest and its sessions were dominated by a stormy cabal of traders with an undercurrent of religious faction. Its members represented Tahiti and Papeete; like their predecessors in the Colonial Council, they duplicated much of the business of a plethora of minor representative bodies - the Chamber of Commerce, the Agricultural Committee, the Works Commission, the Council for Hygiene and Public Health, the Council for Public Education and the Committee for the Agricultural Bank. There were no Tahitians among them till near the end of the Council's life, because of the language qualification. Resignations, absences and the sheer weight of other committee activities sometimes made a quorum on important issues hard to find.

Their victories over the administration were few. With difficulty, the Council obtained for its members the right to the presidency of the Agricultural Bank - formerly a guarded preserve of the director of the Interior. Through the same Bank, they were responsible for buying land for Papeete's first civil hospital and the palace and grounds of Pomare V as an historic monument. They prevented France from sending shiploads of hardened criminals to the colony after the

(28) Session, 3 September 1886, Procès-Verbaux des Sessions du Conseil Général, 1886-1887, 72.

(29) Sessions, 25 November 1886, ibid, 1886-1887, 364; 20 October 1900, ibid, 1900-1901, 16.

passing of the famous Law on Habitual Criminals in 1885. The Council
 was also successful in voting an end to the Department of the Interior
 which was replaced by a General Secretariat in 1898; in doing so, they
 removed the only official with first-hand knowledge of their debates
 for an administrative non-entity, the Secretary-General. Finally,
 through the reports of various committees, the Council kept up a
 steady criticism of schools, public works, education, immigration and
 the police force; and they debated the important questions of Chinese
 settlement and the sale of spirits to natives - items which the Council
 did not have the courage to settle.

Many of these matters were secondary to the main business of the
 Council - control of taxes and the optional expenses of the budget.
 Its inability to effectively determine the use of revenues was compe-
 nsated for by procrastination, tedious wrangles over small but import-
 ant items such as the payment of native pastors, the election of Pastor
 Viénot to the Council in 1886, and the election for several terms of

(30) Under-Secretary Rousseau to Morau, 11 November 1885, cited in
 session, 12 November 1886, *ibid.*, 1886-1887, 179. The récidivistes
 were to be divided into likely colonists and relégués collectifs
 whose lot was to be hard labour. Councillor Bonet summed up the
 feeling of the European residents: "This is a present which the
 colony cannot except under any pretext."

(31) Session, 20 March 1893, *ibid.*, 1892-1893, 151; Minister for the
 Colonies to Gallet, 13 September 1898, A.C.O. 6; Gallet to the
 Minister for the Colonies, 1 September 1898, *ibid.* The internal
 administration of the colony was not changed; the Secretary-General
 (no counter-part of the British official of the same title) was
 little more than the governor's clerk.

(32) Debates on the Chinese peril have a modern ring. Arguments for
 /suppressing

Frank Puaux (a Protestant) as the colony's delegate to the Superior
 33
 Council for the Colonies at Paris.

By 1889, relations between the administration and the colony's
 representatives had deteriorated into a series of personal feuds betw
 members and the acting-governor, d'Ingreward.

" Now is the time of anonymous placards and insults from the pr
 the sessions of the General Council become the pretext for
 tumultuous meetings where a crowd comes to demonstrate against
 the head of the colony and everything to do with his administ
 ion, and the suspension always asked for by the governor's
 Council is beginning to seem like the only remedy for the
 situation." 34

3. The Commune of Papeete.

In 1886, the General Council adopted the report of one of its
 commissions for a Municipal Council with a separate budget for the
 35
 3,500 citizens of Papeete. By the Decree of 20 April 1890, this plan
 was approved, and a new resident body of a mayor and 14 councillors

suppressing the Asiatic retailers became less convincing as their
 importance for the internal commerce of the colony was realised.
 Sessions, 10 November 1886, ibid, 1886-1887, 179; 19 September 1887,
ibid, 1892-1893, 263. The numbers of the Chinese from the 1860's
 remained about 450. Immigration began again in 1911 through San
 Francisco and Auckland. By 1936 there were nearly 4,000 Chinese
 the É.F.O., and by 1951, 6,655. Océanie Française, 12 June 1883;
 Charlier, Rapport d'ensemble, année 1907, 43; Le Libéral, Journal
Socialiste, 10 July 1911; Sasportas, Tahiti et ses Archipels, Note
officielle, 65.

- (33) The Conseil Supérieur des Colonies was created in 1883 as an
 advisory body of ministers, deputies and delegates from the colony
 French banks and chambers of commerce. The General Council refuse
 to correspond with Puaux, elected locally in 1886 for a term of th
 years.
- (34) D'Ingreward to the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies,
 November 1889, A.C.O. 4.
- (35) Session, 1 December 1886, Procès-Verbaux des Séances du Consei
Général, 1886-1887, 492.

36

was added to local politics. Their business was to meet four or five times a year to "execute sales, approve leases... and make decision on municipal works". Police, port facilities, the octroi de mer and public buildings also fell to its charge. To finance these responsibilities the Municipality prepared and voted a budget, with the approval of the Privy Council, and drew on a portion of local taxes and revenues - with the approval of the General Council.

37

The budget itself was never more than 170,000 fr. a year; but the power of the General Council to reduce the allocation led to a steady three-cornered dispute between the representatives of the Municipality in the General Council, the members elected by the districts and the administration, chiefly over the share of the town in trading licences and the octroi de mer. In 1890, it was agreed that one third of these revenues were to go to the Papeete budget; but this proportion was whittled down year after year till, in 1900, the Privy Council was requested by Mayor Cardella to take legal proceedings against the General Council for its stringency. In short there was

38

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- (36) Décret portant organisation d'institutions municipales pour la commune de Nouméa rendu applicable à la commune de Papeete par l'article 2 du premier décret du 20 Mai 1890, 20 Mai 1890, in Municipalité de Papeete, Décrets du mai 1890, 5.
- (37) Art. 20, Chap. II, ibid. By Chap. VI, none of the minutes of Municipal Council were to be published or quoted in the local papers. The limits of the town were the sea to the north, Mt. Faiere to the south, the river Fautaua to the east, and to the west, the cemetery.
- (38) Cardella based his case on practice in New Caledonia. The governor replied that he could not change revenues voted to the Municipality by the General Council. Nothing came of the case. Procès-verbaux du conseil privé, 15 February 1900, A.C.O. 91.

agreed basis in practice for supporting a French institution set up a town where French residents were outnumbered three to one by Tahitians and other Europeans. In any case, the upkeep of roads continued to be paid from the general budget for public works; the Municipal Council never had complete control of the local wharves and customs offices, and it had the building of only one school to its credit by the end of the century. Moreover, an analysis of local taxation, made in 1903, revealed that the Commune received roughly a quarter of the local budget, while the average per capita taxation of the population living in the districts was 140 fr. 70 c. higher than the town-dwellers. Even less than the General Council did it benefit the colony as a whole or was it useful.

(b) District administration at Tahiti and Moorea.

The extension of French nationality to the Polynesian population of the Establishments raised two questions concerning their administrative and judicial organisation: how far were District Councils to be assimilated to the forms of local government in France; and how much notice were French administrators to take of the "reserves" outlined briefly in the annexation agreement? In the view of the Director of Colonies, Michaux, the incorporation of the islanders into patterns

(39) The amount paid by the district population per capita towards the general expenses of the colony was 718 fr. 78 c.; the amount paid by a citizen of Papeete was 578 fr. 08 c. Procès-verbaux du conseil privé, 14 January 1903, A.C.O. 91.

French government was not to be taken too literally.

" In point of fact, if the parliamentary habits of the Tahitian population make it particularly expert at discussion in council and are proof of the most useful support it is likely to bring to the administration, its numerical superiority compared with the restricted number of colonists of European origin assures it, under the rule of complete equality, a pre-eminence which is perhaps not consistent with sound policy and the legitimate influence which we must continue to exercise. From another point of view, municipal institutions, so desirable in every country where interests are collective, could not be established there without taking into account... these different elements and the chiefs' prerogatives maintained by the act of cession." 40

Michaux had nothing more positive to state concerning the District Councils. At Tahiti, however, there were French residents who knew exactly what should be done: they had their voice in the Océanie Française and in its editor, Goupil, who conducted a campaign which forced Pomare V to give up his privilege of court domestics, provided by the districts in turn, and who attacked the To'ohitu and separate land jurisdiction. ⁴¹ As Goupil pointed out, the section on the reserves in the act of cession had taken on the measure of a full diplomatic concession by France. The removal of the seemingly anomalous system of native land courts could present no difficulties, thought Governor Morau: Tahitians could not fail to want republican institutions, since they were already " carried away despite themselves by the ideas with which modern societies are imbued - the direct consequence of a law of

(40) Michaux to the Minister for the Navy, ? 1882, A.C.O. 6.
 (41) Océanie Française, 17 April 1883, 22, 29 April 1884.

42

nature which wills us ever forward ".

This wishful thinking did not get far in practice. The District Councils could not be made into municipal bodies while they had nobody on them capable of managing district finances and while few could speak French or understand French legislation. Goupil might well wish to call the chiefs " mayors "; but this innovation completely overlooked the question of authority in the districts. Conflict between the French-appointed president of the District Council and the district pastor or

43

gendarme was not uncommon. But the policy was strongly urged by Puaux the colony's delegate to Paris - who favoured the presentation of tricolor sashes to the chiefs; yet, even he was torn between praising this colourful vestige of assimilation and cautioning against importing any other attributions of French mayors.

44

The idea of full Municipal Councils in the district was dropped in favour of Municipal Commissions consisting of a president (the chief

(42) Morau to the General Council, 1 September 1884, cited in Océan Française, 9 September 1884.

(43) The picture of District Council activities, even at this date French administration, is fragmentary and unsatisfactory for the historian because of the lack of written records. A present-day study of the meetings and activities of local councils would probably throw some light on changes in the indigenous political structure effected by elected leaders, ministers and the police. Danielsson Work and Life on Raroia is silent on this point: see Chap. III, 4.

In 1884 for example, there was a clash of authority between the parish church council at Papetoai (backed by Pastor Vernier) and the district chief (backed by the French Resident). The French administrator objected to the parish council's order that the district cease labour for three months to prepare for the New Year celebrations. Vernier to Morau, 18 March 1884, S.M.E Correspondence, 1884.

(44) Puaux to the Minister for the Navy, 25 August 1887, A.C.O. 4.

or representative appointed by the administration), three titular⁴⁵ councillors with voting powers and five advisory members. It is not likely that this system resulted in any great changes in the procedure of the Councils: the distinction between titular and advisory members was probably purely nominal.

Only nine of the elections in the districts for the new councillors were approved; thirteen others were annulled for irregularities - the participation of the candidates in the voting, falsified returns⁴⁶ canvassing by Protestant pastors. Certainly no improvement resulted in the general administration of district affairs: no revenues were allocated by the General Council; and even Goupil, the partisan of district municipalities, was forced to admit that " all communal constructions, at one time built by means of the corvées, are in ruin and gradually disappear without being replaced - the natives not being so naive as to furnish taxes in kind which they do not owe and which Europeans are not subjected to "⁴⁷.

This comment on the experiment suggests that the organisation of communal labour (unless through the parish councils) had broken down because of some profound changes in the political structure of the districts - assisted over a long period of European administration by interference with sub-tribal authorities, and hastened by more recent

(45) Arrêté, 4 October 1887, A.C.O. 6.

(46) Message, 2 November 1887.

(47) Procès-verbaux du conseil privé, October 1890, A.C.O. 89.

treatment of the Polynesian as an individual. The system of taxation in kind had been disrupted by the annexation and was not restored till 1898 when a road tax, commutable into a week's labour, was introduced. Otherwise, the Tahitian was asked to pay his head tax of 20 fr., dog tax and fines in cash, like a European. From time to time he was threatened with a land tax, as a stimulus to agriculture; but this was not applied. Wherever Governor Gallet toured in 1901, he was greeted by petitions from the chiefs and the Councils asking for a return to the old system of district taxes (prestation rurale), in operation under the Protectorate, which could be paid in work-days⁴⁸. This was not done till 1905. Assimilation of the Councils to a bogus European pattern, without making over adequate finances to them, was an admitted failure.

The only feature of district administration which had been strengthened by the Municipal Commission system was the power of the governor to approve or suspend elected chiefs at will. Between 1885 and 1906, in the 22 administrative divisions of Tahiti and Moorea, there were changes of headship everywhere (except at Papara) - usually two or three times.⁴⁹

(48) The chiefs claimed they could get labour to repair district roads and buildings, but Tahitians would not work out of their own districts as wage labour. Petit to the Minister for the Colonies, 31 March 1901, A.C.O. 3.

(49) As an example, the case of the Council of Afareaitu may be cited. When a new chief (a Catholic and related to Councillor Raoulx) was elected in 1895, the governor sanctioned for the post the candidate with the second largest number of votes on the grounds that immigrants and Polynesians had taken part in the elections (as they usually did) and that the winning candidate was the former chief - deposed for mismanagement. The electors of Afareaitu to Papinaud, 30 April 1895; Raoulx to Papinaud, 9 May 1895, A.C.O. 3.

A new influence on district affairs was party politics at Papeete. Campaigning for the votes of the Polynesians had begun during the elections for the Colonial Council. It was intensified when the Card party in the General Council blocked the payment of district native pastors and deacons in 1887. " These events " wrote a Tahitian member of the Council " have caused many people to reflect who have great influence over the minds of the population and who had stood apart from the electoral struggles in order not to mix religion and material interests." From then on, annual electioneering by ministers and traders became an entertaining feature of district life. When the Commune entered the fray with its own representatives, Cardella carried the battle a stage further by seeking to influence District Council elections and gain support from the districts through one of the sources and guides to their political views. Pamphleteering was rife.

Governor Gallet countered this bid for district votes by decreeing that the governor might appoint any chief (elected or not) from outside the ra'atira of the district if necessary. Six of the district chiefs who had been most concerned with aiding the propaganda of the

(50) Poroi to Puaux, n.d. cited in Puaux, Note sur Tahiti, 11 Febr 1887, MS., A.C.O. 6

(51) One of the broadsheets from Cardella and Raoulx for the elections in 1899 for the General Council was titled: E te mau hui-raatira r Tahiti e Moorea (" To the ra'atira of Tahiti and Moorea "); it listed the party candidates as Raoulx, Langomazino and four Tahiti - only one of whom was elected - and concluded with a promise to avoid taxes on horses and carts, to preserve land rights and the Protestant faith. A.C.O. 3.

(52) Arrêté, 3 January 1900, encl. in Gallet to the Minister for the Colonies, 14 March 1900, A.C.O. 3.

Cardella party were replaced out of hand; three others - including Piri Teri'ihinoiatua of Pare and Arue - were made to retract their signature from a petition protesting against the lack of representation from the outer groups on the General Council. One of the last traditions of district administration under the Protectorate was broken.

Law and order was maintained in the districts by the colonial gendarme. Two brigades were stationed at Papeete and one at Taravao - about 20 men in all with native constables attached to the village of each district. For Polynesians and Europeans alike, the application of French laws meant a trip to Papeete to the Tribunal of First Instance under a French magistrate who heard all civil disputes under 250 fr., commercial disputes under 150 fr., and charges made by the police in and around the town. After 1888, Justices of the Peace on circuit dealt with petty sessions in the districts and civil cases to the value of 1,000 fr. The circuit was summary - six times a year - with hardly time to hear more than two or three cases at Moorea before the court was interrupted " by the whistle of the Eva announcing departure ".

A Superior Tribunal at Papeete, under the presidency of the attorney-general, heard appeals from judgements by the Justices of the Peace and the Tribunal of First Instance, all civil and commercial cases

(53) The demoted chiefs and presidents were from the Councils of Papeete, Teahupoo, Mahaena, Tiarei, Afaahiti and Papenoo. Three were replaced by Tahitians from outside the district families.

(54) Commission report, 23 November 1900, Procès-Verbaux des Séances du Conseil-Général, 1900-1901, 115.

not within the jurisdiction of the lower courts, and (as a Court of Assizes) all criminal cases. The bulk of the work for public prosecution was done by the gendarmerie and the mutoi. For the year 1887, for example, there were about 800 " complaints, denunciations or charges lodged - only three of these being matters for the criminal court. The majority of these police cases were heard in the Tribunal of First Instance. The bulk of minor commercial disputes were handled by the Justices of the Peace. Revenues from the assimilation of Polynesians the French Codes provided less than a tenth of annual revenues before 1891; there was a slight increase after that date when Justices of the Peace were established in the Leeward Islands and the Austral group.

(c) The administration of the outer islands.

The Decree of 1885 was silent about the organisation of over ha the Polynesian population of the Establishments - save for a short

(55) The highest proportion of cases for the E.F.O. were drunkenness for the year 1887, there were 918 convictions out of 1,277 hearing in all courts of petty instance. Other convictions were listed as

trespass of livestock.....	133
obstruction or littering roads...	74
" bruits et tapage injurieux et nocturnes.".....	57
Vagrancy, disrespect.....	155

Lacascade to the Minister for the Navy, 16 August 1888, A.C.O. 94.

(56) Revenues from the courts for 1887 were:

registration of lands...	4,523 fr. 30.
court expenses.....	116,998 fr. 41.
finances.....	7,674 fr. 67.
Total.....	129,196 fr. 38.

Lacascade to the Minister for the Navy, 16 August 1888, loc.cit.

51
 statement that their affairs were to be regulated by the Privy Council
 The interest of the administration in the surrounding islands was
 directed mainly to the consolidation of the colony by the addition of
 Leeward group and the remainder of the Australs, control of the copra
 and shell trade through Papeete, the supervision of District Councils
 (where they were in operation on the Tahiti model), and the local
 land tenure system. Lack of clear policy, regular communications and
 sufficient personnel restricted centralisation from Papeete to the main
 islands of each group. Participation in the General Council outside
 Tahiti and Moorea broke down after 1899 when the seats for the Marques
 58
 the Tuamotu, the Gambier Islands, the Australs and Rapa were abolished
 The duty of representing the needs of the outer groups for a share in the
 budget fell to the Residents - who were rarely at Privy Council meetings
 to give detailed reports.

1. The pacification of the Leeward Islands, 1880-1906.

From 1880 till 1887, the French position in the islands to the
 north-west of Tahiti was uncertain, but not unpredictable. While the
 abrogation of the Convention of 1847 hung in the balance, French naval
 officers settled European complaints " over the heads of native courts
 reinstated native officials dismissed by the chiefs of Raiatea, Borabo

(57) Art. 132, Titre V, Décret portant organisation du gouvernement
F.F.O., 28 décembre 1885, loc.cit.

(58) Arrêté, 10 April 1899, cited in Secretary-General Rey to the
 Minister for the Colonies, 5 November 1899, A.C.O. 3.

and Huahine and induced a few native allies to accept French naturalization.⁵⁹ When the unpopular ari'i of Raiatea, Tamatoa, was forced by his people to abdicate, a chief of Tahaa was appointed in his place by the French and two villages were bombarded in November 1887 when objections⁶⁰ were raised.

On news of the signing of the Declaration of Paris, Governor Lacascade annexed each of the three islands and their dependencies in March 1888.⁶¹ The native population of some 6,000 reacted in different ways to French protection. A large section of Raiatea resisted, believing that Britain would not abandon them, and hoisted a copy of the British flag as a symbol of independence.⁶² At Huahine, native administration continued, till 1895, according to the missionary Codes under the ruling family of Queen Teha'apapa (who had ceded the island) till relations of the rebels at Raiatea deposed her. Lacascade, with the help of a French gunboat, restored her and her daughter to a shadow paramountcy over the districts; in 1895, the island was declared a

(59) Richards to the L.M.S., 30 September 1887, L.M.S.S.S. 39.

(60) Idem, 2 February 1888, ibid, 40.

(61) British and Foreign State Papers, 1887-1888, vol. 79, 542-544; Proclamation plaçant les îles Raiatea-Tahaa, Huahine, Borabora et dépendances sous la souveraineté pleine et entière de la France, 1 mars 1888; procès-verbal de prise de possession de l'île Huahine par la France, 16 mars 1888; Procès-verbal de prise de possession de Raiatea par la France, 17 mars 1888; Procès-verbal de prise de possession de Borabora et dépendances par la France, 19 mars 1888, ibid, 152-156; Caillot, Histoire de la Polynésie orientale, 315-32

(62) Consul Hawes to F.O., 1 August 1890, T. B.C.P. Papeete; for population figures for the Leeward Islands and the extent of foreign investment, see Appendix VI.

republic, the queen was pensioned off and a resident-administrator was installed. At Borabora, Queen Teri'imaevavua kept the island out of troubles at Raiatea which was not pacified till 1897, after infantry from New Caledonia had been called in and the rebel leaders exiled.⁶³

A new form of administration was adopted for the islands. In 1897 Governor Gabri e combined the three separate native Codes with few changes into a single set of laws; the two official residents at Huahine and Borabora were to act as Justices of the Peace for European cases and were required to consult with two native assessors in mixed cases.⁶⁴ Both officials were responsible to a resident-administrator at Uturoa Raiatea. The number of local native judges was reduced in every island. Special tribunals of district chiefs and native judges were nominated to hear cases from the land inscription demanded in the new Code.⁶⁵

The greatest difficulties were encountered in trying to divert tribute into official hands as taxation. The interpretation of the new Code by native judges (who usually exacted the largest fines or imposed the longest term of imprisonment) had to be frequently revised by French administrators. And the system was not helped by the

(63) Minister for the Colonies to Chess , 17 May 1895, A.C.O. 117; Caillot, op.cit., 325-330; J.S.M.E., 1897, 495-496; Chesneau, Souvenirs de Marcantoni, 1879-1931, 22.

(64) Lois codifi es de l'archipel des Iles-Sous-le-Vent, le 20 Octobre 1898; Sigwalt, La Justice aux  tablissements Franais de l'Oc an e

63. For an analysis of the new Code, see Appendix II.

(65) For land inscription, see below, Chap. XVI,

appointment of a colonial gendarme to each island, prone to prosecute and convict on his own initiative and unwilling to sacrifice his dignity by appearing as a mere witness before a native judge. ⁶⁶ Indeed there were strong arguments for the introduction of the French Penal Code, while leaving civil and land tenure matters to the native court. French laws had to be applied in any case to Tahitians, Marquesans and Tuamotuans living in the group. ⁶⁷ But the native Code, with subsequent revisions, was not abolished till 1946.

The chieftainships at Raiatea, Huahine and Borabora were neither autocratic nor stable. France simply consolidated her Oceanic colony to the north-west of Tahiti with a minimum of personnel and, except for land tenure, with a minimum of interference with a population that had remained notably antipathetic to French institutions and government. ⁶⁸

2. The Marquesas Islands.

In no other group of the Establishments did the extension of French laws to natives and Europeans alike prove so inadequate for elementary problems of law and order. Between 1887 and 1905, the tot

(66) Resident Corne to the resident-administrator, 24 September 1899. Documents sur l'administration des Iles-Sous-le-Vent, 1895-1905, Ropiteau-O'Reilly Collection.

(67) Bracconi, " Les Iles-Sous-le-Vent de Tahiti et le régime de l'indigénat ", Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales, no. 230, September 1906, 231-333.

(68) It is pretentious to compare the administration of the Leeward with the " Indirect Rule " of British colonies: see Beaglehole, " Government and Administration in Polynesia ", in Specialized Studies in Anthropology, 62. For a detailed discussion of the administration at Borabora, see Appendix VII.

population of the Marquesas decreased from about 5,000 to 3, 100 persons. The administration made up its mind that the eventual extinction of the native race was inevitable, as official after official sent in reports describing their inability to collect taxes or fines from a scattered people indifferent to the French and demoralised by disease and spirits.⁷⁰

The Residency did not consist of more than an official nominated by the governor (usually an officer of the colonial troops), assisted by three or four minor officials and a brigade of ten gendarmes stationed through the islands - the only link between the administration and the tribes. Justice was the business of the gendarme and (less frequently the resident official, as Justice of the Peace. Penalties imposed for distilling coconut brandy and importing spirits were met by the sale of a few sacks of copra; imprisonment for the Marquesans was, in the words of Resident Bellisle, " a kind of honorary distinction "⁷¹. Recourse to Papeete tribunals was rare; French civil laws on marriage, births and registration of deaths were ignored. In 1893, Resident Tautain who had been in the group for six years echoed the opinion of Lavaud some forty five years earlier: either, he thought, the French should retire

(69) Caillot, *op.cit.*, 71; Charlier, *op.cit.*, 43.

(70) Annuaire des E.F.O., 1917, 33. The frankest history of the Marquesas has never been published: it is written in the reports of an administrator between 1920 and 1921 who denounced the late nineteenth century policy of legal assimilation and drew heavily on the official archives of that period to prove his points. Bellisle, Archipel des Marquises, Rapport d'ensemble pour l'année 1920; idem, Rapport d'ensemble sur la situation de l'Archipel des Marquises, 127 décembre 1921; idem, Notice sur l'agriculture aux Marquises et situation économique de l'archipel, le 10 novembre 1921, MS., Ropiteau-O'Reilly Collection.

(71) Bellisle, Archipel des Marquises..., loc.cit.

altogether or increase their personnel to an effective size. In another report, Tautain noted that in 1880 there had still existed a traditional respect for certain families and chiefs among the valley tribes which might have assisted a form of administration based on a native code of laws. " Instead of that " he wrote " the Marquesas have been treated as one would treat a sub-prefecture of France in 1894."⁷³

Tautain was unusually outspoken. In general, administrators were inhibited by officious criticism of their reports at Papeete and by the desire for quick promotion to a happier colony. Their subordinates, especially the colonial gendarmes, were notorious for their lack of intelligence and discipline. Lords of their posts and their charges, and costing the administration about 15,000 fr. a year each they have been fittingly caricatured for their magnificent self-importance in Gendarme Guillot's autobiography; their pluralistic offices were vilified by Gauguin. " Here," wrote the artist who was frequently at odds with them " the gendarme fulfills all functions - notary, judicial sub-official for tax-collecting, server of writs, officer of the port... a scoundrel in all these duties as a gendarme - all with no guarantee of skill or honesty."⁷⁴

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- (72) Tautain to Bomnier, 22 April 1893, in Bellisle, *op.cit.*, loc. cit.
- (73) With some justice, he continued: " it would have been as well however, to ask beforehand if the organisation set up in France at the Revolution could have applied among ourselves in Gaul, Year 10 of our era, which, despite its human sacrifices, I will not insult with a comparison with the Marquesas in 1882." *Idem, ibid.*
- (74) Guillot was gendarme at Ua Pou and Nukuhiva, 1889 and 1894-1895. *Souvenirs d'un Colonial en Océanie*, *passim*; Gauguin, *A Mss. les Inspecteurs des Colonies et de passage aux Marquises*, encl. in Gauguin to Morice, February 1903, *Lettres de Gauguin à Sa Femme et à ses Amis*, 314.

Little enough had been done for education in the Marquesas. Yet it was one of Guillot's proudest boasts that he had helped to replace the two Catholic schools by government schools in the spirit of republican anti-clericalism which reached Oceania in 1904. The subsidy for the mission - some 12,000 fr. a year - was ended; and the missionaries were forbidden to teach "for want of the necessary diplomas"⁷⁵. The result was to end any sort of elementary instruction: sixteen years later, Bellisle could find no Marquesan who had learned French at a government school.⁷⁶

Agriculturally, the people of the group suffered from the same factors that hindered the administration - lack of communications and the economic centralisation of the Papeete markets. Cotton plantations which had produced an average yield of 300 tons up till 1892, fell away to a production of 125 tons a year. Copra, which was exported in small quantities before 1890, rose to 1,200 tons by 1904. Trade till 1914, was largely in the hands of the German Société Commerciale d'Océanie which paid only one fifth of the Papeete market price for copra and sold European imports at a profit of 40% to 50%.⁷⁷

Financially, the Marquesas were looked on simply as a tax farm averaging 100,000 fr. a year, out of which were paid 70,000 fr. to

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- (75) Dr. Grosfillez to Cor, 7 August 1904, encl. in Cor to the Minister for the Colonies, 5 November 1904, A.C.O. 3. Some indication of the progress of education in the group may be had from the Catholic protest against the measure - a petition of 873 Marquesan signatures (cited by Resident Grosfillez) of which 523 were crosses, 64 were copied from a model, and 8 were in the same hand.
- (76) Bellisle, op.cit., loc cit.
- (77) Idem, ibid.

80,000 fr. in administration expenses. Duties on imports and export were collected at Papeete for the general benefit of the colony.

3. The Tuamotu and the Gambier Islands.

The eastern atolls were divided into two administrative divisions - the Tuamotu proper, a group of 56 islands sub-divided in 31 districts under officially-appointed chiefs responsible to the administrator at Fakarava, and the Gambier Islands plus 22 islands of the south-east Tuamotu, under an administrator at Mangareva. The Residencies consisted of a retired naval officer or official of the colonial service with the powers of a Justice of the Peace, interpreters and a handful of gendarmes and native mutoi stationed on the more important islands. The two divisions cost 65,000 fr. and 40,000 fr. each to administer every year; they brought in an average of only 60,000 fr. to the general revenues.

The main concern of the administration was the control of pearl shell exploitation which threatened to exhaust many of the lagoons and deprive the islanders of their principal cash crop next copra. A scientific expedition was sent out from Paris in 1884 to advise on

(78) Secretary-General Rey to the Minister for the Colonies, 5 November 1899, A.C.O. 3.

(79) Gallet to the Minister for the Colonies, 12 January 1900, A.C.O. 3.

80
 measures necessary to protect and cultivate the mother-of-pearl oyster. Throughout the Tuamotu, Brandely (the leader of the expedition) observed the shell trade which " procured a fine profit for those engaged in it ". In return for a worthless piece of cloth, a few handfuls of flour or a few litres of rum, wrote Brandely, " one obtained half a ton of pearl shell worth 1,000 fr. to 2,000 fr. or fine pearls whose price was unknown to the natives ". Shell was either purchased directly or collected by contract with diving teams for 5 fr. a day and found during the season - November to February and June to September.

All attempts to control diving by legislation had failed for want of government schooners to enforce the restrictions. On the basis of Brandely's report, a number of reserves were created through the group and the seasons were opened and closed by law in those areas of low productivity. The use of diving apparatus - common in the Tuamotu by 1891 - was prohibited in 1893 on the instigation of the Papeete Chamber

(80) Rapport au Ministère de la Marine et des Colonies par M. Bouché Brandely Secrétaire au Collège de France sur la Pêche et la Culture des huîtres perlières à Tahiti, 1885, MS., and printed copy, A.C.O. 117. The official average for the export of shell through Papeete, 1880-1900, was 560 tons. Brandely states, however, that over 2,000 tons were exported annually to France, over 1,000 to England and 300 tons to Australia during 1883 alone.

(81) Rapport..., 1885, loc.cit., 22. For example, in 1886, shell bought at 0 fr. 50 c. per kilo in the Tuamotu fetched 1 fr. 50 c. at Papeete. Procès-Verbaux des Séances du Conseil Général, 1886-1887, 494. See, too, for an excellent description of the organisation of the diving teams and the trickery of trader and Tuamotuan, Wilmot, Notice sur l'Archipel des Tuamotu, publié sous les auspices du Conseil Général, 55.

(82) Arrêté, 16 March 1874, Bulletin Officiel des E.F.O. 1874, 375.

(83) Rapport..., 1885, loc.cit.; Procès-Verbaux des Séances du Conseil Général, 1895-1896, 295-296.

of Commerce; but in 1902 its use was permitted in the lagoons of 11
84
islands.

At Mangareva the shell trade steadily declined to no more than
85
50 tons a year by the end of the century. Between 1880 and 1909, the
island had twenty resident officials to administer a population which
declined from about 800 to 500 persons. Their reports were pessimist
about its chances for survival. There was a tendency among the admin
istrators, too, to blame, for this decline, " the propagation of the
Roman faith... the intellectual and temporal servitude of the natives
and the seizure of lands, pearls, the wealth of houses and estates by
the Catholic mission ", without concerning themselves with the immedi
problems of health beyond introducing a hundred or so Tuamotuans to
86
replenish local stock.

For the sake of conformity, the Mangarevan Code of Laws was
abolished in 1887 in favour of French legislation; temporal control
was transferred from the Catholic missionaries and the Regency Council
87
to the French Justice of the Peace. Only four chiefs were recognised
by the French for the Gambier group - one on each of the islands of
Mangareva, Tahu, Akamaru and Taravai - with the status of a mayor an

(84) Porlier, Documentation sur les lagons des Îles Tuamotu Propriété communale des districts, 46; arrêté, 28 December 1892, Bulletin Officiel des E.F.O., 1892, 344; petitions from the people of Kereh and Hikueru against diving prohibitions, in Procès-Verbaux des Séances du Conseil Général, 1895-1896, 295-296.

(85) Defense Janeau, 1913, MS., C.S-C.P. 6.

(86) Resident Cassiau to Cor, 7 October 1904, A.C.O. 3.

(87) In return for this the Catholics were allowed to continue with their schools by an informal concordat. C.S-C.P. 6.

88
with a mutoi.

4. The Austral Islands and Rapa.

To the south of Tahiti, the islands of Tubuai, Raivavae and Rapa (annexed in 1837) remained the waifs of the Establishments. With a population of no more than 1,300, and with a small export trade in vegetables and livestock to the Papeete market, their administration was left to three gendarmes who collected about 5,000 fr. a year in head tax, licences and pilotage. Missionary visits were rare and occasions for the distribution of most of the material wealth of the group - trousers, shirts and Bibles. Pastor Vernier noted, in 1885, how little progress French laws had made in the group; the native dea at Rapa (who was also a chief) carefully preserved his people's " patriarchal customs without worrying about ideas of progress which prevail elsewhere ".

Rurutu and Rimatara with populations of 800 and 400 each were under French protection as from 1839 and were the last of the Establishments to be annexed in 1900. The L.M.S. missionary Codes of Laws which

(88) Janeau, Réponses données au questionnaire général de la Société Belge de Sociologie, MS., 1905, C.S.-C.P.

(89) " The gendarmerie is in classical style. In the back, the blunderbuss is a wall trophy with the cartridge-pouch and the white and yellow cross-belt; below, the regulation saddle and the harness." De Myrica, " Ile de Rapa ", Revue Hebdomadaire, XI, 1901, 100.

(90) Vernier to the S.M.E., 13 November 1885, J.S.M.E., 1886, 65, 107-

(91) Journal Officiel des E.F.O., 30 August, 6 September 1900. The only occasion the French had to intervene there was in 1897 when a naval officer awarded an American \$100 damages from the people of Rimatara for his banishment. Doty to the State Department, 6 July 1897, Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Tahiti, 1897-1903, vol. 9.

still existed at these two islands were revised and promulgated with
 92
 few additions concerning the local administrator. Except for land
 legislation, the new Code was the only law enforced till 1946.

The interest which Rapa aroused in the 1870's and 1880's as a
 suitable coaling-station for the Panama-Sydney run died away towards
 93
 completion of the Canal.

By 1900, then, the French Establishments were a heterogeneous
 collection of colonies grouped into six divisions - the pattern which
 still preserved today. At the centre, where French contact^{was} longest,
 Tahiti and Moorea bore the brunt of the experiment in legal assimilati
 ion. Municipal and representative institutions were adopted; but
 representation did not go much further than the white settlers: the
 District Councils were the merest parodies of French Municipal Councils
 the Tahitian land courts were not abolished; the district chiefs were
 figureheads (unless they were also the heads of parish councils); a
 the important work of district administration - tax-collection and pe
 justice - fell to the French Justices of the Peace and the numerous
 gendarmerie.

At the periphery, legal assimilation proved unworkable in the
 Marquesas and inapplicable in the scattered Tuamotu. In the Leeward

(92) Lois codifiées de Rurutu, août 1900, Caillot, op.cit., 493-520
 See Appendix

(93) Only the patriotic republican, Goupil, opposed a tenuous plan
 lease Rapa harbour to an English company in 1905. Note sur le pro
 de concession de la Baie de Rapa, 17 août 1905, encl. in Doty to t
 State Department, 15 September 1905, Despatches from U.S. Consuls
 Tahiti, 1903-1905, vol. 8.

Islands and in part of the Australs, the administration fell back on the use of native judges and revised mission laws, and sent a solitary gendarme as a token of French presence. It was finally established that if the 183 islands of the colony were roughly the size of a French Department they could not be administered like one.

(d) Education and the missionaries.

Warnings about attempting to make Polynesians into French republicans came from those who had most experience of their character. Vernier waged an incessant battle in the General Council against equal treatment of the natives in the matter of spirits purchase; and general Protestant mission policy, outlined in 1865, did not really change during the rest of the century.

" If the Tahitians have ceased to belong to the non-Christian peoples, they are not yet sufficiently of age from the religious or intellectual point of view to do without the protection of a missionary. They still have needs too great and too various for them to possibly find in their own background the elements of immediate and positive emancipation." 94

This statement was echoed by the colony's delegate to Paris who questioned the advisability of placing " a still-young country so quickly under the legal conditions of our older societies " ⁹⁵.

These hesitations earned for Puaux and for the Protestants the title of canacophiles in the assimilationist Océanie Française which

(94) Comité de la Société des Missions, 8 June 1865, J.S.M.E., 1883.
 (95) Puaux to the Minister for the Navy, 25 August 1887, A.C.O. 4.

found a " deadly antagonism between the frenchification (sic, francisation) of the country and the expansion of the reformed church " .

On one point only were the republicans and Puaux united: education was the panacea for present backwardness; and this was to be carried on in lay or French Protestant schools rather than Catholic schools. In this, they were fiercely opposed by the Messager de Tahiti and the Catholic Cardella-Raoulx party in the General Council.

Consequently, the history of education in the Establishments during the last two decades of the century is inextricably bound up with local politics and the appropriation of revenues to pay for schools. In the background were the Tahitian Synod, whose control of the parish councils was inseparable from control of native schools, the Catholic Bishop and the teachers of the Catholic Orders of Floërmel and Cluny - the excellence of whose schools was attested by all parties.

(96) Océanie Française, 13 September 1883, 10 June 1884.

(97) Puaux, loc.cit.; Océanie Française, 29 July 1884.

(98) "any of the pupils of their two schools at Papeete were Protestant and Tahitians. Statistics for education in the É.F.O. are fragmentary and sometimes contradictory concerning which district schools were actually functioning at any given time. The main centres were

	1886			1898-1906				
	Public	Prot.	Cath.	Pupils	Public	Prot.	Cath.	Pupils
Papeete..	1	1	2	593	4	2	2	774
Tahiti,								
Moorea... ?		0	4	400	20	1	0	1,179
Marquesas	1	0	1	40	3	0	0	147
Tuamotu,								
Gambier..	23	0	1	240	14	0	0	392
Leewards.	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	293
Australs.	0	6	0	120	1	5	0	412
Total....	25	7	8	1,393	43	10	2	3,197

Rapport sur l'Instruction publique, 7 October 1886, Procès-Verbaux des Séances du Conseil Général, 1886-1887, 640; J.S.M.E., 1900, 32
Charlier to the Minister for the Colonies, 18 July 1903, A.C.O. 96

The struggle over the budget for education began in 1886 when the majority of the Council refused a subsidy to the Protestant church and their nineteen native pastors and teachers. The pro-Catholics in the Council feared the organisation of the Synod in the districts; the anti-clericals demanded the replacement of the "government of Moses by freedom of conscience. The disputed portion of the budget was written in by the governor; but it was this attitude in the colony's assembly that brought the districts into the election campaign of 1887

It also did much to weaken the district school system. The salary scale for teachers in public schools - including all district schools not run by pastors - was under 5,000 fr. for European men and under 3,500 fr. for women; native teachers were paid between 525 fr. and 800 fr. The general subsidy for all schools, irrespective of denomination, was as high as 116,849 fr. in 1885, and as low as 73,000 fr. by the 1890's. A number of the Catholic schools at Tahiti were forced to close as the policy of laicisation (i.e. the employment of non-Catholics) was pursued throughout the Establishments after 1900. The stipend of pastors who acted as teachers was raised and the number of Catholic priests at Papeete who had been subsidised from the budget

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- (99) Procès-Verbaux des Séances du Conseil Général, 1886-1887. For the Catholic church, the Council voted 3,065 fr. and rejected the Protestant subsidy of 15,100 fr.
- (100) Puaux, Note sur Tahiti, 11 February 1887, A.C.O. 6.
- (101) Session, 23 November 1900, Procès-Verbaux des Séances du Conseil Général, 1900-1901.

was reduced to one. By 1906, the number of children taught in school of every kind had nearly tripled compared with figures twenty years previously. Staff - lay, native, Protestant and Catholic - numbered 87 compared with 45 in 1886. In 1901, a Central School (or high school) was opened at Papeete for the purpose of training teachers locally for a teaching certificate of high enough standard for work in the district.

Education lagged far behind the experiment in legal assimilation. For the assimilationists, education was weakest at its most important point - the teaching of French. Apart from the schools at Papeete and two or three in the districts, teaching was done in Tahitian, Marquesan or Tuamotuan. The legislation of 1887 which fixed the salaries of teachers was forced to recognize that local education was still

" waiting till the development of the French language in the district would end the native schools. In effect, mission teaching, either by Catholics or Protestants, resorted to the native tongue for sound reading materials. Materials for teaching were limited to the Bible (in Tahitian), catechisms, Te parau matamua (a French-Tahitian speller), Te parau piti (a reader), and a book on geography. Furthermore, Charles Verrier, pastor at Tahiti after 1912, in summing up the work of his father's generation in the islands, maintained that the use of vernacular had

(102) Charlier, op.cit., 18-19. It is worth noting that the students who received such certificates between 1904 and 1907 numbered 25. For the same period, 89 pupils qualified at local examinations for the primary certificate.

(103) Arrêtés, 24, 28 January 1887, A.C.O. 96.

been essential:

" To remain in contact with the people, to prepare the youth to play at a later date its social or religious role, to preserve for it, above all, its originality, its personality, it was necessary to make broad and legitimate concessions to the Tahitian language. A missionary enterprise in a native court which did not understand this would inevitably destroy itself at the same time as it contributed to destroy the soul of the whom it claimed to wish to emancipate." 104.

Indeed, outside commerce - conducted in a mixture of Chinese and Tahitian - there was little scope for a literate Polynesian in French Oceania. The administration was closed to him beyond the rank of old positions as district councillor or marotoi were limited; teaching was poorly paid. After a few years, his knowledge of the rivers and towns of France and of the French language faded. His only book - the Bible was in Tahitian; his daily speech (though he well remembered the correct nuances and syntax of his own tongue) became a polyglot argot 105 with borrowings from French, English and Chinese. The Tahitian, the Tuamotuan, the Marquesan had no use for French cultural assimilation. Where he was induced to discuss with Europeans on their own level, he 106 seemed to them ignorant or absurd.

(104) Vernier, op.cit., 254.

(105) Idem, " Les variations du vocabulaire avant et après les contacts européens ", Journal de la Société des Océanistes, tome IV, no. 4, December 1948, 57-85.

(106) See, for example, Caillot: " Having never seen a host of the things which people talk to him about, he makes up his own idea of them - consequently the most fantastic. The most grotesque reasoning enters his thought and he will not hesitate, with the high opinion he has of himself, to open it up to you; his aplomb knows no bounds." Les Polynésiens orientaux au contact de la civilisation 65. For comparison, see E. Cailliet, Essai sur la Psychologie du Hova (Paris, 1924), 180.

Conversely, the administration was supremely indifferent to the important part of church organisation in Polynesian life. To Governor Petit, writing in 1903, religion among the islanders - whether Catholic Protestant or Mormon - was unsophisticated, therefore unessential.

" In reality, they have no other religion than the sectarian layer which they have acquired from education received in their families which have become Catholic or Protestant by the chance conversions made by the missionaries of one or the other rival faiths. In short, from the political point of view, the religious question does not exist for the natives." To an honest republican and radical like Petit whose plans for education were limited to pasting the Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme in school-rooms, lack of open dissension between native adherents of different faiths was evidence of the absence of " depth of feeling

The missionaries thought otherwise. They had ample evidence of value of religious meetings for social purposes.

" There is a very important and necessary social service rendered to the isolated native by the (Mormon) conferences which is generally overlooked, that is they furnish a meeting-place for relatives and friends from different islands... and they (enjoy) each other's society in a variety of services which elevates

(107) Petit to the Minister for the Colonies, 15 March 1903, A.C.O.

them in social life." 108

Whether Latter Day Saints or Protestants or Catholics, the preservation of public ceremonies and group occasions for conference, worship or the Tahitian tuaroi (Biblical brains-trust), was no small service to a society whose political structure had been dislocated by contact with Europeans.

(108) Burton, president of the Latter Day Saints mission in the Tuamotu, to Doty, encl. in Doty to the State Department, 6 April 1904, Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Tahiti, vol. 8, 1903-1906.

Figures given by Governor Petit for the numbers of religious faiths in Oceania in 1903 were:

	Prots. Pastors	Caths. Priests, Catechists	Mormons Minist
Tahiti, Moorea...	1,300 4	2,430	8 1
Tuamotu.....	100	3,025	860 2
Marquesas.....	?	3,549	0 3
Gambier, Tubuai, Raivavae, Rapa...	2,043	1,520	98 4
Leeward Islands..	4,600	26	7
<u>Total.....</u>	<u>8,043 4</u>	<u>10,550 24</u>	<u>973 10</u>

Native pastors were left out of the Protestant figures. There were also 1,550 Kanitoa (Latter Day Saints) with 23 churches in Tuamotu. Petit to the Minister for the Colonies, 15 March 1903, A.C.O. 3.

XVI.

Land Tenure, Trade and Finance

After annexation, the question of land tenure in the Establishments was approached from the legal rather than the economic point of view. Pressure from local settlers for a larger Colonial Domain which might be alienated for plantations was small; but there was a growing body of opinion among officials and the members of the General Council directed against the preservation of Tahitian jurisdiction over cases arising from the inscription system of the 1850's and the 1860's.

If (argued the Océanie Française) the tribute system had gone and the chiefs and sub-chiefs of the old social order had been levelled to ra'atira, then land-users should be defined as land-owners; and the claims of families to unoccupied lands should be dismissed. The problem then, was how to translate the oral genealogies and kinship status guiding family occupation and inheritance into written land titles recognised in French law. Inscription, under the Protectorate, had been limited in its results to eight districts of the main island - Fare, Arue, Mahina, Faaa, Punaauia, Paea, Papara and Mataiea. And many of the blocks in these districts and elsewhere were still in a confusion of litigation. For the present, it was admitted, the Tahitian courts probably could not be abolished; but at least a summary of existing laws should embody the articles of 1852 and 1868 and speed registration.

(1) Océanie Française, 18 September 1883.

(2) Procès-verbaux du conseil privé, October 1885, A.C.O. 85.

Furthermore, according to a legal decision made in the Superior Tribunal in 1882, the Tahitian assessor for native civil cases was no longer necessary, since Tahitians were " now Frenchmen on the same footing as other Frenchmen ³". It was inadmissible, therefore, that a Tahitian who had his land registered according to French law should be forced, in a District Council and in the To'ohitu, to renounce his claims because the relatives of his aunt (the donator of his land) could prove direct lineal descent from the original occupier. And yet this happened on the eve of land reforms.

The case was important. Land around Papeete had been inscribed the ex-Regent, Paraita, in 1852, as part of his wife's inheritance from her grandfather. The land was later donated by Paraita's widow to her nephew who had it registered and surveyed between 1874 and 1878 and was in possession of a land title drawn up by a French lawyer. In 1882 the land was adjudged by the District Council of Papeete to a sister and a brother of Paraita's widow. After appeal to the To'ohitu, this decision was annulled - because the claimants had gone to court against the widow and not against the donee. After the case had come before the District Council and the To'ohitu once more, the nephew was dispossessed. ⁴ The victory of Tahitian custom over French law did much to discredit inscription.

(3) Decision, 14 December 1882, Le Petit Tahitien, 25 December 1882
 (4) Putatomite, 1875, no. 110, 3, Bureau des Terres, Papeete; La Gloche, 25 March 1887.

Finally, there was considerable argument among officials about legal position of fari'i hau lands, originally the patrimony of chief families in the districts, but looked on by Governor Morau and his successors as " a kind of communal property " used to keep up the social appearances of chiefs appointed by the administration.⁵ Other members of the Administrative Council contended, however, that the usurpers would lose their claims if cases over fari'i hau lands were taken to court. The lands had been enlarged during the 1870's with sections from the lands of ra'atira - for schools and other communal projects. But, as the Tahitian member of the Council pointed out, the donations would never have been made, nor would many of the chiefly families consented to have public buildings on their lands, " if they had foreseen that the chiefs would one day be selected outside their own families "⁶. It was recognised, too, that they could only be alienated with the permission of the Tahitian Assembly - which no longer functioned. The device of calling them " communal property " was adopted; and this expedient was a useful precedent for the land reform of 1887.

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- (5) Procès-verbaux du conseil d'administration, August 1884, A.C.O.
 83. The lands in question around the chief's house were also defined as " a sort of impersonal private property " (sic).
- (6) Ibid, loc.cit.

(a) The Decree of 24 August 1887 and land registration in the E.F.O.

For several years, a plan put forward by Bonet - a retired colonial official and member of the governor's Council - had been debated in the Colonial Council and by officials of the administration. The spirit of the Bonet plan was to continue the individualisation of land-holdings and to recognise unclaimed lands as district or communal domain. This solution neatly by-passed the question which had vexed colonial legislators on the relative limits of State and Colonial Domain and was unique at this date in French colonies.

The principle on which the Decree of 1887 was to work was a legal fiction.

" The administration would act as if the Land Department had taken possession of all the territory of the colony; through the Department it would re-assign property to each native merely on undisputed declaration, or after disputes, if any result, have been settled, but it would surround this re-assignment with ev

- (7) Bonet's proposals, alterations suggested by the Colonial Council and the final draft of the Decree of 24 August are given in procès-verbaux du conseil privé, January 1887, A.G.O. 87. For the debate on land tenure the Council was enlarged to include the president of the General Council - Cardella, the settlers, Bonet, Martiny, Goupil and the chiefs of the districts of Papara and Tautira.
- (8) The question dated from 1825, when the Old Colonies were allowed control the use of their own revenues and the alienation of all lands except those used for military installations and penal settlement. After 1870, there was a movement to claim back lands for the State; in 1884, Colonial Domain in New Caledonia became a test case for rival jurists. In 1897, all vacant lands there were declared State Domain though their revenues went to the colony; and this solution was adopted elsewhere. Public Domain (or Colonial Domain) then came to include all administration lands, the " King's Fifty Paces " of coast, and lakes and rivers. Roland, Lampué, op.cit., 188-190; E. Maguet, Concessions Domaniales dans les Colonies Françaises (Paris, 1930), 15-30.

legal guarantee in the matter of property transaction." 9

Lands which were unclaimed or for which claims could not be proved, were to form the District Domain. The text of the Decree stipulated that every native not already in possession of a land title was to declare his usehold one year from the date of promulgation of Decree in the colony. The suggestion made in the Colonial Council that declarations might be made in the name of a land-using group was refused in the Privy Council where Goupil claimed that such a provision would perpetuate " indivisibility " among families. As in the Bonet project the title declaration was to include the useholder's name, the name of the land and adjacent properties, and the area in metres - though there was no provision for survey prior to or during registration. Formalities were numerous: one copy of the declaration, signed by all members of District Council, was to be forwarded to Papeete. The period allowed for counter-claims was hardly discussed at all in the Privy-Council. The Decree allowed a delay of only one month for Tahitians, two months for Mooreans, and six months for the people of other islands to lodge counter-claims; after this delay, a property certificate was to be delivered by the administration on request from unopposed claimants.

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- (9) Ministre de la Marine, Rapport au Président de la République Française ayant pour objet de régler la délimitation de la propriété dans les Établissements Français de l'Océanie (décret conforme et annexé), Paris, le 24 août 1887, Bulletin Officiel des E.F.O., 1887, 390.
- (10) Art. 1, Décret du 24 août 1887 relatif à la délimitation de la propriété foncière dans les Établissements Français de l'Océanie; arrêté. 23 December 1887, *ibid*, *loc.cit*.

Disputes were to be heard before the District Councils and the To'ohi
 11
 Claims for fari'ihau lands were to be treated like all others.

The measure meant that there were to be no large-scale concessions to colonists in the Establishments where the Decree was applied - except from lands of the Agricultural Bank or lands falling to the administration from vacant European estates. And this, plus the conservative attitude of Polynesians towards parting with their lands, safeguarded the colony against European speculators as well as preventing plantation development on the scale of the 1860's.

The chief objection to the Decree was that it neglected the most elementary provision for land registration - a cadastral survey; and set the impossible target of twelve months for Tahitian initiative to burden itself with complicated technicalities. When the deadline of December 1888 came and went, the administration had either to accept responsibility for legally dispossessing over half the district land-

- (11) " However, considering the use to which Tahitian laws have at times consecrated these lands, the sites of grounds at which there are at present constructed buildings belonging to the colony or to the districts, such as: the chief's house, chapel, church, school house as well as a surrounding area equal to double the superficial occupied by these buildings, shall remain the property of the colony or the districts." Art. 10, Décret du 24 août 1887..., loc.cit.
- (12) Such as 7,000 hectares in the name of Bishop Jaussen situated on the hills at Papenoo. These were acquired by the Langomazino family with 200 head of cattle for 55,000 fr. through a loan from the Bank for 6 years at 8%. Procès-verbaux du Conseil Privé, September 1887. The Bank itself still had about 43,000 fr. of property acquired between 1863 and 1868. Other concessions to Europeans through the administration were few: a settler named Baron was granted 38 hectares for 60,000 fr. on loan from the Bank for 10 years at 8%, in 1886. A.G.O. 85. Concessions in the outer groups were refused. A.C.O. 89.

users of the island, or fix new limits for claims to be lodged.

By 1895, the process of transcribing declarations into titles had met with very limited success - as admitted in a report of the Colonial Commission of the General Council.

" The constitution of landed property, the goal aimed at, is not being realised in the face of the apathy or ignorance of the natives who in general believe they have finished when they have filled in their declarations. Moreover, the task should not have been undertaken everywhere at the same time; it involves, as it operates, an enormous movement of records and forms built up in archives with which the (Land) Office is encumbered and where the least research entails excessive labour, thus increasing the delays which effect the delivery of property titles; and in addition, those titles are in little demand by the parties concerned." 13

At Papeete, the administration of land tenure was clogged with litigation in the To'ohitu and a badly organised Land Office. Registration in the Tuamotu and in the Austral Islands had hardly begun at all by the end of the century. The demarcation of lands for written titles in the larger islands of the Tuamotu and the notification of inheritance claims did not become a matter of importance till land producing crops rose in value and led to economic disputes between various descent groups. The confusion of oral traditions and spurious land titles which resulted was augmented by the perfunctory manner in which surveys were carried out. The work of the ad hoc land commission of 1888 has been well described by an old Tahitian mitoi who took part in the survey for

(13) Procès-Verbaux des Séances du Conseil Général, 1895-1896, 316.

Tikehau and Matahiva; it is probably typical of operations elsewhere.

" On arrival at the land claimed, (the mitoi) climbs to the top of a big coconut tree. A native with a long rope to the end which is attached a fairly big stone, measured beforehand (1 brasses) climbs up a neighbouring tree. At the top he throw the end of rope to which the stone is fixed as far as possible. If the limit of the land is more than the distance covered (brasses), the mitoi and the native begin their strategem once more, perhaps twice, but no further. Beyond that, the estimate is made by guesswork." 14

In the Australs, the amount of registration was even less: no property declarations were published in the Journal Officiel from the group before 1920. At Rurutu and Rimatara, according to the revised Code of 1900, litigation was settled by native judges with " the officials and old men of the island who know the land in question " ¹⁵. At Tubuai, Raivavae and Rapa, land tenure was equally unaffected for the present by French legislation.

There is no accurate way of ascertaining how extensive inscript and survey was throughout the Establishments by the end of the century. Many of the land records stored on the Fare Ute peninsula, and those private hands in some islands of the Tuamotu, were destroyed in the cyclone of 1903 and the floods at Papeete in 1906. Up till 1925, the

(14) Cited in Doucet, Cadastre des Tuamotu, Rapport le 30 juin 1950 typescript, Bureau des Terres, Papeete. In 1898, the lagoons of Tuamotu were declared Public Domain - and were inalienable according to Art. 538 of the French Civil Code. But it has always been a moot point how far to apply this in practice, since the lagoons have always been looked on and treated as communal property by Tuamotu fishermen and divers. Roucaute, Étude sur la situation juridique, des É.F.O., des dépendances naturelles du domaine public, telles quelles sont énumérées dans l'article 538 du Code Civil (et plus particulièrement les rivages et les eaux des lagons et de la mer, ainsi que les récifs) ", typescript, ibid.

(15) Law XXXVII, Lois modifiées de Rurutu, août 1900, Caillot, op.cit. 509.

number of land titles delivered by the administration was very small. In 1950, only 30% of all lands in the Establishments were held by private title and 4% by the State or the colony. Only 35% of the area had been surveyed.¹⁶

Similarly, the administration has not left any figures from which one might compare the relative size of land-holding and land-using groups. Some illustration of the general problems raised by the attempt to define land rights in terms of area may be found, however, in the records of the native and European land commissions which extended the system of 1887 to the Leeward Islands in 1898. Unlike Tahiti (but like the rest of the Establishments), large-scale transfer by lease sale to Europeans had never greatly influenced the primitive subsistence economy there by alienating large fertile areas. An English planter explained why:

" Very few Natives own enough land to make a plantation big enough to support a European family, so Foreigners who have raised Plantations have first got hold of a middling size bit and then added on piece by piece, until they hold land of four or five owners to make a proper size place." 17

(16) According to the tables prepared by the Bureau des Terres for 1950, the number of lots surveyed by that date was 16,882. It is unclear whether the unsurveyed lots (41,596) whose area is given as 236,685 h. are lands claimed by natives or not. If they are, the E.F.O. are in the position of not having a hectare of land without claimant. The figures for lands under cultivation are equally mysterious: according to the official figures, 19% of the area of the E.F.O. is cultivated: the estimate must include all manner of land growing subsistence crops from the shore-line to the end of every valley. Tableaux comparatifs pour toutes les îles du Territoire d'E.F.O., 1950, Bureau des Terres, Papeete.

(17) Ellacott to Hawes, 8 March 1890, T.B.C.P. Papeete.

But even Ellacott who had land from " three owners " had no more than 10 hectares. The more usual method, practised by foreign firms and local traders, was to contract with the queen and chiefs of Borabora for harvest rights over the coconut plantations of Tupai, Mopihaa, Scilly, Bellingshausen - dependencies of the island and subject to Teri'imaeva ua (with the agreement of her chiefs and people). Even here, the level of rights to crops was uncertain and the cause of dispute when it was discovered by the French administration that the dependencies were not vaguely held " in common " by Boraborans, but were " owned " by the members of various descent groups " in well-determined proportions " .

The nature of this " ownership " as it was affected by kinship obligations, inheritance, or by the different types of produce yielded from lands growing taro, breadfruit and coconuts, or from fishing grounds was never discussed till the question came up in the land courts. That there were different kinds of usehold, independent of proprietorship over cultivated gardens, was realised by the French magistrate, Bracco, who, after experience on the land commissions in the Leewards, strongly

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- (18) In 1886, the queen and the chiefs of Borabora had entered into a contract with the firm of Cardno and MacFarlane of Auckland for the annual harvest of Scilly, Mopihaa and Bellingshausen at 500 pisatres for 10 years. These rights were later sold to the German Société Commerciale which renewed the contract with difficulty. In 1896, the French trader, Buchin, made a similar arrangement for payment for materials furnished by him for a new meeting-house. The native proprietors of Tupai refused to yield their harvest for a debt contracted by the queen and the sections of the population of Borabora using the meeting-house. Resident Corne to Resident Administrator Desailles, 2 July, 10 September 1896, Documents sur l'administration des Iles-Sous-le-Vent, 1895-1904, Ropiteau-O'Reilly Collection.

opposed attempts to apply the French Civil Code to cases of native land
 19
 tenure.

The 1898 revision of the local law codes, however, required useholders
 of all kinds to be declared within one year before a commission consisting
 of three or four native judges and the chief of each district. Counter-claims
 were to be heard and judged at the same time - with provision for appeal to the
 administrator of the Leeward group and six judges appointed by the governor.
 20
 After declaration of titles, any boundary disputes were to be settled by the
 district chief and a native judge - also with the right of appeal to the
 administrator at Raiatea. Citation of relatives as witnesses was prohibited.
 Finally, article 538 of the French Civil Code was promulgated to reserve
 shores, streams, roads and lakes, and all unclaimed lands, for the Public Domain.

Through 1898 and 1899, the native land commissions worked in the three
 main islands of the group with indifferent success. Their members were
 unwilling to make decisions outside their own districts; the French officials
 who accompanied them were not competent in the language to speak

(19) Braconni, while his comments on the local land tenure system were not
 extensive, understood that inscription and title in the name of one
 useholder took no account of the native custom of apportioning rights
 over fruit trees to other members of the descent group. "When a young
 man married, the chief set aside for him the plot of land from which
 he should henceforth provision himself with fruits. Sometimes certain
 trees, such as the breadfruit... belonged to all; but the head of each
 family had the right to gather fruit only from the one or more
 branches which his forefathers had designated for him." Braconni, *op. cit.*
loc cit., 330.

(20) Déclaration de Propriété, Lois codifiées de l'archipel des Îles-Sous-le-Vent, 20 October 1898, 13-15.

21

out the contradictions of witnesses and the exaggerations of claimants. Sometimes the case was settled immediately: the commission, for fear of error, made all the land in dispute over to the administration. At Borabora, Braconni recalled, on one memorable day, " a hundred and one decisions were made in this way, despite the recriminations of those present who thought the procedure a trifle cursory ". All such decisions had to be revised; and the administrator's appeal court laboured in the wake of the commissions with little information on the registers to guide it, and harangued by " incessant exchanges between members of the court and amateur barristers ".

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New appeals were lodged with wearying regularity, as rights over fruit trees, taro patches and coconut plantations were pedantically

(21) A good example is the dispute over a block of land in the district of Amanahune, Borabora, claimed by the descendants of the Teri'itua lineage. According to the testimony of the district chief before Resident Laborde, in 1904, a proven member of this descent group had come from Huahine in 1886, and, by reciting her genealogy before a meeting of the district families, had convinced them of her rights over a vacant block occupied by an ancestor four generations previously. Later, she in turn recognised the rights of a sister living at Borabora to whom she gave proprietorship of the land and returned to Huahine. In 1888, a third sister came from Huahine to share the usehold. Disputes resulted over the apportioning of the coconut harvest. The boundaries of the land were settled by native judges in 1897; and one of the useholders obtained a copy of the boundary decision and presented it to the native land commission in 1898 as proof of her sole rights to the property - disclaiming any kinship connections with the other claimants. The case came twice before the resident administrator with a tangle of genealogies and witnesses to give the lie to the usurper and her spurious " land title ". Laborde, Affaire Teriitua, le 26 novembre 1904, MS., Documents sur l'administration des Iles-Sous-le-Vent, 1895-1904, loc.cit.

(22) Braconni, op.cit., 331.

(23) Laborde, Affaire Taamotu, November 1904, MS., Documents sur l'administration des Iles-Sous-le-Vent, 1895-1904, loc.cit.

transformed into rights over areas on a piece of paper in which the fractions and divisions bore no relation to the complexities of Polynesian land tenure and which, all too often, served as a cause for further disputes. In addition, there was a great deal of confusion over the legal ownership of "town lots" - declared in the revised laws to be the property of the administration unless claimed by the original proprietor or sold to their immediate useholders.²⁴ If a native came forward to claim right of residence in a "town lot", the administration forced the donatee to sell; speculation for such lands around the ports was rife. Many Tahitians who had once enjoyed temporary rights of residence in Raiatean villages bought up their old sites. One such case which came before an administrator in 1904, involved the properties of a trader, a native family and the grounds of the administrator's office itself.

The last division of the Establishments to receive new legislative provisions on land tenure was the Marquesas. An attempt by a resident official to register native usehold in 1889 failed for want of native councils or courts to hear claims; and the few titles drawn up on his initiative were never published. By the end of the century, it was realised there were no local chiefs who were still tiohi fenua - keepers of the land - thro

(24) Des contrats de terre, Lois codifiées de l'archipel des Iles-Sol
le-Vent, 20 October 1898, 11-12. The village plots were originally lands set aside by chiefs on the request of the missionaries to allow the population to congregate in the villages.

whom a commission might work to decide the rights of each family. By the Decree of 31 May 1902, all lands not claimed within a year of promulgation fell to the State; in the same year, Marquesans were forbidden to sell without the permission of the administration. When a titles commission began its hearings in 1904, no provision was made for any sort of survey errors abounded in its decisions; and little enough has been done to correct them - even today.

26

Thus, it was already apparent in the early years of this century that the fifty years of legislation which had begun with Commandant Bonard had failed to turn the Polynesian population of French Oceania into peasant proprietors with clear titles to their lands. A complete study of the reasons for this would require a comparative survey of land tenure in different districts and islands throughout the colony as well as a patient analysis of the history of many disputes. Such a survey is lacking; but one or two general features suggest themselves.

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- (25) Règlementation de l'établissement de la propriété foncière aux Marquises (Rapport de la Commission et projet de décret) 1901; Décret le 31 mai 1902.
- (26) Bellisle, Rapport d'ensemble sur la situation de l'Archipel des Marquises, 27 December 1921; Rollin, op.cit., 287. There was no survey team in the Marquesas till 1923 and its work was limited to Nukuhiva. By 1950, only 34% of the 97,540 h. of the group had been surveyed - 18% for land titles, and 16% for State lands. Great exception has been taken to the 1902 Decree by some French writers on the grounds that the delay of only a year for lodging claims threatened the Marquesans with expropriation, and that revenues from concessions of State lands have gone to Papeete. Maguet, op.cit., 45-47
- (27) Some of the conclusions are illustrated in Danielsson's study of present-day land ownership at Raroia, op.cit., 135-143. For a comparison, see R.P. Gilson, " The Background of New Zealand's Early Land Policy in Rarotonga ", Journal of the Polynesian Society, vol. 64, 3, September 1955, esp. 277. Resident W.E. Gudgeon did not operate from the same premises as Bonet when he organised the Land Titles

In attempting to individualise land holdings, the administration forced to resort to the practice of basing a title on the claimant's degree of genealogical affinity with an original occupying ancestor. Where, as at Tahiti, and to varying degrees, in the outer groups, the marae - the symbolic repositories of tribal land covenants - had vanished and the religious and social sanctions imposed on land-working groups had weakened, the way was open for suits which were foreign to French law, which the native courts prolonged with eloquent satisfaction. A case concerning the lands of the Vehiatua chief of Tautira went on for twenty one years; in the Leeward Islands, complained a local newspaper in 1914, natives claimed everything - " the sea, the mountains, the fish and clouds " ²⁸. In short, French legislation, where it was most consistently applied, only served to bring to light the growing inability of chiefs higher than the heads of small family groups to control the membership of landowning units, allocate lands, or prevent absent members of a descent group from interfering with the work and harvest rights of land-users. In the Tuamotu, the Leeward Islands and the Australs, this feature was marked: the practice of appointing French nominees to positions of authority was not, as yet, so widespread or so firmly precedented.

Court of 1902; but he did, like Bonet, expect division of land among useholders and increased cultivation; both were to be disappointed.
 (28) La Tribune de Tahiti, 1 January 1914.

Secondly, the indifference of Polynesians to making changes to the titles to register marriage, adoption and inheritance speedily confused what records there were after two or three generations. It was not sufficient to keep the registers at Papeete; they had to be revised at the district level; and there was no competent system of district administration to do this.

Finally, the enumeration of land-owners (who were not necessarily land-users attached to localised groups), led to the excessive scatter of small, uneconomical lots, especially in the western and south-western districts of Tahiti. Examination of the registers for this area in the 1850's and 1860's and comparison with cadastral maps today suggests that disproportionate fluctuations in the numbers of different descent groups resulted in inequitable distribution of lands claimed by different segments of the population. Land transfer among the Polynesians of the É.F.O., by lease or sale from one descent group to another, has not been widely practised; in any case it is doubtful whether the rough and ready demarcations of the last century could have served as a legal basis for transfer, if a number of native proprietors had appeared eager to accumulate

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(29) Again, there is a lamentable lack of statistics for the earlier results of land inscription. But the 1950 tables show that the average size of surveyed lots was:

	<u>Private titles</u>	<u>Unsurveyed lots</u>
Tahiti, Moorea.....	5.1 h.	7.4 h.
Leeward Islands.....	12.4 h.	733.0 h.
Tuamotu.....	3.0 h.	3.5 h.
Tuamotu-Gambier.....	0.0 h.	2.0 h.
Austral Islands.....	2.6 h.	3.7 h.
Marquesas Islands.....	27.3 h.	14.1 h.

Allowance should be made for large holdings by French firms in the Marquesas which raise the average holdings under private title.

late lands on a scale greater than that permitted by the conservative system of donation, marriage and inheritance. The amount of land easily alienable was restricted to the great valleys of the Marquesas. The Polynesian of French Oceania, it has been claimed, was therefore prevented from "depriving himself of his estate" and forming a native proletariat. But whether transfer of land rights to Europeans could have taken place on a large scale is doubtful. The method used by the administration to register individual titles cannot really be defended on this ground: European purchase or lease was impossible, as early as 1843, without official permission; and the Tahitian courts and the Councils of the Protectorate were not capable of dealing with need for boundary surveys when transfer did occur. There was no widespread change from subsistence agriculture to plantations and cash crops on a scale which might have necessitated credit for native farmers. Land was not scarce.

The attempt at individualisation was premature; but it was consistent with the French tendency to reduce or transform local institutions. At most, it would have been sufficient in 1887 (as suggested in the Colonial Council) to have registered tenures in the name of a household and make collective tenure recognised in French law. Nor should it have

(30) Auzelle, Plan directeur, 1950, Pièces annexées, no. 3.

(31) As was done in 1863 with the arch and djelf lands in North Africa (though this policy was reversed under the Third Republic). In other parts of the French Colonial Empire - West Africa, Madagascar - property titles by "immatriculation" (a modified version of the Torrens system) were introduced, but were generally not compulsory, except for Europeans, for naturalised natives, or for lands acquired by a form of conveyance recognised in French law. Rolland, Lampué, op.cit. 219-253; François Luchaire, Manuel de droit d'outre-mer (Paris, 1942) 291.

been left in doubt, before and after the annexation, which courts - French or Tahitian - were to have the last word when disputes arose. In the uncertainty, Tahitians who might have been more willing to sell or lease to Europeans were reluctant to enter into litigation; and Europeans were reluctant to risk investment. Not merely the ineffective legislation prolonged the life of the native courts; the obscurities surrounding land rights based on kinship and those recognised by French magistrates were a fund of civil process and the most certain safeguard the Polynesians had against alienation by Europeans.

(b) Agriculture and production.

" Trade is thriving while European agriculture and labour are stagnating ", complained a planter in the Administrative Council in 1883. It was to remain so for the next two decades. At Tahiti and Moorea, there were no more than 250 planters during that period; the area of their cultivated lands and the area of native lands given over to coconuts, breadfruit, taro, vegetables and a little cotton, cane, tobacco and vanilla, was about 3,500 to 4,000 hectares - or 3% of the lands in both islands. Cotton declined; the areas growing vanilla and coffee expanded in scattered lots for crops which required little labour (though much skill in the case of vanilla). Sugar-cane plantations doubled in area by 1899, as the demand for local rum grew. Live-stock - horses, cattle and sheep - roamed at large; no attempts were made at selective breeding.

(32) Procès-verbaux du conseil d'administration, September 1884, A.C. 83.

The administration was content to import casks of beef from New Zealand rather than encourage a killing industry in the Marquesas.³³

1. Indentured labour.

The 1880's saw the thin stream of imported Polynesian and Chinese labour dry up. In 1885, there were only 218 indentured Polynesians working at Tahiti and Moorea.³⁴ Some 165 of these had arrived the year before from the Gilbert Islands on the Forcade de la Roquette. The cost of this final recruiting, chartered and paid for by the administration, was 64,900 fr - only 55,000 fr. of which was ever recovered from plantations. This deficit, together with reports of the blackbirding methods used in the Gilberts, brought ministerial disapproval of further schemes for assisted immigration financed by the administration. At most, supervi-

(33) An agricultural survey was made in 1884; and a very incomplete survey made in 1891 together with some estimates by an official in 1899 may be listed as follows:

Tahiti and Moorea	1884	1891	1899
Coconut plantations..	2,279 h.	(2,279 h.)	(2,279 h.)
Cotton.....	467 h.	298 h.	350 h.
Vanilla.....	81 h.	191 h.	350 h.
Sugar cane.....	74 h.	133 h.	266 h.
Coffee.....	27 h.	59 h.	118 h.
Maize.....	39 h.	?	?
Tobacco.....	5 h.	?	?
Hay.....	50 h.	327 h.	327 h.
Vegetables.....	233 h.	?	?
<u>Total cultivation....</u>	<u>3,255 h.</u>	<u>3,287 h.</u>	<u>3,690 h.</u>

Annuaire de Tahiti, 1885, 150-151; Lemasson, op.cit., 41-44.

(34) These included 136 men and 82 women.

(35) The cargo of Gilbertese included 90 men, 75 women and 46 children. Messageur, 30 August 1883; Chessé to the Minister for Foreign Affairs 7 November 1892, A.A.E. Océanie 7.

ion of labour contracts was permitted; and a report on the cost of
 indentured labour in Fiji discouraged plans for importing Indians.³⁶

At Tahiti, there were other objections to indentured labour: unpatriated Arorai were turning their hand to petty crimes; 54 out of the 1884 convoy were imprisoned for a total of 463 days after disorders on plantations; in horrified tones, a member of the General Council report in 1886 that " Arorai, Atiu, Mangia " (sic) were constantly drunk and eating " each other's noses and ears " during riots around the town.³⁷ The problem of repatriation was never seriously faced by planters or by the administration. By 1887, there were only 40 indentured labourers employed at Tahiti and Moorea. The rest had settled with Tahitian families, drifted to the outer groups, or signed on schooners trading among the islands in order to reach their own people. The 400 or so Chinese in the Establishments were frugal profiteers making themselves indispensable retailers and money-lenders. In 1885, 70 were registered as hawkers

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- (36) An enquiry into the voyage of the Forcade de la Roquette, 1883-1884, brought to light the activities of English blackbirders on S.M. Pinoha, operating at Nanouti who sold their cargo of native prisoners to the French. Lieut. Commander Moore to Commadore Erskine, 31 July 1884; Lieut. Garnier to the Director of the Interior, 18 March 1884; Morau to the Minister for the Navy, 2 June 1885; Minister for the Navy to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, 20 November 1885, A.C.O. 35; Minister for the Navy to Lacascade, 16 May 1886, ibid; Commandant Ménard (Hugon), 12 October 1882, encl. in Morau to the Minister for the Navy, 12 February 1885, A.C.O. 34. Fifty Indian coolies were, however, brought from Pondichery in 1898 to work on the roads, but were soon sent back - save a few who stayed on as domestics.
- (37) Martiny, 17 November 1886, Procès-Verbaux des Séances du Conseil Général, 1886-1887, 230.

sellers of coffee and bread and store keepers at Papeete and in the Marquesas. Undoubtedly there were many more in business - buying copra or smuggling opium. Even less than Tahitians were they willing to work for planters.

2. The Agricultural Bank.

With so many uncertainties surrounding the transfer of land in the Establishments and with labour impossible to find, the Bank could do little to encourage local agriculture. By 1883, it had only made 180 loans to planters - and most of these were between 1863 and 1878³⁸. Its capital had fallen to 210,000 fr.; thirteen years later, it was only 181,723 fr. As a credit institution, its conditions were too stringent; purchases and sale and rent of lands to colonists were limited to operations under 5,000 fr. at an interest of 6%; loans under 10,000 fr. for only one year carried an interest of 8%; mortgage loans on half the value of estate were limited to six years. After 1895, no interest was paid on savings³⁹. Interests on loans made by the Bank declined from 21,413 fr. in 1896 to less than 3,000 fr. by 1901. No loans were made to planters at all after that date; and in 1905, a branch of the Bank of Indo-China opened at Papeete which assisted local trading operations, but which provided no long-term credits for agriculture.

(38) Report on the Agricultural Bank, 27 December 1899, Procès-Verbaux des Séances du Conseil Général, 1886-1887, 230.

(39) Procès-Verbaux des Séances du Conseil Général, 1895-1896, 181-194.

3. Cash crops and trading houses.

According to the agricultural survey of 1884, Tahiti and Moorea⁴⁰ produced 1,395,375 fr. worth of crops of all kinds. But the contribution of the two islands to the general export of island produce through Papeete was only one fifth to one quarter of the annual value of cash crops exported from the Establishments after annexation. Local sugar, rum, tobacco, maize, vegetables and fruits were consumed at Tahiti and Moorea; there was a considerable traffic in arrowroot, oranges, sweet potatoes, pineapples and bananas to the Tuamotu and between the Austral Islands and Papeete. Scented coconut oil was prepared everywhere, but principally at Raivavae, Tubuai, Rurutu and Rimatara for trade with the Tuamotu and the Gambier Islands. Tahiti was nearly self-supporting for sugar consumption by the end of the century; the production of coffee at Tahiti, the Australs and the Gambier Islands, in 1899, supplied a little over⁴¹ half of the needs of the Establishments.

(40) Annuaire de Tahiti, 1885, 150-151. I am suspicious of the values attributed to cotton crops which are very low (328,895 fr.) compared with the value of exported cotton for the E.F.O. in 1884 (1,551,425 fr.). Either the Leeward Islands were producing over two thirds of the local export of cotton, or, what is more likely, the estimate for Tahiti and Moorea was based on the low prices paid by the Agricultural Bank to planters and not on the invoice value of exported cotton. Miller to F.O., 14 March 1885, T.B.C.P. Annual Reports.

(41) Lemasson, op.cit., 120. There were three sugar factories, one honey plant, two cotton plants and machinery for stripping coconuts, at Tahiti, 1884. Little advance was made on these rudimentary beginnings of industry by 1906 - save for the addition of a few bicycle shops. Two ship-builders at the port laid down schooners of up to 80 tons.

The staples of local cash crops were copra, shell, vanilla, and to
 42
 a lesser extent, cotton.

Production for export	1880	1889	1899	1906
<u>Ginned cotton</u>	910,000 k.	164,049 k.	123,073 k.	23,906 k.
Value.....	1,489,600 fr.	281,261 fr.	49,161 fr.	26,296 fr.
Invoice price per k..	1 fr.70.	1 fr.70.	0 fr.40.	1 fr.10.
<u>Copra</u>	2,262,624 k.	6,061,888 k.	6,153,947 k.	5,839,897 k.
Value.....	505,050 fr.	1,085,614 fr.	1,390,400 fr.	1,043,964 fr.
Invoice price per k..	0 fr.20.	0 fr.17.	0 fr.20.	0 fr.17.
<u>Pearl-shell</u>	440,608 k.	428,000 k.	336,353 k.	379,942 k.
Value.....	421,500 fr.	856,000 fr.	764,287 fr.	645,901 fr.
Invoice price per k..	0 fr.90.	2 fr.00.	2 fr.20.	1 fr.70.
<u>Vanilla</u>	1,142 k.	5,652 k.	58,494 k.	135,639 k.
Value.....	16,325 fr.	73,476 fr.	842,525 fr.	541,476 fr.
Invoice price per k..	14 fr.20.	13 fr.00.	14 fr.40.	4 fr.00.
Total value.....	2,432,475 fr.	2,296,351 fr.	3,046,373 fr.	2,257,637 fr.
% export all produce.	88%	89%	95%	73%

The figures are representative of the general pattern of production in the Establishments during the last third of the century - allowing for yearly fluctuations resulting from faulty communications and occasional hoarding of copra and vanilla in the hope of higher prices. Cotton finally yielded place to copra as the most important cash crop: the example of the 1860's was superseded by the desire for ready returns for little outlay. Production of copra by the end of the century was spread fairly evenly over Tahiti and Moorea, the Tuamotu, the Marquesas, the Leeward Islands and the Austral Islands - in that order. The slight drop in 1906 resulted from the cyclone which destroyed a number of plantations

(42) I have used figures only for those years for which invoice returns were complete. Miller to F.O., 31 May 1881, T.B.C.P. Annual Reports; idem, 28 April 1890, T.B.C.P. Papeete; Lemasson, op.cit., 125-130; Charlier, op.cit., 9-13; The Commercial Directory and Tourists Guide the Pacific Islands, 140.

in the Tuamotu. Vanilla promised well: the price rose as high as 37 fr a kilo at San Francisco in 1897, but fell away to 4 fr. at Papeete in 1906, through lack of care in preparation and packing; thus, the Establishments which led the French colonies in production received the lowest returns.

As in the 1870's, a variety of secondary products made up the balance of the local exports. Oranges found a new market in New Zealand when competition from California grew strong; pineapples, desiccated coconut, dried bananas, bêche de mer, matting and wood remained marginal and variable items.

The purchase and export of local cash crops was dominated by English and American firms. French trading houses at Papeete numbered only three compared with six American, English, German and Belgian concerns. Fear of foreign capital was the leit-motif of debates in the General Council. To patriotic traders like the president of the Chamber of Commerce, Raoul it was an infuriating paradox that he should have to study unlikely plans for increasing trade with France, while all the exports handled by his firm went into the holds of foreign shipping companies and his profits

(43) The French colonies produced about three-quarters of the world's vanilla crop, of which nearly half came from Papeete by 1908. Courtonne, Nos Établissements en Océanie, 16.

(44) The principal houses were:

French.....	Raoulx et Papineau; Martin, Laharrague.
American.....	Turner and Chapman; Crawford and Co.; Darsie and Co. (originally, Brander and Co.); Johnston and Co.
German.....	<u>Société commerciale d'Océanie.</u>
Belgian.....	Coppenrath.

In 1884, the French firms handled only 17.5% of local imports and exports, and the foreign firms, 82.5%. Annuaire de Tahiti, 1885, 13.

came from the markets of America, Australia and England.⁴⁵

The launching of a new American trading firm at Tahiti, in 1904, the U.S. Consul, Doty, aroused considerable anti-American feeling among French settlers and the administration. Doty's plan was to set up a va copra cooperative with native producers as members bound to the company for regular payments in merchandise; and, as members of a "veritable agricultural and workers' union", they were forbidden to sell, on pain of a fine, at lower prices to other traders.⁴⁶ Since no legislation on syndicates had been promulgated at Tahiti, the acting-governor, Secreta General Cor, was uncertain about the legality of the enterprise, but decided that precedent had already been set by the cooperative employe⁴⁷ of diving teams in the Tuamotu. In 1904, the copra exports of the company amounted to one sixth of the total copra exports of the Establishments. Its greatest advantage was an assured freight ten times a year with the Oceanic Steamship Company, while other firms had to store their produce, losing favourable markets by waiting for sailing vessels.

(45) Défense des Colonies, 12 February, 19 March 1900; Rey to the Minister for the Colonies, 5 November 1899, A.C.O. 3.

(46) Doty to the State Department, 3 November 1904, Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Tahiti, vol. 8, 1903-1906.

(47) Cor to the Minister for the Colonies, 5 November 1904, A.C.O. 3.

(c) Communications and trade.

The threads which connected the Establishments through Papeete with the outside world were tenuously spun and renewed with the utmost frugality by the administration and the General Council. Within the group itself, trading schooners at the caprice of wind and weather link the ports of Tahiti and Moorea with Taiohae, Uturoa, the bays of the Australs and the cunning passes of the atolls. After 1897, an island steamer leisurely plied for 18 days around the nearer Tuamotu and the Marquesas, returning to Papeete to connect with the Leeward group and Moorea. Overseas, the two poles of local trade were San Francisco and Auckland, the one leading to the New York railroad and the trans-Atlantic services in 40 days, the other, a journey of 10 days, leading to Sydney to the Messageries services to New Caledonia, and to New Zealand lines in the western Pacific.

The San Francisco run by sailing vessel cost the colony 70,000 fr. a year till 1900 when the Oceanic Steamship Company ran a monthly steamer for a subsidy of \$30,000 paid by Paris.⁴⁸ The General Council consistently refused sums from the local budget for this and other contracts proposed for a Papeete-Noumea line and a line direct to Panama.⁴⁹ French traders

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- (48) Procès-Verbaux des Séances du Conseil Général, 1900-1901, 125.
 (49) Ibid, 1886-1887, 558-559; ibid, 1898-1899, 245. Hecht and Co. - the Messageries agents - asked for 150,000 fr. for the Papeete-Noumea line and an extra 50,000 fr. to compete with English lines connecting the New Hebrides, Fiji, Samoa, Tonga. There was no support either for the plan of the French Consul in New Zealand to rival his German counterpart who had organised the Pacific branch of the Hamburg Continental Export and Agency Co. Consul d'ABBausy proposed a Franco-British Trading, Banking and Navigation Co. to connect all the islands of British and / French

objected to paying for the contracts so long as the French shipping company was not disposed to lower its freight charges for the benefit of trade between the Establishments and France. As the General Council pointed out, local traders were " tributaries of America through San Francisco, and of England through Auckland "; English and American freight charges were 30% lower than the French; and no amount of patriotic republicanism could overlook the fact that despite tariffs on foreign imports, it was still cheaper to bring in galvanised iron, paints, calico and cottons from foreign countries in foreign holds.

Consequently, the average numbers of foreign and French vessels entering Papeete from overseas ports between 1880 and 1906 were in the ratio of three to one. The average number of local schooners entering Papeete (three quarters of which were owned by English, American or German traders) was 212; and their tonnage (22,364 tons) was roughly half the average annual tonnage for overseas entries.

French possessions and introduce proper credit facilities into the Establishments. Nothing came of the scheme. Consul d'Abbausy to the Minister for the Navy, 10 November 1887, A.C.O. 4.

- (50) From Auckland to Papeete, at the end of the century, the freight was 90 fr. for a ton of 440 cubic metres. The freight from Marseille to Tahiti with trans-shipment at Sydney by Messageries Maritimes was 173 fr. A similar situation existed in Western Samoa under German administration. Lemasson, op.cit., 98-99.
- (51) Miller, Annual Reports, passim; Shipping Movements, T.B.C.P. Part -e. By 1889, 9 of the entries were steam vessels; by 1898, they numbered 26. Many of the local schooners were beginning to use steam and later, gasoline engines. Dubruel, " Le commerce par les goëlette dans les Établissements Français de l'Océanie ", Revue de Géographie Commerciale, February 1912, 72-79.

Since Papeete was largely an entrepôt port, the values of imports and exports given in official figures contain many reduplications of items of island produce re-exported or European goods re-shipped to the outer groups. Total trade through Papeete during the last third of the century (including re-shipments) ranged between 6,000,000 fr. and 7,000,000 fr. - with a slight drop after 1903 when local cabotage was disrupted by cyclones. Other fluctuations were caused by the rise and fall of invoice prices, the fall in cotton production and a complementary rise in copra.

After a drop in the early 1880's, the value of European goods for re-export increased to over 2,000,000 fr.; this may be attributed in part to the annexation of the Leeward Islands, and in part to the demand for flour and merchandise (mostly cottons) as payment for cash crops from the outer islands. Export of local produce averaged 3,000,000 fr.; the contribution of Tahiti seems to have decreased slightly. It should be remembered that there was a good deal of trade going on directly between the ports of the Marquesas, the Leewards and the Austral Islands - though in what quantities it is impossible to say.

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(52) For example, exports from Borabora for the last quarter of 1895 (which did not pass through Papeete) included 149,681 k. of copra and 12,347 k. of ginned cotton, valued at 29,936 fr. and 4,938 fr. respectively. For the same three months, trade with Raiatea and Huahine amounted to 49,359 piastres (or 108,589 fr. 80 c. at the official Papeete rate of exchange). Dornoy to the Resident Administrator, 1 January 1896, Documents sur l'administration des Iles-Sous-le-Vent, 1897-1904, Ropiteau-O'Reilly Collection. For trade figures, see Appendix IX.

If the figures for this period are compared with averages for the 1870's, it is shown that the total value of trade of all kinds passing through Papeete had increased by 33% after annexation. Undoubtedly, the extension of French rule to the Leeward Islands, the Austral Islands and the consolidation of foreign trading interests accounted for much of this. The import of produce from the outer groups into Papeete increased in value far more than the re-export of the same commodities overseas. Two explanations are possible: either local traders were forced to pay more for their copra and shell in the outer islands and raised the market price at Papeete; or the population at Tahiti was absorbing more imports from the other dependencies. It is more likely that the former was happening: the market price of pearl shell nearly doubled during the period after annexation - which is a reflection of greater competition among traders (and the growing astuteness of native diving teams).

(53)	% increase over 1870-1879 in	import of island produce.....	77%
	"	import of European goods.....	11%
	"	total imports.....	23%
	"	export of island produce.....	30%
	"	export of European goods.....	42%
	"	total exports.....	44%

Miller to F.O., 26 April 1882, T.B.C.P. Annual Reports; idem, 28 April 1890, T.B.C.P. Papeete; Lemasson, op.cit., 125-130; Charlier, op.cit.,

- (54) The impact of European trade affected the islands in different ways according to their natural resources, demographic and social stability and their accessibility to the traders. Details of the amount of trade with each group (and with each island) would be invaluable for the study of acculturation in Oceania. I have been unable, as yet, to provide such data beyond annual returns. To a greater or less degree the sale of shell and copra had one feature common to all communities in French Oceania: for a variety of reasons - the trade itself, depopulation, the weakening of tribal sanctions - the Polynesian trader was left at the mercy of his own improvidence. This was especially true of Mangareva, for example. " The male section of the population goes

↳ for

The price of copra decreased slightly, compared with the 1870's; but nearly three times as much was being bought.

One would expect then an increase in the amount of European goods re-exported through Papeete to pay for island produce; and the rise of 42% over the average annual value of re-shipments for the decade before annexation supports the general description - though it should be kept in mind that there is no way of telling how much of this was destined for islands outside the Establishments.

For the administration, this development and its effects upon island populations were of little concern. If anything, governors like Petit who took the trouble to tour round the districts, were disturbed that Tahitian subsistence agriculture and the " marvellous fertility of the soil " were slowing down the native demand for " goods coming from abroad... the articles most sought for by Europeans " ⁵⁵. In the Tuamotu, in 1904, the administrator thought that the cooperatives organised by

for three or four months each year to dive for shell, hard work which brings a trained diver up to twenty and twenty-five a francs a day. Instead of preciously clinging to the result of his toil to procure some comfort for the months of idleness, he buys a cask of wine or a demi-john of brandy which he takes into the shade near the shore, and there, as long as the inebriating liquid lasts, he stays in a state of brutish unconsciousness... For eight months of the year, he lives in poverty and leads the most miserable existence." Vernier in J.S.M.F. 1886, 74

(55) Petit to the Minister for the Colonies, 31 March 1901, A.C.O. 3. In 1898, Lemasson described a number of European-style houses at Tahiti built through sale of vanilla, nuts and oranges by the Tahitians. " a great number of these fortunate proprietors even possess horses and carriages. The Tahitian hardly understands economy, and if he agrees to work, it is to immediately enjoy the fruits of his labour." Lemasson, op.cit., 16.

Doty's firm were "contrary to ethics"; but he made no attempt to estimate the course and results of trading activities. And Governor Cor's reaction to a new invasion of Polynesian economy by the American⁵⁶ was to think only in terms of national interests and to look for "suitable ways to stop its extension to the detriment of French business⁵⁷" Nothing was done by the administration to hinder or foster trading operations in the outer groups - except for regulating the exploitation of the lagoons; but the view persisted that somehow these operations should be French.

(d) Trade revenues and French tariff policy.

In Paris, however, there were more definite opinions about the position of French commerce in the Pacific possessions. In 1886, Faure as under-secretary for the colonies, asked the administration and the General Council to change the octroi de mer (levied illegally by a non-municipality) into a system of preferential tariffs. The request was rejected outright in the General Council: the majority - successful traders as well as staunch republicans - claimed that since most imports were of English or American origin, the weight of preferential tariffs would fall on the local consumers; furthermore (and more important) the General Council at Papeete, according to practice in French colonies

(56) Resident ? to Cor, 22 September 1904, A.C.O. 3.

(57) Cor to the Minister for the Colonies, 5 November 1904, ibid.

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would have no control over French customs.

In 1891, Governor Lacascade broke the news to the General Council that the tariff policy of the metropolis was to be extended in various degrees to all French possessions; and the following year, the famous
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Tariff Law of 9 May 1892 was promulgated locally. The General Council tried to make the blow as light as possible by recommending a general ad valorem customs of 10%, with a list of exempted articles, and proposed changes to the octroi de mer in order to reduce the preference for French
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goods. Customs on foreign goods were to be at least 13% invoice value, plus 25% of this - or slightly over 16%. The Council divided the octroi into two categories of 5% and 10%, applying the former only to foodstuffs from England and America, and the latter to all goods from France.

- (58) Feeling in the Council was best summed up by the trader, Lentzen "Tossed as we are from official to official, I think the wisest course is to keep what we have rather than rush into the unknown." Procès-Verbaux des Séances du Conseil Général, 1886-1887, 364. The policy regarding the control of tariffs in French colonies after 1880 was aimed at ending the privileges of the Colonial Councils of the Old Colonies (which had treated French and foreign goods on an equal basis). Tariffs from which metropolitan goods were free were gradually restored though they were subject to the octroi de mer and spirits duties.
- (59) Under-Secretary Jamais to Lacascade, 13 June 1892, cited 3 September 1892, Procès-Verbaux des Séances du Conseil Général, 1892-1893, 2. According to the Law, colonies were divided into two classes; among the former where customs similar to those at French ports were to be levied were the Old Colonies, Réunion, Mayotte, Indo-China, New Caledonia, Gabon, and later, Madagascar. Tahiti was included in the second class to which complete tariff assimilation did not immediately apply - though this was to be only a temporary solace. A system similar to that in French West Africa and St Pierre and Miquelon was imposed which assured to French goods an advantage over foreign goods of at least 10% of their value. Rolland. Lampué, op.cit., 271-282.
- (60) Sessions, 12, 14, 15, 19 September 1892, Procès-Verbaux des Séances du Conseil Général, 1892-1893.

Later these divisions were raised to 10% and 15%, which together with the high French freight charges had the effect of neutralising the preferential system. France provided only 12% of the imports in 1884; this share fluctuated as high as 16% in 1900, and fell again to 12% in 61 1906.

Thus, the attempt at protecting national trade in Oceania failed: administration itself imported flour, oil, wine, meat and butter through Auckland and San Francisco - duty free when consumed by officials and troops; and luxury items from France, freighted through London, Liverpool or New York, were taxed as goods from foreign origins. 62 Some change was felt in the colony itself through a rise in local retail prices. Harder hit were the small importers with insufficient capital to seek out the cheapest overseas markets and lower their duties.

In all, the real beneficiary from the new duties was the administration. The proportion of colonial revenues gathered from the octroi de mer - pearl-shell tax, navigation and entrepôt duties, which began to decline in the later 1880's (as the value of European imports declined), was far from fresh springs after 1892. By 1885, revenues from the octroi de mer, wharf fees and spirits duties had fallen to 33% of general revenues. In 1892, the octroi was raised from 12% to 13% and a 16% customs on enumerated

(61) Annuaire de Tahiti, 1885, 152-153; T.B.C.P. Papeete; Lemasson, op. cit., 125-130; Charlier, op. cit., 9-13.

(62) Extracts from the minutes of the Chamber of Commerce, 20 June, 18 September 1895, in Procès-Verbaux des Séances du Conseil Général, 189 1896, 172.

articles was imposed. Revenues from trade rose to 40% of general revenue by 1894 and remained between 40% and 44% till 1906. For, although trading revenues rose steadily during the 1880's and 1890's from about 400,000 a year to just over 650,000 fr., general revenues also increased from other sources as well as trade.

Towards the end of the century, the franc finally won the long battle with South American dollars. The administration had continued its policy of keeping French currency in circulation for trading operations by issuing paper through the local treasury and the Agricultural Bank. It was a hazardous operation when the administration itself was forced to pay for labour in Chilean specie and forced to accept it as head tax and fines; and rarely was there a safe margin of French and gold currency in the treasury to cover local notes or drafts on Paris sent from France. If sudden demands were made on the annual stock of drafts on Paris, either by visiting ships or by traders, more local notes had to be issued and new drafts from Paris were changed into French specie to back the issue. The administration was, in effect, a trading bank with the most limited facilities for trading operations. And as the South American coin devaluated on outside markets, considerable speculation took place in the

(63) Procès-Verbaux du Conseil d'administration, February 1885, A.C.O. 84; Procès-Verbaux du Conseil Général, 1886-1887, 676-682; ibid, 1891-1896, 53-59; procès-verbaux du conseil privé, October 1900, A.C.O. 76. Charlier, op.cit., 1-8.

(64) For example, in August 1886, there were 410,000 fr. of local paper and 15,000 fr. of drafts on Paris in circulation; the treasury held:

gold.....	8,000 fr.
5 fr. pieces..	407,000 fr.
silver coin...	77,500 fr.
total.....	492,500 fr.

Procès-verbaux du conseil privé, August 1886, A.C.O. 86.

Establishments where the long tradition of the piastre stubbornly resisted efforts to persuade the native population that it was worth considerably less 5 fr. Transactions made with imported Chilean coin for copra, vanilla and cotton could net a profit of 50% above the official exchange rate. In 1905, the administration took new measures: a customs tariff of 30% was imposed on imported piastres and smaller denominations of the French franc were introduced.⁶⁵ The piastre slowly disappeared; and with it vanished the last tangible evidence of the era when Valparaiso dominated the trade of Oceania.

(e) Financial administration and the end of the General Council.

No other subject was so likely to set the Papeete assembly in an uproar against the local administration and the Paris ministry as the budget or the accounts. And in no other branch of the administration were its wishes so consistently by-passed - with the result that the Council was reduced to a safety valve for the feelings of settlers without enough pressure to move official machinery.

Up till 1906, the budgets and accounts did not differ greatly from those for the last years of the Protectorate. Compared with other French possessions,⁶⁶ the colony's finances were stationary. Between 1,000,000 fr.

(65) Procès-verbaux du conseil d'administration, 13 February 1905, A.C.

(66)^{9.} In 1882, the average of annual revenues for Guadeloupe, Martinique, Réunion, Senegal, New Caledonia, French Guiana, Oceania, St Pierre and Miquelon, Mayotte, was some 2,500,000 fr.; the average of State expenses was only slightly above this. By 1890, the average State expenses for these, including Indo-China, Africa, Madagascar, had risen to over 5,000,000 fr.; by 1900, they were over 9,000,000 fr. Local revenues

and 1,500,000 fr. figured annually in the accounts for the period - increasing 100,000 fr. to 200,000 fr. as colonial subsidy from Paris. In addition Paris spent about 800,000 fr. a year for sovereignty expenses - official salaries and military and naval supplies. The slight increase in revenue came mainly from trade, postal rates, land registration fees and extra subsidies for the development of the port and repair of damage caused by the 1903 cyclone. Despite the addition of the Leeward Islands and other islands, the proportion from head tax fell off, as did trading licences. The total contribution of the outer groups to the general revenues varied between 10% and 17%; a slightly smaller percentage of the expenses was spent on them in return.

The accuracy of the annual accounts is subject to reservations: revenues still to be received (usually taxes) were included in the " reserve funds " - and were sometimes as high as 60,000 fr. The end of the financial year never coincided with the end of financial operations.

increased everywhere. By 1900, Tahiti's sister colony, New Caledonia was collecting 2,800,000 fr. - a rise of nearly 50% in 18 years. Norman " The Colonies of France ", The Nineteenth Century, vol. XV, no. 87, May 1884, 973-986; Duchêne, Histoire des Finances Coloniales de la France, 219.

(67) Role contributions..	1885	1887	1894	1906
/Licences, taxes on persons, dogs, property, roads, work-days.....	.163,860 fr.	262,608 fr.	246,755 fr.	173,950 fr.
% of revenues.....	15%	25%	14%	11%

The head tax of 20 fr. increased to 24 fr. in 1902; it was hardly collected at all from the native population. In 1902, a road tax of 12 fr. or a corvée of 6 days was re-introduced. At Papeete, there was also an urban tax of 12 fr a head and a house tax on estate worth over 300 fr., miscellaneous taxes on postage and dogs, empounding of stock and on meat and water.

for the year when funds from Paris had not always arrived and receipts expenditure on the State or the colonial accounts were not always to ha Month to month operations on returns for trade, large official expenses and an over-simplified itemising of the budget, made long-term planning for public works impossible. Until 1887, the basic principle of dividing expenses into optional and obligatory was not adhered to.

These and other obscurities aroused vehement dissatisfaction in the General Council, cheated out of its small responsibilities for determining a portion of the expenses, and angered by the vast proportion of the budget swallowed up by the administration itself. The budget presented the administration for 1887 did not satisfy the financial commission of the Council: receipts for the previous year had fallen short of the estimated expenditures by 200,000 fr. - though the administration claimed there were " reserves " to cover this. It was then found that the " reserves " were largely fictitious taxes still to be collected. The director of the Interior was obliged to present the budget again in detailed chapters before the Council would vote it; but it became clear before the end of the debates that Governor Lacascade would write into the obligatory section any items of expenditure the Council refused and would alter the optional expenses to accord with the revenues available; and

(68) E.g., in the 1885 budget, 414,742 fr. (or 39% of expenses) compared with 230,632 fr. (or 22% of expenses) for public works. Annuaire de Tahiti, 1885, 112-117.

(69) Sessions, 15, 16, 17 November 1886, Procès-Verbaux des Séances du Conseil Général, 1886-1887, 208-230.

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this he did - to the sum of 84,411 fr.

Continual deficits for the next few years resulted in a colonial debt to Paris which was as high as 178,897 fr. in 1891, and rose to 385,277 fr. in 1894.⁷¹ Motions of no confidence in the director of the Interior and hot exchanges over transfers from optional to obligatory expenses of funds used to meet the governor's domestic allowances helped to shorten the Council's life.⁷² In 1898, the more vociferous section of the representatives, tiring of the mere formalities of office, petitioned in desperation for an end to the "overseas tutelage" of Tahiti from Paris, demanding no less than complete financial and administrative autonomy for the colony - even at the price of paying for all sovereign expenses.⁷³ A few of the cooler heads protested that the colony did not have a large enough European population to run its own affairs; Goupil,

- (70) The budget, as finally voted, was set at 1,040,543 fr. in receipts and 961,287 fr. in expenses. The meticulous division into 60 sections as demanded by the Council was rejected for a more flexible 20 sections. And in the Privy Council, the receipts were raised to 1,124,954 fr. Procès-verbaux du conseil privé, December 1886, A.C.O. 88.
- (71) Ibid, March 1893, A.C.O. 89; Procès-Verbaux des Séances du Conseil Général, 1899-1900, 6. In 1898, the debt was still 355,068 fr. It was not completely paid back before 1905.
- (72) Réclamations et griefs divers, 24 March 1893, ibid, 1892-1893, 4401. The domestic expenses of the governor, in the optional category until 1895, were the nearest approach in the colony to some power of purse on the part of the Council. In 1895, Governor Papinaud increased them from 15,000 fr. to 20,000 fr. and wrote them into the obligatory charges - out of the Council's range of control. Papinaud to the Minister for the Colonies, 13 April 1895, 12 March 1896, A.C.O. 3; Le Tahitien, 10 February 1896.
- (73) Bonet, Laharague, Cardella, Coulon, Lévy, Raoulx, for the motion against, Goupil, Brault, Chassaniol; four abstentions. Session, 23 November 1898, Procès-Verbaux des Séances du Conseil Général, 1898-1899, 85, 127-128.

reflecting on the stormy record of the Council, foresaw administrative chaos if ever Paris should be required to pay heed to the numerous and contradictory petitions which sprang every year from the Council's opinionated and fertile eloquence. No more notice was taken of the new request than the old ones; but the point of frustration had been reached at which the assembly preferred radical changes - even dissolution - to ineffectiveness.

In 1900, the colony was called on to pay for its gendarmerie, treasury, courts, churches and all internal administration still born by the State. In return, the State subsidy was raised to 200,000 fr. - no less than the extra cost of the new burdens. Since the General Council refused to adopt new taxes - especially a land tax envisaged by Governor Gallet - the public works estimates were cut. Moreover, it was learned that the Council no longer had the right to propose even optional expenses. As the Minister for the Colonies interpreted the Financial Law of 13 April 1900, only the administration was "competent to estimate... and propose the expenses" of the official departments; "the General Council" was "Décris" which like every other representative assembly, is instituted for control and not to administer, should be able to reduce and not increase the estimates which are asked of it."

The General Council was redundant. It had no voice in the administration of the outer groups; Papeete was the responsibility of the Commune.

(74) Décris to Petit, cited in session, 11 November 1901, Procès-Verbaux des Séances du Conseil Général, 1901, 106.

and nobody could claim that the Council represented Tahiti and Moorea in matters of district government. Without consultation or ceremony, it was ended by Governor Petit, on orders from Paris, in August 1903. In its place, the old Administrative Council was revived, consisting of the members of the Privy Council, two nominated residents, the mayor of Papeete and the five administrators of the outer groups (when they could get to Tahiti).

Records of the budget and the accounts retreated into the minutes of the governor's Privy Council where debates were more moderate. Economic matters were the order of the day - mainly in public works; and the governor himself was left to accept full responsibility for the financial administration of the colony. Governor Cor, with some irony, summed up his own position:

" On the one hand I am aware of important economies to be realised which for supremely important reasons I do not anticipate, and, the other hand, indispensable expenses of increasing importance, commanded by the wise foresight of the various Offices of the Department (of Colonies)." 76

An important institution in the general policy of administrative assimilation had come to an end. French settlers - unrepresentative of the population as a whole - had been able to do little more than protest. Opposition had cost them even this last legal privilege.

(75) Petit had worked for its end ever since his arrival at Tahiti. Décret du 19 mai 1903 portant suppression du Conseil Général, encl. in Minister for the Colonies to Petit, 13 June 1903; Petit to the Minister for the Colonies, 24 July 1903; procès-verbaux du conseil privé, 4 August 1903, A.C.O. 9.

(76) Cor to the Minister for the Colonies, 11 December 1904, A.C.O. 3. The " indispensable " expenses were a rise in salaries in the medical service and the cost of a Colonial Commission of Inspection.

CONCLUSION

French administration in Oceania was a chapter of the larger story of contact between Europeans and a native people. To that discursive and fragmentary epic the legislators of European forms of law and order made their contribution by perpetuating and modifying changes begun before they arrived. Rarely did they add anything completely new. Thus, an important part of the environment of French rule consisted in a cultural syncretism in local Polynesian political, economic and religious principles and practices after long contact, and in some instances Polynesian reaction against these innovations.

The life of a stone-age people was transformed to different degree in different islands. The changes wrought by the Protestant and Catholic missions in the Society and Leeward groups, Mangareva, and, to a lesser extent, in the Australs, the western Tuamotu and in the Marquesas, were approved and extended by the French. From the administrative centre of Papeete, the use made of district chiefs, courts and native judges, the laws and the native police gradually spread to the periphery as the Marquesas were pacified, the annexation of the Leewards enforced, and communications with the outer groups were regularised.

In the absence of a consistent pattern of instructions from Paris the policy which guided these developments is discernable from the practice of the administration. The administrators were many - too many for continuity of personal experience and understanding of local problems.

From 1843 till 1906, there were no less than thirty-four commandants, governors and acting-governors in French Oceania - including those who were appointed for more than one term. Their average stay was twenty-months; de la Roncière's rule of five years and six months was exceptional. The careers of their subordinates were marked by the same administrative nomadism - an inheritance of the naval practice of short campaigns and promotion by transfer.

In general, their administrative policy was guided by the belief that the legal and humanitarian principles of France and the institutions which embodied them were superior to the structure of Polynesian and missionary government, both technically and ideally. Therefore they were desirable wherever natives could be forced, persuaded or taught to accept them. This is a rationalisation of their administrative practice rather than the content of select formulae proclaimed by Paris or by the commandants and governors themselves - though such expressions were not lacking, especially under the Third Republic.

At Tahiti and Moorea, such principles and practice accelerated the pace of evolution from the complex pattern of chiefly rights and obligations among the Polynesian tribes and sub-tribes - the political expression of kinship ties and religious beliefs - to a centralised authority and a formal number of district office-holders. In the Leeward Islands and at Mangareva, similar political changes were not used by the French till later in the century and were immediately qualified (as the Protectorate at Tahiti had been) by the over-riding authority of French officials.

In the Marquesas, in the Tuamotu, and in the Australs, such an evolution either did not take place or was less marked. By the time of the annexation which consolidated the Establishments, the Pomare dynasty which the French, like the missionaries, had helped to sustain, was politically speaking dead. Along with the Tahitian Assembly, subordinate grades of district chiefs, priests and craftsmen, it had been mortified by functional attrition.

An addition to the process of political change came with annexation. Institutions of French local government were introduced to represent the white and native population. For the white settlers the experiment was frustrated by their relatively small numbers and by the limitations of the representative bodies themselves. The bulk of the Polynesian population outside Tahiti and Moorea was neither consulted nor concerned; and some few native leaders who might have learned new responsibilities were prevented from participation by the language qualification.

In economic matters, the administration encouraged changes from subsistence to a surplus economy and developed the system of taxation and salaries begun in the mission Codes of Laws. An attempt to take the transfer of land to Europeans a stage further by individualising all land holdings was severely handicapped by the Polynesian usehold and kinship system and by the confusion of legislation and litigation which resulted wherever enclosure was begun.

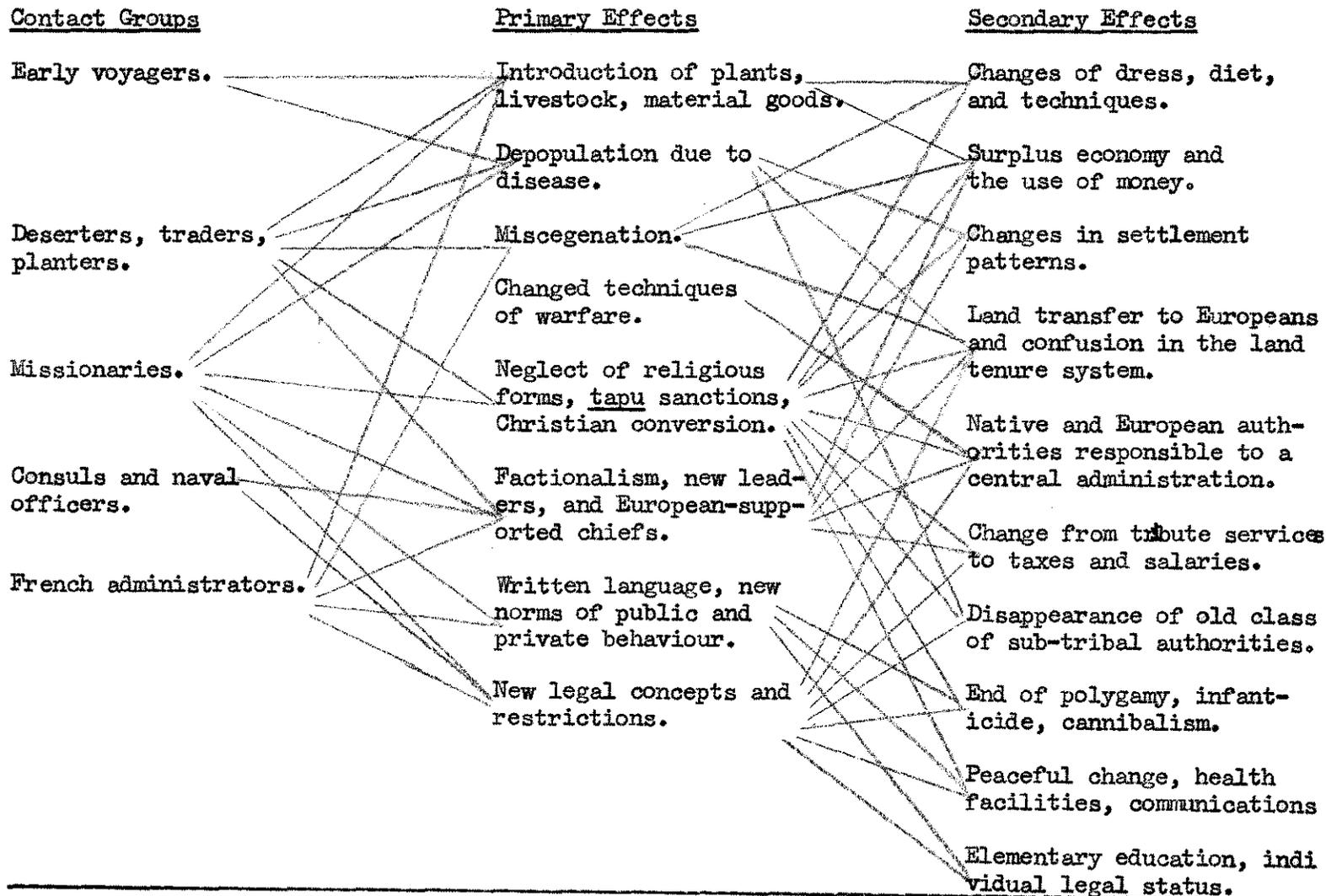
Trade was facilitated by the presence of numerous officials, new installations around the port of Papeete and by the Europeans who came

shelter under French law. The growth of cash-crop economy throughout the islands and the transformation of luxuries - clothes, tools, foodstuffs into daily necessities was the most permanent and regular result of European contact. But little was done on the part of the administration to mitigate its most detrimental effects, except in the diving industry where over-exploitation of the lagoons was a matter of commercial concern.

Communications were improved at Tahiti and Moorea: a servicable road round both islands was completed by the 1880's; bridges were built over rivers which flooded in the rainy season; the port was constantly improved, though it did not keep pace with developments in steam navigation and the increase in tonnage which heralded the opening of the Panama canal. The limited assimilation of local trade tariffs to metropolitan tariffs in the 1890's was either obviated or ignored.

Financially, the administration was hampered by a long burden of deficits and hand to mouth accountancy which left little for material improvements after large sums had been eaten up by the administration itself. In 1907, Governor Charlier, looking back over the administration of the colony since the annexation and forward into the new century, hoped for a rise in prosperity among the settlers. Makatea phosphates were about to be exploited; new taxes and duties were to be imposed; and already the population had begun its long upward curve. Like his predecessors, he thought public works, a modest reserve in the treasury, more gendarmes to supervise the colony's 30,000 inhabitants, and the spread of education as the most desirable objectives for the coming years.

Configurational Analysis of European Contact and Administration in French Oceania



Within this limited analysis of the colony and its people he had some reason to be optimistic.

Assimilation of the islanders to French culture was for long the unrealised ambition of successive administrators and part of the colonial programme. It foundered on the rocks of missionary education and Polynesian indifference. French was not taught till the 1860's; and its penetration of Tahitian and other Polynesian dialects outside Tahiti was extremely limited. Miscegenation (by officials as well as settlers) encouraged the process; but the result was the partial assimilation of other national idioms (notably Chinese and French) into a changing native vernacular.

In general, then, the contribution of the administration to the solution of problems raised by European contact rested mainly on the provision of justice for the native and white population, the development of the port and protection against occupation by another Power. Interference with Polynesian land tenure raised as many problems as it attempted to solve; the introduction of Chinese labour never reached the proportions of Indian immigration into Fiji, and it was not directly the cause of the growth of the Chinese community in the next century.

France gave to the area, too, something of an administrative homogeneity, though this did not develop any widespread feeling of national homogeneity among the peoples of the different administrative divisions. The part played by the administration in continuing and adapting the innovations made by other Europeans may be best illustrated by a diagram (see opposite). Too much remains to be done on the study of acculturation in eastern Polynesia to pretend that the effects listed are exhaust-

They represent the main factors which administrators should have had to take into account at Tahiti; and most of them are common to other islands of the area during the rest of the century.

How completely was Polynesian life penetrated by these changes? Acceptance was in the main limited to use of material goods (and in the case of wealthier Tahitians, European houses and transport). Adaptation was evidenced in most other facets of local Polynesian political, economic and religious life. The innovations of electoral procedures, assembly voting, obedience to appointed chiefs, pastors and the police, were not enforced simply by arms; they were grafted onto Polynesian respect for birth and title, the practice of conciliar agreement, the prestige of religious teachers and the practice of economic sanctions. Land tenure remained anchored to the kinship system (at least at the household level with European forms of registration and title gradually supplementing the native land courts, boundary stones and family genealogies. Along with incentives to economic individualism through the sale of cash crops and occasional wage labour, obligations to kin and to sub-tribal authorities persisted - notably in the Leewards and the Tuamotu. Communal enterprises - the building of boats and churches, fishing, harvesting - were accompanied by the evaluation of labour and materials in kind or in money but were none the less communal and organised by leaders of respected birth or craftsmanship. In matters of religious belief, we need more evidence from psychologists and sociologists working today to be able to say to what degree the patterns of formal Christianity have replaced

primitive beliefs and be able to describe the relationship between the beliefs and behaviour. From missionary evidence, even late in the century one is led to conclude that there was still an unshakable stratum of religious convictions surviving from pre-European times - but unintegrated with the new syncretic political and economic structure.

Reaction on the part of the native peoples of different islands in the area to Europeans and their innovations is not very fully documented. Obvious examples are the resistance of the tribes of Tahiti and Moorea to Pomare and his European supporters, the insurrection of 1838-1847, the wars in the Marquesas and the pacification of Raiatea in 1898. The mamaia sect was the nucleus of widespread social and religious reaction against missionary teaching; the expulsion of the L.M.S. missionaries along with Tamatoa, ari'i of Raiatea, in 1865, was a reaction against their strictures and interference in island politics; maltreatment of Catholic missionary at Anaa in the early 1850's had similar characteristics; the long recital of wrongs and thefts from Europeans in the Leeward Islands through the 1860's and 1870's and at Tubuai in 1867 are suggestions of other instances.

With exceptions of this kind, changes were peaceful in French Oceania. The administration was fortunate that the Polynesian whose political and social structure had been shaken and patched together with imported timbers still retained (where his people had not been devastated by disease) his family stronghold and some of the viability of his wandering ancestors.

APPENDIX I

Titles and District Chiefs.

The purpose of the following tables is to clarify references in the text of the thesis to titleholders and to the divisions of Tahiti and Moorea over which they had political authority. It is not intended to be a complete schematic description of the kinship relations of all the chiefs (even if data were available to make this possible). Two kinds of difficulty confront the historian and the anthropologist interested in forming a picture of the authority structure of Tahiti and Moorea after early European contact. The first is concerned with names and titles. We do not know from the voyagers and the missionaries how far the ari'i extended as a class into the ranks of lesser chiefs of households; nor, conversely, do we know at what point birth, marriage ties or political following were qualifications for all ari'i titles. We cannot be sure either that the most sacred names bestowed on chiefs of the highest rank - names which lesser Tahitians were forbidden to use - were fully revealed to European enquirers. The Pomare title itself is a case in-point. The full name of Tu-nui-e-a'a-i-te-atua belonging to Teu (father of Pomare) was changed (" for popular usage ", wrote de Bovis) into Tia-rahi-paiuma-i-atua. The elision of vowels when Tahitian names were recorded has not helped either. I have adopted the titles given by Teuira Henry, though I had not thought it necessary in this study to break them up into their component words. There is no reference in her work to the period at which the titles were in use. One must assume they were still in use at a date immediately prior to 1817, or shortly after, when her grandfather, J.M. Orsmond collected

his material. There were undoubtedly other titles. Ari'itaimai has written that her mother - Marama ari'i manihinihi - had, in addition to the name, a claim to several more high-sounding titles: " she was Teriivaetua at Faa she was Aromaiterai at Papara; she was Teriinui o Tahiti and Maheanuu i Farepua at Vaiari; she was Teriitua Teriouru maona i Terai i Hitiaa; she was Tetuaraenui ahuri taua o te mauui i Fareroi in Haapape; and with each name she took the lands that belonged to it." There is no evidence that these and many listed in Henry were in use after the advent of Pomare IV; though it has been suggested by Ribourt that some were assumed by the queen after 1842 whenever she was in the district with which they were associated. Like the marae temples whose sacred names sometimes appear in the titles themselves, much of the religious and social architecture which they supported had been razed; and they were left, like those crumbling piles, bereft of significance.

The second point concerns district divisions. Within the main outline of the old tribal configurations there is some confusion over names referred to sub-tribes and to the geographical locations of these. Te Fana, Faaa and the occasional use of the name of the district marae, Ahurai (to describe the people and/or their location), provide an obvious example; the name of the district of Punaauia - noted as no more than a hamlet on the map prepared by Wilson of the Duff - has supplanted the old sub-tribal name of Manot; a branch of the Oropaa people; the neighbouring branch - the Manorua - have

(1) Memoirs of Ariitaimai..., loc.cit., 162.

lost their name to that of the most important pass in the reef - Paea. Consequently, the names of the districts in the tables are not definitive of all the kinship groupings in the two islands from the beginning of the nineteenth century. They do define, however, those districts which remain important as units of native administration during the French administration. Where some of these, at Moorea and on the Tairarapu peninsula, were joined for administrative purposes into larger areas, the change has been noted.

It is hoped that the schema and the sources indicated will be revised and expanded by students of Polynesian social structure. Some attention could be paid, for example, to the names of the districts outlined in Law XVI of the Pomare Code of 1819 in which the iatoai of the various sub-tribes were appointed as judges and which contains some interesting variations from the district names in Henry and other sources. More information on the earlier pattern of residence from archeological survey (location map of marae, district boundaries etc.) would help. Genealogies from still living Tahitians (where they can remember them) and checking with land records would probably throw some light on the earlier sub-tribes.

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- (2) Sources for the tables below are: Henry, op.cit., 70-95; Bruat, Mémoire au capitaine de vaisseau Lavaud, May 1847, A.C.O. 47; de Bovis, " État de la Société tahitienne à l'arrivée des Européens ", Annuaire de Tahiti, 1863, 217-301; Ribourt, " État de l'Île Tahiti pendant les années 1847, 1848 ", ibid., 302-324; ibid., 1885, 1889, 1900, 1906; de Saisset to the Minister for Algeria and the Colonies, 15 February 1859, A.C.O. 40; Cottez, " Tahiti il y a cent ans. Aperçu rétrospectif des Cadres Maoris des Îles Tahiti et Moorea vers 1855 ", B.S.E.O., no. 112, September 1955, 44-460. The latter work by Cottez, based on an official manuscript of the early 1850's, contains numerous orthographical errors. The date ascribed to it is a little late: the chief, Tati of Pajara, mentioned in it, was dead in June 1854.

TABLE OF TITLES AND CHIEFS FOR TAHITI

DISTRICTS:	PARE	ARUE
TITLES:	Tunuaia'eiteatua Ari'ipaea	Tunuaia'eiteatua Ari'ipeu
DISTRICT CHIEFS:		
1842:	3 Teri'itaria /Pomare IV's mother's sister, queen of Huahine /	Teri'itaria
1848:	Haumure /The son of a brother of Pomare I and chief of Atimaono before he was given the title of Ari'ipaea by Bruat in 1846 /	Haumure
1855:	Haumure	Haumure
1859:	Pomare IV	Pomare IV
1863:	Ari'ipaea	Ari'ipaea
1877:	/The director of Native Affairs as president of the District Council/	Ari'ipeu
1885:	Pomare V	Pomare V
1889:	Pomare V	Pomare V
1906:	Taute a Tefautu	Prince Hinoi

(3) For the genealogy of the Pomare family, see below 350.

	FAAA	PUNAAUIA	PAEA
	Teari'ivaetua Tepa'u	Tetuanuiemaruitera'i Pohuetea	Tevahituaipatea To'ofa
1842:	Atiau Vahine /Marana, mother of Ari'itaimai and paramount chief of Papeari, Haapiti and Teavaro /	Utami /Adopted son of the former Pohuetea titleholder /	Noho Vahine /A relative of Pomare and deposed by Bruat /
1848:	Atiau Vahine	Aifenua Vahine /Also cited as Poku -etea Vahine /	Ruari'i /A nephew of Tati depo by Lavaud for his sis with the title of To'
1855:	Atiau Vahine	Aifenua Vahine	To'ofa Vahine
1859:	Maheanu'u Vahine	Aifenua Vahine	Ruari'i /Also cited as To'ofa /
1863:	Maheanu'u Vahine	Aifenua Vahine	Ruari'i
1877:	Maheanu'u Vahine /Maheanu'u Tane Council president /	Aifenua Vahine /Tuahu Council president /	Aittoa
1885:	Maheanu'u Vahine	Teihoari'i a Tumahoi	Aittoa
1889:	Maheanu'u Vahine	Teri'ioterai'i	Aittoa
1906:	Mano a Toai	Teri'ioterai'i	Taumihau a Mahutatua

	PAPARA	ATIMAONO	PAPEURIRI (MATAIEA)
	Teri'irere Aromaitera'i Ari'ifaataia	Teari'ifa'atau Tereitiauiui	Teihoatua Fare'ahu
1842:	Tati ⁴	Terai /Haumure/	Fare'ahu Vahine
1848:	Tati	Teari'ifa'atau /The daughter of Fa'aterehau Vahine - sister of Ari'ipaea /	Rava'ai /Nephew of Fare'ahu Vahine and brother of the Regent, Paraita and appointed by Bruat in 1844 /
1855:	Ari'itaimai /Grand-daughter of Tati /	Teari'ifa'atau	Rava'ai
1859:	Ari'itaimai	Teari'ifa'atau	Rava'ai
1863:	Teato /Representative for Ari'itaimai/	Teari'ifa'atau	Rava'ai
1877:	Ari'itaimai /Taharia Council president /	Ari'itaimai	Tere a Patiahia
1885:	Ari'itaimai /Tati Salmon Council presi- dent /	Ari'itaimai	Tere a Patiahia
1889:	Ari'itaimai	Ari'itaimai	?
1906:	Tati Salmon	Tati Salmon	Ari'ioehau a Moeroa

(4) Tati (or Teuraiterai, or Taure'atuipatea), 1773?-1854 was one of most influential chiefs on the island, both during and after the time of Pomare II. His sons were, Ori (adopted), chief of Papenoo; Tapa'u (d. 1834) married to Marama of Moorea; Faiohia, chief of Tautira; Taputana killed fighting the French in 1844; Otu (d. 1850); Hareotahi, mitoi of Atimaono; Fenuaiti and Onohi.

PAPEARI	TOAHOTU (MATAVAI)	VAIRAO
Maheanu'u	Moeterauri Tanera'i Tutea	Teahaurifenua Vairora Vivirau
1842: Pitomai /A son of Teri'itaria and a warrior of Pomare II/	Puna /A brother of the previous chief - Moeterauri /	Fanaue
1848: Pitomai	Toahere /A son of Moeterauri, appointed by Bruat in 1844 and married to a sister of Paraita /	Huruino /Brother of Fanaue a son of a former chi
1855: Pitomai	Toahere	Huruino
1859: ?	Huruino	Huruino
1863: Haereotahi /The daughter of Pitomai was titular chief, but lived at Hawaii/	Huruino	Huruino
1877: Tehiva'ari'otua	Toni	Toni
1885: Tehiva'ari'otua	Tumata'aroa a Puhia	Tumata'aroa a Puhia
1889: Tehiva'ari'otua	Tumata'aroa a Puhia	Tumata'aroa a Puhia
1906: Metua a Fanaue	Teri'itehau a Tetua'iteroi	Teri'itehau a Tetua'iteroi

	MATAOAE	TEAHUPOO	TAUTIRA
	Moeterauri Tanera'i Tanetufenua Tutea	Teari'inavaharoa or Vehiatuaitemata'i Teatuanuiha'amarura'i	Teari'inavaharoa or Vehiatuaitemat Teatuanuiha'amarur
1842:	Puna	Peueue /Often cited as Vehiatua /	Arata /Chief for Teremo mother of Pomare
1848:	Toahere	Peueue	Faitohia /Appointed by Brua in 1844
1855:	Toahere	Peueue	Faitohia
1859:	?	Peueue	Faitohia
1863:	Huruino /Council president and chief of Vairao/	Vehiatua	Mano Vahine /Daughter of the former chief /
1877:	?	Vehiatua /Matamoe Council president /	Mano Tane /Pastor and husband of Mano Vahine
1885:	?	Tari'iri'i a Vehiatua	Tera'imano /Son of the former chief
1889:	?	Tari'iri'i a Vehiatua	Tera'imano
1906:	?	Tetiahe'eroa a Maoni	Ari'i a Tera'imano

PUEU	AFAAHITI	HITIAA
Teari'inavahoroa Tetuanuimaraeta'ata Taneuapoto Tematahiapo Tematuanui	Moearu Rati	Teri'itua Fanaue
1842: Tetuanuimaraeta'ata /A brother of Utami chief of Punaauia/	Mairi Tau /Chief for Ari'iaue eldest son of Pomare IV /	Teri'itua /Daughter of the sist of Tapoa II of Borai
1848: Tetuanuimaraeta'ata /Wife of the former chief /	Mairi Vahine /Wife of the former chief /	Teri'itua /At her death in 1848 the title went to Tu vira, son of Pomare on the condition the Teri'itua's husband should represent him in the district
1855: Tetuanuimaraeta'ata	Mairi Vahine	Teohu /Also cited as Fanaue
1859: Tetuanuimaraeta'ata	Mairi Vahine	Teohu
1863: Fa'ahiahia /Son of the former chief /	Mairi Vahine	Tiara'atoru /Representative for T vira while in France and Council presiden
1877: Fa'ahiahia a marae- ta'ata	Ari'iaue /Mara'iauria Council president/	Itebela Vahineatua Shaw /Matahiapo Council president /
1885: Fa'ahiahia a marae- ta'ata	Pomare V	Itebela Vahineatua Shaw /Prince Hinoi Council president
1889: Fa'ahiahia a marae- ta'ata	Pomare V	Prince Hinoi
1906: Poroiaka Punuata'a- hitua	Ro'omaui a Tehuitua Moe a Maoni	

	MAHAENA	TIAREI	PAPENOO
	Ro'ura Outu Punaari'i	Manua Aru	Tupua'iotera'i Vana'a
1842:	Fanaue /Also chief of Vairao and deposed by Bruat from both districts_/	Hitoti	Arata
1848:	Ro'ura /Daughter of Fanaue_/	Manua	Ori /Son of Tati and in-law of Arata
1855:	Ro'ura	Manua	Ori
1859:	Ro'ura	Manua	Ori
1863:	Ro'ura	Hitoti /Son of Manua_/	Ori
1877:	Ro'ura /Teri'inonora'i Council president_/	Hitoti /Metuaaro, pastor, Council president_/	Opuhara /Son of Ori_/
1885:	Ro'ura a Fanaue	Hitoti a Manua	Opuhara
1889:	Ro'ura a Fanaue	Hitoti a Manua	Opuhara
1906:	?	Ahuatua a Durietz	Teri'ieroo a Ter: tera'i

TABLE OF TITLES AND CHIEFS FOR MOO

	HAAPAPE	PAPETOAI	VARARI
	Ti'ipa Tutoia Teritootera'i	Tauaroa Taura'aatua Ti'ihiva Amaru Manea	Punuaitera'iatua
1842:	Moe /Son of Peueue and re- placed by Teremoemoe till 1845 /	Manea	Tauhira /For her daughter, Mahine Vahine /
1848:	Tari'iri'i /Son of Peueue /	Manea /Deposed by Lavaud for drunkenness and replaced by his daughter Unarua 5 in 1849 /	Mahine Vahine
1855:	Tari'iri'i	Manea /Son of Manea /	Mahine Vahine
1859:	Tari'iri'i	Manea	Mahine Vahine
1863:	Tari'iri'i	Manea /Teamo Vahine a Ter- i'itanaroa Council president /	Aromaitera'i /Mahine Vahine Cour- president
1877:	Ro'ometua /Tari'iri'i Council president /	Teamo	Tetuanuireiaiterai atea
1885:	Prince Ta'aroari'i	?	?
1889:	?	?	?
1906:	Para'atua a Teuira	Pa'i a Aui	?

(5) Unarua was similarly deposed soon after and replaced by her ten-year old brother under the guardianship of his foster father. The latter earned the displeasure of Commandant Bonard and was replaced in his duty as guardian by a ra'atira.

MORUU	HAAPITI	ATIMAHA
Tea'uta'aia	Marana	Mahine Tupu
1842: Tea'uta'aia	Marana	Ta'uma'u Vahine /Also cited as Ta'uirus and de osed by Bruat
1848: Tea'uta'aia	Marana	Ta'uma'u /Brother of Ta'u- ma'u Vahine also cited as Ta'uirus
1855: Tea'uta'aia	Marana	Ta'uma'u
1859: ?	Tetuanui Vahine	Ta'uma'u
1863: Aromaitera'i	Tetuanui Vahine	?
1877: Tetuanuireiaiteraiatea	Ta'uhiro	Tetuanuireiaiter atea
1885: ?	Marura'i a Ta'u- hiro	?
1889: ?	Marura'i a Ta'u- hiro	?
1906: ?	Ro'ura a Tama'i- tiore	?

	MAATEA	HAUMI	AFAREAITU
	Teari'imana Papauru Tetuaeaha	Ma'irau Ta'ero Hopu'u Mere	Tepa'uari'i Ti'ahani To'i
1842:	Pe'e	Ta'ero	Hapoto
1848:	Pe'e /Nephew of the former chief who died in 1848	Ta'ero	Hapoto
1855:	Pe'e	Ta'ero	Hapoto Vahine /Daughter of the form chief
1859:	Peu a Pe'e	Ta'ero	Hapoto Vahine
1863:	Peu a Pe'e	Ta'ero /Council president for Maatea, Haumi, Afareaitu	Hapoto Vahine
1877:	Tera'i	Tera'i	Tera'i
1885:	Tera'i	Tera'i	Tera'i
1889:	?	?	?
1906:	Tetuaeaha a Urari'i	Tetuaeaha a Urari'i	Tetuaeaha a Urari'i

TEAVARO	TEAHAROA
Marama Uira Pehe	Ta'aroari'i Tetumu Teti'aau
1842: Marama	Ma'amea Vahine
1848: Marama	Ma'amea Vahine
1855: Marama	Ta'uhiro /Husband of the former chief_/
1859: Tetuanui	Ta'uhiro
1863: Tetuanui	Ta'uhiro /Council president for Teavaro, Teaharoa_/
1877: Ta'uhiro	Ta'uhiro
1885: Marura'i a Ta'uhiro	Marura'i a Ta'uhiro
1889: Marura'i a Ta'uhiro	Marura'i a Ta'uhiro
1906: Ro'ura a Tama'itiore	Ro'ura a Tama'itiore

APPENDIX II

Codes and Regulations in Oceania

" Whilst heathen their disputes were settled with the club.
Now they go to law."

Rodgerson, Borabora, 24 June 1841, L.M.S.S.S. 11

To the handful of missionaries who survived the disillusionments of early contact with Tahiti and to those who arrived after 1815, Gospel-preaching and advice on government went hand in hand. Eagerly the population bought or begged copies of the Scriptures and hymns laboriously printed by Ellis and Crook at Moorea. Encouraged by the signs around them (and fear that much of this initial enthusiasm might not outlive their protector, Pomare II), Crook, Ellis, Davies, Bourne, Notz and others debated the means of extending and preserving their work in church and civil affairs. As Pomare and other chiefs questioned them on the practice of law and order in Europe, the missionaries were gradually (and not unwillingly) forced to prescribe articles of conduct according to their own conception of justice, property and morals.

Through 1817 and 1818, discussion among themselves convinced them that a set of written laws might best embody the elementary principles they considered suitable for a recently-converted hierarchy of chiefs and their people. The laws, they thought, should embrace all those matters of daily

(1) The debates on the subject of law-making which took place at the end of 1817 were summed up at a general meeting of the missionaries in January 1818; they have been described by Davies in his History of the Tahitian Mission, vol. XIX, MS., L.M.S. The following March Pomare's son (and heir to his titles) died. This fact and Pomare's own decline in health and morals may well have influenced their decision to draw up the Code.

lifewhich were the most frequent cause of dissension among Polynesians, of which ran counter to missionary condemnation of every evidence of "pagan". They were mindful, too, of the use the laws might have in overcoming factious elements in Polynesian society by enhancing the position and authority of the paramount chiefs, and in particular, Pomare in whose name the written word was to be promulgated.

The old religious principles on which the society rested had, they hoped, been destroyed by Pomare's example and order. It was therefore important to replace them with new ones - which were in fact the ideas of lower middle-class England on the constitution of civilised behaviour. Through the Code, the chiefly rank of their protectors and traditional habits of consultation for settling disputes might be used to supplement preaching with judgement and fines; thus, might the benefits of propriety and order be extended to where church membership did not reach. Pomare, after hesitating between his desire for arbitrary and uncodified authority at home, and his sensitive pride at the news of his fame in England, finally agreed. "The laws will be established," he wrote towards the end of 1818 "and a consultation will take place. The faulty parts will be corrected, and when it is very correct the people will return to their houses."²

By citing Pomare's consent, the missionaries were careful to emphasise to their critics in England that the Code originated with the chiefs themselves; this was the justification, they claimed, for their interference

(2) Pomare to the L.M.S., 3 October 1818 (trans.), L.M.S.S.S. 2.

in matters of local government. Sensitivity to doubts raised about this defence and misrepresentation by later French writers about the nature of the laws led Ellis, as the historian of the early mission, to write (somewhat ambiguously) that the first Code of 1819 had been " prepared by the king and a few of the chiefs " - with the help of Nott " by whom it was chiefly framed "³. From the correspondence of other missionaries and from Davies, it is clear, however, that the first draft of the Code must have been in English - from which it was translated by Nott with Tahitian help; and fair copy was written out by Pomare himself some time in May 1818.⁴ It was read over with prayers in May 1819 before an assembly of the chiefs and the people at Pomare's chapel at Pare.⁵ An expanded version was promulgated by Tamatoa, ari'i of Raiatea, with the help of Williams and Threlkeld, in May 1820.⁶ Two years later, a further revised and expanded version (for which Ellis was mainly responsible)⁷ was adopted at Huahine.

While these early Codes have received some attention from historians and the contents of two of them have been analysed, later revisions and additions which continued till the end of the century, have not been collated.

- (3) Ellis, op.cit., vol. III, 137.
 (4) Bicknell, Hayward, Henry, Nott, Wilson, Tessier to the L.M.S., 2 Jul 1817, L.M.S.S.S. 4; Darling to Burder, 29 September 1818, ibid, 7; Johns to the L.M.S., 5 May 1845, ibid 18; Davies, op.cit., vol. XIX, L.M.S.
 (5) Pomare..., E TURE NO TAHITI, (" Printed at the Mission Press " ,) 1819, in Bouge, op.cit., loc.cit.
 (6) Tamatoa..., E TURE, (" Printed at the Mission Press: Huahine ") n. copy encl. in Threlkeld, Declaration of Mr. Bourne & Self respecting the Independence of the Leeward or Society Islands, Feby. 1846, MS., Camden College, Sydney.
 (7) The Laws of Huahine Established in the reign of Teriitaria, Hautia e Mahine Principal persons under her, (printed 1823), trans. Barff, Ropiteau-O'Reilly Collection; Ellis, op.cit., vol. III, 175-192.

or compared with the basic models. Missionary and native legislation is an important source for the attitude of well-intentioned Europeans to Polynesian social structure; there are important references, too, to the position of chiefs and lesser ranks in a society which was trying to readjust its system of values to the material and spiritual intrusions of half a century of European contact; finally, the Codes in their original forms should offer much material for the student of the Polynesian language.

Confusion over the contents of the Codes began as early as 1823, when French officers of an exploring expedition on the Coquille picked up a garbled translation of mission laws which was later printed in full in an official account of the voyage. The confusion was deepened when this translation was despatched by Lejeune (an officer of the Coquille) to Marc Wilks, an agent of the L.M.S. in Paris, with comments advising the Missionary society to change its personnel and its methods of dealing with primitive converts. Neither Ellis, who took it upon himself to refute the French version, nor the French themselves, who published it again in 1845 as

(8) Notable examples are Ellis himself, Governor Bouge (whose analysis and accompanying translation contain some errors of fact), and Davidson European Penetration of the South Pacific, 1779-1842, Appendix IV, 350-361.

(9) Where the original Code has been available (or translations by missionaries), I have sometimes altered the wording of titles of the laws given below, 362-369, to a more literal rendering. This will be noticed if some of the titles of the Huahine Code of 1822 are compared with those given in Ellis, op.cit., loc.cit.

(10) Lesson, Voyage autour du monde, vol. I, 437-442.

(11) Lejeune to Wilks, Toulon 1827, encl. in Wilks to the L.M.S., 28 January 1828, L.M.S. Europe 3.

representative of Tahitian laws, perceived that the mysterious document¹² was the wildest guesswork based on the Tamatoa Code of 1820. Accounts of missionary laws and the mild theocracy they created subsequently ranged from those made by French writers to the eulogies of the defenders of the mission. Even Moerenhout, whose analysis of Tahitian affairs from 1815 onwards is the best of the early histories, is in error about the exact¹³ content of the Codes and the severity of their penalties.

The laws were not aimed at the moral and economic subservience of natives (as suggested in Lesson); nor were they the unshakable foundation of an " impartial justice " which astonished the officers of H.M.S. Dauntless who visited Tahiti in 1822. Several features the early Codes and the later revisions had in common: the sanctions for their enforcement were derived from the ari'i, as district chiefs, and from their relatives and

- (12) Ellis, Remarks on the letter and documents from the Rev. Marc Wilk Paris, encl. in Nott to the L.M.S., 17 March 1829, L.M.S.S.S. 7; Journ de Tahiti, 30 March 1845.

It is clear that the version given to the Coquille's officers by a certain " Williams " was taken from the Tamatoa Code: compare the preamble to the original and the French translation. The Tahitian is:

" TAMATOA, E te bue (sic, hui) ARII no Raiatea, e no Tahaa, e no Porapora, e no Maupiti. No te horoa noahia mai i te Atua to matou hau i teinei... (illegible, mau ?) fenua, e to matou mau taata te aroha mai ia matou, iaorana outou i te Atua.

I tehoe apoo raa fahi ia May ra 11, 1820, i te Oire Davida, u tairuru atoa mau to hui Arii, te hui Raatira, e te taata atoa, no Raiatea, e no Tahaa, e no Porapora, e no Maupiti; e ua faatia paatoahia e ratou teinei ture.

E TURE, " etc., etc.

The French version given by Lesson runs: " Tamatoa, roi, les principaux chefs de Raiatea, de Thaa (sic, Tahaa), de Borabora et de Maupiti, ayant, par la grâce de Dieu, trouvé convenable de publier

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friends who acted as judges and officers of the native government; various clauses covering criminal and civil offences were couched in the same terms in all the Codes - though their penalties were emended from time to time; laws upholding the moral standards introduced by the missionaries were relatively limited outside the Code for Huahine of 1822 (with the possible exception of the Tahitian Codes of 1824 and 1826 which are no longer extant); sections on economic matters and clauses applying to European traders were developed later and received their fullest expression in the Rurutu Code of 1900.

In all the Codes, the position of the chiefs and the judges was safeguarded by clauses against sedition and insult. Rules were laid down for the conduct of native courts, the presentation of evidence and the citing of witnesses - more especially in the large sections of the Tamatoa Code of 1820 and the Huahine Code of 1822 devoted to law officers and the jury. It is possible that the early Tahitian courts were organised more on a

les lois suivantes pour être observées dans ces îles, nous souhaitons à vous tous, grâce, merci et prospérité au nom de Dieu.

Les lois qui suivent ont été écrites, pour le public, par David Oire, (sic !) à la requête du roi et des chefs de Raiatea, Tahaa, Borabora et Maupiti, le 11 mai 1820...." etc., etc.

A more correct translation of the Tahitian would be: " Tamatoa, and all the chiefs of Raiatea, and of Tahaa, and of Borabora, and of Maupiti. On account of the free gift of God our dominion is in these lands, I you our people who respect us, be saved in God.

At a great council on the 11th. of May 1820, at the City of David were come together all of the Chiefs, the Landholders, and the people of Raiatea, and of Tahaa, and of Borabora, and of Maupiti; and there was established by them this law."

THE CODE, " etc., etc.

- (13) Orme, A defence of the Missions in the South Seas, and Sandwich Islands..., esp. 34-45 for the observations of Captain Gambier of H.M.S. Dauntless; Moerenhout, op.cit., vol. II, 480-488.

conciliar basis: the iatoai listed in Law XVI (some 707 for 23 territorial divisions) may have been in consultation with each other for an opinion on the misdemeanours of persons in their sub-tribe. Judgement of major offences was left to the To'ohitu: and it is two of these who figure in the only detailed description we have of a Tahitian court at work in 1822. There are no accounts of the jury system in operation as it was planned for the Leeward Islands. Native judges were restricted to two per district in the Tamatoa Code with a number of supreme judges (haava rahi) for each island. The names and the number of the judges in the Huahine Code and in later revisions of other Codes are not given - except in the case of the To'ohitu in the Tahitian Code of 1842.

With the idea of a regular judiciary was introduced an attempt at a regular system of taxation. Services in kind or labour to which the rank of a chief or the function of a craftsman entitled them were transformed into annual contributions of produce (later money); from this, the chief was expected to pay judges, messengers, constables and other officials for their duties. Regular payments and rewards were set out in detail for in Law XXVI of the Huahine Code and in Law XXII of the Tahitian Code of 1822 probably on the basis of an earlier law. In the first, district chiefs and household heads and all the rest of the people of the district were required to furnish pigs (one or two), measures of arrowroot and bamboos of oil, mats (" ten fathoms long by two fathoms broad ") and cloth.

(14) Extracts from a private Journal, on board of His Majesty's Ship Dauntless, (by Captain Gambier), cited in Orme, op.cit., 34-45.

In the Tahitian Code, the section on tribute specified payments on a triennial basis to the queen, the district chiefs and the iatoai - one year for payment of money and the next two years for the payment of breadfruit, bread-pigs and oil. Persons with land rights in more than one district did not have to pay double tribute; nothing was said of foreign residents. In both sources it was made clear that taxation annually was a recognition of the power of civil authority " frequently inculcated in the Word of God, and taught by Jesus our Lord, when he said thus: ' Render unto Caesar... ' " (as the Huahine Code put it).

These two features of a missionary-guided government - the legality of the chiefly office and the regulation of tribute - were changed under French rule. Sedition in the revised Codes of 1845 and 1848 meant opposition to the colonial administration; tribute meant the queen's Civil List from which a fixed stipend, supplemented with French money, was paid to the district chiefs and the To'ohitu. The old intermediaries of native government - the iatoai, the imiroa (or constables) and the uvea (messengers) - were dispensed with. A more important place was given to the Tahitian Assembly - at least in law; a centralised authority, which the missionaries had never completely succeeded in creating after the death of Pomare II, came with French arms and the subsequent use made of Pomare IV and the Assembly as the principal legal mechanisms of the protected state.

(15) Art. XXI, Réédition du code tahitien, 1842, A.C.O. 171.

In the Leeward Islands during the rest of the century, the position of the ari'i was qualified by performance and subject to pressures from the district chiefs which neither the Codes nor ceremonial trappings bestowed by Europeans were able to lessen. At Rurutu, however, the Code of 1900 which has a strong flavour of the Tamatoa Code of 1820, contained no less than nine laws on the dignity of chiefly office and the prohibition of insult or injury to royalty.

All the Codes contained laws on murder and theft. For the former crime and for sedition, the death penalty was in force in the Pomare Code 1819 and in the Tamatoa Code of 1820. This was changed to banishment in 1826 - after four executions had taken place. The change was probably worded to accord with the penalty described in the Code of Huahine - banishment " to a strange land, a land not inhabited, like Palmerston's Island where the criminal was to be left " until death ". Later revisions by the French introduced the legal refinements of assault and mayhem. Theft and damage to property were listed exhaustively in all Codes; pig-stealing was regarded as a serious offence punishable by four-fold restitution in kind scavenging dogs were to be destroyed; forced entry, climbing the coconut trees of other families, stealing horses or childrens' food and beachcomb (without reporting finds of value) entailed restitution, labour on the

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- (16) The executions are cited in Ellis, op.cit., vol. III, 141-142, 195. The two natives hung in 1821 at Tahiti were convicted of rebellion - " the caprice of a drunken king ", wrote one of the missionaries who were not, as a body, in favour of the penalty. Bourne to the L.M.S., 15 February 1821, L.M.S.S.S. 3.
- (17) Law I, The Laws of Huahine..., loc.cit. Palmerston is a low atoll 270 miles north-west of Rarotonga.

roads, cloth-making and, at Tahiti by 1842, imprisonment for incorrigible offenders.

Moral offences included, in the early Codes, Sabbath-breaking, bigamy, adultery, desertion, false witness; these were extended in the Leeward Islands to sodomy, rape, fornication, drunkenness and tattooing. Still later dances and songs, prostitution, gambling, procurement, bribery, wife-beating and quarrelling were prohibited. Punishments were similar to those for theft and damages - with provision for separation and compensation for the injured party in cases of adultery at Huahine. The form of the marriage ceremony was set out in detail, though a native judge alone was sufficient to conduct the service.

Laws governing economic transactions were of the most cursory nature and generally based on Law VI of the Pomare Code of 1819. They turned simply on the right of a donee or purchaser to return goods which had defects at the time of the transaction. The only codified reference to testamentary prohibitions over property for ceremonial purposes or for conservation during time of shortage occurs in the revisions of the Huahine Code in 1855, the French revised Codes of 1898 and the Rurutu Code.

The most important revisions in matters of trade dealt with problems arising from contact with settlers and seamen - problems which the missionaries did not immediately foresee, but which they sought to remedy by shore up the legal edifice of native government. At Raiatea, resolutions were passed in 1861 to fix the price of coconuts at 1 piastre per 100. Credit

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sales were prohibited. A similar law was made for Huahine in 1862.

The first reference to the conduct of land disputes occurs in the additions made to the Huahine Code in 1826, when cases involving boundaries were required to be settled by the district judges and a jury (whose composition is not stated); the decision was to be noted in a special land register. There is no evidence that this was ever done, or that individual proprietorship (desired by Ellis) developed to any marked extent. Sale and lease of land were prohibited at Tahiti by 1842. Law 2 of the 1842 Code concerning land disputes required the decision to be made by the district judges and the district imiroa; appeal was allowed to the To'ohitu; and at least two or three of their number were to go on circuit to hear the genealogies of the contending parties. Boundary stones were to be registered by the judges - who were requested to take the greatest care and time, since land was taoa mauui, " a delicate matter " ¹⁹.

From 1826 on, port regulations, quarantine restrictions, the prohibition of the sale of spirits and marriage with foreigners were set up as the last legal defence against the inroad of white lawlessness. The breaking of these laws and inability to extract penalties form the background to the history of the Society and Leeward Islands from 1830 till the 1860's.

(18) Resolutions passed at Raiatea, 8 January 1861, T.B.C.P. Papeete.
 (19) Law XXVI, Réédition du code tahitien, 1842, A.C.O. 171.

POMARE CODETahiti, Moorea, 1819.

- I. On those who murder.
- II. On theft.
- III. On pigs.
- IV. On stolen articles.
- V. On lost articles.
- VI. On barter.
- VII. On disregarding the Sabbath.
- VIII. On sedition.
- IX. On two women for a man.
- X. On a woman formerly deserted.
- XI. On the adulterous woman and the adulterous man.
- XII. On deserting a husband and deserting a wife.
- XIII. On not providing food for a wife.
- XIV. On marriage.
- XV. On false witness.
- XVI. On the judges.
- XVII. On the conduct of judgements.
- XVIII. On court houses.
- XIX. On the laws in general.

TAMATOA CODERaiatea, Tahaa, Borabora, Maupiti, 1820.

- I. On those who murder.
 - II. On theft.
 - III. On pigs.
 - IV. On stolen articles.
 - V. On lost articles.
 - VI. On barter.
 - VII. On disregarding the Sabbath.
 - VIII. On sedition.
 - IX. On two women for a man.
 - X. On a woman formerly deserted.
 - XI. On the adulterous woman and the adulterous man.
 - XII. On deserting a husband and deserting a wife.
 - XIII. On not providing food for a wife.
 - XIV. On marriage.
 - XV. On false witness.
 - XVI. On sodomy.
 - XVII. On taking a woman in her sleep.
 - XVIII. On unmarried women and unmarried men.
 - XIX. On drinking spirits.
 - XX. On dogs which steal and dogs which bite.
 - XXI. On pigs running wild in the t
 - XXII. On plotting.
 - XXIII. On the man who artfully consp
 - XXIV. On the man who informs.
 - XXV. On the judges.
- The conduct of judgements.
On the jury.
The names of the judges of Raiatea, Tahaa, Borabora, Maupiti: two to each district.

TAHITI, MOOREAAdditions to the 1819 Code.

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Code for Tahiti and Moorea,
for Meetia, Anaa, Aaurua,
Matea, Tetiaroa, 1842: 46 laws/

Compulsory church and school
attendance, March 1834.

Prohibition of the import and
sale of spirits, April 1834.

Law prohibiting the teaching
of Roman Catholic doctrines, 1838.

Revision of the Tahitian Code, 1842.

- I. On murder and blows or wounds wilfully inflicted.
- II. On foreign spirits and spirituous liquors.
- III. On wine.
- IV. On sale and purchase.
- V. On spirits of every kind made Tahiti.
- VI. On the prohibition of unseemly dances and songs.
- VII. On prostitute women.
- VIII. On the prohibition of marriage between foreigners and the women of Tahiti.
- IX. On marriage between men and women of Tahiti.
- X. On livestock.
- XI. On the mutoi.
- XII. On the prohibition of land sale.
- XIII. On the prohibition of leases to all persons from other countries.
- XIV. On cultivation.
- XV. On married men and married women.
- XVI. On the desertion of a husband and the desertion of a wife.
- XVII. On assault.
- XVIII. On the Sabbath and school-days.
- XIX. On stolen articles.
- XX. On maltreated livestock.
- XXI. On tribute.
- XXII. On awards to public officials.
- XXIII. On nomination to office.
- XXIV. On fishermen.
- XXV. On debts.
- XXVI. On judgements for disputed land.
- XXVII. On the queen's house.
- XXVIII. On pilotage and anchorage.
- XXIX. On quarantine.
- XXX. On those refusing to accept the penalties.
- XXXI. On the Assembly of deputies.

Regulations for the Police, March 1844

TAHITIAN LAWS REFERRING TO FOREIGNERS.Collated by S. Wilson, 1843.

- I. On Treason.
- II. On Murder.
- III. On the respect due to the Sovereign.
- IV. On the Queen's Council.
- V. On the Constitution of the Legislative Assembly.
- VI. On Religion.
- VII. On Marriage.
- VIII. On the Leasing of Land.
- IX. On Ardent Spirits.
- X. On Wines et. cetera.
- XI. On the Constitution of the Courts of Justice and Regulations therein to be observed.
- XII. Law in regard to the Town Guard.
- XIII. Law Relative to Cattle.
- XIV. Law Relative to the Daily Market.
- XV. Law Relative to Hotels and Boarding Houses.
- XVI. Law for the Cultivation of Land, the Preservation of the Health, and ensuring the Cleanliness of the People.
- XVII. On the Selling of Land.
- XIX. On Debt.
- XX. On Cruelty to Animals.
- XXI. On Theft.
- XXII. On Adultery and Fornication.
- XXIII. On Dancing.
- XXIV. Port Regulations.
- XXV. On Quarantine.

TAHITIAN PROTECTORATE CODERevised Laws of 1845.

- I. On murder and blows or wounds wilfully inflicted.
- II. On foreign spirits and spirituous liquors.
- III. On wine.
- IV. On sale and purchase.
- V. On spirits of every kind made Tahiti.
- VI. On the upaupa.
- VII. On adultery.
- VIII. On marriage.
- IX. On marriage between natives.
- X. On livestock.
- XI. On the mitoi.
- XII. On donations, sales and the location of lands and houses.
- XIII. (abolished)
- XIV. On cultivation.
- XV. On married men and married women.
- XVI. On the desertion of a husband and the desertion of a wife.
- XVII. On assault.
- XVIII. On the Sabbath and the teaching of children.
- XIX. (abolished)
- XX. On maltreated livestock.
- XXI. On tribute.
- XXII. On awards to public officials.
- XXIII. On nomination to office.
- XXIV. On fishermen.
- XXV. On debt collection.
- XXVI. On judgements for disputed lands.
- XXVII. On the queen's house.
- XXVIII. On pilotage and anchorage.
- XXIX. On quarantine.
- XXX. On those refusing to accept the penalties.
- XXXI. On judgements.

TAHITIAN PROTECTORATE CODERevised Laws of 1848

- I. On murder and blows.
 II. (abolished)
 III. (abolished)
 IV. On sale and purchase.
 V. On the prohibition of making spirituous or fermented liquors in the islands of the Protectorate Government.
 VI. On dances which occasion disorders among the inhabitants and favour moral disillution of the youth by bad example.
 VII. On adultery and prostitution.
 VIII. On marriage between
 IX. Europeans and natives.
 X. On livestock.
 XI. On the mutoi.
 XII. (abolished)
 XIII. (abolished)
 XIV. On the cultivation of land.
 XV. (abolished)
 XVI. On the desertion of a husband and the desertion of a wife.
 XVII. On wrongs and prejudices caused to a person and bad treatment of others.
 XVII bis. On slander and false witness.
 XVIII. On the Sabbath and the teaching of children.
 XIX. On theft.
 XX. On damages and the destruction of the property of others.
 XXI. The Civil List.
 XXII. On the value of fines.
 XXIII. (abolished)
 XXIV. On fishermen.
 XXV. (abolished)
 XXVI. On the judgements of the To'ohitu.
 XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX (abolished)

Laws of the Assembly, 1851-1866

- Law on ministers of religion, 18 March 1851.
 Law on the sale of goods, 27 March 1851.
 Law on wandering livestock at Papenoo, 30 March 1851.
 Law on Tahitian elections, 22 March 1852.
 Law on land registration, 24 March 1852.
 Law on judgements, 30 November 1855.
 Law on the improvement of schools, 7 December 1855.
 Law modifying the electoral of 1852, 16 February 1857.
 Law on punishing truant children, 16 February 1857.
 Law on cemeteries, 19 February 1857.
 Law on the organisation of the Tahitian judiciary, 28 March 1866.
 Law on Tahitian census registration, 29 March 1866.
 Law prohibiting grazing of livestock in islands of Tahiti and Moorea, 3 April 1866.
 Law on the Civil List, 5 April 1866.
 Law on the Legislative Assembly, 6 April 1866.
 Law on the District Councils, 6 April 1866.
 Law relative to the sale, location and donation of properties, 7 April 1866.
 Resolution of the Assembly relative to the laws of 1852 and 1855 and the abrogation of Tahitian laws.

- XXX. On those refusing to accept their penalties.
 XXXI. On judgements and their form.
 XXXII. On works for the public interest.
 XXXIII. On the nomination of delegates to the Legislative Assembly.

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PORT REGULATIONS

Concerning Seamen who may leave their Vessels, Tahiti, 1826.

To the Commanders of Vessels calling at Tahiti or Eimeo, printed at the Mission Press, 1829.

Harbour Regulations for Raiatea, Tahaa, drawn up by Captain Laws, 17 March 1829.

Regulations given by Captain Laws of H.B.M. Sloop Satellite to the Queen of Huahine, 17 March 1829.

To Captains or Masters of Vessels visiting the Harbour of Borabora, 1836.

A Bye Law, For the Foreigners on Board Ships Touching Here, Who Desire Bird Shooting, made in consequence of a woman having been killed by a bird Shooter, by order of Teariimaevaua, Mai, Tefaaora and seven judges, Huahine, 1837.

(21) Ellis, op.cit., vol. III, 207; T.B.C.P. Papeete; F.O. 58/14; Admiral I/5561.

THE TAMATOA CODERaiatea, Tahaa, Borabora, Maupiti, 1820.

- I. On those who murder.
- II. On theft.
- III. On pigs.
- IV. On stolen articles.
- V. On lost articles.
- VI. On barter.
- VII. On disregarding the Sabbath.
- VIII. On sedition.
- IX. On two women for a man.
- X. On a woman formerly deserted.
- XI. On the adulterous woman and the adulterous man.
- XII. On deserting a husband and deserting a wife.
- XIII. On not providing food for a wife.
- XIV. On marriage.
- XV. On false witness.
- XVI. On sodomy.
- XVII. On taking a woman in her sleep.
- XVIII. On unmarried women and unmarried men.
- XIX. On drinking spirits.
- XX. On dogs which steal and dogs which bite.
- XXI. On pigs running wild in the bush.
- XXII. On plotting.
- XXIII. On the man who artfully conspires.
- XXIV. On the man who informs.
- XXV. On the judges.
The conduct of judgements.
On the jury.

The names of the judges of Raiatea, Tahaa, Borabora, Maupiti: two from each district.

THE HUAHINE CODEHuahine, Maiao, 1822

- I. On those who murder.
- II. On theft.
- III. On pigs.
- IV. On stolen articles.
- V. On lost articles.
- VI. On barter.
- VII. On disregarding the Sabbath.
- VIII. On sedition.
- IX. On two women for a man.
- X. On a woman formerly deserted.
- XI. On the adulterous woman and the adulterous man.
- XII. On deserting a husband and deserting a wife.
- XIII. On not providing food for wife.
- XIV. On marriage.
- XV. On false witness.
- XVI. On sodomy.
- XVII. On taking a woman in her sleep.
- XVIII. On rape.
- XIX. On unmarried women and unmarried men.
- XX. On drinking spirits.
- XXI. On dogs which steal and dogs which bite.
- XXII. On pigs running wild in the bush.
- XXIII. On plotting.
- XXIV. On the man who informs.
- XXV. On climbing unauthorised food.
- XXVI. On tribute for the high and the governors.
- XXVII. On tattooing.
- XXVIII. On journeying in large companies.
- XXIX. On the judges.
- XXX. On new laws.

Regulations for the judges, the jury and the messengers.

On the chief judges.
On all the judges.

On the jury.
 On all the messengers
 of the judges.
 Rules for all the judges and the
 jury.
 The names of the judges and the
 messengers.

ADDITIONS TO THE CODES OF THE LEEWARD ISLANDS

22
Laws of Huahine and Maiao, 1859

- I. On murder.
- II. On theft.
- III. On pigs which trespass
and destroy fruits.
- IV. On the prohibition of ava.
- V. On the adulterous man and
the adulterous woman.
- VI. On pigs under tapu.
- VII. On prostitution.
- VIII. On disturbing foreigners.
- IX. On village lands.
- X. On sinning against the
judges.
- XI. On breadfruit.
- XII. On the banishment of law-
breakers.
- XIII. On exchange of food.
- XIV. On rape.
- XV. On dances and songs.
- XVI. On the laws of the
government.
- XVII. On tribute to the high
chiefs and the governors.

23
Resolutions passed at Raiatea, 1861

- I. The destruction of trespassing
pigs.
- II. The price of coconut-oil.
- III. The price of coconuts.
- IV. The prohibition of credit
purchase.
- V. On cultivation.

24
Laws of Borabora, 1878.

- I. On tribute.
- II, III, IV, V ?
- VI. On disturbing the peace.
- VII. On theft.
- VIII. On spirits.
- IX. On adultery.
- X. On wandering at night.
- XI. On fornication.
- XII. On prostitution, (?)
- XIII. ?
- XIV. On divorce.
- XV. On false witness.
- XVI. On lying (in court).
- XVII. On contract.
- XVIII, XIX ?
- XX. On pilotage.

(22) There is a summary of these (probably not the complete set of laws
 in T.B.C.P. Miscellaneous.

(23) T.B.C.P. Papeete.

(24) Cited in Gros, " Les Populations de la Polynésie française en 1891.
 Étude ethnique ", Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris, tom
 7, 1896, 144-197.

- XXI-XXV ?
 XXVI. On the sale of goods.
 XXVII. On the rate of exchange.
 XXVIII-XXXI ?
 XXXII. On the sale of goods from
 ships.
 XXXIII, XXXIV ?
 XXXV. On setting up a trading store.
 XXXVI. On houses in the town.
 XXXVII . ?
 XXXVIII. On the flag of Borabora and
 Maupiti.
 XXXIX-XLI ?
 XLII. On the dog tax.
 XLIII. ?
 XLIV. On dead animals and refuse.
 XLV-XLVII ?
 XLVIII. On tapu.
 XLIX. On fishing.
 L. On cultivation.
 LI. On the upkeep of the roads.
 LII-LV ?
 LVI. On land matters.
 LVII. On town roads and rivers.

The Leeward Code of 1898.

- I. General.
 II. On tax
 III. On revenue from fines.
 IV. On the recovery of fines.
 V. On the recovery of debts.
 VI. On appeal from judgements.
 VII. On judgements.
 VIII. On sedition.
 IX. On murder.
 X. On cultivation.
 XI. On damage caused by animals.
 XII. On theft.
 XIII. On fermented liquors.
 XIV. On the upkeep of roads.
 XV. On adultery.
 XVI. On observing morals.
 XVII. On marriage.
 XVIII. On walking around at night.
 XIX. On forced entry and trespass.

The Rurutu Code of 1900.

- I. On murder.
 II. On rebellion.
 III. On threats made to kill members of the royal family and all other persons.
 IV. On the royal house.
 V. On the chiefs' houses.
 VI. On theft.
 VII. On stolen articles.
 VIII. On theft by entry with stolen or false keys.
 IX. On enclosures in the village.
 X. On horses.
 XI. On lost articles.
 XII. On sale and purchase.
 XIII. On drunkenness in church on Sunday.
 XIV. On the adulterous man and the adulterous woman.

- XX. On harm done to the property of others.
- XXI. On lost articles.
- XXII. On land leases.
- XXIII. On lying and false witness.
- XXIV. On insult.
- XXV. On wild livestock.
- XXVI. On horses and other animals.
- XXVII. On property declarations.
- XXVIII. On land cases.
- XXIX. On gaming.
- XXX. On churches.
- XXXI. On deaths.
- XXXII. On the uniform of officials.
- XXXIII. On sequestrations.
- XXXIV. On harmful animals.
- XXXV. On islets and the mountains.
- XXXVI. On property disputes.
- XXXVII. On wrecks and assistance.
- XXXVIII. On presents.
- XXXIX. On himene.
- XXXX. On prohibitions.
- XV. On the relations of single people of both sexes and on articles given in payment.
- XVI. On marriage.
- XVII. On desertion.
- XVIII. On false witness.
- XIX. On insults to the royal family the chiefs and authorities of the island.
- XX. On sodomy.
- XXI. On taking a woman in her sleep.
- XXII. On rape.
- XXIII. On drunkenness.
- XXIV. On causing trouble when drunk.
- XXV. On European spirits.
- XXVI. On ships anchoring at the port of Rurutu.
- XXVII. On captains and traders.
- XXVIII. On trading vessels.
- XXIX. On thieving dogs.
- XXX. On harmful animals.
- XXXI. On presents to judges.
- XXXII. On procurers.
- XXXIII. On childrens' food.
- XXXIV. On flotsam.
- XXXV. On beating wives.
- XXXVI. On two persons quarreling.
- XXXVII. On land cases and boundaries.
- XXXVIII. On walking out at night.
- XXXIX. On those who hide Europeans.
- XL. On Europeans who wish to live on the island of Rurutu.
- XLI. On foreigners living at the island of Rurutu.
- XLII. On thieving animals and canoes belonging to others.
- XLIII. On thieving horses after curfew.
- XLIV. On contract.
- XLV. On harm done to the property of others.
- XLVI. On damaging goods destined for sale.
- XLVII. On filth on the public road in the water.
- XLVIII. On the violation of burial places.

- XLIX. On prohibitions.
 L. On burning the hills.
 LI. On drunkards entering the homes of high officials.
 LII. On clandestine meetings.
 LIII. On gaming.
 LIV. On hiding a woman in the bush.
 LV. On insults to officials.
 LVI. On the duties of judges.
 LVII. On court sessions.
 LVIII. On fines.
 LIX. On changes to the laws.
 LX. On nominations to public office.
 LXI. ?
 LXII. On the duties of the warder of the prison.
 LXIII. On the police duties of the district chief.
 LXIV. On the duties of the mutoi and the judges.
 LXV. On the duties of the treasurer.
 LXVI. On the control of sales.
 LXVII. On the duties of the drummer.
 LXVIII. On taxes.
 LXIX. On the king, chiefs, judges and officials.
 LXX. On births and deaths.
 LXXI. On men and women gathered in the bush to drink.
 LXXII. On goats eating the fruits of other
 LXXIII. On the upaupa.
 LXXIV. On the general affairs of the island.

APPENDIX III

The Tahitian Petition for Protection, 1842.

The following translations have been included as the only available manuscript copies of a key document in the history of the French Protectorate. All other extant versions are simply versions of the official French translation prepared by Consul Moerenhout. The first below was written ¹ by Alexander Salmon who spoke and wrote French fluently. It purports to be an English translation of the Moerenhout request; and it reads like one (compare the official version in P.P., 1843, (LXI), 473, 11-12). The second is by Samuel Wilson - son of Wilson, the missionary. ² It is most likely a translation of a Tahitian version (also prepared by Salmon and Wilson) which was taken to Moorea on 9 September 1842 for the Queen's signature.

The differences between the two translations are mainly ones of style. The second is certainly not from the French - though Wilson might well have seen the official document. It also seems to have been done in haste; there is no mention in Article 3 of native land courts; conversely in the French version " Foreigners " (including the French) are not specifically excluded from a say in the jurisdiction of the district courts. Finally, Paraita is designated by his Tahitian rather than his European title; and the position of Pomare's signature (usually first in other versions) suggests that it is a more faithful record of the order in which the signatures were exacted.

(1) T.B.C.P. Pomare.

(2) MS. encl. in Blackler to the State Department, 10 September 1842, Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Tahiti, vol. 2, 1841-1850.

Tahiti the 9th September 1842.

To the admiral Du Petit-Thouars,

Because we cannot continue to govern by ourselves in the present state of affairs so as to preserve good harmony with foreign governments without exposing us to lose our islands, our authority and our liberty, we the undersigned, the Queen and great Chiefs of Tahiti, we write to you the present to solicit the King of the French to take us under his protection on the following conditions

1st. The Sovereignty of the Queen and her authority and the authority of the Chiefs shall be guaranteed.

2nd. All the Laws and regulations shall be made in the name of the Queen and signed by her.

3rd. The possession of the lands of the Queen and of the people shall be guaranteed to them, their lands shall remain to them, all disputes relative to the right of property or true proprietor of the lands shall be under the special jurisdiction of the tribunals of the Country.

4th. Everyone shall be free in the exercise of his worship or religion.

5th. The churches existing at present shall continue to exist and the English Missionaries will continue their functions without being molested, it shall be the same for all other worship, no one can be molested or constrained in his beliefs.

On these conditions the Queen and the great Chiefs demand the protection of the King of the French, leaving in his hands or to the care of the French government or to the person nominated by him and with the approbation of the Queen Pomare the direction of all the affairs with foreign governments as well as all that concerns the foreign residents, the regulation of the port etc. etc. and of taking such other measure that they may judge necessary for the preservation of good harmony and peace.

Signed Pomare
Paraita Regent
Utuni (sic)
Hitohi (sic)
Tati

I the undersigned declare that the present document is a faithful translation of the document signed by the Queen and the Chiefs:

Signed Ariitaimai T(ane)
Envoy of the Queen Pomare.

I the second witness Consul of France at Tahiti certify that the letter above is the translation conforming to that written by the Queen Pomare & the principal Chiefs of Tahiti to the Rear-Admiral Du Petit-Thouars
/Commander

Commander in Chief of the Station in the Pacific Ocean a letter which he has had the goodness to communicate to me.

Papeete the 9 September 1842,
The Consul of France,
Moerenhout.

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To the Admiral Du Petit Thouars.

Because we cannot govern our government in present circumstances as to harmonise with Foreign Governments; and lest our land and our government and our liberty become another's, we whose names are written underneath - the Queen and the high Chiefs of Tahiti write to you asking that the King of the French may protect us.

Here are the conditions of this agreement.

1. That the name of the Queen and the government of the Queen and the government of the high Chiefs and their authority may remain upon them and upon their people.

2. All laws and regulations in the government established shall be made in the name of the Queen and her name signed underneath.

3. The Queen and all the people shall keep possession of their lands. Land disputes are to be left to themselves. Foreigners shall not interfere with them.

4. The people shall be left to regard God according to their own desire.

5. The Churches of the British Missionaries now existing, shall be left unmolested and the British Missionaries still discharge their functions.

It is the same with all other people, they shall not be molested in their thought towards God.

Upon these conditions, if agreeable, do the Queen and the high Chiefs ask the King of the French for protection. All affairs relative to foreign Governments and concerning Foreigners resident at Tahiti shall be with the French Government and the person put in authority by said Government with the advice of her authorities - such as Port Regulations Etc Etc And do all the functions to establish harmony and peace.

Signed Pomare

Signed Paraita Speaker to the Queen
Utami
Hitoti
Tati

Translated by me
Saml Wilson
(Interpreter and Translator.)

APPENDIX IV

The Basis of French Jurisdiction over the Marquesas Islands.

The judicial framework decreed for the new colony of the Marquesas in 1843 was formulated on experience in other parts of the world and contained some important innovations. Courts Martial were to be established for penal cases - on the model of similar courts which had functioned in Algeria from 1830-1840. For these, the Penal and Military Codes written for the French posts at Senegal in 1822 or 1823, and extended to Bourbon (Réunion), the Antilles and French Guiana, were to be used. But in the Marquesas the governor might execute or suspend the death penalty without the delay of applying for a royal pardon.

The governor's powers over civil cases raised some doubts among the members of the Royal Commission which drew up his instructions. The extra-territorial jurisdiction of French consuls abroad and naval officers who acted as inspectors-general on the coasts of South America or Africa was considered insufficient for the South Seas colony where the lawlessness of

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- (1) This section is intended as a supplement to the argument set out in Chapter II in the main text. The key documents translated below are not readily available in secondary sources.
- (2) The value of these Codes - at least for Senegal - was largely theoretical: the governor of the posts there was asked in 1834 to advise on their suitability, as they had never in fact been used; and they were not introduced till 1838. The naval courts generally relied on a Code d'instruction criminelle coloniale - a mixture of ship-board discipline and metropolitan laws, drawn up in 1834. Documents sur l'administration de la justice aux îles Marquises; Roussin, Rapport au Roi le 26 avril 1843, A.C.O. 2; Christian Schéfer, Instructions Générales données de 1863 à 1870 aux Gouverneurs et Ordonnateurs des Établissements Français en Afrique Occidentale (2 vols. Paris, 1927), vol. II, 26.

other foreign nationals had to be reckoned with. The latter would naturally come under French laws; but there were to be no French judges to apply these laws. There was precedent, however, at Gorée and Saint-Pierre, for making the commandant or head of the colony president and chief magistrate of the tribunals of First and Second Instance; and this compromise was adopted for the Marquesas. For these tribunals, French civil laws were decreed to be in force - plus any local legislation which the governor might think necessary.

The most striking departure from other procedures was in Article 1 of the Royal Ordinance of 1843 which gave the governor the power to prescribe new penalties - including the death penalty in time of war - without reference to Paris. For, as the president of the Royal Commission explained: "when it is a question of the defence of a territory which is to become French and a matter of national honour, the governor should have the same power as military commandants in besieged towns."

The Marquesans were classed as French subjects; they were left their own civil laws, since French law was considered to be too advanced for a primitive race; but it was hoped that the practice of a more civilised code would improve them by its example.

Such were the precepts which were to govern the practice of justice in the colony. They served not only as a guide to the limited practice of the courts at Nukuhiva, but also as the legal basis for the early administration of justice in the Society Islands when Governor Bruat took the step of promulgating them in their entirety at Papeete in 1845.

Important additions were made to provide for Justices of the Peace at Tahiti - mentioned in Article 4; and these were contained in separate legislation promulgated at the same date. The competence of the Tribunal of First Instance in civil disputes was increased from 500 fr. to 2,000 fr. Appeal from judgements on civil offences was allowed only if the penalty exceeded 15 days imprisonment or 2,000 fr. fine. For civil or criminal cases in which the penalty did not exceed 5 days imprisonment or 2,000 fr. fine, the jurisdiction of the Justice of the Peace (with the assistance of a native judge where necessary) was thought sufficient. No other changes were made till the 1860's; and before this date - and for long after - this sparse adaptation of the 1843 Ordinance remained the judicial corner-stone of the Tahitian Protectorate and a potent source of arbitrary power for its commandants.

ORDINANCE OF THE KING

Concerning the administration of justice at the Marquesas Islands, and the special powers of the governor.

Paris, 28 April 1843.

LOUIS-PHILIPPE, King of the French;

Whereas it is necessary to guarantee the administration of justice in our new possession of the Marquesas Islands, and to invest the governor with certain special powers;

On the report of our Minister Secretary of State for the Navy and Colonies,

WE HAVE ORDERED AND DO ORDER the following:

Art. 1. The Courts Martial shall take cognizance, in the Marquesas Islands,

1. Of offences and crimes committed by all persons French and
/ foreign

foreign;

2. Of offences and crimes committed by the inhabitants against the safety of the colony or against the persons and property of Frenchmen and of foreigners.

With respect to crimes and offences between the inhabitants, they shall continue, until further orders, to be judged according to local customs, subject to intervention by the governor, when he shall think fit as moderator of the penalties delivered.

Art. 2. The penalties delivered by the Courts Martial shall be, at the option of the judges, either those which result from the military pen Code and the metropolitan penal Code of 1810, modified by the law of 28 April 1832, or those which shall be established by the local decrees provided for in Article 7 below.

Art. 3. In the case of sentence, by the Courts Martial, to an afflictive penalty or loss of civil rights (peine afflictive ou infamant) the governor shall order the execution of the judgement, or shall deliver reprieve when there is occasion to apply for the royal pardon.

Art. 4. For judgement in civil proceedings other than those between inhabitants, which shall be judged according to local customs, there shall be created,

1. In the chief post of the colony, as well as in the secondary establishment, two Tribunals of First Instance each composed of the local commandant and of two officials of the Government, on the nomination of the governor;

2. In the chief post, a Council of Appeal composed of the governor the head of the Administrative Service, and the chief surgeon.

The civil tribunals shall judge in the first and second instance to the value of five hundred francs.

Application for annulment shall be opened against the judgement of the Appeal Council.

Art. 5. The Tribunals of First Instance and the Appeal Council shall apply French civil laws, modified either by royal Ordinances, or by local Decrees, or by the customs of the land.

Art. 6. The governor shall have the power,

1. With regard to the officials and agents of the Government who shall persist in a conduct contrary to good order or to our political interests, to suspend them from their duties deprived of half their salary or even, if the gravity of the case demands it, to send them back to France to account for their conduct to our Minister for the Navy and the Colonies

2. With regard to all others, including the natives, to place them under supervision in a specified place, or even to expel them from the

∟ colony

colony.

Art. 7. The governor is authorised to make all regulations and decrees necessary for the working of the administrative service as interfering the good order and the security of the colony, and to determine, for the sanction of his decrees, whatever penalties the urgency and the gravity of circumstances may demand.

He shall not, however, unless in time of war, be able to prescribe afflictive penalties or loss of civil rights.

In the cases provided for in the first paragraph line of the present Article, in Article 3 and in Article 6, in so far as it shall apply to Frenchmen or foreigners, the governor shall hear, but without being required to conform to it, the opinion of an Administrative Council whose composition shall be regulated subsequently.

Art. 8. Our Minister for the Navy and the Colonies is charged with the execution of the present Ordinance.

Signed LOUIS-PHILIPPE.

By the King:

The Minister Secretary of State for the Navy and the Colonies,

Signed Admiral Roussin.

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Art. 4 of the Royal Ordinance as applied to the Society Islands.

Art. 4. For the judgement of all misdemeanours which the laws punish by correctional penalties, and which are qualified as offences, also for civil proceedings which are not within the jurisdiction of the Justice of the Peace, and other than those between the inhabitants, which shall be judged according to local customs, there is created in the Society Islands

1. A Tribunal of First Instance, whose composition shall be determined by the governor, and which according to circumstances, shall be constituted either as a civil tribunal, or as a tribunal for summary jurisdiction, conforming to the prescriptions of the metropolitan Code;

2. A Council of Appeal which shall pronounce on appeal from judgements given in the first instance by the Tribunal of First Instance.

The Tribunal of First Instance in the Society Islands shall judge, in the first and second instance, for civil proceedings, from the value of

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two hundred francs up to that of two thousand francs; in summary jurisdiction, its decisions shall be subject to appeal only when the sentence served shall exceed fifteen days imprisonment or two thousand francs fine.

Application for annulment shall always be open against the decision of the Appeal Council. 4

There follow the signatures of Louis-Philippe and Admiral Roussin, as in the 1843 Ordinance - though the new measure was never promulgated as a Decree of State and Roussin was no longer Minister for the Navy

(3) Arrêté, 13 April 1845, Océanie Française, 25 April 1845.

(4) For a discussion of the local courts, see above, Chapter VI, 98 ff.

APPENDIX V

French Policy towards the Pacific Islands, 1850-1901.

After the occupation of the Society Islands and the Marquesas in 1842, interest in other groups in the Pacific, on the part of officials in Paris, was directed mainly to New Caledonia and the New Hebrides. These two areas were of concern to the French Foreign Office and the Ministry of the Navy and Colonies in the 1850's and the late 1870's and 1880's respectively. The hopes of great economic and trading developments in French Oceania on the opening of the Panama Canal (which had been voiced in the French Parliament as early as 1844) were a recurring theme through the century. But the promise was not given much tangible support in the form of an increasing French share of sailing and steamer traffic.

The subsidiary policy of protecting French traders and missionaries by ships of the Pacific Naval Division was not uniformly applied. Cases were examined as they arose; and, in general, less was left to the initiative of naval officers than before 1850 for reasons connected with the attitude of the French Foreign Office towards Britain and the Australian colonies and because of a change of attitude towards the Catholic mission.

As with material before 1850, the discussion of French policy after that date requires a distinction between written orders from Paris and the reports and actions of French agents in the Pacific. The reaction of

(1) For French policy before 1850, see Chapter II, 40-51. This supplement will, I hope, make clear the attitudes of various officials in Paris to questions which, on the whole, have not been discussed from French primary sources by other historians.

British nationals and the islanders was influenced more by the latter than the former - except in cases where the Ministry for the Navy and the Foreign Office had good reason in Melanesia to make the position of the French Government particularly clear. The discussion requires, too, an enumeration of those ministers who have left some evidence of their attitudes towards particular problems, and, where possible, an account of the differences of opinion which arose between the two departments of State concerned with the Pacific. To understand the part which sovereign authority has been able to play in the Pacific, it is necessary to determine the men who were the trustees of this authority.²

The actors in Paris were many and biographical information on them extremely limited. Between 1850 and 1901, there were nine Ministers for the Navy and the Colonies, three Colonial Directors, eight Under-Secretaries of State for the Colonies, and nine Ministers for the Colonies. Many of these were silent about the Pacific: office was too short or problems demanding their opinion about the area did not arise. Those who were interested in the Pacific, like the Ministers for the Navy, Ducos, Chasseloup-Laubat and Jauréguiberry, or Under-Secretary de la Porte, drew in great measure on the knowledge of the Colonial Directors attached to their Ministry. The hands of Zoepffel, head of the colonial section of the navy department, 1860-1870 and Michaux, in the same office, 1878-1882, are evident in drafts and minutes.

(2) For a discussion of the concept of "State" in colonial history, see Schéfer, Instructions Générales..., vol. II, 597.

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on many important matters. At various periods after 1881, and continuous after 1894, the affairs of French colonies were separated from the French naval department which had founded them. But tradition died hard - especially in the Pacific where the naval squadron on the South American coast had to police French territorial waters at long range, arbitrate in the New Hebrides and send in reports on other areas.

The annexation of New Caledonia in 1853 aroused some patriotic protest in Australia or New Zealand; but France was an ally in the Crimean war, and the penal settlement was not really a matter of concern till escapees and freed convicts reached Queensland and Auckland in the 1870's and 1880's. A new avenue for Pacific trade was opened for the port of

(3) Théodore Ducos, 1801-1855, was a French lawyer and judge, deputy for Gironde and member of the 1848 Constituent Assembly. For a short period in January 1851, and from the end of that year till 1855, he was Minister for the Navy and the Colonies. Chosen by Napoleon III after the coup d'état of 2 December 1852, he played an important part on the commission which reviewed the reports of the Alcmène expedition, 1850-1851 and which decided the annexation of New Caledonia.

Justin Napoléon Samuel Prosper, Comte de Chasseloup-Laubat, 1805-1877 was a professional soldier before he became Minister for the Navy for a period in 1851. For a long term - 1860-1867 - he was concerned with French colonial policy, either as head of the Ministry or as head of the short-lived Ministry for Algeria and the Colonies.

Jean Bernard Jauréguiberry, 1815-1887, rose from the position of junior naval officer to the governorship of Senegal, 1861-1863. His unpopular rule there led to his recall to France. Exonerated, he rose to the rank of vice-admiral and was Minister for the Navy, 1879-1880, 1882-1883.

(4) Excepting ex-Governor Grey who visited New Caledonia with Bishop Selwyn on the Victoria at least three months after the annexation. See in this connection, Ross, New Zealand Aspirations in the Pacific in the Nineteenth Century (unpublished doctoral thesis, 1949), Chap. V, 96, Appendix VI, 393 et seq.; Brookes, op.cit., 202-203. Grey did, of course

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Sydney. It began when Captain Grandell, trepang-collector and blackbird was sent in October 1853 for supplies for the hungry French settlement, bearing the first tidings of the annexation to Australia. The traders were to profit; and New Caledonia adopted colonists with English and Scottish names whose children spoke French.

For the Marist Fathers who had added their signatures to the treaty with the chiefs at Balade, the annexation was to be the last major victory of the Catholic mission's brief political alliance with the French navy. Between 1852 and 1861, the Wesleyan mission post at Tonga saw the tricolor in the roadsteads five times. Infracture of trading rights was settled; a convention was drawn up between " le Tupou " (sic, George Tupou, king of Tonga) and Napoleon III; but little store was set by it. The treaty was never ratified by the French Government; nor were abuses of its terms taken very seriously by French officers in the Pacific. Dubouzet, commandant of the French Establishments, felt that it was necessary to " close one's eyes to many things and not to forget that the oppressed party (the Tongan Catholics) in whose favour we have made stipulations would also abuse its strength if it was more powerful ". Five Catholic missionaries were lan-

urge that a ship should be sent from Australia to investigate the episode and wrote at length on the value of the new colony; but neither he nor the officers of the British sloop Herald which arrived in the middle of the annexation had orders to take the islands for the British. Yet the myth persists: see, Oliver, The Pacific Islands, 101.

(5) Person, op.cit., 186-187; reports of the French Consul, Sentis, from Sydney, Nouvelle-Calédonie, 1853-1883, A.A.É. Océanie 4.

(6) Dubouzet to the Minister for the Navy, 9 January 1885, A.A.É. Océanie 5.

by Captain Huchet de Cintré in 1860. According to the Wesleyans, the French officer helped to install his charges by causing George to depose one of his governors, inimical to the French; and by extracting a new treaty he had assured equal rights for Catholics in the government of the island. De Cintré himself was silent on this episode. An investigation from Tahiti the following year concluded that the affair was only a " *d'épingle* " in island politics - which to the British Government and the British ambassador in Paris meant " constant remonstrances from the Protestant missionaries " about Catholic intervention.⁷

The Catholics, however, were falling out of favour with the Minister for the Navy as evidence came from Tahiti in the 1860's that the unratified French protectorate of 1844 over the Gambier Islands sheltered a theocracy unfriendly to French officials and traders. For these reasons, the Minister for the Navy, Chasseloup-Laubat, instructed de la Roncière that ships of the Naval Division were only to be used for missionary protection in the islands " in unforeseen cases of the extremest urgency " - which were rare in the South Pacific.⁸

Consular protection of nationals was limited to Melbourne. The French Consul at Hawaii, Dudoit, held an honorary position, but could not be used elsewhere since he was not a French national. Two appointments

(7) Huchet de Cintré, Rapport le 19 avril 1860, encl. in Admiral Hamelin to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, 4 September 1860, A.A.E. Océanie 5; Cowley to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, 24 July 1860, ibid; Captain l'Évêque to the Minister for the Navy, 21 September 1861, ibid; Cowley to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, 4 June 1866, ibid.

(8) Chasseloup-Laubat to de la Roncière, 4 June 1864, A.C.O. 2.

were made for New Zealand in 1868 and 1872. There was no paid agent at Samoa. Fiji, thought Chasseloup-Laubat as early as 1860, would fall to British rule; and the amount of French trade in the group did not warrant the expense of a paid official. Despite careful reading in the Ministry of the report by Lieutenant Colonel Smythe written in 1861, this view persisted in the face of repeated requests by the commandants at Tahiti and New Caledonia for a full consul at Fiji and despite suggestions by the French Consul at Melbourne that France should annex before Britain did.⁹

After 1880, the old alliance between French missionaries and the navy was definitely ended by the Protestant Minister for the Navy, Jauréguiber. He warned the commander of the Pacific Naval Division that it was important to recognise that the Catholic Fathers in the Pacific were "far from having the exclusively French character" which had marked them out from other missionaries during the previous fifty years; "at various times" continued "the rear-admirals who were your predecessors have notified the Department of the presence of foreigners and notably German subjects among their number. This fact should make the commanders of our vessels more circumspect."¹⁰

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- (9) Chasseloup-Laubat to de la Richerie, 4 September 1860, A.C.O. 118; Rigault de Genouilly to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, 2 August 1869, ibid; Admiral Hamelin to Admiral Pothuau (Minister for the Navy), 14 November 1871, ibid; Admiral Pothuau to Benoist d'Azy (Director of Colonies), 15 July 1872, ibid. For the Smythe report of May 1861, see PP. 18 (2995), (XXXVI), 701.
- (10) Jauréguiberry to Rear-Admiral Landolfe, 23 September 1882, A.C.O. 2.

While the presence of German personnel in the mission field reduced French protection of the Catholic missions, the reports of the ascendancy of Hamburg traders in the Pacific and the example of United States interest and the activities of Colonel Steinberger at Samoa seemed to the Ministry for the Navy to justify some form of protectorate over Tana in the New Hebrides. But the plans of the the Minister, de Montaignac, for a form of administration short of a " definite establishment " were cut short by a change of government. Other fears, however, were added to the German and American examples during the last half of the 1870's. The visit of Commodore Goodenough (fresh from annexation in Fiji) to Noumea and the New Hebrides, aroused deep misgivings among local officials as to the nature of his mission; the governor of New Caledonia firmly believed that the missionary, Paton, was organising intervention by England in 1877; a report by Rear-Admiral Du Petit-Thouars in 1879 (after the independence of the group had been recognised by the British and French Governments) emphasised the value of land and labour so near to New Caledonia, and was instrumental in bringing the views of the Ministry for the Navy into line with those held by the administration at Noumea. The passing of the Law on Habitual Criminals in 1885 was preceded by a request to the Navy Department from the

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- (11) De Montaignac to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, 27 August and 7 December 1875, A.A.É. Océanie 3, 4; Olry (governor of New Caledonia) to Admiral Pothuau, 15 May 1877, encl. in Pothuau to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, 19 July 1877, ibid.
- (12) Olry to Admiral Pothuau, 27 October 1877, A.A.É. Océanie 4; Du Petit-Thouars to Jauréguiberry, 22 April 1879, ibid. For the negotiations leading to the convention on the independence of the New Hebrides, see G.H. Scholefield, The Pacific, Its Past and Future (London, 1919), 316 ff.

Minister of the Interior to use the New Hebrides as a penal colony. Jauréguiberry hesitated to go this far, since he thought there was little that France might offer to England in return for the abrogation of the 1878 Convention. Officially, the Convention was renewed; but news in 1883 of the Inter-Colonial Convention at Sydney and the formation of Higginson's Compagnie Calédonienne led Jauréguiberry to press the French Foreign Office for annexation.

The French Foreign Office under de Freycinet was not to be swayed while the questions of the Leeward Islands and the Newfoundland fisheries were still under discussion. Jauréguiberry's immediate successors let the matter rest. It was taken up again by Under-Secretary de la Porte, in 1883 who was caught between desire to respect the 1878 agreements and pressure from the governor of New Caledonia to end the loss of French lives and damage to property which had brought French troops into the New Hebrides. De la Porte advised the administration that he approved the governor's measures and that he had favoured the Higginson Company with 50,000 fr. voted in the French Parliament to assist the immigration of French families to establish a postal service and to help trade and transport on Higginson vessels. This compromise between international agreement and the protection

(13) Fallières (Minister for the Interior) to Jauréguiberry, 13 September 1882 (with marginal notes by the Minister for the Navy), A.A.É. Océanie 9.

(14) Jauréguiberry to de Freycinet, 8 July 1883, ibid. See, too, the warning from the French ambassador in London: " projects for annexation cherished by the English Australian colonies...have quickly appeared in a more definite form." Waddington to Ferry, 11 December 1883, A.C.O. 1.

(15) De la Porte to Le Boucher (governor of New Caledonia), 13 December 1886, A.A.É. Océanie 9.

of local interests by a subsidy undoubtedly placed France in a stronger position in the general negotiations over the New Hebrides which led to the establishment of a Joint Naval Commission in 1887.¹⁶

This solution - the foundation of later rule through consuls, naval officers and the short-lived municipality of Franceville at Vila - gave little satisfaction to the administration at Noumea. The policy pursued by the Minister for the Navy, on the advice of Under-Secretary de la Port and his successor, Étienne, did not change. A draft of orders to Rear-Admiral Lefevre at the end of 1887 stated that his role in protecting Higginson's ships, his 700,000 hectares and the postal service from Noumea was to take on " a more militant character ". In short, de Montaignac's plans in 1875 for eventual French occupation were to be continued under cover of the Joint Naval Commission. " This policy" wrote the Minister for the Navy " consists in combatting English influence by every legal means, in removing as far as possible British interests from the group and substituting French interests for them."¹⁷

Elsewhere in the Pacific during the early 1880's, the Ministry for the Navy kept a close watch on German activities; but the Foreign Office did not allow it to use its information as the basis for any counter-measures while the Leewards were under discussion. Both departments were

(16) For the agreements on the Leewards and the New Hebrides, see Appendix VI, 409 (33).

(17) Vice-Admiral Galiber to Rear-Admiral Lefevre, (draft) December 1887, A.C.O. 2. There is no indication that the orders were not sanctioned by the Foreign Office which would certainly have seen them.

considerably embarrassed when news arrived in 1882 that a French naval officer had demanded a commercial treaty for France from Rarotonga during the visit of the Hugon in September 1881. Jauréguiberry hastened to assure de Freycinet that the captain of the Hugon had no orders to this effect, citing the confidential instructions from his Ministry to the admiral of the Pacific Naval Division in 1880. " You may assure yourself added Jauréguiberry " that these instructions, though stipulating that the officers act so as to attract the good-will of the populations of these islands to us, only advised them to obtain this desirable end by absolute correct procedure which could not cause protest on the part of England." ¹⁸

For the same reasons, treaties of friendship which had been prepared by the Ministry for the Navy for Admiral Landolfe to execute at Samoa and Tonga in 1882 were postponed after the establishment of the Protectorate Raiatea. ¹⁹ In 1844, the captain of the French warship Kerguelen was ordered to proceed with them - if he learned at Tahiti that England had approved French actions in the Leewards. " You will be careful " ordered the commander of the Naval Division " to avoid creating difficulties for us and you will conduct yourself in such a manner that all your actions may

(18) Jauréguiberry to Michaux (Director of Colonies), 16 November 1880. A.C.O. 5; Instructions confidentielles au Contre-Amiral Brossard de Corbigny, le 13 octobre 1880, encl. in Jauréguiberry to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, 25 April 1883, ibid.

(19) Rear-Admiral Saint-Hilaire to Admiral Galiber (Minister for the Navy), 7 November 1886, A.C.O. 4; Jauréguiberry to Rear-Admiral Landolfe, 23 September 1882, A.C.O. 2. No show of force was to be made during the negotiation of the treaties. " When cannon shots are fired against an unarmed population " cautioned Jauréguiberry - who had experience of this in West Africa " the natives flee to the interior and keep only the memory of vengeance and reprisals."

only be considered as simply intended to demonstrate (which is only the exact truth) the state of our good relations with the natives among whom we do not seek to supplant anyone."

The Ministry for the Navy approved the cautious tone of these orders but a minute from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Jules Ferry, quashed even harmless treaty-making - " while the pending questions of the Leeward Islands have not been settled and while we have to occupy ourselves with the agitation created by the Australian colonies " . The effect of this order was to stop action by French officers in the South Pacific - long after Ferry himself had fallen from office in 1885. A request from Prime Minister Shirley Baker of Tonga for ratification of an early treaty with France was refused; a request from the " Queen and chiefs " of Easter Island for protection was ignored, and no protest was made when Chili prepared to annex in the extension of New Zealand jurisdiction over the Kermadecs passed without comment; a plea from the Bishop of Fiji, Mgr Videl for transport for French missionaries - on the grounds they were developing " French influence and the benefits of civilisation " - was out of date in tone by thirty years.

Admiral Peyron, Admiral Galiber and the Foreign Office were kept well

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- (20) Rear-Admiral Franquet to Captain ?, 13 February 1884, encl. in Admiral Peyron to Ferry, 26 March 1884, A.A.E. Océanie 7.
- (21) Ferry, Note, 3 avril 1884, ibid.
- (22) Admiral Galiber to de Freycinet, 12 December 1885, ibid.; de Freycinet to Galiber, 31 December 1885, ibid.
- (23) Jauréguiberry to des Essarts, 13 July 1882, A.C.O. 118; de la Porte Goblet (Minister for Foreign Affairs), 27 October 1888, ibid.
- (24) Mgr. Videl to the Minister for the Navy, 11 May 1888, ibid.

informed on German movements in Samoa and New Guinea. But France took no part in the Conventions between England and Germany in April 1886. The only near exception to the rule laid down in Ferry's minute occurred in 1886 when it was thought Britain might annex the Cook Islands. The Under-Secretary for the Colonies, de la Porte, who had given active support to French interests in the New Hebrides, urged the French Foreign Office to act first.

" If the English annexation is not yet a fait accompli I would be of the opinion to telegraph orders immediately to the commander of the Naval Division to precede the British Government by establishing the Protectorate of France there - as the natives seem to wish."

But the French Foreign Office, under de Freycinet, refused to move in an area where the governor of French Oceania had hesitated even to offer assistance to a French national in 1886 and about which he had written a pessimistic report. No objections were raised to the British Protectorate or to the annexation of the group in 1900.

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- (25) Stübel, Deutsche Interessen in der Südsee, 1883, and Deutsche Land Reklamationen auf Fidji, encl. in de Courcil (ambassador at Berlin) Ferry, 2 January 1885, A.C.O. 2 bis; Ferry to Admiral Peyron, 22 January 1885, ibid; de Courcil to de Freycinet, 10 May 1886, ibid.
- (26) De la Porte to de Freycinet, 11 October 1888, A.C.O. 1 bis.
- (27) Affaire Jessie Niccol (sic), encl. in Lacascade to the Minister for the Navy, 22 September 1886, ibid; idem, 14 November 1888, ibid.
- (28) Delcassé (Minister for Foreign Affairs), Avis le 16 juillet 1900 ibid.

APPENDIX VI

The Independent Leeward Islands, 1847-1880.

" The foolish people seem determined to prove to the whole world that they cannot govern themselves."

Alexander Chisholm, Raiatea, 27 December 1858, L.M.S.S.S. 27.

Eighty miles to the north-west of Tahiti lie the Leeward Islands, a group composed of three main centres of Polynesian habitation on the reef-girded shores of ancient volcanic cones. The largest, Raiatea, is twenty-five miles long - including the closely adjacent island of Tahaa the smallest, Borabora, is six miles long and surrounded by barrier reef and low islets. Huahine, the nearest to Tahiti, is typical of the rugged topography, the narrow coastal belt and the deep bays of the other two.

Long before the arrival of Europeans in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the chiefly families of the group were renowned throughout eastern Polynesia for their social and religious prestige. As one of the centres of Polynesian culture, the islands were each divided among a number of separate descent groups whose members enjoyed rights over the subsistence of valley and shore according to their kinship status, and preserved or extended these rights by marriage or by force under the leadership of their tribal or sub-tribal chiefs. It is doubtful whether paramountcy by any single family was extended over any one of the islands for the period prior to constant European contact.

As at Tahiti, the introduction of fire-arms and the destruction of

the ceremonial basis of the local religious system had repercussions on the political structure of the independent chiefdoms. The example of the Pomare dynasty and its alliance for reasons of social prestige and military strength with high-ranking families at Raiatea and Huahine, encouraged missionaries and visiting naval officers to look on the principal islands of the Leeward group as three "kingdoms" whose people were each ruled by the head of a single family in whose name the laws were promulgated, the churches protected and business done with Europeans.

This interpretation overlooked the factors of kinship, wealth, ability and generosity which influenced the inter-dependence of chiefs and their followers. At a higher level, it was an error to suppose that the inter-marriage of the Pomares with the chiefly families of the group entailed political sovereignty over all the inhabitants of the Leeward Islands.

"The principal question at issue between us" wrote Captain Toup Nicolas to the French administration in 1843 "appears to be the true definition of this word Sovereignty." But discussion in these terms was futile: the terms used implied too much. At Tahiti and Moorea, the sovereignty of Queen Pomare (in the European sense) was a premise of the Protectorate. In the Leeward Islands, the same assumption by the French served to justify the military operations carried out there in 1846. The islanders proved intractable for the most part; and the amount of evidence collected by

(1) Nicolas to Moerenhout, Reine, de Carpegna, 9 May 1843, Admiralty I/5542.

missionaries, residents and naval officers on the nature of native
 2
 government in the group disproved the French case.

The seal to these findings was applied in London where the British and French Governments agreed to the independence of the Leeward Islands and refused ever to acknowledge that " a Chief or Prince reigning in
 3
 Tahiti " could reign at the same time at Huahine, Raiatea or Borabora. The nature of Polynesian rule was not in question - only its extent; and the boundaries of Pomare's dominions were confusingly vague. According to the missionary, Platt, Pomare's authority extended only over " Tahiti, Eimeo, Tetuaroa and one or two of the Paumotu group "; his colleague, Simpson, stated that none of the laws enacted under the Pomare's were in force beyond the Windward Islands and Anaa; the reprint of the 1842 Code of Laws referred only to Tahiti, Moorea, Anaa, Matia (sic, Makatea) and
 4
 Meetia (sic, Mehetia). These points were settled by the French themselves.

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- (2) The evidence included Codes of Laws, Port Regulations, the genealogy of the Pomare family, and statements by Pomare and the chiefs of the Leewards to show that native government there was independent of Tahiti. Enclosures in Admiral Seymour to Admiral Corry, 17 December 1845, Admiralty I/5561; enclosures in Hamond to Miller, 12 December 1845, 9 January 1846, T.B.C.P. 3. The French case was conducted by Moerenhout who argued that the Society Islands as a geographical term meant the Leewards too, and that Pomare II had received tribute from these and from the Australs. Moerenhout, Notice sur les îles dépendant de Taïti, encl. in Bruat to the Minister for the Navy, 25 February 1845, A.C.O. 51.
- (3) Art. 2, Declaration of the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and France acknowledging the Independence of the Islands of Huahine, Raiatea and Borabora, and of the small Islands adjacent thereto, London, 19 June 1847, P.P. 1847, (LXX), 841, 63.
- (4) Platt to Miller, 19 August 1845, T.B.C.P. 3; Simpson to Hamond, 26 December 1845, encl. in Hamond to Miller, 9 January 1846, ibid.

without dispute: the whole of the Tuamotu was considered to be under the Protectorate. But these scattered atolls were hardly compensation for the fine harbours of the Leeward Islands. Nor did the debate on the Leeward Islands settle the problem of keeping order in an area so near the Establishments where the rule of Tamatoa of Raiatea, Tapoa of Borabora and Teri'itaria Huahine was of a less absolute kind than their titles or the deference displayed to them led Europeans to suppose.

Of the missionaries who gave evidence on the government of the group only Davies had the insight (or honesty) to write that the chiefs were neither stable in power nor autocratic.

" They were generally on friendly terms, and the chiefs by intermarriage were mostly related to each other, yet sometimes they had wars and disagreements and one or the other might be worsted in their combats & brought into subjection, but afterwards restored to their original independency." 5

Furthermore, according to Davies, the few chiefs from Borabora who had put themselves under French protection in 1845 " had a right to do so according to their former usages ". The resort to separatism in political and religious matters was to be a feature of the history of the group, as internal disorder created by Europeans aggravated dynastic rivalries.

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(a) Chiefly titles and alliances.

At Raiatea, the title of Tamatoa, associated with the headship of the district of Opoa, appears regularly in the genealogy of the Leeward branch

(5) Davies to Hamond, 5 January 1846, Letter-Book...July 1845- May 1846.

(6) For the genealogies of the paramount chiefs of Raiatea, Huahine and Borabora, see below 410-412.

of the Pomare family for five generations before the time of Tamatoa IV's headship in the 1840's and 1850's. Despite the great religious prestige associated with the district of Opoa and the importance of the port, it does not seem likely that the claim of its chief to paramountcy over all the eight districts of the island was permanent or undisputed after 1847. At Huahine, the descendants of Mahine of Maeva (called " king " by the missionaries in 1819) contested the paramountcy of the island with Teri'itaria - Mahine's step-sister's daughter and daughter of Tamatoa IV of Raiatea - well into the 1850's. Only at the smallest island of the three - Borabora - does the position of Tapoa II of Faanui seem to have successfully withstood the pretensions of other district chiefs.

The revolts which unsettled the governments of Raiatea and Huahine were in large measure connected with the status which Tamatoa and Teri'itaria achieved in European eyes. With the trappings of royalty, fêted during long absences at Tahiti, and with French transports at their disposal, they sought to dominate the district chiefs and judges and appropriate tribute in the form of tax, court fines and revenues from trade for their own followers. The missionary, Barff, writing in 1853, attributed the opposition of the islanders to " the encroachment of the supreme chiefs upon the powers of the district governors and the insecurity to property resulting from the continuance of the old practice in which the chiefs indulged of taking food from the plantations of their subjects whenever they chose to

(7) Barff to Ellis, 21 July 1853, L.M.S.S.S. 25.

In this, Tamatoa and Teri'itaria were supported by Pomare IV whose tours in the Leewards and whose dynastic ambitions for her children were resented by many of the chiefs of Raiatea and Huahine. Barff had summed up the position, in 1845.

" Teriitaria has adopted Pomare's second son and named him Teriitaria after herself and intends him to succeed her. Tamatoa has adopted the third son, intending no doubt that he shall be the future sovereign of Raiatea and Tahaa. Tapoa, the chief of the Faanuians comprehending Borabora and Maurua (Maupiti), has adopted Pomare's daughter and called her Teriimaevavua, the royal name of the ruling chiefs of Faanui thro' unnumbered generations. Tapoa is the first cousin of Pomare and considers the children of his cousin as his heirs." 8

Teri'itaria was the least successful of the three. When her followers destroyed the property of a European trader for refusing to pay port duties to the French commandant, a British naval officer and an American consular agent formed a commission which awarded damages of \$287 - collected from all the districts of Huahine. This imposition, plus the relatively intelligent government of Teurura'i (Ari'imate) in her absence, led to the forced abdication of Teri'itaria in 1852, when Teurura'i was styled " king of Huahine". Injustice to a white resident was a factor in her downfall. It was a complication of increasing seriousness for the independent islands.

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- (8) Barff to Seymour, 9 November 1845, encl. in Seymour to Corry, 17 December 1845, Admiralty I/5561.
- (9) The cargo of Brander's schooner, Hannah, had been plundered in 1850 and Brander's plantation burned. Commandant Bonard, Captain Aldham (H.M.S. Swift), Edward Grey to Teri'itaria, 2 August 1850, encl. in Miller to F.O., 20 August 1850, T.B.C.P. 9; Barff to the L.M.S., 19 August 1850, L.M.S.S.S. 23.
- (10) Captain Wellesley (H.M.S. Daedalus) to Miller, 9 January 1852, T.B.C.P. 9; Teurura'i to Miller, 10 January 1852, ibid. Teurura'i named the 10 governors for Huahine with no changes, a speaker, a prime minister (tefaatere), a chief magistrate, district judges, law officers and constables.

(b) "Failings, rivalries and misunderstandings."

Between 1848 and 1866, the native population of the group decreased from 4,350 to 2,900; the number of permanent European settlers remained between 50 to 60. Exports - chiefly coconut-oil, arrowroot, oranges, and later, cotton, amounted to £5,000 in 1861; imports were valued at £7,000 by the same date - consisting of cotton prints, cloth, hardware, cordage and foodstuffs. Sugar from two plantations was sold at £25 a ton in Sydn in the early 1850's: " and the natives, pleased with this novelty at first flocked to the mills, but as soon as the novelty wore off no native labour could be procured except at exorbitant rates." On Raiatea, there were 400 head of cattle - the property of British settlers - and about 50 Meri sheep. The British Consul estimated that there was about £10,000 of foreign capital invested in the group, in plantations and shipping - six sevenths British and American, and the rest French.

(11) These figures are approximate: no account was taken of migration from the Society Islands.

	1848		1866	
	Native	Foreign	Native	Foreign
Raiatea...	1,700	40	1,000	14
Huahine...	1,300	10	750	27
Borabora..	800	6	550	2
Tahaa.....	400	2	500	8
Maupiti...	150	1	100	1
<u>Total.....</u>	<u>4,350</u>	<u>59</u>	<u>2,900</u>	<u>52</u>

Some of the decrease may be attributed to a measles epidemic in 1854 and to the political disturbances: in the same year, Barff wrote from Huahine that " two or three hundreds of the inhabitants have either been exiled or voluntarily retired from the island ". Barff to the L.M.S., 12 June 1854, L.M.S.S.S. 25; Kelly to the State Department, 24 November 1848, Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Tahiti, vol. 2, 1841-1850; Miller to F.O., 19 November 1866, T.B.C.P. 11.

(12) Miller to F.O., 19 November 1866, ibid.

(13) Consul Toup Nicolas to F.O., 31 December 1853, T.B.C.P., 1852-1863

(14) Idem, ibid.

The disorders arising from this commerce were out of all proportion to its importance. Pillage of European property was insufficiently compensated in the local Codes of Laws; native judges were incapable of distraining traders for debts incurred among themselves; the prohibition of spirit the destruction of European cattle for trespass, control of the price of native crops by law and the prohibition of credit all provided an easy source of petty fines when native judges chose to single out examples. Lease of land by one member of a land-using group to a European was frequently terminated when the native family demanded a share of the produce. Sale of land was forbidden by law. All the land troubles of the Leewards were amply illustrated by the confusion which arose over the lease of the island of Scilly (Fenuarua) by the queen of Borabora to a local trader named Brothers, in 1876. Brothers' claim to the coconuts of the island was contested by a Papeete firm which held a separate lease from the chiefs of Maupiti. Fighting broke out between the people of Borabora and Maupiti;

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- (15) Fines and confiscations and the complaints they provoked from Europeans are numerous in T.B.C.P., 1852-1863, T.B.C.P. 10, T.B.C.P. Papeete and Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Tahiti, vols. 3-6, 1851-1874. For seizure of his schooner in 1862, a trader was paid only \$15 as compensation. The sale of spirits was permitted by allowing the laws to "sleep from time to time. Saville, Diary, Huahine, 1869-1871, L.M.S. Personal According to Art. 1, Law XII of the Raiatean Code, the fine for selling spirits was " \$10 for a large bottle and \$5 for a small bottle". But, convictions were made less from a desire for abstinence than to punish fraudulent trading. In 1880, one Thomas Dunham was fined \$15.50 at Raiatea because his accusers were " angry with Tom because he gave them small measure of spirits for a high price ". " Authorities ", Raiatea, Tahaa to Miller, 15 July 1880, T.B.C.P. Papeete.

16

Brothers was expelled from the group.

Complaints of injustice were followed by threats; and after threats came the remonstrances of naval officers. A separate British Consulate was set up at Raiatea from 1852-1864: Consuls Nicolas, Chisholm, Wodehouse and Ross intervened constantly. In 1864, Rose wrote to the regent of Borabora in the bluntest terms, urging that natives who had ill-treated a British subject be fined \$500 - or receive four dozen lashes on the first British man-of-war in port.

" I have just last week (friday) made the Govt. of Huahine pay 700 dolls. for injustice done to a white man, and I will compel your Govt. in the same manner... P.S. you had better get the 500 dollars ready and thus avoid the flogging." 17

When intimidation failed, sections of the population were induced to appeal to outside Europeans for protection. To the consuls it seemed clear that the independence of the group would sooner or later have to be sacrificed for stable government - possibly by a third Power not bound by the 1847 Declaration; such a possibility, thought Consul Miller, would probably move the French administration at Tahiti to act first.

(c) America, Germany and the Leeward kingdoms.

For the actions of the district chiefs and judges and for the complain

(16) Green to the L.M.S., 5 December 1876, L.M.S.S.S. 35.

(17) Ross to " the Regent or Acting King of Borabora " 9 August 1864, T.B.C.P. Papeete. It is worth noting the opinion of his predecessor, Major Wodehouse: " Semi-Civilised Races can only be governed by fear. They are amenable to no other influences..." Wodehouse to F.O., 25 January 1864, T.B.C.P., 1862-1866.

(18) Barff to Miller, 9 October 1852, T.B.C.P. 4; Miller to F.O., 17 July 1858, ibid 10; Nicolas to Miller, 14 April 1854, ibid 1852-1863; Lassete to Miller, 29 November 1869, ibid 5; Miller to F.O., 31 July 1868, ibid

levelled at them, the chiefs of the ruling family of each island were responsible. But they too, like Europeans, were often at odds with sub-tribal leaders over matters arising from the Codes. Traffic in spirits was a case in point, as a missionary explained in 1848.

" In consequence of my exhortations, the deputies of Tahaa insisted strongly at a public meeting in Raiatea on the total banishment of all spirituous liquors from the Islands; this displeased Tamatoa (who although he likes the people to be sober, wishes to reserve the privilege of drunkenness for himself and his family and this neutralises all efforts for soberness among the people); Tamatoa ordered his speaker to ask the Tahaa deputies - and who are you ?" 19

After numerous attempts to place himself above the law, Tamatoa joined Teri'itaria in exile in 1853. His place was taken by Temari'i, chief of the district of Vaia. The latter was deposed in turn in 1857 when Tamatoa V (son of Pomare IV) was crowned and anointed by Barff who suitably preached from Proverbs XVI, 12: " It is an abomination to kings to commit wickedness: for the throne is established by righteousness." 20

This sacred injunction was not adhered to. In 1858, when some of the discontented chiefs of Raiatea threatened the position of the new king, a chauvinistic American consul took advantage of the situation to arrange for a cession of the island to the United States. In the words of Consul Owner 21

(19) Krause to the L.M.S., 10 May 1848, L.M.S.S.S. Odds 6.

(20) Caillot, Histoire de la Polynésie Orientale, 294-296.

(21) " Governors and Speakers of the Island of Tahaa ", 29 March 1858 (signed with " X " marks; " The High Chiefs of Raiatea and Tahaa to the U.S. Consul ", 5 April 1858 (no signatures and wrongly translated from the Tahitian); encl. in Owner to the State Department, 27 April 1858, Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Tahiti, vol. 4, 1858-1860.

the petitions for protection were " an evident general and spontaneous wish to rise from their degradation "; as explained by the chiefs of Raiatea, their discontent had been with Tamatoa - " dismissed...on account of his having disregarded our interests; he has eaten our lands and seized upon our means of subsistence." ²² The only active support for Owner's coup had come from two of the lesser chiefs of the island who, along with two American residents, had helped to arrange the petitions. They were banished by Temari'i; and the commandant at Tahiti refused to intervene on their behalf. The State Department, however, ordered a warship to the island; and when the U.S.S. Vandalia brought back the exiles at the end of 1858, a skirmish occurred at Tahaa where (to the satisfaction of the missionary and consul, Chisholm,)" the American party were completely beaten " by the ²³ Raiateans.

For a time, the threat of losing the independence of the island united the chiefs under Tamatoa V with Temari'i as his chief minister (faatereha). Up till the 1860's, the missionaries Barff and Chisholm had been instrumental in preventing the opposition to Tamatoa from being more widespread. Their successors in the field - younger missionaries with less experience of native politics - sided openly with the consecrated paramount chief.

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- (22) Temari'i and thirteen judges and chiefs of Raiatea to the " Chief Magistrate of the Government of the United States ", 7 June 1858; " The People of Tahaa to the People and President of the United States ", 25 May 1858, encl. in Owner to the State Department, 10 July 1858, loc.cit.
- (23) Chisholm to F.O., 25 December 1858, T.B.C.P. 1852-1863.

What had been struggle on the part of the district chiefs to preserve the land rights and sources of revenue from the demands of the Tamatoa party now became a schism in the church at Raiatea and Tahaa. Two of the leading native pastors at Opoa (the old religious centre of the island) and at Vaitoare actively opposed the native government and refused to hand over their church collections. The religious faction had its roots in earlier mission history - as explained by Vivian.

" On the arrival of the missionaries at Raiatea there was no regular settlement. Every family lived on their own patch of land. As soon as they were received by the principal Chief they advised him to get the people to form themselves into a settlement in order to their being near them for instruction. The Chief's concurring in this proposition, Uturoa was chosen for Raiatea and Vaitoere for Tahaa.

This plan involved the necessity of setting apart certain days for the procuring of food. The principal plantations lay in the neighbourhood of Opoa on the east side of the Island and at Tevaitoa on the west. As time rolled on the church was formed and deacons selected. Some finding it difficult to go to their lands and get back again before the Sabbath proposed to build a small place of worship near their food land, intending to go to the settlement every Ordinance Sabbath. At length Mr. Chisholm thought it better to ordain two Native pastors, the one Napario for Opoa and the other Huana for Tevaitoa as help to him and teachers in the schools. The latter individual fell into sin shortly after his ordination. The former soon became troublesome and shewed his covetous spirit by early desiring to keep for himself the whole amount which the church subscribed annually towards the society. Upon Mr. Flatt's remonstrance with him on this subject he insulted him and charged both him and Mr. Morris with wishing to get the people's money for themselves." 24

When Tamatoa was expelled again in 1865, Vivian and Green went with

(24) Vivian to the L.M.S., 6 March 1866, L.M.S.S.S. 30.

him. Tamatoa wrote to Consul Miller to assist him " powerfully ", since his coronation in 1857 had been the occasion of presents from England.²⁵ In his appeal there was an echo of similar correspondence from Pomare in the 1840's; but Miller saw that the influence of the L.M.S. in the group had waned since then and that the younger missionaries had been unwilling to modify their strict version of church discipline when native leaders were uncooperative for their own political reasons - and fully aware of the bounds set on missionary work by civil authority at Tahiti.²⁶ At Borabora, the native pastors were opposed to the military exercises encouraged by Tapoa II (which he had learned in France). At Huahine, Saville's deacons and teachers taught hymns incorporating songs and chants which resembled " as near as possible the lawless performances now upon the island (1869) which go by the name of himene and upaupa "²⁷; and Saville had the greatest difficulty celebrating the May meetings and making the annual collection while Teurura'i was absent at Tahiti. State and church were still bound together: the fortunes of one had repercussions upon the other.

The broken paramountcy of the Tamatoa's was no exception in the group. When Teurura'i returned to Huahine in 1868 on a French ship with an extradition treaty to expel Chinese immigrants from the island, his

(25) Tamatoa and the governors of Tahaa to Miller, 11 February 1867, T.B.C.P. 6.

(26) Miller to F.O., 7 February 1866, T.B.C.P. 11.

(27) Saville, op.cit., loc.cit.

headship was ended by a simple ceremony described by Saville.

" All went to the king's house to depose Ariimate (Teurura'i) and set up his wife... They call the deposing a ' haa raa raa ' (a judging)(sic) but there was no judging about it. They simply told the king or rather his speaker... that he and all of his governors and judges and officers were to give up their appointments in the government. Then his speaker got up and said yes, we are very pleased to lay at your feet all of the government offices which we hold - Ariimate vahine was then made queen - the Huahinean colours were hoisted over the house, other formalities were passed through and she by their proclamation was queen of Huahine, and her husband who had reigned for seventeen years was deposed. Tomorrow the new officers are to be appointed, and till all of these officers have received their appointments Huahine is without laws. Tonight heathen dances and drunkenness have arisen and grown to a terrible hight." 28

Teurura'i's offence in permitting the French to claim back the Chinese was not merely a breach of local hospitality and the traditional asylum given to fugitives. The Chinese refugees were a source of labour for some of the chiefs' plantations. There was, too, the fear that the extradition treaty in some way sacrificed the independence of the island to the French.

Probably the loss of labour was more important to the chiefs than the writing of a treaty without prior consultation. The missionaries reported continual disputes between the chiefs and their followers over communal work projects. Saville could get labour for his new house only through the authority of the deacons (not the queen) and at the cost of \$93 and a feast. A schooner which took nine years to build by work parties organised by the district chiefs incurred a debt of £500 for the cost of

(28) Saville, 8 July 1868, op.cit., loc.cit.

fitting out at Papeete in 1869. Nobody could agree how much should be paid by the joint owners and how much was the responsibility of the native government. In 1876, work was stopped on the local church when the queen and chiefs refused to share with the districts revenue from trading operations at the port. The queen had to donate \$500 (in coconuts) to the craftsmen concerned before building was resumed.

Where Europeans were involved, the difficulties of adjusting native authority to cope with the settlers' demand for justice and economic privilege were even greater. By the early 1880's, there were over 88 permanent traders and planters in the group; the amount of European capital invested had risen to over £67,000 - an important part of which belonged to the firm of Godeffroy run by the local German consul. The local branch of the firm - the Société commerciale d'Océanie - transported their interests to Raiatea in the late 1870's to avoid Papeete port duties and set up a coal depôt. Naval protection soon followed. Upon the arrival of the German man-of-war, Bismarck, in May 1879, some of the chiefs of Huahine were persuaded to sign a treaty of friendship - which was flatly refused by the islanders of Raiatea and Borabora. No copy of the agreement was left at Huahine; but, according to the missionary Pearse, the chiefs were able to set down its terms from memory. No more was asked for than

(29) Green to the L.M.S., 5 December 1876, L.M.S.S.S. 35.

(30) Idem, 10 May 1879, ibid; Miller to F.O., 10 May 1879, T.B.C.P. 6.

security for the lives and property of German subjects, who, in turn, were not to sell spirits; deserters were to be surrendered; and no German subject was to be banished unless the German consul assisted at the native court hearing the case.

It is unlikely that there were any political designs on the group by Germany. But the threat served as a useful pretext for establishing a French Protectorate at Raiatea in 1880. According to a letter from King Tahitoe and the chiefs of Raiatea to a British naval officer, the French had successfully played up native fears of intervention by another Power.

" This is the reason our minds so hastily received the French Protectorate, several reports were brought down to us by Government Officials in Tahiti which scared us. This is one, that the Germans were seeking in this group a convict settlement & we did not wish it here, as we had reason to think that such was their intention. This is another, that the Americans were cutting a channel through the isthmus of Panama which would shorten the German route to this part of the world & would lead to this island becoming a coaling station for them & we did not deny this. For this and other reasons such as their constant interferences here, we so readily received this remedy for protection." 32

But now the major change to the political life of the Leewards' governments was out of their hands. As the date for the end of the provisional Protectorate over Raiatea was postponed at intervals for seven years, the right of unstable chiefdoms to deal with European affairs was ended as it had been granted - by a diplomatic arrangement between France

(31) Miller to Captain à Court, 10 May 1880, T.B.C.P. 6; Miller to F.O., 11 May 1880, ibid.

(32) Tahitoe and chiefs to Captain à Court, 30 April 1880, trans. encl. Pearse to the L.M.S., 20 June 1880, L.M.S.S.S. 36.

33
and England.

(33) The reasons for the delay have never received detailed treatment. They are interesting in themselves as an example of the relation between statecraft and colonial policy in the nineteenth century.

In 1881, the abrogation of the 1847 Convention on the independence of the Leeward Islands was made provisional to the acceptance by France of agreements over the Newfoundland fisheries. And there the matter rested till 1885 when the Newfoundland Legislature held out over the bait clause in the proposed fisheries agreement and Consul Miller was writing from the other side of the world: "the French authorities here are sparing no efforts to induce the Islands of Huahine and Borabora to ask for French protection." The Colonial Office agreed to the new basis for the negotiations, and the provisional Protectorate was extended by intervals of six months till the question of the New Hebrides arose in 1887. By that date, it did not seem "desirable or practicable" to the British Government "to remit to the aboriginal administration an island which has been for seven years under the French Government". In November of the same year, the 1847 Convention was finally abrogated in the Paris Convention on the New Hebrides. This was confirmed by the Declaration of Paris, 26 January 1888 (though the Leewards as a whole are not specifically mentioned).

Saint-Hilaire (Minister for Foreign Affairs) to Challemeil-Lacour (ambassador at London), 23 August 1881, Documents Diplomatiques Français, 1er. série, tome III, 1880-1881, 103; Miller to F.O., 12 May 1886, F.O. 27/2838; Waddington to F.O., 22, 23 June 1886, ibid; G.O. to F.O., 6 July 1886, F.O. 27/2839; British and Foreign State Papers, vol. 79, 1887-1888, 152-156, 542-544; F.O. 27/2940.

APPENDIX VII

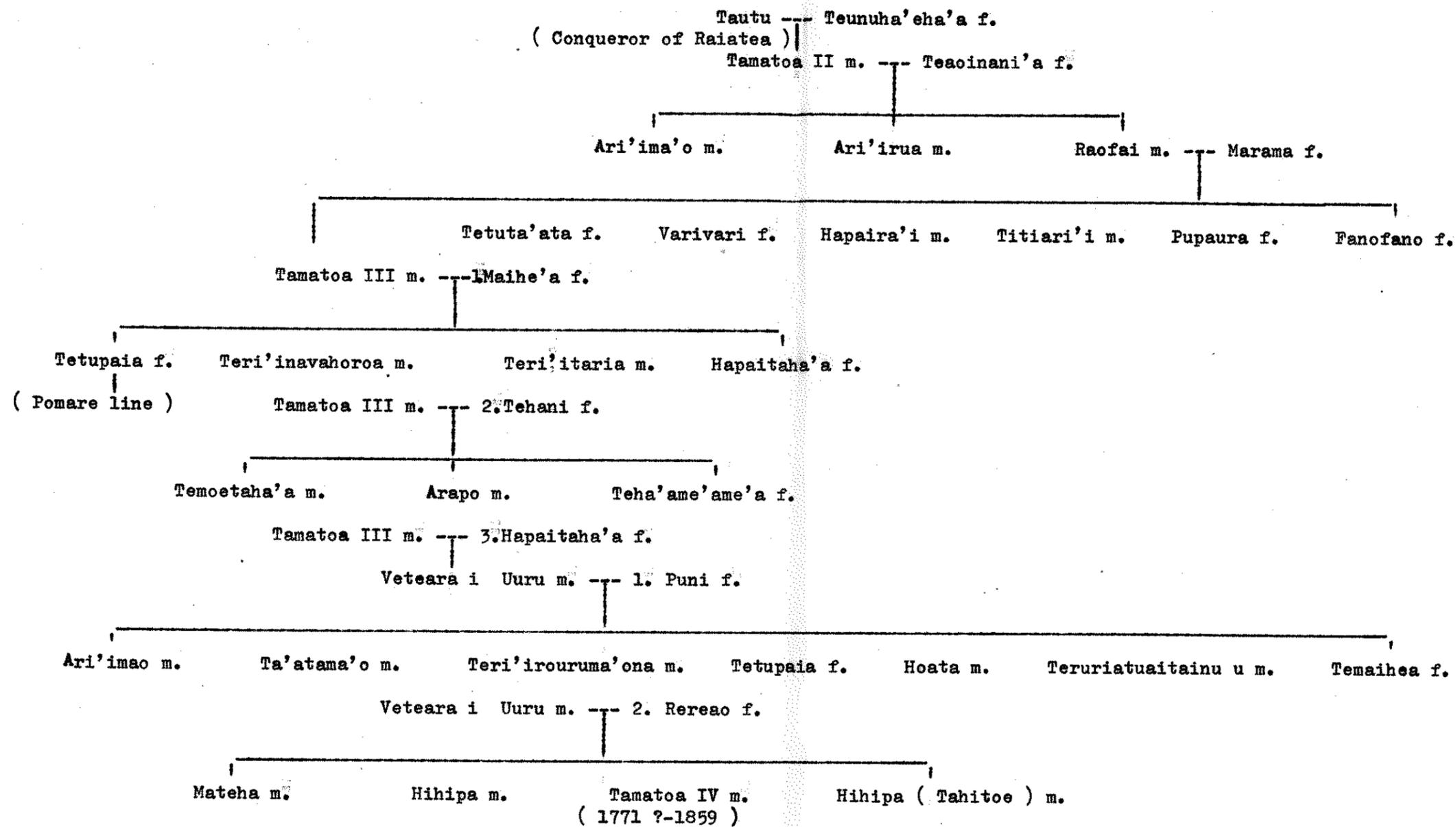
The Administration of Borabora, 1895-1897.

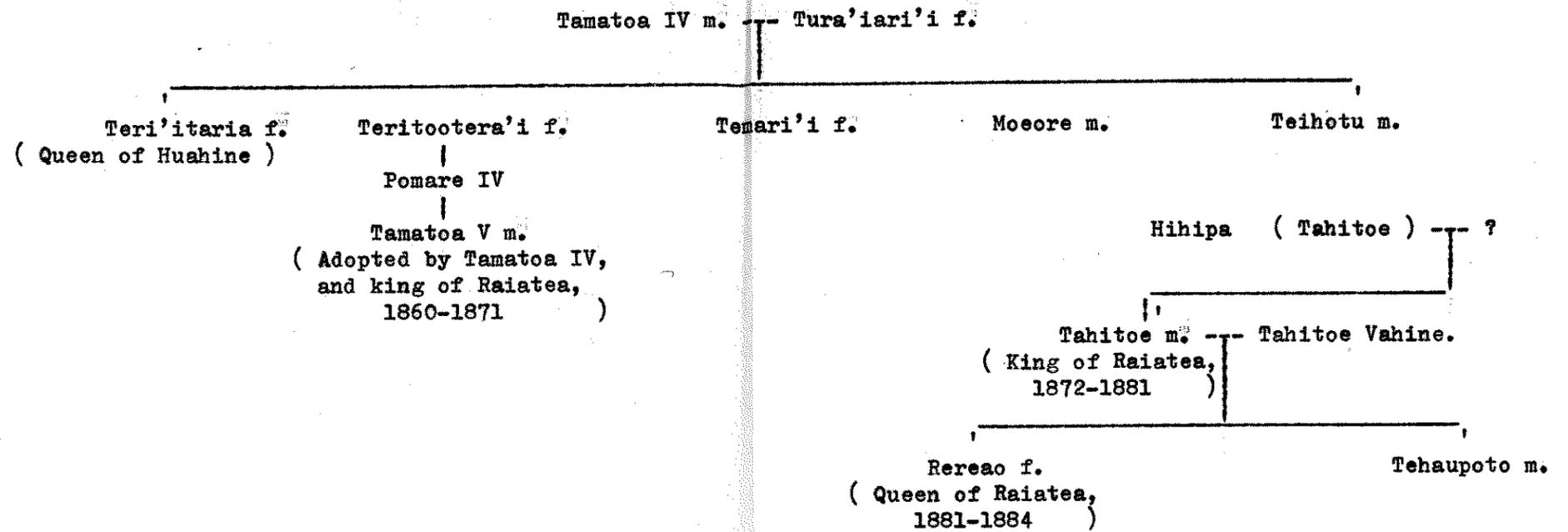
France took possession of Borabora on 19 March 1888. The native population of about 1,200 persons offered no resistance; and for the next few years the island was kept out of the troubles at Huahine and Raiatea which delayed the pacification of the Leeward group as a whole. It was not till September 1895, when military operations were being carried out at Raiatea that any form of administration was set up by the French at the island. Queen Teri'imaevaua, as paramount chief of the nine districts of Borabora, was persuaded by her husband, Prince Hinoi of Tahiti, to subordinate her position to a French official and to accept a stipend of \$100 a year for the privilege of French protection.

From 1895 to 1897, the island was administered in the name of the governor at Tahiti by a vice-resident directly under the orders of the resident at Uturoa, Raiatea. There were four vice-residents for the period
1
naval ensigns or officers from garrisons at Papeete. None of them were keen to stay for long. They were paid 12,000 fr. a year (twice as much as their salary at Tahiti). But the cost of foodstuffs at Borabora was some 35% higher than Papeete market prices; and the vice-residents lost their ration allowance and other privileges for officials close to the central commissar.

(1) The whole of the following Appendix is based on Documents sur l'administration des Iles-Sous-le-Vent, 1895-1904, MS., Ropiteau-O'Reilly Collection. The officials at Borabora were: Chouveny, 27 September-9 October 1895; Gourmanel, 9 October 1895-14 February 1896; Dormoy, 14 February-13 May 1896; Corne, 13 May 1896-19 November 1897.

PARAMOUNT CHIEFS OF RAIATEA





Rereao was succeeded as paramount chief of Raiatea by Tamatoa VI - son of Queen Teha'apapa and Ari'imate of Huahine - who reigned from 1885 till 1888.

PARAMOUNT CHIEFS OF BORABORA

Tapoa I m. --- Aimata f.
 (Conqueror of Raiatea
 and Tahaa)

Maevarua f.

Tapoa II m. --- Aimata (Pomare IV)
 (? - 1860)

No issue. Tapoa later adopted
 a daughter of Pomare IV - Ter-
 i'imaevarua - who became Queen
 of Borabora, 1860-1895.

The official policy of the administration, as laid down by Commissioner Chessé in 1895 during his mission to settle unrest in the Leewards, was simple. Orders to the first vice-resident explained that France intended to suppress " the effective power of the royalties of the Leeward Islands " in order to set up " the constitution under the French flag of a direct government of these populations ". As had been laid down by Bruat in 1846, the district chiefs were to be paid by the French; and they and the judges were to form a " French party " responsible to the administrator rather than the paramount chief. In the official view, the power of Teri'imaevavua had been "despotic and absolute ". But it was recognised by at least one French naval officer who helped install the first administrator that the authority of the queen might be superior to the vice-resident's for some time to come. Consequently, her functions - the collection of tribute and consultation with district heads to organise labour for group enterprises - were to be minimised by direct approach to the chiefs, by centralising the island's finances in the hands of the French administrator, and by the influence of the queen's husband, Prince Hinoi - a French ally and " Regent of the island in partibus

The local Law Code of 1878 was to remain in force; and the first administrator busied himself translating its clauses into French and substituting his title for the queen's. Justice for Europeans was to be provided in French courts at Tahiti; and all matters of navigation, trade, postage and police were to be referred to the resident at Uturoa. In short, the vice-resident was to take the place of Teri'imaevavua and use her speaker and chief minister as his aides; but his own initiative in deciding day to day matters of petty

administration and finance was severely curtailed by the necessity to write about everything to his superiors at Raiatea and Papeete.

From the beginning, failure to recognise the influence and rank of Teri'imaevau cost the administration the support of most of the district chiefs. The first clash occurred when the queen's chief minister was induced to donate to the administration a block of land on which stood the queen's house. Teri'imaevau took the matter to a court of all the native judges; and the vice-resident wrote to Chessé that the Residency itself was in danger of being lost in the litigation. Chessé was optimistic.

" Haapoua has publicly donated a block to us which he said belonged to him alone or to the local government, I don't know which.

The queen says that she too was the proprietor of part of the block - as is the rule - and there is nothing in that to get very concerned about; it is only necessary to see what these statements are worth.

At the time of my departure, I gave Haapoua to understand that the queen had pretensions to being... co-proprietor of this land. Haapoua replied to me without the least hesitation and most emphatically that it was not so. So there is a very simple way of ending this.. to have the donation of Haapoua regularised and the local judges will judge according to their local laws and customs."

This over-simplified view meant in practice that the judges were threatened by the vice-resident with losing their offices. The land remained in the hands of the administration, and the queen's house was pulled down to provide materials for the Residency.

It was made clear, too, that the sanction of district headships was the business of the French administrator, not the native authorities. When, in 1896, the chief, Mare of Ativahia, died, his son was presented by the district to Haapoua and the queen's speaker to be formally invested in the office of

chief. The administrator told the chiefs that powers of nomination were his and he publicly confirmed the selection and made the two native officials sign a letter of apology for their presumption.

Such victories were small. The general weakness of the French position was illustrated by the relations of the administration with the native judges, European traders and by its poverty.

There was no court of appeal for cases in which native judges failed to agree. Vice-Resident Dormy tried to have a chief tried for assault at Papeete (since no native judge would take on the task). The administration at Tahiti declared French tribunals incompetent to handle the matter, since no French laws had been promulgated for the group; and the culprit got off scot-free. In 1895, the resident at Raiatea wrote asking why a native partisan of the French there had been apprehended at Borabora and fined 54 piastres for importing 24 kilos of tobacco for his family and friends (which he had received as a reward from the French). Dormy could do nothing - except have the confiscated tobacco sold and the money paid to the administration treasury instead of going to the judges. In 1897, when the French officials in the group were given the powers of Justices of the Peace, they still could not send natives to Papeete for imprisonment; and there were no prisons on the island itself to hold insolvent offenders.

Control of traders was equally difficult. There were about 30 permanent settlers on the island; but only three of these - Buchin, Gooding and Marcatoni, conducted any profitable business. Each of these had leases over coconuts in the outer dependencies of Borabora - Scilly, Bellingshausen and

Maupiti. None of them had ever paid the local trading licence of \$4 a year. Marcantoni was freed from all formal duties by the queen by giving her a demijohn of rum every ten voyages to the island. Buchin had the native government in his debt for supplying materials for native buildings.

The basic flaw in the policy outlined at the beginning of the administration was the assumption that tribute could be changed without trouble into tax, and that native officials - chiefs, judges and the mitoi - could thus be made completely dependent on the administration treasury. The policy was formulated in Dormoy's version of Law XXXIII of the local Code:

- " 1. The Government is the sole master for the treasury. It is Tapoa (i.e. the vice-resident) who distributes money for the officials of Borabora and Maupiti.
2. It is necessary that Tapoa, the Prime Minister (Faaterehau), the chief native judge and the Government Secretary be present on the day of distribution of this money to the officials of this Government and Maupiti. The judge will read the law on the day of distribution.
3. Tapoa will share the money by halves; one half will remain in the treasury; the other half will be divided among the officials. The district judge is required to examine the officials who are active and those who are unwell. He who looks for trouble on the day of distribution will be judged thus: Tapoa will scold him; but if he does not listen he will be dismissed from his duties. Every person who contravenes this law will be judged and fined fifty piastres."

In accordance with this and his instructions to weaken the position of the queen, the second vice-resident declared that all tribute from Borabora and Maupiti was to be paid into his hands; and half the received sum was to be paid out annually to the chiefs, judges and the mitoi. Tribute collected for the few years prior to 1895 did not amount to more than 2,400 or 2,500 piastres annually or about one sixth of the annual revenues expected by the French administrators from the courts, tax and trade.

But much of this had been collected in kind (and could not be kept for distribution to officials). And the queen and the chiefs refused to levy piastres for the administration treasury. Vice-Resident Gourmanel was forced to compromise. He allowed tribute to be collected by the queen from the dependencies of Borabora; but he demanded that tribute from the main island be paid in cash and fixed the stipends of officials - 100 piastres to the queen, 10 to the chief judge, 5 to the district judges, 3 to the mutoi and 120 to each of the chiefs - to be paid at a quarterly distribution.

Very little came in to the Residency. Dormy understood why.

" These people see only one thing: every sum taken from their treasury (for administration) is a sum taken from their pockets, since it diminishes by that much the share which should come to them."

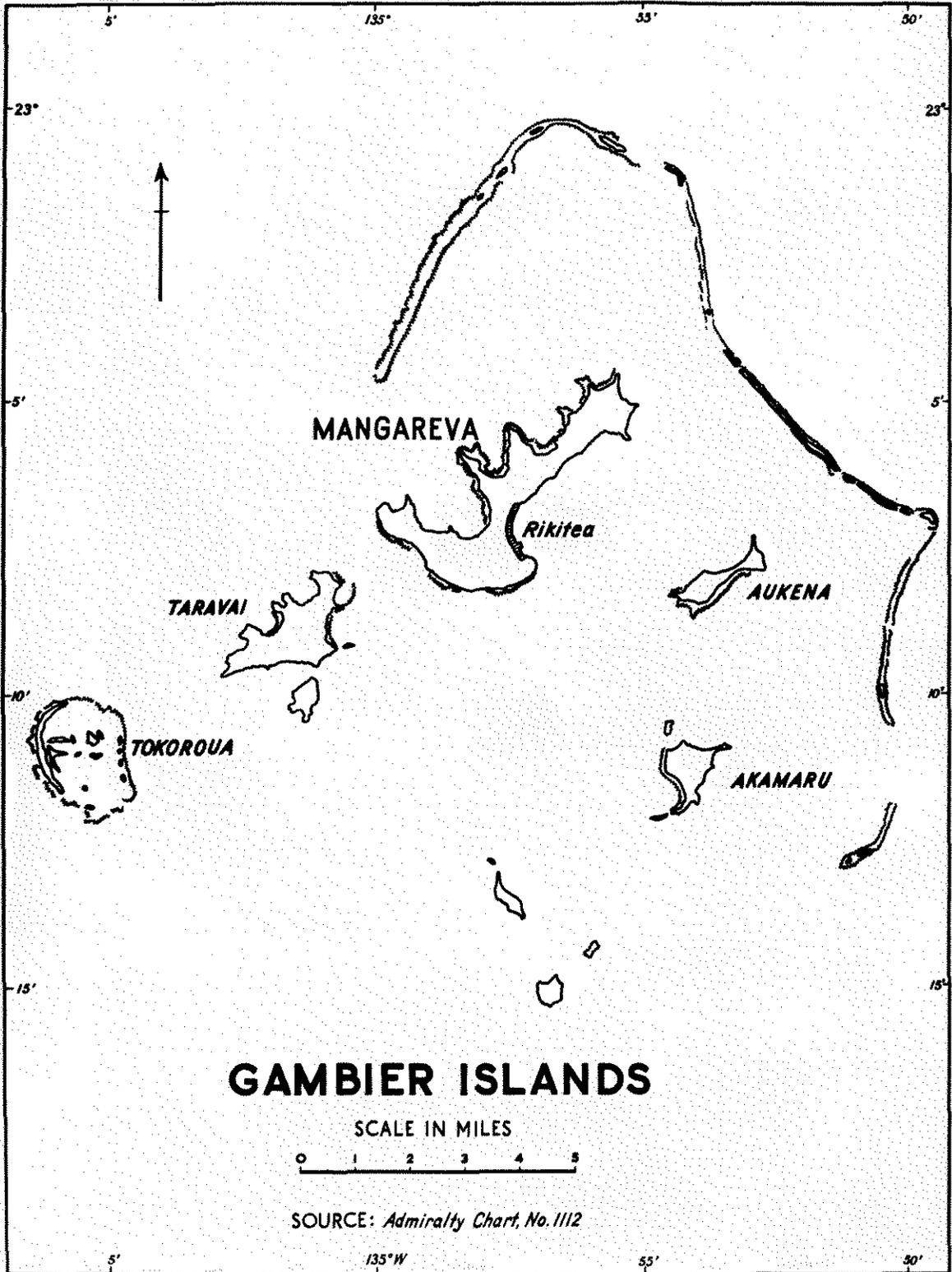
To pay in kind to the daughter of Tapoa II of Borabora was one thing to pay the self-styled French " Tapoa " while French prestige was low in the Leewards and fighting continued at Raiatea was another. This, Dormy concluded in a letter to the governor was the truth about the financial administration: direct rule through paid chiefs and judges was a failure so long as there was a large section at Borabora - " even among the hired chiefs (charentés) who lose no chance to show their feelings of devotion to the queen and who obey her without hesitation at the first request; while they have abundant dilatory reasons and obvious tricks to dodge the orders given by the French representative or oppose every attempt at improvement with an astonishing strength of inertia ".

Friends who had hoped to profit from French pay were lost; the chief judge received only two thirds of his former fines under the new system; the

secretary-interpreter resigned. The situation was only saved half-way through 1896 when specie was imported from Papeete as duties collected at Tahiti and other ports in the Leewards on shipments of goods to Borabora. The accounts for the year read:

<u>Receipts</u>	<u>Expenses</u>
Spirits duties..... 1,469 fr.99	Queen's pension, stipend to Prince Hinoi, chiefs.. 9,200 fr
Fines 2,152 fr.50	Personnel and material, judges, <u>mutoi</u> , Residency..24,237 fr
Licences..... 1,235 fr.12	
Tribute to the queen... 1,780 fr.00	
Tribute to the chiefs... 690 fr.00	
Export duty on copra.... 539 fr.66	
Export duty on cotton... 132 fr.36	
Anchorage and pilotage.. 495 fr.00	
Duties at Raiatea on exports to Borabora..... 291 fr.32	
Duties at Huahine on exports to Borabora..... 1,112 fr.37	
<u>Total..... 9,898 fr.32</u>	<u>Total..... 33,437 fr</u>
<u>From the budget for E.F.023,539 fr.14</u>	

This balance sheet brought about the reorganisation of the native administration. The following year, the 8 native judges were reduced to 1, the 32 mutoi were reduced to 9. At Borabora and Maupiti, the stipends for the chiefs were reduced to \$1 a month; and the 9 district chiefs were officially reduced to 1, and the population of 538 persons was required to reside in one village. The Code of 1878 was retained - but was to be applied by only one native judge and a court of appeal of three - including the vice-resident. Later in the same year, the Residency itself came to an end; and the administrators were replaced by gendarmes.



APPENDIX VIII

The Roman Catholic Mission at Mangareva, 1834-1880.

Less has been written about European contact with Polynesian society in the Gambier Islands than in almost any other group. Yet prolonged contact there resulted in a devastation of the indigenous social and political structure which is better documented than the history of the Marquesas Islands. Polemic about the activities of the Roman Catholic missionaries at Mangareva has been plentiful; but neither the opponents of the mission nor its defenders have collated in any systematic way information from traders, officials and settlers to account for the reported subservience of the Mangarevans to a handful of Fathers.

The problem of dealing with the history of the group is summed up in the writings and character of Father Honoré Laval whose personality dominated the mission from its inception in 1834 till his forced retirement in 1871. Laval's bequest to anthropology was a well-documented study of the legends, history and customs of the islanders he worked among. Part two of his manuscript volumes forms a record of his part in the dissolution of this society and the mission's answer to its own and other contributions to the radical changes taking place over a period of forty years. Laval the scientist is inseparable

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- (1) Laval, Mangareva, l'Histoire ancienne d'un peuple Polynésien (ed. Métraux and Desmedt).
 - (2) Idem, Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de la Mission à Mangareva ou à Gambier. Ère chrétienne, 1834-1871, MSS., C.S-C.P.

from Laval the autocrat. His insight into how the society of the past worked influenced the steps he and others of the mission took to change or preserve the institutions of their converts. From his informants he gained working hypothesis of the religious, political and economic structure of Mangareva; from his belief in the supreme value of the missionary enterprise he sought to work through such parts of this structure as were compatible with his ideal of an obedient and hierarchical society given over to the salvation of its members. Fearful of European intruders, and more and more aware that the changes the missionaries had begun were proceeding too rapid for human control, he grew vindictive in despair; and in despair he was sent into exile; and in exile he wrote understandingly of Polynesian custom and bitterly of the factors which had disrupted his use of this knowledge. His failure is the history of the group.

1. Mangareva in 1834.

The Gambier Islands, sighted by Wilson of the Duff in 1797, lie about 900 miles to the south-east of Tahiti. They are volcanic in formation, dominated by the cone of Mangareva and partially surrounded by a coral reef and a number of islets. The whole area of Mangareva, Taravai, Akamaru and Auker is not more than 6,250 acres. The population in the 1830's, according to mission estimates, was between 2,000 and 2,500 persons. These were socially organised in a segmentary pattern common to Polynesian societies with extend

households as the basic units. These were grouped into some 17 sub-tribes on the main island with an unknown but smaller number on the near-by island. During the frequent wars described by Laval, the sub-tribes formed, to a greater or lesser degree, two major political configurations led by Rikitea (roughly the south and west of Mangareva) and by Taku (to the north and east). Leadership of these sub-tribes - and presumably of the households - was based on the seniority of the family which could support its claims to an akariki title by the the most direct genealogical connections with the founding ancestors of the descent group and, through these, with legendary heroes and the gods. Preference was given to the first born of the senior male line - though there are references to junior members of the leading family and to collateral relatives contending successfully for political headship of the sub-tribes. The district chiefs, or togiti (of whom the akariki was the senior representative) were distinguished from birth from the urumanu, or commoners, whose families made up the bulk of the local branches or segments of the largest kinship units.

According to Laval's history, the sub-tribal leaders of Rikitea conquered the rest of the island after the immigration of important groups from the Taku area about the end of the sixteenth century. From the leading akariki family of Rikitea were descended a line of male chiefs ending in Maputeoa. The paramountcy of the Rikitea akariki was neither stable nor accepted ever.

(3) Laval, op.cit., 1-189; Buck, Ethnology of Mangareva, passim.

where in Mangareva or the other islands of the group, though the basic principles requiring that the head of the descent group be socially fitted to represent his own and other kin units were not changed. " The kings could be fought, conquered, exiled, even killed, but the ao, the power, could not be in the hands of a man whose genealogy did not go back to mythical times."

Two other features of the Polynesian society at Mangareva are of importance to the study of missionary contact. A considerable portion of the representational functions of the divinely-descended akariki were the business of a class of priests, or taura. The members of this hierarchy (who could be recruited from the urumanu) ranged from a high priest - usually a member of the akariki family - down through favoured seers, healers, keepers of genealogies and histories, craftsmen and experts to the singers of sacred and profane songs. Their presence for ceremonial was essential. For their services they received a share of the tribute in kind given by the land-using groups and by fishermen.

The authority of the akariki might be challenged from two quarters - from the togoiti, if services exacted from their kin groups were particularly oppressive, or from the taura, especially the chief priest. The position of the latter was not lost on the early missionaries.

" This people, in pagan times, was so religious that the high priest and even his subordinate priests superseded the king himself and enjoyed greater consideration... and one got on good terms with the because of their commerce with the divine which was feared." 5

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- (4) Métraux, " Une Féodalité cannibale en Polynésie Française ", Revue de Paris, no. 37, 1 October 1937, 647.
- (5) Janeau, Réponses données au questionnaire général de la Société Belge de Sociologie...., C.S-C.P. / de

With a relatively dense population and periods of drought and general food shortage, rights to control and exploit land and fishing areas were a constant source of friction and warfare - not only between the sub-tribes, but also between households and the members of households. For the heads of extended families and their togoiti, a share of the available land in the islands represented economic wealth and a source of political strength through their ability to supply the akariki with services in kind and manpower in war.⁶ The allocation of land and fishing rights and a say in their use formed part of the duties of the taura - many of whom, wrote Laval, were the trustees of areas of sub-tribal lands in their own right as male heads of segments of the society.⁷ Subsistence exchange between the useholders of breadfruit and coconut lands and those who supported their families by fishing was well-organised according to Buck and suggests that a section of the population must have been excluded from adequate usehold in available land resources.⁸ Disputes were settled by the messenger of the togoiti, or the sub-chief himself; often there was recourse to force.

On 16 July 1834, the Peruviana anchored off Aukena with Fathers Garet Laval, a catechist named Columban Murphy and a native (either of New Zealand or Rapa) as interpreter. They were not the first white persons to frequent the group. Two French traders - one of whom, Captain Mauruc, had advised them to go to Mangareva - were already engaged in buying pearls. Nor were tl

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- (6) Laval, op.cit., 138-139;260-263;285-290.
 (7) Laval, op.cit., 317-318;203.
 (8) Buck, op.cit.,162.

the first missionaries. George Hunn Nobbs and his companion, Buffett, of Pitcairn Island, and their Rapan divers had introduced " Jehova " and varuaino (the Devil) to the natives of the smaller islands of the group. Already, noted Laval, the practice of hair-cutting " à la franciscaine " was noticeable; and some of the marae and the houses for the gods at Auker had been abandoned.⁹ For a time, the missionaries kept away from Mangareva " Our only occupation " wrote Laval " was to learn the language and try to baptise sick children."¹⁰

During visits to the main island, the missionaries learnt that the akariki of Rikitea, Maputeoa, was under the guardianship of his uncle, Matua who was the taura tupua, or high priest. They were not well received by Matua till they intervened on his behalf to remove a handful of Tuamotuan pearl-ers under a certain " Long Bil " who had been raiding Matua's lands. The high priest hoped to use the missionaries in his bid for the young akariki's titles; Laval, too, hoped to claim obedience from Maputeoa and " make him feel our national superiority at the first opportunity " by putting him to school at Auker where the first converts were already being¹¹ instructed. By the end of 1834, destruction of idols under the auspices of

(9) Laval, Mémoires..., vol. II, 419, 477.

(10) Idem, ibid., 412-416. After the failure of the Picpus mission to the Sandwich Islands in 1830, it was decided to concentrate on eastern Oceania which Father Coudrin, founder of the Picpus Congregation, entrusted to Bishop Rouchouze as Apostolic Vicar. The new enterprise was based at Valparaiso where a college was founded and where Father Cyprien Liausu - future head of the Mangareva mission stayed behind in 1834 as liaison officer.

(11) Laval, Mémoires..., vol. III, 428; 482-491.

Matua and the conversion and baptism of other taura had already begun.

2. The Ascendency of the Mission, 1835-1844.

Matua's support was thought by Laval and his companions to be the principal cause of their early success. But Maputeoa and his followers at Rikitea still refused to join in the desecration of the old religious system. When, in May 1835, Bishop Rouchouze arrived with Fathers Liausu, Maigret, and Brothers Gilbert and Fabien, he was fêted like an akariki at Aukena; and he was paid tribute - which he reciprocated by distributing ¹² calico. The Matua party caused the performance to be repeated at Mangareva. Maputeoa was held in check by the missionaries' threat of calling in a French warship.

A few months later, idol-burning (by Matua's orders) and mass baptism on the main island consolidated the Catholic position. Towards the end of 1836, after a serious (and unnamed) epidemic had broken out, the king was baptised and christened Gregario Stanislaus Maputeoa. By 1839, claimed Laval there were 1,568 baptised (or nearly the whole population) in the group, ¹³ four churches in native houses, and the beginnings of mission legislation.

Already, in 1835, the members of the mission had been called on to

- (12) " When these people love someone and value him, they proclaim him King, without pretending to detract from the rights of him who governs them, and all come to pay him tribute." Laval to Abbé Coudrin, 13 May 1835, Lettres diverses de la mission, 1834-1839, C.S.-C.P.
- (13) Laval, Mémoires, vol. II, 535. In 1840, the missionaries numbered the population of Mangareva and adjacent islands at 1,900. Already depopulation seems to have begun; but it is impossible to say whether the decline from the 1834 estimates of 2,000 to 2,500 affected adults or infants more

settle a dispute over land boundaries. This they did by demarcating the area on a piece of canvas in favour of one of the togoti (a recent convert). After the baptism of the king, Rouchouze had a law drawn up giving undisputed land rights to useholders who had been baptised; all claims based on other criteria were declared null and void. In the words of Laval, for the settlement of land disputes, " the starting-point in our judgements is the baptism of one or the other claimants "¹⁴. There is no evidence how this worked out in particular cases; but the general result is clear. The mission and Maputeoa set themselves up as the arbitrators of the economic wealth of the islands. Through the taura - most of whom under the headship of Matua became church officers - the ceremonies which had accompanied planting, harvesting and fishing were continued as rites of the Catholic church. The initiation of the taura themselves and other neophytes into the church was a colourful adaptation of a traditional initiation ceremony to the celebration of communion.¹⁵

This helps to explain why the mission was able to organise the service and man-power of Mangareva to an extent beyond anything attempted by the

(14) Laval, Mémoires..., vol. II, 536; Goyau, Le premier demi-siècle de l'Apostolat des Picpuiciens aux Iles Gambier, 11.

(15) Laval was able to describe in detail the igogo, or initiation ceremony of the taura. It involved, according to Laval, the transfer of a portion of fermented breadfruit from the mouth of the initiator to the candidates together with an invocation suggesting spiritual transfer of the divine power of certain named gods. Métraux has rightly noted that the eucharistic character of the invocation is probably an addition on the part of Laval's informants in order to " artificially accentuate a certain resemblance with Christian Communion ". It is also possible that the ceremony was adapted by the missionaries themselves. Laval, Mangareva..., 312-313 (note 154); idem, Mémoires..., vol. II, 536.

Protestants in the Society Islands. The Catholic missionaries were able to supplant and recruit the religious functionaries of Mangarevan society. In doing so, they did not attempt to sweep away at a blow all ceremonials which were "pagan" - except the more obviously objectionable ones such as human sacrifice, erotic dances and songs. On their own interpretation of Mangarevan society, the head taura were greater than the akariki in prestige and authority. Once Matua had been converted and made a catechist, their own position seemed assured.

Through the sub-chiefs and household heads of the island, the mission under the guidance of Cyprien Liausu set out to transform the agriculture and production of the baptised land-users. Young Mangarevan men were split up into work-parties under their own household heads (or surveillants, as Laval called them).

" Their work consisted in clearing lands and making plantations for vegetable food-stuffs. The fruit of this work is equally for the whole population; and, moreover, we devote a part of the charities from Europe to rewarding the most laborious. This year (1838) their expectation has been disappointed because the clothing sent from France has been sent to the new mission in the Marquesas Islands but that does not make them lose heart; they say that what is deferred is not lost..." 16

Many of the seaward plantations were cut down for wood for the chalk ovens of Brothers Fabien and Gilbert - exposing crops along the coastal strip to the ravages of wind and rain. Spinning and weaving of cotton and vegetable fibres, mason-work for stone churches were taught. Coconut oil was extracted

(16) Laval to Mgr. l'Archevêque de Calcédoine, 24 October 1838, Lettres diverses de la Mission, 1834-1839, 441, C.S-C.P.

(17) Laval, Mémoires..., vol. II, 538.

by a press. Diving-teams gathered pearl-shell and pearls (for Gregorio
 18
 Maputeoa, says Laval). Over the mission, the royal Mangarevan flag was
 raised at the end of 1838 - red, white and red horizontal stripes with
 five stars. It was the " golden age " of the mission wrote Laval - soon to
 19
 make way for " that of silver, of iron and of lead " .

After a severe drought followed by typhoon weather in 1841, disease
 marked by dysentery ravaged the population. Laval estimated that the annual
 20
 death rate rose from 18 to 79 by 1845. Food was short. In the same years,
 traders came to buy shell and pearls from Maputeoa for cloth - two to three
 fathoms for a hundred kilos. Four vagabonds from Valparaiso settled at
 Mangareva. Exclusions from the church for breaches of morals began.

Early in 1844, Laval received a letter from Admiral Du Petit-Thouars,
 21
 urging the mission to arrange for a French Protectorate over the group.
 Before Governor Bruat received orders to the contrary, Captain Pénaud had
 arrived at Mangareva on the Charte and a treaty was signed by Maputeoa.
 Liausu was made French Resident and promised a salary - a submission to the

(18) By 1844, there were three stone churches in the group. The one at
 Rikitea measured 160 ft. by 60 ft; two at Akamaru and Aukena were about
 60 ft. by 25 ft. By 1868, there six others of smaller dimensions. Caret
 wrote that in 1842 the island weavers were producing 2,300 fathoms of cloth
 a year. Caret to Mgr. de Caloédoine, 16 June 1842, Missions des Sacrés
 Coeurs de Picpus, vol. I, 142-145 (mimeographed letters) C.S-C.P. Laval
Mémoires..., vol. II, Chaps. XI, XII.

(19) Laval, Mémoires..., vol. II, 595.

(20) Laval to Nil Laval, 29 January 1846, Lettres des Missions et de Valp
 -aiso, vol. II, 402, C.S-C.P.

(21) See above, Chap. II, 49.

French administration which Laval never ceased to bewail.

3. Traders and the Mission, 1844-1864.

Until his death in 1857, Maputeoa remained the nominal head of the unratified Protectorate administration by the mission. He was followed by his children under the Regency of his first wife (or sister ?), Maria Eutokia. Two of these were married by the missionaries to descendants of Matua: they all died young. At the end of 1844, Bruat passed an Ordinance forbidding the sale of spirits in the group and requiring an assurance of good conduct from European settlers. This was the only official legislative from Tahiti for the island till after annexation. Other Ordinances in the name of Gregorio or Maria Eutokia were drawn up by Liausu or Laval. They forbade the sale of shell (except through the king) on penalty of three barrels of the item as a fine; credit sales were forbidden; sale^{of} brandy was punishable by a fine of \$100. In 1856, a European Council composed of settlers of " irreproachable habits " was set up to judge cases involving foreign settlers. In practice its members were limited to the missionaries

(22) A copy of the request for the Protectorate is in Documents officiels Mangareva, carton II, C.S-C.P. The version given in Caillot, Histoire de la Polynésie Orientale, 424, has a serious defect. The " list of chiefs given at the bottom of the document is really a description of the sovereignty of Maputeoa, and should read: " Au Kerekorio Maputeoa akariki, to n tagata, ta ko matia, te maputauri ": " I Gregorio Maputeoa the King, of people, the islands and the sea." The only other signatories were Captain Fénaud and Father Cyprien Liausu.

(23) See genealogy below.

(24) Ordinances of Gregorio, 16 July 1853, 27 February 1854, 15 July 1855. Documents officiels, 1842-1860, Mangareva, carton II, C.S-C.P.

25

themselves. A native tribunal composed of the district chiefs and the missionaries and under the presidency of the akariki was set up to judge cases involving natives. No records of its proceedings exist. In the same year, Bishop Rouchouze's law on property and baptism was revised and extended. Sale, donation or lease of land was forbidden without the permission of the king - on pain of \$8,000 fine and confiscation. Most important from the point of view of European settlers was Article 7.

" A farmer or lessee, whether he leaves of his own accord or whether is sent away by an authorised person, shall, on going, leave to the proprietor of the land without demanding anything from him, all that he has done in the way of works belonging to the location, such as walls, houses and tree plantations. He will be able to take only the harvest for the current year and the first fruits of the plantation he has made." 26

According to a further Ordinance passed in the name of Maria Eutokia 1860, land was to be inherited by children on the death of their parents; if there were no children, any lands and goods were to be shared among the collateral relatives of the deceased.²⁷

Finally (and as evidence of weakening missionary authority), there were passed in 1860 and 1861 two Ordinances which threatened escapees from the island and canoe-stealers with one year in prison and corporal punishment. These terms drew a protest from the French commandant at Tahiti, de la

- (25) Ordinance of Gregario, 3 November 1856, Documents officiels, 1842-1860, Mangareva, carton II, C.S-C.P.
- (26) Cited in Chopard, Les Iles Gambier et la Brochure de Mr. L. Jacollio 19-20. I have been unable to find the original in mission archives.
- (27) Ordinance of Maria Eutokia, 1 January 1860, Documents officiels, 1842-1860, Mangareva, carton II, C.S-C.P.
- (28) Ibid, 1861-1862, loc.cit.

Richerie; the corporal punishment clause was dropped and the term of imprisonment extended to three years. In 1864, the mission legislation was rounded off with an Ordinance which stated in its first Article that " the command of God and the Catholic Church are, as in the past, the fundamental law of our land."³⁰

Nothing could have summed up the mission position better by this date. After 1849 there had been further outbreaks of disease and lapses in moral discipline. The spinning enterprises failed when weavers refused to obey the surveillants; desertions from Father Cyprien's convent at Mangareva totalled 36 in 1849; in 1850, the island jail (named " Potiamiana's convent " after its native custodian) housed no less than 20 young Mangarevans. In his diary from 1850 to 1860, Brother Gilbert noted faithfully in his semi-phonetic French outbreaks of " la chasse au femme de magareva " (sic), and " de clameur de magareva pour se rendre au Tahiti ", whenever they occurred.³¹ In 1855, after a severe reprimand from the Tahiti administration for arresting a Frenchman, Father Cyprien left for Europe. Laval became head of the mission and set about restoring order. The legislation cited above was the first result. In 1857 he boasted of the native dependency on the mission that had been created.³²

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- (29) De la Richerie to Maria Eutokia, 1 May 1861, Documents officiels, 1862, Mangareva, carton II, C.S-C.P.; Maria Eutokia to de la Richerie, 2 May 1861, ibid; Laval to the Minister for the Navy, ibid.
- (30) Ordinance of Maria Eutokia, 16 June 1864, ibid, 1863-1873, loc.cit.
- (31) Laval, Mémoires..., vol. II, 647-667.
- (32) For 7 September 1860, Brother Gilbert wrote: " aujourd'hui on na coup les cheveux a 6 femmes et quatre hommes tout pour casu daldultere..." sic. Laval ordered a general fast " pour répare cette faute ". Journal de Gilbert Souillé, 1850-1863, carton II, C.S-C.P.

" Continually they apply to us to settle their differences, to guide them in their undertakings, to help them keep good order in their households. The King himself does not act otherwise; he wants me to be his minister, privy councillor and the president of the special Council which is established to deal with business with Europeans. For our part, my opinion is like an order to our Christians so much are they convinced that they love us. Thus they call us nothing but Father, Te Motua." 33

Within the next decade this autocracy was threatened from within by the economic poverty caused by over-production of cloth, stone masonry and shell and the under-production of local subsistence crops; from without, it was threatened by adventurers and by the French administration.

In the 1850's, four or five traders from Tahiti and Valparaiso bought shell for 25 to 30 fathoms of cloth per 100 k. Laval, after 1855, advised the king to give a monopoly in the trade to a Frenchman, Iver - an old pupil of the Picpus mission at Valparaiso. The price of shell rose: by the 1860's it was as high as 45 fathoms of cloth per 100 k. Other traders settled on plot of land around Rikitea. The value of local cloth fell as an article of trade and the industry was ruined. Imports changed to foodstuffs during the local food shortages - especially flour, and occasionally spirits. Brother Gilbert has left a list of a typical cargo: " 4 barri de farine, 4 baucats (sic, " buckets ") de biscuits, 4 barri de lard, 300k lentilles, 16 livres de riz 150 livres de sucre, 63 livres de café, 1 caisse huile d'olive, 1 dame jeann de vinaigre, 65k de sel, 4 k de poivre, 2 caisse de vain blanc pour la messe

(33) Laval to Rouchouze, 2 June 1857, Lettres diverses de la Mission, 1852-1871, C.S-C.P.

(34) Journal de Gilbert Souilé, loc.cit.

Since 1845 many of the cargos of flour had been bad. But in time of food shortage it was eaten along with imported salted hog from Tahiti. The change of diet undoubtedly weakened the resistance of the islanders to further outbreaks of imported diseases and increased the growing dissatisfaction with mission restraints.

Objections from the traders to missionary laws controlling trading operations and residence came to a head in 1860 when a Frenchman, Dupuy, was tried by the European Council (two of whose jury were the father and the brother of a woman he was alleged to have raped). His employer, Pignon, was evicted from his house under the land Ordinance of 1856 when he refused to recognise the authority of the regent. De la Richerie sent a commission to investigate the two cases in 1861. The commission of two officials found after a cursory review of the documents, that Dupuy was innocent and that Pignon deserved compensation. De la Richerie ordered that the regent pay 10,000 fr. and 150,000 fr. to each of the traders respectively; and, in 1861 he sent the first of a short series of French administrators to enforce the payment.

4. The French Residency and the Decline of the Mission, 1865-1880.

For Laval, the three official residents and their troops were a "garr."

(35) Laval, Mémoires..., vol. III, Chaps. XXV, XXVI, XXVII; Affaire Pignon 1860-1864, carton IV, U.S.-C.P. Jean Dupuy had already been convicted in 1858. Pignon tried to sell his land - donated to him by Maputeoa's son - and then claimed compensation for his house, landing jetty and trading goods after eviction.

of Gentiles amid the Machabeans ". For Mangareva, a fine of 160,000 fr. in pearl and shell was an economic disaster. For the French officials, the st was a series of vain attempts to form a pro-French party, to control the Regency Council and to live off the land. In 1866, Resident Caillet compla ed to de la Roncière that it was impossible to organise a French-paid native police force in the face of the " absolute will " of Laval. His successor 37 tried to enforce an Ordinance demanding " hospitality " for French soldiers. the Regency Council refused to sanction it. All three officials tried to create a French party among the district chiefs outside Rikitea. Laval repl by making every household head a native policeman of the mission: " Only tho who were appointed by the government of Caillet and Laurencin were ill at ease. They were in truth prisoners at their posts..." 38

In 1869, the brawling troop departed after the indemnity had been paid in shell. Laval was not content with this: he protested to Bishop d'Axieri at Tahiti that he wanted nothing to do with a French Protectorate at Mangareva and persuaded the Prince Regent, Aarona, to write to the Minister for the Navy, Admiral de Genouilly, that Mangareva would be better without French 39 administration. D'Axieri ordered him to translate a native Code of Laws into Mangarevan and to refrain from temporal power in the government of the island

(36) Laval, Mémoires..., vol. III, 789.
 (37) Caillet to de la Roncière, 7 May 1866, Documents officiels, 1863-1873 Mangareva, carton II, C.S-C.P.
 (38) Laval, Mémoires..., vol. III, 818.
 (39) Laval to d'Axieri, 28 December 1869, Documents officiels de la Mission 1863-1873, Mangareva, carton II, loc.cit.

Even among the chiefs there were murmers. Laval replied to them by preach a sermon which shook the foundations of the dependence of the Mangarevans on missionary advice.

" Since the young king also has his complaints to make, listen well my conclusion: I am finished with Marautagaro (i.e. the Court); have no more advice to give them; let them not come either to ask me. Let the temporal power be in their hands as the spiritual power is in mine; and we shall see how well they will govern, how well they will get work done on the ship, get the land tilled etc...." 40

According to Laval, this petulant manifesto evoked an immediate plea for support from the leading chiefs. " Above all " he wrote with satisfaction " Anoberto wept while saying to me ' What will become of us if you cease to protect us ? The Togoiti... always come up against the hurumanus.' " (s: 41

The theocratic structure which the mission had built up could not be swept away without a sense of loss and bewilderment on the part of the Mangarevans. Many of the old chiefly families in the society had died out. The direct royal line from Maputeoa was extinct in 1868, and the population had declined to 770 men and 500 women by 1871. The convent at Mangareva was empty. Many of the stone churches were in ruins. In 1869, Laval lost his position as head of the mission - which went to Father Nicolas. D'Axieri's orders to translate the Code of Laws were repeatedly delayed till 1870 when

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- (40) Laval, Mémoires..., vol. III, 938. The ship was the Maria te ao pu which had been built locally from the timbers of a wrecked trading vessel and was used to transport Mangarevan divers to the Tuamotu.
- (41) Idem, ibid, 938.

all clauses were passed by the Regency Council under the presidency of Laval. The laws were now regarded as tapu; some changes were made - and the tapu, says Laval, was weakened. At the beginning of 1871, there were fifteen boys and girls in the prison " pour affaires de moeurs ", and d'Axieri excommunicated eight of them on Laval's advice.⁴³ An investigation carried out by a French naval officer judged Laval to be " backward by three centuries ". The Admiral of the Pacific Naval Division asked d'Axieri to have him replaced;⁴⁴ and Laval was forced to retire to Tahiti in April 1871.

Argument over the mission and the activities of Laval (like the story over Pritchard) raged far beyond the shores of Mangareva. The administration at Tahiti made him the scapegoat for its own failure to protect the trading interests of French nationals at the island.⁴⁵ The French Government was attacked in the French Parliament for allowing such scandals to take place under French protection.⁴⁶ The historian, Deschanel, led an anti-clerical campaign against French missions in 1888 by holding up Mangareva as a black example. The replies to his thesis and to the more sober accounts of Caill

(42) According to Father Nicolas, Laval wished to insert new clauses with fines for talking in church and washing without being accompanied by another person of the same sex. Nicolas to Laval, 7, 14, 15 March 1870, Documents officiels de la Mission, 1863-1873, Mangareva, carton II, loc. cit. I have been unable to locate a copy of the Mangarevan Code.

(43) Laval, Mémoires..., vol. III, 1005-1006.

(44) " Notice sur les Iles Gambier ", Messenger, 23 December 1871; Laval, Mémoires..., vol. III, 1008.

(45) Commandant Girard to the Minister for the Navy, 2 July 1870, Documents officiels, 1863-1873, Mangareva, carton II, loc. cit.

(46) Journal Officiel de l'Empire Française, 12 March 1870, 455-456; Le Monde, 21 March 1870 (for the protestations of the Superior of the Picp Mission, T.R.P. Rodrigue).

47

went on into the 1920's.

While evidence was produced from numerous traders, officials and naval officers for and against the assertion that the mission had indulged in trading operations, the group itself was left in an economic and demographic decline. By 1880, the pearl lagoons which had yielded over 300 tons of shell in 1886 produced no more than 200 tons; by the end of the century, their production was no more than 90 tons. The population by 1880 numbered between 700 and 800 persons; by 1896, only some 300 of the 568 inhabitants were of Mangarevan stock. ⁴⁸ For the over-exploitation of the lagoons and the change to a surplus economy encouraged by the mission, the demand for imported cloths and foodstuffs was largely responsible. The reasons for the depopulation were best summed up by Gilbert Cuzent who visited the island in the 1860's.

" Thus the natives are frequently attacked by rheumatism, fever, quins bronchitis and many die of elephantiasis. If to these bad conditions of hygiene are added the insufficiency and the bad quality of diet, the complete lack of remedies, or the bad application of those which can be given when they are able to be obtained, one can explain the causes of the consumption which kills the women of the Gambier Islands in particular. " 49

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- (47) Deschanel, Les Intérêts Français dans l'Océan Pacifique, passim.
For replies, see articles by Captain Gardarien-Freytet (pseudonym, Chopard) in l'Océan, 2, 7, 19, 26 March, 1888; Alazard, Refutation des erreurs et insinuations de Monsieur Paul Deschanel..., n.d., MSS., C.S-C.P.; id Réponse à M. Eugène Caillot auteur d'une histoire sur la Polynésie Orientale, 1926, MSS., C.S-C.P.
- (48) / Janeau 7, Défense Janeau, 1913, MSS, C.S-C.P.; Documents officiels 1874-1881, Mangareva, carton II, loc.cit.
- (49) Cuzent, Voyage aux Iles Gambier, 62.

After 1870, the mission under Father Nicolas made a show of abstaining from interference in trading operations; but the wide control of the everyday matters of native life was unchanged. Nicolas was advised by the Bishop at Tahiti that " the missionary may hire and encourage cultivators, appropriate houses, send children to school... and give advice in matters on which he is consulted when this advice does not injure a third party ".

No open resistance was made to the establishment of a French Protectorate over the group in 1880, nor the annexation which followed - though Nicolas complained of the expropriation of 180 acres of mission lands " for public use " by Commandant des Essarts. Those chiefs in the revived Regency Council who refused to recognise French rule were put in jail, and des Essarts created his own native functionaries. But his island was more a graveyard than a colony.

(50) Bishop Jaussen and Father Collette to Nicolas, 6 August 1875, Documents officiels, 1874-1881, Mangareva, carton II, C.S-C.P. Nicolas refused to handle money from the sale of pearls bequeathed to the mission by two members of the royal family.

GENEALOGY OF THE ROYAL LINE AT MANGAREVA

Gregario Stanislaus Maputeoa --- Maria Eutokia
 (1817-1857) (? -1869)

Joseph Gregario (? - 1868)	Tepairu Agnes --- Agopa (Grand-daughter of Matua)	Teiti Gregario ---	? ? Maria Tepano (Grand-daughter of Matua)
	 No issue		 No issue

Aarone, cousin of Maputeoa.

(Regent, 1869-1873)

Bernardo Teoaiti, adopted son of Maputeoa.

(Regent, 1873- ?)

APPENDIX IX

ANNUAL TRADE THROUGH PAPERETE, 1850-1900

	1850	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857	
				Value in francs.					
IMPORTS									
(a) European Goods	?	4,057,650	2,324,300	2,507,925	3,649,875	3,007,250	2,280,950	2,379,680	
(b) South Sea Island Produce	?	371,850	362,975	376,800	377,100	261,000	538,925	387,265	
Total Imports	3,426,550	4,429,500	2,687,275	2,884,725	4,026,975	3,268,250	3,819,875	2,766,945	
EXPORTS									
(a) European Goods	2,322,750	?	1,449,850	787,775	1,316,225	827,750	1,058,975	763,291	
(b) South Sea Island Produce	276,750	?	608,325	551,500	453,250	351,400	504,750	501,072	
Total Exports	2,599,500	2,998,250	2,058,175	1,339,275	1,769,475	1,179,150	1,563,725	1,264,363	

ANNUAL REVENUES FOR THE E.F.O.
[excluding sovereignty expenses]

(a) From Local Revenues	?	?	?	?	?	178,920	220,000	140,000
(b) State Subsidy	?	?	?	?	?	300,000	300,000	390,000
Total Revenues	580,000	584,000	?	?	?	478,920	520,000	530,000
% Trade Revenues	3.0%	?	?	?	?	4%	5%	6.6%

Sources: The principal sources for returns of trade for the E.F.O. have been indicated in the text above: Chap.VI, 110,(32),(33); Chap.X, 167,(3), 168,(4),(5),(6), 169,(7); Chap.XIII, 221,(19), 222,(21); Chap.XVI, 310,(40),(41), 311,(42), 312,(43), (44), 313,(45), 315,(50),(51), 316,(52), 317,(53).

Figures for annual revenues have been taken from the sources indicated above: Chap.VI, 108,(28),(29); Chap.X, 169,(7), 172,(14), 173,(15),(16), 175,(19), 176,(21), 177,(25), 178,(27); Chap.XIII, 223,(24), 225,(28),(29), 228,(37); Chap.XVI, 320,(58),(60), 322,(63), 325,(68),(69).

	1858	1859	1860	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865
IMPORTS				Value in	francs.			
(a) European Goods	2,458,050	2,644,475	1,307,825	1,543,875	1,578,250	1,604,582	?	?
(b) South Sea Island Produce	232,250	256,050	268,225	818,425	828,625	501,200	?	?
Total Imports	2,690,300	2,900,525	1,576,050	2,362,300	2,406,875	2,105,782	2,426,312	2,705,968
EXPORTS								
(a) European Goods	560,525	1,393,440	663,300	726,250	744,375	592,500	596,186	?
(b) South Sea Island Produce	511,075	575,925	560,250	777,225	892,475	594,000	582,181	?
Total Exports	1,071,600	1,969,365	1,223,550	1,503,475	1,636,850	1,186,500	1,178,367	2,244,033

(a) From Local Revenues	250,337	101,275	193,650	241,906	229,193	285,082	291,292	302,371
(b) State Subsidy	400,000	400,000	299,750	300,000	300,000	300,000	300,000	300,000
Total Revenues	650,337	501,275	493,400	541,906	529,193	585,082	591,292	602,371
% Trade Revenues	14%	12.7%	13%	17.5%	?	?	23.4%	20%

	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870	1871	1872	1873
IMPORTS				Value in	francs.			
(a) European Goods	?	?	?	?	2,875,000	?	?	?
(b) South Sea Island Produce	?	?	?	?	375,000	?	?	?
Total Imports	?	?	?	?	3,250,000	?	?	?
EXPORTS								
(a) European Goods	?	?	?	?	600,000	?	?	?
(b) South Sea Island Produce	?	?	2,915,888	?	2,400,000	?	?	?
Total Exports	?	?	?	?	3,000,000	?	?	?

(a) From Local Revenues	303,398	425,273	325,291	575,291	514,406	527,400	?	664,586
(b) State Subsidy	300,000	300,000	200,000	150,000	175,000	207,178	?	100,000
Total Revenues	603,398	725,273	525,291	725,291	689,406	734,578	?	764,586
% Trade Revenues	18.9%	?	?	22.3%	33%	30.8%	?	?

	1874	1875	1876	1877	1878	1879	1880	1881
IMPORTS				Value in	francs.			
(a) European Goods	?	2,453,375	?	2,875,000	?	3,674,119	?	3,750,000
(b) South Sea Island Produce	?	996,767	?	787,528	?	875,000	?	1,005,669
Total Imports	?	3,450,142	?	3,662,528	?	4,549,119	3,161,689	4,755,669
EXPORTS								
(a) European Goods	?	455,169	?	964,716	?	1,414,264	592,645	428,437
(b) South Sea Island Produce	?	2,366,069	?	2,450,000	?	2,250,000	2,750,000	3,450,000
Total Exports	?	2,821,238	?	3,414,716	?	3,664,264	3,342,645	3,878,437

(a) From Local Subsidy	633,750	949,928	798,035	928,404	?	807,082	?	?
(b) State Subsidy	100,000	Nil	Nil	159,220	150,000	150,000	350,000	400,000
Total Revenues	733,750	949,928	798,035	1,087,624	?	957,082	?	?
% Trade Revenues	?	47.4%	?	36%	?	47.1%	?	?

	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889
IMPORTS				Value in	francs.			
(a) European Goods	?	?	4,478,150	?	?	?	?	3,646,252
(b) South Sea Island Produce	?	?	547,647	?	?	?	?	1,132,000
Total Imports	4,391,530	3,936,085	5,025,797	4,576,567	4,267,832	3,982,576	3,679,227	4,778,252
EXPORTS								
(a) European Goods	?	764,114	809,293	?	?	?	?	732,000
(b) South Sea Island Produce	?	2,950,000	3,625,000	?	?	?	2,325,000	4,520,000
Total Exports	3,701,934	3,714,114	4,434,293	3,458,123	3,298,762	3,187,520	2,875,932	5,252,000

(a) From Local Revenues	1,223,253	886,693	1,024,123	1,034,318	?	1,019,260	?	?
(b) State Subsidy	160,000	160,000	303,513	163,079	150,000	177,220	?	?
Total Revenues	1,383,253	1,046,693	1,327,636	1,197,397	?	1,196,480	1,077,998	1,246,500
% Trade Revenues	?	44%	47%	44%	?	?	?	33%

	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897
IMPORTS				Value in francs.				
(a) European Goods	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
(b) South Sea Island Produce	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Total Imports	3,824,687	3,389,829	?	?	?	?	?	3,800,639
EXPORTS								
(a) European Goods	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
(b) South Sea Island Produce	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Total Exports	3,649,200	2,997,825	?	?	?	?	?	3,150,668

(a) From Local Revenues	?	?	?	?	?	?	1,103,623	1,401,669
(b) State Subsidy	?	?	?	?	?	?	127,000	120,000
Total Revenues	1,146,500	?	1,143,950	1,204,130	1,238,489	?	1,230,623	1,521,669
% Trade Revenues	?	?	36%	?	40%	?	43%	?

	1898	1899	1900
	Value in francs.		
IMPORTS			
(a) European Goods	2,997,147	?	?
(b) South Sea Island Produce	1,757,210	?	?
Total Imports	4,754,357	2,893,433	3,521,526
EXPORTS			
(a) European Goods	1,744,126	331,432	?
(b) South Sea Island Produce	2,475,122	3,196,900	?
Total Exports	4,219,248	3,528,332	3,597,257

(a) From Local Revenues	?	?	?
(b) State Subsidy	?	?	?
Total Revenues	1,437,459	1,720,288	1,454,417
% Trade Revenues	?	40%	?

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