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SALT-WATER AND BUSH;
THE STRUGGLE FOR PORT RESOLUTION, 1835 - 1868

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The island of Tanna lies in the Southern New Hebrides, north-west of Aneityum and south-east of Erromanga, and is about thirty miles long by ten or twelve miles broad. The most significant feature of the social organisation of the island in the period in question, 1835-1868, was the division of the populace into distinct groups contending for economic and political supremacy. In consequence, war was an everyday reality, and peace the exception. The fundamental rivalry on the island as a whole was that between the two great confederacies, the Numrukwen and the Koyometa, but there were lesser rivalries at village, district and tribal level. It is one of the latter, at Port Resolution, in the south-east of the island, which is the concern of this essay.

According to legend Port Resolution was like most of the rest of the island divided between the Numrukwen and the Koyometa. But at some early period before the arrival of Captain Cook in 1774 the latter were driven across the island and Port Resolution was thereafter dominated by the Numrukwen. The Numrukwen in turn split into two great factions, the one salt-water, Kwotexen, afterwards Shipee, the other bush, Mwanahnepwii, afterwards Man-war. About 1835, the latter seized control
of the eastern point of the bay. Seven years later they
seized on the first missionaries as a political weapon
in their struggle with the rival Shipee or Kwotexen
party. The missionaries, then, whose accounts provide
the greater part of the written evidence for this period,
were merely the pawns in an indigenous chess game whose
object was the control of the harbour. The notion that
the struggle was in any sense one between the forces of
good and evil, paganism and Christianity, must be ruled
out as thoroughly Eurocentric. If, indeed, there was
any such conflict it arose from the fact that the
Mwanahnepwi annexed the missionaries and the new system —
to which they were only indifferently attached, the
Kwotexen, the traders and the material goods they
offered without — or so it seemed — any strings attached.
What unfolds in this essay is the struggle between the
Kwotexen and the Mwanahnepwi for supremacy at
Port Resolution.

The chief object of the essay, nonetheless, is
merely to offer an interpretation of the events, and
their significance, in the given period. The inter-
pretation that has finally evolved was not without its
difficulties, and in overcoming these I owe a very great
debt to Professor G.S. Parsonson, a most willing and
encouraging supervisor. My thanks are also extended to
the Staff of the Hocken Library, Dunedin, for allowing
me the use of the material therein, and for their kind
assistance. Finally, I offer my thanks to Nicki for
her typing.
Map 2

2. The New Hebrides
CHAPTER ONE

The Coming of Cook

At one a.m. on Friday, 5 August 1774, Captain James Cook approached the north-eastern end of the island of Tanna in the Southern New Hebrides. Soon after daybreak he discovered on the eastern side of the island an inlet which had the appearance of a harbour. While he stood off and on he sent in two armed boats. Before long these made the signal for anchorage whereupon Cook brought the ship to rest in his Port Resolution.

It was not long before Cook caught his first impression of the native population. He noticed a concentration of people, huts and canoes on the eastern point of the harbour. He also saw vast numbers of natives collected together on the shores of the port, all armed with slings, spears, clubs and bows and arrows. Many, more inquisitive, approached the ship by canoe or by swimming; the more daring exchanged coconuts for pieces of cloth.1

On the morning of the 6 August, Cook instructed his crew to lay the ship nearer to the landing place to facilitate the task of taking on wood and water. While this was being undertaken, he observed the natives

assembling from all parts to the landing and watering place where they formed themselves into two distinct groups, one on each side of the landing place. It was obvious that the two parties were enemies, and were more than likely of different tribal and linguistic backgrounds. Each party was armed, and the total number of natives, Cook adjudged to amount to some thousands. From time to time people came off in canoes to invite Cook ashore. Among their number was an old man named Paowang who, as we shall see, was of some significance in the turn of events. On the previous day, when exchanges were being carried out between European and native, he had sought Cook's friendship and confidence, and on approaching Cook on this day, he was given to understand, by means of signs, that before anyone went ashore, the natives were to lay aside their arms. Cook was in no doubt that Paowang understood, for, after receiving a gift of cloth, the old man immediately returned to his own people and then passed on to the other group.²

After mooring the ship, Cook went on shore. The two divisions of natives were separated by a space of thirty or forty yards in which a few bunches of plantains, a yam and two taro roots were laid. Between these and the shore there were four small reeds, about two feet from each other, running in a straight line at

² Ibid., pp483-484.
Figure 1: Cook landing at Port Resolution
right angles to the shore.\textsuperscript{3} The food was clearly tapu, not to be touched by mortals. In essence, it was an offering to the spirits. In brief the natives looked upon Cook as a returned ancestor; offerings to ancestors were traditionally small and of poor quality, and they were always tapu. The fact that Cook was white apparently convinced the natives that he had returned to them from the dead, and this goes some way towards explaining the manner in which some of the natives at least soon showed the greatest familiarity towards him. But the most significant factor, for the purposes of this essay, was that the line of reeds in the sand seemed to be placed in order to discover whose ancestor Cook was – to which party he belonged\textsuperscript{4}, a preoccupation which in one form or another is reflected in the history of Port Resolution throughout the period covered in this essay.

On Wednesday, 10 August, Paowang and twenty of his companions presented Cook with a gift of fruit and roots. Cook noted that two men might with ease have carried the gift, but there is little doubt that the presentation was symbolic, and that the whole clan must therefore be involved\textsuperscript{5}. Perhaps more important, it was designed to cement the relationship between Cook and Paowang's people at the expense of their opponents.

\textsuperscript{3} Ibid., p 484.

\textsuperscript{4} Ibid., pp 484-485, fn. 4, citing G.S. Parsonson.

\textsuperscript{5} Ibid., fn. 1, p 489.
The fact that Paowang's group had gained the upper-hand was borne out by the events of Sunday, 14 August. In the morning, Cook and a party of ten set out on a journey to get a clearer view of the volcano. On returning from the main route, they came upon a man at work on a plantation, who undertook to guide them. A short while later, they came upon another native standing at the junction of two pathways, armed with sling and throwing stone. Cook notes that "the Attitude we found him in and the ferosity [sic7 which appear'd in his looks and his behaviour [sic7 after, led us to think he meant to defend the path he stood in".6 This man gained his point, for Cook's guide took the other pathway, leading, as the Europeans supposed in the wrong direction. The other man tailed them, calling, Cook judged, for assistance, since he was soon joined by three of his companions. These men then conducted Cook's party to the brow of a hill and pointed to a road which led down to the harbour, obviously intending that the Europeans should use it.7 Might this be an indication that Paowang's men had in a proprietary manner, turned Cook back? Any tendency on his part to wander about amongst the enemy must be curbed. Cook himself remarked that it was done lest "they should think that we come to invade their country ... and if we can judge from

6. Ibid., p 492.
7. Ibid., pp 492-493.
circumstances and appearances, [they] are frequently at War not only with their neighbours, but amongst themselves, consequently [they] must be jealous of every new face." 8 In any event those concerned apparently accepted Cook's presence. Twenty or thirty Tannese, on understanding that Cook intended to return to the harbour, allowed his party to pass unmolested, and some even directed and accompanied them down the hill.

On the afternoon of Monday, 15 August, Cook made another excursion in company with his astronomer, Wales, on the other side of the harbour, where he received a very different reception from that which he experienced the previous day. The people of the harbour, in whose neighbourhood Cook's friend, Paowang, lived were not merely far better acquainted with the Europeans but their friends, and they showed a willingness to oblige their every need. During the course of their walk, Cook and Wales met with Paowang who, with some others, accompanied them to the landing place, thereupon giving them a few coconuts and a yam. Paowang and his companions then returned home while Cook and Wales returned to their ship. 9

On the morning of Tuesday, 16 August, while in readiness for putting to sea, Cook noticed that the tiller in the rudder head was defective. Since there

8. Ibid., fn. 3, p 493.
9. Ibid., pp 493-495.
was no spare one on board, he sent a party ashore to cut down a tree to make a new one. Cook understood there was no objection to the cutting of the chosen tree but, before the task was completed, he received word that Paowang was displeased with the choice of tree, it being a rare variety on Tanna. Cook ordered his men to desist, and then went on shore and made Paowang a present of a dog and a piece of cloth, and then made him to understand his predicament. Cook was in no doubt that his method of obtaining the tree was pleasing to everyone present, for Paowang readily gave his consent. It was by no means certain, however, that he had any more authority than any of the others to give this consent. Doubts of this nature were reinforced when Cook was informed by those of his men who had been ashore, that an old chief named Iokai, who was supposedly King of the island, was at the landing place.  

On Wednesday, 17 August, Cook went ashore and gave this old chief a present. The old man indicated a desire to dine with Cook on his ship and, accordingly, he was taken on board with his son and two others, all of whom called themselves "Kings". Cook was perfectly correct in doubting that any of these men had any claim to such a title, or, indeed, that there was any King of the whole island. But each of them received a gift and they were then conducted ashore. 

10. Ibid., pp 495-496; fn. 1, p 496.
11. Ibid., pp 496-497; fn. 4, p 497.
Favourable winds in the early hours of Saturday, 20 August, permitted Cook an excursion to sea. About daybreak a noise, not unlike the singing of psalms, was heard in the woods on the east side of the harbour. The probable explanation is that the natives were practising for some great feast, or for celebrating a new season with new music. The Tannese were given to singing, but their songs were not religious. Dr Johann Forster, gentleman and naturalist, noted that the occasion must have been of some importance because a number of the Europeans, who had previously attempted to go to this point, were prevented from doing so by the natives.¹² Cook's evaluation of the natives' behaviour is further testimony of that which is typically Melanesian: "I cannot say what might be the true cause of these people shewing sic such a dislike to our makeing sic little excursions into their Country; it might be owing to a natural jealous disposition, or perhaps to their being accustomed to hostile visits from their neighbours or quarrels amongst themselves, circumstances seemed to shew sic that such must frequently happen ..."¹³

Cook noted, too, that the natives were well versed in the use of arms, hardly ever being without them. He came to the conclusion that this was generally the case,

¹³. Ibid., pp 501-502.
and not exceptional in view of his presence, because
the natives were of a friendly disposition in most
dealings with him. For example, the Europeans were
never without refreshments for, besides the fish they
were able to get, they were given fruits or roots daily
by the natives, albeit less than that which could be
consumed. The reason why they received a limited amount
of refreshments was directly related to the issue of
bartering. It is probable that the Tannese judged Cook
to have nothing to give in exchange which they thought
a valuable consideration, for they had no knowledge of
how to work iron, for which nails would have been a
valuable item, and cloth was of little use to a people
who preferred to roam naked.  

The behaviour of the Tannese throughout Cook's
stay was typical enough. The Portuguese explorer, Quiros,
describes a similar reaction on the part of the people
of Gaua or Santa Maria on 29 April 1606. The initial
reception accorded the Spaniards in Melanesia, whether
in 1568, or 1595, or 1606 were, in the main, remarkably
friendly. On this occasion, the Europeans fraternized
freely with the people of one village but only at the
expense of exciting the hostility of an adjacent clan.
On Gaua, as on Tanna, no person dared to go from one
district to another. As Quiros noted, the coast in
14. Ibid.
question was divided between two chieftains, each with his own boundaries which he defended against all comers. The hostile group reacted as it did because they saw Quiros as a member of the enemy clan. On the other hand, it is hardly likely that the aggressors believed that their arrows would inflict much damage on the Spaniards or provoke any serious reprisals. Their intention was probably merely to drive away creatures who might prove harmful if they were allowed to stay. One fact, however, is clear. Cook's Tannese were a deeply divided people. Any visitor who attached himself to one of the resident clans might expect to incur the hostility of the rest. 15

CHAPTER TWO
"Shipee" and "Man-war"

The Tannese, whom Cook describes so vividly in his pages, were a slightly built people, generally "under the middle stature". They were, too, several shades darker than either the Samoans or the Tahitians. On occasions, moreover, they seemed much darker still. They thus often stained their bodies with the juice of a plant. They also "painted" their bodies and faces with soot and red and black earth, the former imported from Aneityum. The other prevailing colour was white, and all three colours were laid on according to rank or occasion: a chief might show his rank by the application of an extra pigment; and the occasion of death was recognised by the application of black.¹

The women clothed themselves well, by means of a long girdle of leaves, but the men went all but naked. Their only covering was a leaf or piece of matting wound round the penis, and this they suspended by a narrow belt of native cloth worn around the waist. Ornamentation was prevalent, particularly earrings and nose-plugs, the latter thrust horizontally through the septum of the

nose. Tattooing however, was non-existent. All wore some ornament around the neck - beads or, in the case of a chief, a necklace of whales' teeth. Crudely carved armlets were also common, these generally being made from coconut shell. Up to six of these might be worn on each arm. They were also functional; the spear thrower and sling was suspended from them.²

A great deal of care was taken in the maintenance of the hair, which was frizzled and generally of a light, rather yellowish, colour. The women wore it short, oiled and curled, but the men wore it up to eighteen inches long, and divided into seven to eight hundred little tresses, each of which was carefully bound by the rind of a creeping plant, leaving about two inches at the end exposed which they curled. It was thrown back off the forehead and left to hang down behind. The curled ends were all of equal length and formed a semi-circle of curls about the head or the shoulders, depending on the length of the hair. The men cut the hair off the upper lip but allowed the lower beard to grow, and this was also divided into individual tresses.³

As has been intimated above, few items of useful manufacture were made on Tanna, and this lack of creativity was manifested in the type of house that was

constructed. Their dwellings were little better than hovels. The only items of real worth that were produced of value to the Tannese themselves were weapons of destruction: clubs, spears, slings, darts and bows and arrows. All men went armed, primarily because war was the rule on Tanna, and peace the exception. The women were never armed; their function in life was to do the greater part of the labour required in maintaining the plantations while the men attended to, what was for them, the greater business that was associated with war, for war was their chief employment.⁴

The plantations, nevertheless, were a source of great pride to the Tannese. The produce of the island included breadfruit, plantains, coconuts, yams, taro, kumara, sugar cane, wild figs and nutmegs, and each of these grew plentifully. This was so on account of two reasons. First, the Tannese were particularly adept cultivators. A great deal of labour in a year was bestowed upon their plantations, and they were far in advance of many Polynesian tribes in the cultivation of soil. The yam, especially, they grew to perfection. In their plantations, the Tannese raised many mounds of various sizes, some as high as ten feet and with a circumference of sixty feet. Into the middle they put a large yam whole, and when it developed shoots, a horizontal

trelis work of reeds was erected to train them along. The resulting roots were often six to eight feet long, along with seven or eight smaller ones. Cook was especially surprised at seeing the plantations so carefully laid off, enclosed by reed fences, and so well kept.5

The second reason for the plentiful produce on Tanna was that the soil, and particularly that of the south-east region in and around Port Resolution, was very fertile and easily cultivated. Port Resolution opens to the north and abounds in pumice-stone and other volcanic matter. The eastern side of the bay, in particular, bears numerous marks of volcanic formation. On the western side of the bay, there is a ridge of mountain stretching far inland. At its base, all along the beach, there are numerous hot springs in which most of the natives' cooking was done. The more tepid springs were used for bathing. The mountain Enekahi, was extensively cultivated and beyond it, at a distance of two miles from the coast, was the source of the soil's fertility, the volcano, about which there was a large deposit of sulphur. The volcano, perhaps two thousand feet high, is still particularly active and often erupts at intervals of two to three minutes.6

This volcano, the native name of which is Yasur7,


7. Turner, Nineteen Years ..., p 75.
is the most compelling natural object of the island. Its crater, about one and a half miles in circumference, forms the top of a comparatively low mountain which was held in great veneration by the islanders, and particularly by the principal men of the "idolatrous priesthood" of the island. These "sacred men" were held to be the real or living gods of Tanna. The native name for the gods was aremha, which literally means 'dead man' and hints at the origin and nature of their religious worship. The priesthood was held in such regard primarily because of the superstitious beliefs that were associated with the diseases that prevailed on the island. The general belief is that disease, primarily malaria, was caused by these "sacred men", and, as a result, they were dreaded by the people. It was supposed that if these persons managed to get hold of a few crumbs of food, a banana skin, saliva, or any rubbish whatever, that they had it in their power to sicken and put to death the party to whom it belonged. These "sacred men", or disease-makers, as they were known, eagerly sought such rubbish and always prowled about in search of it. If a disease-maker found some nahak, he picked it up, wrapped it in a leaf, tied it tightly, and wore it all day hanging around his neck. The people, on seeing him, feared that he would do for somebody at night. At night, he mixed the nahak with the

8. The Rev. W. Gill, Gems from the Coral Islands, p 184.
bark of a tree and smeared it over a stone. He then rolled it in a leaf in the form of a cigar. The besmeared stone was held over a fire and this was a signal that the nahak was ready for burning. One end was held close to the fire, and was allowed to smoulder and burn gradually. Whenever the burning commenced, it was supposed that the person to whom the nahak belonged was thrown into great pain, and that if the package was permitted to be consumed, that person was certain to die. 9

Whenever a person was ill, it was believed that one of the disease-makers was burning his nahak. The sick man asked his relatives to blow a shell, as a sign that he was willing to give a present to the man who had got his nahak, if he would cease to burn it. Messengers were then sent to the headquarters of the priesthood to find out who had the sick man's nahak, and to offer gifts in return for the saving of the man's life. The craft made their demands, normally items such as pigs, mats, knives, hatchets, or beads. These demands were immediately satisfied. If, on the succeeding days, the ailing man failed to recover, it was believed that the disease-maker was not satisfied. The shell was blown again and further gifts were taken. This might be repeated over and over. If the man died, his friends did not seek retribution, but assumed that the disease-makers were displeased with the gifts. This inspired the people with an even greater

dread of these priests, and made them more prompt in sending pleasing gifts in subsequent cases of illness. To avert this dreaded evil, the people tried, as much as was humanly possible, to bury or throw their rubbish into the sea, where the nahak was considered beyond the power of the craft. 10

The exact political condition of the island is naturally far from clear in the mid-nineteenth century. But, briefly, Tanna was (and is still) divided into a number of districts, each of which had a name. The people of these various districts are often wrongly called "tribes"; but the geographical districts are not coincident with tribal organisation. Those living in one particular district were called by that district's name, whatever their place of origin. Some families might claim descent from distant districts, yet they formed a single body of people along with the others of their districts. In each district there were other divisions again, indicated by the proximity of the villages, and still smaller divisions, indicated by the proximity of families. 11

11. C.B. Humphreys, The Southern New Hebrides: An Ethnological Record, p 73; The Rev. W. Gray, "Some Notes on the Tannese" in Australian Association for the Advancement of Science, 8 Jan., 1892, pp 5-6

The distinguishing feature of the smaller divisions of the people was the use of a common Imeium (Marum) or public square. Imeium literally means 'club-house'. There were scores of Imeiums in a single district, many of which were seldom or never used at the end of the Nineteenth Century. At the Imeium, the men generally ate their evening meal and always drank their kava unseen by females. The Imeium was also the place at which councils were held and festivals celebrated.
Ethnographers describe three major groupings on the island, Kowut Kasua, Numrukwen and Koyometa. The most important of these, however, were the Numrukwen and Koyometa. The origin of these is naturally obscure. But according to an ancient myth, "two men, calling themselves respectively Numrukwen and Koyometa, arrived in a canoe near Yatukwey, Port Resolution; their canoe sank. They took all that was in the canoe to the shore, under the shadow of a rock difficult of access in the form of two stones, one red - Koyometa, the other white - Numrukwen". The "older" stone was Numrukwen, the "younger" Koyometa. The Koyometa subsequently began a westward migration.  

According to W. Gray, a late nineteenth century Presbyterian missionary, the Koyometa got their name from a very small black bird - possibly a humming bird - called Kauyamera, which has a bright scarlet breast and long slender curved beak. The Koyometa (Kauyamera) thus decorated their faces and bodies with red paint. The last syllable mera means blood or bloody while kau is a root derivative found in the names of other birds. The Numrukwen were not supposed to use red paint for this purpose; their symbol was black. Explanations of the origin of the name 'Numrukwen' are more difficult to come by.  

Both names still survive. In more recent times, however, the terms shipee and man-war have evolved,


designations for those who have a single room in their house and those who have several. Alternatively, the terms man-war and shipee have become bush and salt-water respectively. On the south-east of the island the new terms were applied to the participants in a distinct rivalry between the major Numrukwen parties in that region, traditionally a Numrukwen stronghold. But the rivalry between Koyometa and Numrukwen is still fundamental, transcending even local and tribal rivalries.

In the nineteenth century, the Numrukwen-Koyometa division was of prime importance in war—the chief occupation of the men. In general, war might break out as a result of some incident between two villages in the same district, or between the people of one district and that of another district, or the people of several districts might be united in carrying on war against a single district or several united districts. But war in these cases was considered small, and the indignities of cannibalism were not perpetrated on the fallen foe. A war between Numrukwen and Koyometa, on the other hand, was a great war, "the Crimea of the Tannese". One district of the Numrukwen might be at war with another district of the Numrukwen, yet both carry on war against the Koyometa. In all cases it was a life for a life, but in the great war it was any man of the Koyometa for one killed in the Numrukwen. Just as war was fundamental

to Tannese society, then, Numrukwen and Koyometa rivalry, in the final analysis, was a fundamental cause of war.

The most important development, however, for the purposes of this essay, was the evolution of a distinct political rivalry within the Numrukwen, in the south-east, following the driving out of the Koyometa some time in the eighteenth century. It has been suggested that polarisation and dualism were characteristic elements of Tannese social organisation, whether on a "tribal" or island-wide level. Just as the Numrukwen-Koyometa division signified the grandest aspect of the dualism of Tannese society, so then, the evolution of an inter-Numrukwen rivalry in the south-east represented the tribal aspect of the same type of social organisation.

In the nineteenth century, as has been suggested, the south-east was primarily a Numrukwen stronghold, the people being divided into two rival groups, salt-water or Kwotexen - which name was also applied to their traditional path - and bush or Mwanahnepwi. In due course, the first adopted the name shipee - to signify their preference for the traders; the second, the missionary party, for reasons which will appear, were designated man-war. In the period under survey the rivalry between these two groups was endemic. The harbour changed hand several times until finally the Mwanahnepwi were driven back into the bush and the Kwotexen seized virtual control of the shore. 16

By 1830 the London Missionary Society was in the ascendant in Polynesia and the "apostle of Polynesia", the Rev. John Williams was already planning the evangelisation of the New Hebrides group. He was, however, warned that the time was not propitious. Recent events on Erromanga made it clear that the missionaries would not be welcome. Williams therefore returned to England where he collected funds for a new mission vessel, the Camden, which would be used in the new venture.

On 19 November 1839, the day before he fell martyr upon Erromanga, Williams called at Port Resolution and opened friendly relations with the people. He also introduced three Samoan teachers to the chiefs and left them there to begin their work of evangelisation. The death of Williams at Erromanga occasioned a long delay before the missionary vessel once more entered New Hebridean waters. In the meantime the islanders had become even more hostile to European contact. This was due in no small measure to the influence of European whalers and sandalwood traders who were now beginning to flock into the group. The death of Williams, however, cried out to be "avenged" and the London Missionary Society hastened to occupy the field with European missionaries.
It was, of course, clear from the beginning that the new field posed great difficulties. Erromanga itself seemed especially menacing. The population was, moreover, scattered and difficult to reach. The nearby island of Tanna on the other hand was to all appearances much more populous, and the people were seemingly more friendly. It therefore seemed to the mission deputation aboard the Camden in its second voyage to the west in June 1842 that it would be better to land the first two European missionaries to the group, the Revs. George Turner and Henry Nisbet and their wives, at Cook's Port Resolution. 1

It soon became obvious to the new arrivals that Tanna would not be easily converted. Local superstitions in regard to disease, the envy and rage of the heathen priesthood, the divisions of the people into innumerable "tribes", speaking widely differing dialects, were felt to be formidable and challenging. On their arrival, the missionaries quickly discovered that there was no intercourse between the party who lived on the east side of the harbour and who subsequently adopted the newcomers as their own Europeans, and the inhabitants of Enekahi, the low "mountain" on the north-west side of the bay. The hatred between the two rival groups in south-eastern Tanna which Cook had noticed sixty-five years before was obviously still present and was in fact even more pronounced. Within

two months of the missionaries' arrival indeed war broke out between the harbour people among whom they resided and a people about two miles inland from the missionaries' residence.² It seems that this was the first act in the drama of the inter-Numruken rivalry which was a characteristic feature of the missionary presence at Port Resolution. The harbour people among whom the missionaries resided were undoubtedly Mwanahnepi, and their rivals were the Kwokeen Shipee.

The Rev. William Gill writes that "the brethren applied themselves to the arduous and self-denying labours of their station with devoted heart and active hands, and in three months after landing, they had picked up sufficient of the barbarous language of the people of their district to make themselves in a measure understood. For a few months, things progressed as favourably as could be expected, but it was not long before troubles and distresses began to oppress the missionaries ...".³ In an earlier war, Turner notes, the pro-Christian party of the harbour, that is to say the Mwanahnepi of the eastern side of the bay among whom Turner and Nisbet were settled, had got the upper hand and the trouble died down for a time. Knowing that they had been so recently fighting, the missionaries, on landing, sent for Lami's, the leading chief of the other party, and gave him a present equal to any given to their

own chiefs, begging for an end to the fighting. Lamias assented, but his was not an honourable pledge. The missionaries saw nothing of him thereafter, for he and his people kept at a distance, awaiting the opportunity to avenge their earlier defeat.  

He did not have to wait long. One morning a few weeks later, this opportunity presented itself; the rival party rushed upon one of the chiefs of the friendly party while he was bathing, and beat him to death. The offended party, the Mwanahnepwi, were immediately filled with a savage fury, and went off bent upon repaying their enemies in kind. These were the first acts in a war that was to last for five months, and which was to prove an insurmountable hindrance to the work of the missionaries.

The fighting broke out in the planting season and as all the time that could be spared from the fighting was devoted to the plantations, promising missionary schools were all but deserted and many in the distance who had hitherto been friendly with the missionaries through the schools deserted them and joined the enemy.  

In such a situation, the pro-Christian minority of the harbour began to entreat the missionary party to let them have a musket and someone to fire it. This was in October, 1842. In that month, Turner and Nisbet resolved to visit Kasurumene, the Kwotexen districts in the

5. Ibid., pp 26-27.
neighbourhood of the volcano, not only with an eye to keep hold of the ground already won, but also to extend their influence further afield. In their view, this might also have the effect of appeasing the warring parties. Not one native of the friendly party, however, could be coaxed into joining them but, rather, all entreated them not to go lest they should be killed. The missionaries thought little of this opposition, and made their way through the mountain district of Enekahi on the north-west side of the bay. Later Turner offered an explanation for the refusal of the harbour people to accompany them: "One reason for their refusing to accompany us, and showing their displeasure at our visiting places in the distance, was, that they wished to keep us entirely to themselves". The real reason, however, will appear at a later place in the narrative.

On crossing the mountain Enekahi the missionaries met with several friends who begged them not to proceed any further. But they would not be dissuaded, and continued on in the company of two chiefs. At length they arrived at Iarofi, the first marum or public meeting place of the district, where they saw a chief and a few of the people. More soon came, and on seeing the chiefs who accompanied them from Enekahi sitting in the distance as if afraid to advance, the missionaries began to suspect that something was wrong. They then distributed some gifts to the principal

6. Ibid., p 27.
part of the people, and these they were well pleased with. After conversing with them, the missionaries arose and announced their intention to go on to Ratobus and places beyond, promising to call in again on the return journey. Immediately the natives got up and implored them not to go on and risk their lives. But the missionaries were determined, and on turning into the path were confronted by a man who offered to show the way. Ratobus, a quarter of a mile distant, was soon reached and some fifty men were found to be assembled in the marum. The majority of them were new faces to the missionaries, and most looked very sullen and suspicious. In the course of conversation, the missionaries were asked some questions about the causes of disease. These were answered, and then a good many were persuaded to kneel down in prayer.

This was to be the first and last act of worship with these people. When Turner knelt down to conduct the devotions, a fellow came round and took up a position behind him, and seized his club by both hands. Turner could not see him but fortunately Nisbet kept an eye upon him. This unaccountable incident prompted the missionaries immediately to return home. On the way, they spent a few moments conversing with Teman, an old chief at Iarofí. After walking only a few yards from

7. Many of the natives who had had no contact with the Europeans had rightly come to believe that foreigners carried with them the seeds of disease, and scattered them wherever they went.

Iarofi, Turner noticed a native off to his left with his **Kawas** (throwing stone) in readiness to throw. At that moment an old woman rushed forward and seized the man's arm; he struggled to get clear, but was immediately held fast by several others. One of the chiefs who had accepted the missionaries on the mountain now intervened and insisted that they move quickly on. This seemed to the Europeans to be the most prudent course and so they passed on. Nisbet suggested to Turner that the incident was curiously related to that which had been enacted earlier in the day; the villain in each incident was the very same native—a man by the name of Nari Meta.

Such was the first intimation, then, which the missionaries received of real and determined hostility. When they got home, immediate enquiries were made as to the causes of the man's conduct towards them. Most either could not or would not give any explanation, but two of the projected reasons given the missionaries led them to make every possible enquiry respecting the Kasurumene people to whom this man Nari Meta belonged. It then turned out that the Kasurumene did not wish the missionaries to go near their sacred land. The Kasurumene were the disease-makers of Tanna whom the Mwanahnpewi people so greatly feared. These considered the missionaries to be disease-makers in their own right, and

9. The Kawas was a long piece of stone shaped like a scythe stone, which was thrown at the head when the warrior was near enough to aim a blow.

therefore a threat to their own "sacred" position. It was in their interests therefore to keep the intruders from encroaching upon their sacred land. Naturally enough, the missionaries assumed that their Christian effort would henceforth meet with undisguised opposition from the priesthood of Kasurumene. The object of their mission was beginning to be better understood and it was at the same time being more clearly seen not only what Christianity was, but likewise what it was likely to do. That is to say, the disease-makers saw that if Christianity prevailed they should be reduced to the level of common men, and would therefore no longer enjoy the very considerable profits of their "sacred" position.\textsuperscript{11} The attempt upon Turner's life at Iarofi was more than likely intended to get rid of the missionaries and, simultaneously, strengthen the influence of the disease-makers.

The attitude of the priesthood in this instance is an important indicator in considering once more the question of why the pro-Christian Mwanahnpwi minority were displeased that the missionaries should visit places such as Kasurumene, and why they refused to accompany them on such visits. The Kasurumene priesthood obviously exercised considerable influence over the ordinary people, and it is a measure of the Mwanahnpwi's cunning that they should try to retain their monopoly of the missionaries.

as a counter-balance. As has been said, the Europeans were considered to be disease-makers themselves, more potent than the Kwotexen priesthood. It is even conceivable that the Mwanahnpwi considered the missionaries to be a great political weapon in their struggle with the Kwotexen. Because the Kwotexen used the priesthood and its powers to embarrass the Mwanahnpwi, it seems natural that the Mwanahnpwi should use the missionaries as counter disease-makers. It was no less significant as we shall see that the missionaries were settled on disputed land which the Kwotexen had lost in the war of 1835 and were determined to win back.

Naturally the missionaries did not deem it prudent to visit Kasurumene again until they knew better the intentions of the people there. The mountain Enekahi was for a time an exception; it was the custom to preach there every sabbath at several different locations. But another attempt upon their lives forced the missionaries to abandon Enekahi as well. On the sabbath, 27 November 1842, Nisbet went to preach at the district's principal marum where he found a great multitude assembled for a feast, including a large number from the volcano district. As Nisbet began to converse with a friendly chief, one of the men from the Kasurumene priestcraft slipped behind Jamie, a Samoan teacher, and struck him in the face with his club. He and his party then ran off and stood in the
distance. Fearing for the safety of the suffering Samoan and seeing the people getting into an uproar, Nisbet decided to return home.

In the afternoon of the same day the natives of the friendly party, having heard of what had taken place, came on their return from the day's fighting and crowded about the missionary residence. They were enraged at the Kasurumene people, and implored the brethren to join them in seeking retribution. Turner seized the opportunity, however, of preaching to them the riches of Christianity, claiming that it was with God to punish such conduct and for the Christian to love them still and pity their ignorance. Turner's pacific intentions met with dissatisfaction and wonderment, but no war party was dispatched and the Samoan recovered his health within three weeks. For this second attempt on the lives of the missionaries, the same conflicting and confusing reasons were given. Turner and Nisbet were in no doubt that it was another blow from Kasurumene to save the priestcraft, and this put them more than ever on their guard when they saw these men.

In the meantime the long-standing dispute between the pro-Christian Mwanahnepwi party and Lamias, chief of the Kwotexen residing in the district of Kasurumene, came to the boil once more. The Mwanahnepwi had

adopted very harsh measures in order to rid themselves of the constant Kwotexen pressure, and particularly that from the Kasurumene of Enekahi. On one occasion they rushed upon four women belonging to Lamias's party, killing three and grievously wounding the other. These women all originally belonged to the mountain Enekahi where they still had many friends. Turner and Nisbet, too, had friends at Enekahi but after this incident these became so exasperated that they joined Lamias in taking up arms against the Mwanahnepwi and would no longer have anything to do with the missionaries.\textsuperscript{13}

A few weeks after this, being short of provisions, Turner sent three servants over to the people at Enekahi to buy a few yams. The servants were charged to conduct their business from the canoe, for safety. They succeeded in their object, and engaged with the people to pay another visit on the following Saturday, 7 January 1843, when more provisions were promised in return for some fish hooks. On the Saturday, three of the servants went across the bay once more in a canoe, but when they got near they were surprised to see only a few yams and the chief Teman, who had gone over to the opposition, surrounded by great crowds of armed men. When they were quite close to the landing place a rush was made at the canoe. The Samoans immediately pulled back and, on realising that a plot had been laid to

seize them, they returned home. The missionaries were very distressed at the turn of events, but they did not yet consider leaving the island for safer shores.

On the following Wednesday, 11 January, Teman died of the dysentery which had been raging in all the surrounding districts with the remarkable exception of the immediate district in which the missionaries resided. The priesthood at Kasurumene suffered especially, so that no blame could be attached to them. Everyone supposed, therefore, that it was the work of the missionaries, a punishment for the repeated attacks made upon their lives. 14

It was from this time that the Kasurumene men began to lie in wait for the missionaries night and day, bent upon their destruction. A powerful party of some three thousand of the Kwotexen was mustered, and advanced to the bay, Port Resolution, where they implored the Mwanahnepwi party to break their ties with the mission, and join them in an attack by which they might be rid of the Europeans once and for all. When the missionaries saw the enemies of their people pouring into their district, they immediately perceived the imminent danger, but their worst fears were allayed by an on-coming cloud-burst which had the effect of dispersing the on-coming party. 15


Many of the pro-Christian party who had always been friendly, now, on account of the dysentery became suspicious and stayed away from the missionaries. Turner and Nisbet feared that perhaps their people would not adhere to them in the face of the impending Kasurumene attack, so on the following day they distributed gifts. The next day was the sabbath and, amongst a very good turnout at the service, Turner noticed a group of Kasurumene men present. These men claimed they wanted some medicine for the treatment of dysentery, but it was clear to Turner that they had evil intentions. In any event, they left peaceably with their medicine, but a mere two hours later war was formally declared with the killing of a Mwanahnepwi boy by two men of the rival group, one of whom was Nari Meta, the native involved in the earlier incidents at Kasurumene. 16

Early the following morning the whole Mwanahnepwi settlement was in an uproar. Everyone gathered at the missionary residence and asked that one of the brethren take the lead with a fowling piece. But the missionaries hoped that no further mischief would be committed in their quarter and begged their people not to retaliate. There was no fighting on that day. On the following morning, however, both parties met in the bush about three miles inland of the missionary house. The Mwanahnepwi

remained united, and sustained the day's fighting without much injury. But at the end of this first day's fighting, morale amongst the Kwotexen was also very high. Both groups met at the same place on the following day. On seeing that the Kwotexen had strengthened their numbers, some of the Christian party deserted, thinking it to be the only hope of safety for themselves, since they were already the minority group. Many, however, remained. While many of the Mwanahnepwi quarrelled among themselves, however, the Kwotexen advanced and took and burned one village and part of another. This served to unite the Mwanahnepwi once more, but by the end of the day the Kwotexen were very much in the ascendant. The few Mwanahnepwi who still seemed friendly to the missionaries were stronger than ever in their pleas for the use of a fowling piece as their last hope of safety. But the missionaries refused to comply. 17

About sunset the opposing factions retired. Mwanahnepwi settled inland from the bay began to shift their property to places near the sea as they had no hope that their villages could be protected another day. Turner notes that "from the time our teachers were left at Tanna up to that period, the Wwanahnepwi among whom they were placed and where we lived had been considered the powerful party - and this they traced to the new

17. Ibid., pp 36-38; Nisbet, S.S.L., L.M.S., 1 March - 14 April 1843, pp 10-11.
religion. But when they saw one village after another being taken and destroyed, places which from our having preached at them they considered under the special protection of God - their confidence vanished ...". 18

The missionaries now had not a single native whom they could really trust as a friend. It seemed that their safety was now fully dependent upon the use of the single fowling piece which they had in their possession. 19 Under the circumstances, they resolved to put to sea at midnight, and to make for an adjacent island. In addition to their wives, Nisbet and Turner had three Samoan men and the wives of two and a child in their canoe. The rest of the Samoans went in the large Mission canoe. The squally conditions of that day did not abate, however, and the party was forced to return to their residence on Tanna, which they did without being seen by a single native. 20

After an hour's rest the missionaries were aroused by the shouts of the natives crowding around their house. By sunrise all of the district's leading chiefs and warriors filled the sitting room, fiercely demanding the fowling piece. The brethren refused these demands once more, claiming that this was not their dispute and hence they would have no part in it. At length a proud old warrior named Iaru rose and, in a stirring speech, told

19. There was only one "musket" - the fowling piece that had been left behind by the Rev. T. Heath.
them to go out again and try to purchase power by their blood. All acceded and off they went. Turner and Nisbet had scarcely finished their morning prayer, however, when the alarm was given that the enemy was just at hand, hard on the heels of their own people. Some of the Christian party came and pleaded with the missionaries to move off to a house near the sea which would offer greater safety, while several native women escorted their wives off to some distant quarter. Fearing for the safety of their wives, Turner and Nisbet left the Samoans in charge of the house and hurried off to see whether they were safe. They had just found them safe and well when a chief came running after them to say that they must return immediately and meet all the chiefs who were assembled at the missionary residence. The missionaries felt it their duty to yield to this demand, even though they trembled for the consequences. On approaching the house, they saw many of their people among the excited crowd. These natives called Turner and Nisbet over to the house, promising that no harm would come to them. It was soon obvious that the Mwanahnepwi had offered the opposing party some property, which the Christian party hoped would be provided by the missionaries. 21

Turner and Nisbet were delighted at this, seeing

it as a break in the fighting, and quickly distributed gifts to the Kwotexen people. They also offered to pay their people even more if they formally settled the fighting. When the proceedings were over, the wives of the two missionaries were brought back. Towards that evening, the Christian party returned home claiming that they had amicably settled the matter with the Kwotexen of Kasurumene, and immediately demanded the present they had been promised. The missionaries immediately produced a quantity of hatchets, scissors, knives, cloth, beads, and looking glasses.

But the matter was not yet at an end. The Kwotexen, under Lamias, who a few days before had been subdued and cruelly treated by the Mwanahnepwi, were joined by the Kasurumene priestcraft of the volcano district in a bid to exterminate their rivals. While the Christian party secured a peace treaty at one place, Lamias burst in upon a different Mwanahnepwi village and burned it. It was on the evening of this, the third day's fighting that Turner and Nisbet were visited by one of their former closest friends, a Mwanahnepwi named Kuanuan, who revealed to them the true situation. He said that his brother chiefs had been deceiving the missionaries, that the fighting was not at an end, and that while the Kasurumene people had promised the safety of the mission when they received their presents, they, the Kasurumene,
would feel at liberty to join Lamias in giving them a beating.\textsuperscript{22} The hopes that the missionaries had cherished a few hours before of a speedy termination to the fighting were dashed.

On the morning of the fourth day's fighting, the attack upon the Mwanahnepwí was renewed, and in two different places. The situation seemed as unsettled as it had ever been; it was to be another day of inconceivable suspense and distress for Turner and Nisbet. In the early afternoon, as one village after another was being taken and destroyed, a tremendous round of shouting broke out. The missionaries thought it was the signal for the final dramatic act in which they would be overrun by the adversaries of their people. To the surprise of all it was, rather, the signal that a vessel had entered the bay. The Mwanahnepwí who saw it naturally hoped they might yet get help against their enemies. Within two hours the vessel was at anchor. It was the whaling brig "Highlander", under the command of Captain Lucas from Hobart. On hearing of the missionaries' distress, the Captain at once assured them of every possible assistance.\textsuperscript{23}

By this time the missionary residence was surrounded by chiefs and people pleading with the brethren to get "fighting men" for them from the vessel. They were

\textsuperscript{22} Turner, S.S.L., L.M.S., 19 December 1842, p 41.

\textsuperscript{23} Ibid., p 42; Nisbet, S.S.L., L.M.S., 1 March-14 April 1843, p 13.
told that the Europeans would not interfere in matters that did not concern them. In the evening they drifted away in the hope that they might prevail in getting help in the morning. In the morning the Kwotexen did not make their appearance, but the Mwanahnepi were especially keen to take the battle to them, to fire upon them and destroy their villages with the help of the men from the vessel. When they were again turned down by Lucas, they vented their anger upon the missionaries, blaming them for the Captain's unwillingness to accede to their request. It was at this stage that Turner realised that further residence of the missionaries on the island was out of the question, for all of the Mwanahnepi, including their old friend Kuanuan and Viavia, the leading chief of the district, joined in saying that the Tannese would cast the missionaries off. Accordingly, Turner was from that moment most anxious to arrange a passage from Tanna with Captain Lucas.24

It was arranged that the missionaries, their wives, and the Samoan teachers would be taken to Samoa. That same night all haste was made in packing. Many of those natives whose villages were burnt in the days before were living in the chapel, the mission boat house, and the cooking house, and they perceived that there was a stir going on. Though many looked suspicious, not one

ventured to ask what was going on. The next day was the sabbath and some of the natives dared once more to try and get Turner to help them, but they were dissuaded from this by others who realised that of any day, the sabbath offered the least possibility of getting "Missi" to change his mind, for that was the "sacred day".

By three A.M. on the next morning, Monday, the missionaries had prepared all in readiness for sailing. Among those natives sleeping in the out-houses who were stirred by the movements of the missionaries was their old friend Kuanuan. Turner told him of their intention and, on hearing this, he burst into tears. Turner then told him to assemble his brother chiefs and meet with the brethren on board. By sunrise most of the Mwanahnegwi had crowded about the vessel. It was evident that they hoped for protection from the firearms that the Europeans possessed, but now all hope of such protection was vanishing with the missionaries. Eleven of the chiefs met the missionaries on the vessel. They brought a pig with them as a present - something they had never before done - and asked that they should be exonerated from any blame for the calamities caused by their adversary. Turner assured them that the missionaries loved them still, and promised that the missionary vessel would one day call among them again.²⁵

Though they were cheered by these statements, not one native asked the missionaries to stay. They did not even ask them to leave a teacher. Indeed, Turner notes, they could not. They fully expected to be driven out to sea within two days of the missionaries' departure, and exterminated as they had exterminated another people who inhabited that part of the island seven years before.26 The people who had inhabited that part of the island in question in 1835, the land on which Turner and Nisbet had been settled by the Mwanahnepwi in 1842, were undoubtedly Kwotexen. The incident of 1835 had sparked the outbreak of a long Numrukwen war, between the Kwotexen Shipee and the Mwanahnepwi Man-war, a war which was fuelled, no doubt, by the settlement by the Mwanahnepwi of the missionaries on the land in dispute. By literally driving the missionaries out in January 1843 the Kwotexen had re-asserted a claim to this land, and had wrought a further change in the political map of south-eastern Tanna.

CHAPTER FOUR
The Interim Years; 1845-1857

Tanna was not again visited until April 1845, when the missionary vessel John Williams called at Port Resolution, under the superintendence of Turner and A.W. Murray. Turner records that a great change in favour of Christianity seemed to have taken place since his banishment two years before. The vessel's arrival was hailed with delight, not only by those who had been friendly with the missionaries, but also by many who had once been their avowed enemies. It seemed that the war that had occasioned the departure of Turner and Nisbet in 1843 continued for a month after they had left, and ended in favour of the pro-Christian minority of the harbour, the Mwanahneepwi. The epidemic, for which the missionaries were blamed, raged so fearfully among the hostile party that the dead were too numerous to bury. The Christian party led by Kuanuan, meanwhile, continued to honour the sabbath and had respected the missionary residence as sacred. They entreated now, more than ever, the return of the missionaries or at least the settlement of some native teachers. Turner accordingly left three

Rarotongan and four Samoan teachers and located them in three different settlements.²

Altogether, the visit proved most successful. The villages which had been burnt during the last war had been rebuilt. The missionaries, moreover, walked about freely and some even ventured through Kasurumene territory as far as the volcano. Teachers were settled not only at Enekahi but in Ieteka's village in Kasurumene itself. Obviously, it would have been safe enough to land missionaries once more, if these had been available. Turner indeed discovered an indigent English sandalwooder, R.M. Sutton, a pale, emaciated man, obviously of some standing and education, occupying the mission house, while he took the "cure" for his sores in the hot springs on the other side of the bay.³

On 23 September 1846, however, the John Williams returned to Port Resolution to find that the teachers' residences had disappeared. One of the chiefs told Nisbet a melancholy tale. For months after they were located in different districts, the teachers had pursued their work with great hope and encouragement. But towards the end of 1845 an epidemic of fever and ague, malaria, broke out and many in the immediate neighbourhood died. The superstitions of neighbouring people, and those of Enekahi in particular, were aroused once more, and they

². Ibid. ; Patterson, Missionary Life Among the Cannibals ..., p 142.
³. Turner, Nineteen Years ..., p 374 ff. Sutton was apparently killed on New Caledonia. He seems to have been the first of a long line of non-missionary Europeans residents on the island.
resolved to massacre all of the teachers in the district. Only the interposition of Viavia, the principal Mwanahnepwi chief of the harbour district, saved the teachers. A further epidemic followed soon after, however, killing many young children in and around the harbour district. The people of Enekahi could be restrained no longer, and they set fire to the teachers' house. Two nights later, one of the teachers was murdered. The circumstances were such that the remaining teachers determined to leave for Aneityum, and when a vessel put in to the harbour, they gratefully accepted a passage to that island.

In March 1847, a Tannese chief, undoubtedly a pro-Christian Numrukwen, went to Aneityum for the express purpose of obtaining teachers, and at his urgent request two native teachers joined him on his return to Port Resolution. They were settled not on the eastern side of the bay, traditionally a Mwanahnepwi stronghold, but a mile inland on the western side of the bay near Enekahi. Much opposition was again raised by the adjacent Kwotexen of Enekahi, and the lives of the teachers were threatened. By April, however, the teachers were able to report that prospects were encouraging once more. The craft of the


5. Patterson, Missionary Life Among the Cannibals ..., pp 159, 232.

disease-makers was losing ground and the desire for missionaries and teachers increasing. The property on the eastern side of the bay upon which Turner and Nisbet had been settled, and which still belonged to the Mission, had retained its sacred status, and all of the Mwanahnpwi chiefs on the eastern side of the bay, with one exception, desired the settlement of teachers. 7

By July 1848, however, the sphere of the teachers' labours was confined to the narrow area in the immediate vicinity of the harbour. Because prospects for the further settlement of teachers were not particularly promising, the idea of locating teachers at Port Resolution was given up. One teacher, a Rarotongan, was settled on the western side of the bay, however, as a token that the missionaries would soon return to Tanna. The old Mwanahnpwi chief, Kuanuan, the steadfast friend of Turner and Nisbet in 1842, gave notice of his intention to supervise the construction of a missionary house on the eastern side of the bay which would be ready for occupation at the end of that current yam season. 8

On 30 August 1849, Captain J.E. Erskine of H.M.S. Havannah called at Port Resolution and noted indeed that little seemed to have changed since Cook's time. The people were still short-statured, hairy, shiny-black; their hair was still divided into endless thin cords, the

8. Patterson, Missionary Life Among the Cannibals ..., pp 159-161.
ends frizzled out. The men were still "indecently dressed". The men for the most part had daubed their faces with black-lead and a thick plastering of "red-ochrous earth". There were few women to be seen; and these were out fishing on the reef. The men seemed good-tempered enough; their only weapons were small bows and arrows, but there were signs that they had recently been at war.

It was soon obvious, however, that the people of the bay had entered a new world. They gladly accepted axes, tobacco and large blue beads in exchange for ear-ornaments, even locks of their hair and above all large quantities of yams. Nor was this all. Ten months before a "respectable-looking Englishman", Leonard Cory, had set up in the bay as an agent for a sandalwood firm. There were also several other resident Europeans, two Englishmen and a boy, deserters from sandalwood vessels. Cory himself lived in a small wooden house, part of which he had fitted up as a store where he did a brisk trade in rod and bar iron, axes, muskets, powder, tobacco and blue beads in return for sandalwood and above all pigs for the Erromanga sandalwood market. The local tribes might, in short, regard further missionary assistance as superfluous. They could now acquire muskets and powder in
quantity and even European military assistance. 9

The military balance of the two Numrukwen parties had meanwhile altered. On his arrival Erskine noted many natives on the sandy beach at the head of the bay; the eastern side seemed deserted until his men furled the sails when several hundred people started up from the rocks. It soon turned out that the two sides were again at war, over the death by witchcraft of a relation of Kaiassi, the chief of the Mwanahnpwi tribe occupying the east side of the bay. The war-parties marched out each day to the "boundary-line" to exchange a few spears or stones, "without any serious result". On the day previous, however, Kaiassi's party had been led by one of the Englishmen, Stephens, who had shot one of the opposing tribe. Since Stephens was a vagrant of bad character, Erskine thereupon removed him, along with the boy. 10

On 11 September 1849, the missionary vessel John Williams called once more at Port Resolution to find the natives peaceably disposed towards the teachers. 11

The recent influence the traders had upon the natives at Port Resolution was exemplified by the trader voyager, Andrew Cheyne, who bought land at Port Resolution in September 1846, and who traded for sandalwood in the Southern New Hebrides.


Kuanuan, who had removed to the western side of the bay four years before, had gathered a small party of worshippers on the eastern side of the bay, but followings at other locations were constantly fluctuating.\textsuperscript{12} Christian hopes remained buoyant, however, with the indication that the Kasurumene priesthood was progressively losing favour and influence among the people. The teachers rivalled the priests, in the eyes of the people, in their ability to cause disease. But, more importantly, they were held in even greater respect because they were credited with the ability to cure disease. The priests, still feared by the people, were considered responsible for the fatal instances of disease.\textsuperscript{13} The only real problem, from the point of view of the teachers, was that war frequently broke out between some of the parties located in and around Port Resolution. But these were comparatively harmless, and the opposing groups always honoured the sacred status of the mission premises on the eastern side of the bay.\textsuperscript{14}

The next intelligence received of the activities at Port Resolution is that of the Rev. John Geddie, the newly arrived Presbyterian missionary at Aneityum, who paid a visit in April 1850. He found the mission to be in a state of distress; several of the teachers had died.

\textsuperscript{12} S.R., November 1849, No. 10, p 5.
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid.
from disease. But old Kuanuan and his fellow Mwanahneopwi retained their faith in the prospect of a successful mission at some future date.\textsuperscript{15} By May 1851, the mission consisted of three teachers, and though the natives were generally desirous of more teachers and missionaries, those not wholly convinced by Christianity were still ready to take alarm when disease broke out. They still believed that death and disease were occasioned, in some strange way, by the new religion.\textsuperscript{16}

1853 was to bring about the suspension of the mission altogether. In May, the brig, \textit{Edward}, arrived from California and anchored at Port Resolution, having small-pox on board. No steps were taken to prevent the spread of the disease, or even to make the natives aware of the danger. The brig remained for three weeks, during which time the natives had free access to the vessel, and those belonging to her were frequent visitors in the houses of the unsuspecting teachers. It was not until after the vessel's departure that the fatal disease appeared on Tanna, and its progress was rapid though fortunately confined. Only one of the missionary families remained free of infection. But that was not the total extent of the havoc it wrought in the harbour. Two weeks after the death of the teachers, the natives commenced stealing the property they had left, and caught the

\textsuperscript{15} Patterson, \textit{Missionary Life Among the Cannibals} ..., pp 232-233; S.R., January 1851, No. 12, p 4.

\textsuperscript{16} S.R., September 1852, No. 14, p 1.
infection. About fifteen died, but the nature of the disease being now known, the houses in which the teachers lived were burned, along with their remaining property.\textsuperscript{17}

The natives, as usual, ascribed the disease to Christianity and began to demand the departure of the remaining teacher. Kuanuan told this man that he must leave, for though he and others of the pro-Christian party were desirous that he should stay, they could neither protect him nor themselves from the enraged natives, mostly Kwotexen Shipee from the western reaches of the harbour. While the teacher prepared to make off to Aneityum, the heathen natives indicated their intense opposition to Christianity by murdering four Mwanahnepwi women who had all along professed a favour for the mission.\textsuperscript{18} And so Tanna was once more thrown into a state of "darkness". At all times, however, the Mwanahnepwi chiefs of the harbour who had engaged to protect the teachers, remained faithful to their engagements, and numbers of their people remained friendly. But the heathen tribes, mostly Kwotexen and inland of the harbour, where there was a community of disease-makers and sacred men, were always bitterly hostile. These disease-makers continued to see the threat of Christianity to their craft, and inflamed the minds of others, through their

\textsuperscript{17} S.R., January 1854, No. 15, pp 2-3; Patterson, \textit{Missionary Life Among the Cannibals ...}, pp 355-356.

\textsuperscript{18} S.R., January 1854, No. 15, p 3; Patterson, \textit{Missionary Life Among the Cannibals ...}, p 356.
influence, by representing it as the cause of sickness and death. The truly significant factor, however, was not so much that Christianity itself was a threat, but, rather, that while its representatives were in the possession of the rival Mwanahnepwi party, the Mwanahnepwi had a significant weapon with which they could negate or neutralise the power and influence of the Kwotexen priestcraft. This highlights to a large extent, the place of the missionaries in the history of south-eastern Tanna in this period. Their role may be viewed as significant only in the context of the evolution of wholly indigenous politics and the power play of the two rival Numrukwen parties.

On 16 October 1854, the missionary vessel John Williams once more entered the waters of Port Resolution. Kuanuan greeted the visitors with the news that those among his party generally continued to observe the sabbath as a day of worship and rest. The old chief had been continually attempting to remove from the minds of the heathen the false notions that the missionaries caused disease and other evils. The visitors were pleased to hear that many in the harbour district desired the settlement of missionaries among them. They did not, however, see Viavia, the old Mwanahnepwi friend of the mission. He and some others friendly to Christianity

had removed some distance inland. In June 1855, then, two native teachers from Aneityum were settled on Tanna at the request of the Mwanahnpwi remnant still present at the harbour, and these were gladly received by the surviving Mwanahnpwi chief, Nowar. But a further outbreak of disease provoked the same old suspicions in the minds of the natives generally, and the activities of the mission quickly came to a standstill once more.

Further contact with Port Resolution was not made until June 1857, with the next visit of the John Williams. The teachers there told the visitors that they were treated kindly and that all the people at the harbour, whether heathen or professedly Christian, respected the sabbath. The station formerly occupied by Turner and Nisbet was now occupied by the Kwotexen war-chief, Miaki. Though the Kwotexen had taken command of the eastern side of the harbour and driven the Mwanahnpwi friends of the mission inland, one gets the impression that peace generally prevailed at Port Resolution. Nevertheless, only two individuals living at Miaki's station professed to be Christian. There were many more some time before, but an epidemic broke out among the people, and everyone except the two mentioned returned to heathenism. The Kwotexen of Kasurumene, reviving their old superstitions, called for the banishment of the mission and its

21. Ibid.
22. Patterson, Memoirs ..., p 374.
adherents thereafter. On 13 June, a meeting was held on board the vessel with all the principal pro-Christian chiefs residing on the shore around the bay. They all professed a desire to have a missionary reside among them, but they feared that the Kasurumene priesthood would declare war against them should they receive one. In net terms, this would amount to a continuation of the war between the two Numrukwen parties, Kwotexen and Mwanahnpewi, which ultimately forced the departure of Turner and Nisbet in 1843. And this was something which the Mwanahnpewi could ill-afford; their numbers were much inferior to those of the opposing party, and in the event of defeat, they would not be able to protect their missionary. Kuanuan was among their number, and he also indicated that it would be wiser, as the body of chiefs requested, to leave several Aneityumese at Port Resolution for a year, during which time the Mwanahnpewi would try and get Kwotexen consent to their receiving a missionary.

The progress made by these teachers was manifest in the favourable circumstances which culminated in September 1858, with the arrival of the Rev. J.G. Paton at Port Resolution, and his settlement upon a site in the harbour district, readily sold to him by the chiefs.

23. S.R., October 1857, No. 19, p. 3.
24. Ibid.
of that district. But, as we shall see, Paton's residence at Fort Resolution would, over a period of several years, lead to a re-enactment of the events of 1842-3 when the heathen Kwotexen, averse to the introduction of Christianity and at odds with the pro-Christian Mwanahnepiw, forced the untimely departure from the island of Messrs. Turner and Nisbet.

J.G. Paton's first residence at Port Resolution was on the old site occupied by Turner and Nisbet in 1842, on the eastern side of the bay. Any expectations that he may have had about encouraging prospects for his work on his arrival were tempered by the unfavourable circumstances with which he was greeted. In October 1858, war broke out between the tribes living around the mission premises and some inland peoples. Paton describes the latter as the aggressors, but in the engagements that ensued, they lost five men and the harbour people two. In these outbreaks, the natives were able "to muster a good many muskets, in addition to their clubs and spears".

3. Ibid.

A disturbing feature of native conflicts now was that European traders were furnishing both sides with arms with which to supplement their traditional clubs and spears, not only to perpetuate a state of war, but also to consolidate a prosperous livelihood based on bartering with the natives. A trader's income invariably suffered in times of peace on Tanna when the usual demand for barter by the natives was not forthcoming. In this situation, the trader urged the natives not to fear war as he could supply any amount of ammunition. Incited and encouraged thus, the natives were, more often than not, goaded into a most unjust war, and the prices demanded by the trader for the various items of war immediately rose exorbitantly. For an example of this, see Paton's Autobiography, pp 111-112.
The real onset of trouble did not come, however, until the first months of 1859. The conduct of the white traders at Port Resolution meanwhile proved a great hindrance to Paton; their cruel treatment of the enemy kept the natives burning for revenge. But the chief difficulty continued to lie in the superstitions of the people. Adverse weather continued to affect the crops and resulting sicknesses were, as ever, blamed on the new religion. The Tannese were not the only ones to suffer, however, for on 3 March 1859, Mrs Paton died of malaria, followed on 20 March by her infant son. This double tragedy merely strengthened Paton’s resolve to stay at Port Resolution and to prevent the disintegration of the mission’s work on Tanna, following the removal of his sole colleague, Joseph Copeland, later that year.

4. (Ed.) James Paton; op. cit., p 89; Patterson, Memoirs ..., p 393.

5. The tragic deaths of Paton’s family inspired the missionary to remove the mission-house from the original site near the shore, which was a hot-bed of malaria, to the top of an abrupt hill immediately behind. The original site was sheltered from behind by the hill, and all around by many fruit trees. This restricted the much-needed breezes from circulating in. Consequently, the site was prone to mosquito attack from a long swamp at the head of the bay.

6. In November 1859, the Rev. Joseph Copeland was removed from Port Resolution to take charge of Inglis’ station at Aname on Aneityum. On Inglis’ return Copeland similarly occupied Geddie’s station at Aneigauhat on the same island while he went on furlough. Thereafter, he was settled on Futuna. Paton was aided for a time by the Rev. and Mrs S.F. Johnston on 25 June 1860. Johnston’s labours were cut short, however, by his untimely death from cerebral malaria on 21 January 1861.
During that year, Paton suffered fourteen attacks of fever and ague, but he held firm to his resolve and lived through the torment of daily threats upon his life. The natives meanwhile continued to blame him for the diseases which ravaged them. But the greatest difficulty was that all the tribes in his immediate neighbourhood were hostile and, in consequence, he was never able to venture more than two miles from his door on the south and west sides of the bay. George Turner, who visited the island in October 1859, reports that he met only three or four of the people who lived in the neighbourhood of the mission seventeen years before. Those that had not been killed were driven inland, and the district on the eastern side of the harbour had, of late years, completely changed hands. This observation is significant for it highlights the territorial conquest of the eastern side of the bay by the Kwotexen over the Mwanahnpwi. There must, however, have been a pro-Christian element still present there to have allowed Paton to take up his residence. One ought to note the fact that there must have been much coming and going with respect to native loyalties - any professions of faith to the missionaries by this time were tempered by the lure of the trader, a constant threat. Hence, the political geography of south-eastern Tanna was constantly

8. Ibid.
changing.

By November 1860, a clearer picture emerges. All of the people among whom Paton resided had declared their favour for Christianity, and promised that they would fight no more except on the defensive. An unusually long truce resulted from their promise and, as a result, Paton was able to conduct worship at some inland locations, most notably among the Kasurumene who had traditionally been the worst enemies of Christianity. Unfortunately, the progress of the Christian party under Paton was arrested by an outbreak, late in December 1860, of an epidemic of measles. The results were devastating; in the end upwards of a third of the population of the island was carried off. The mortality at Port Resolution, however, was small in comparison to that in other, more distant, districts, no doubt because here the afflicted sought medicine from the missionaries. The reaction was perhaps natural; many of the survivors took up their old superstitions and the missionaries' lives were threatened once more. On the 3rd and again on the 10th of January, there were two devastating hurricanes which destroyed all the local gardens and tore up the trees, smashed the breadfruit, chestnut and coconut trees. A subsequent tidal wave then inundated the bay and inflicted yet more 

10. Ibid.
11. Patterson, Missionary Life Among the Cannibals ..., pp 439-440.
This was the first instance of a measles epidemic at Tanna. It was introduced by the sandalwood vessel, the Bluebell, which arrived at Port Resolution in January 1861.
damage. Many of the people's houses were flattened, even the mission premises were blown down. Nothing quite like it had been seen for generations. Perhaps most serious the entire harvest was lost and the populace was reduced throughout the following year to eating the leaves off the trees. In all, the island suffered four severe hurricanes within a few weeks. To crown all on 21 January Johnston died of cerebral malaria.

The reaction was perhaps inevitable. On 6 January a large body of armed men passed the mission house in a state of great excitement. The people on the western side of the bay, the Kwotexen of Enekahi, assembled with the Kasurumene people, and endeavoured to induce those from the eastern side, presumably the Christian party, the Mwanahnepwi element, to unite with them in taking the lives of Paton and Johnston and their teachers.\textsuperscript{13}

The Enekahi people then quarrelled with the mission people and a moment or two later an "inland party" killed a man on the Enekahi side. In the event, it all came to nothing. The mission people met daily in arms but their enemies did not come and so their courage revived. In consequence everywhere the missionaries went there were large congregations.\textsuperscript{14} But the disturbances continued and on 16 February four men were killed as "servants" to accompany the spirit of Miaki's dead son

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., p 301.

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., pp 301-304.
and there were more threats against the missionaries. On 1 March, too, the Mwanahnpwi party killed four men and gave their bodies to some Numrukwen chiefs. In all, thirteen or fourteen people were killed in these few months. In February, such was the state of affairs, Nowar, the Mwanahnpwi even advised Paton to leave the island and then rejoined the heathen party for a few weeks. But this was a passing phase. In March, Paton had serious talks with the highest chiefs of the friendly party, among them Nowar and Manuman, both of whom spoke decidedly in favour of Paton's remaining, despite the trials of his existence among them.\(^{15}\)

But Paton's hopes of improved relations with the hostile natives were soon dashed. On 20 May 1861 the Rev. G.N. Gordon was murdered along with his wife on Erromanga for their supposed complicity in the measles epidemic ravaging that island.\(^{16}\) This event naturally produced some excitement on Tanna; a sandalwood vessel, manned by a Tahitian and some Erromangans, went over to Port Resolution. The party on board described what had happened on Erromanga and advised the Tannese to kill their missionaries also.\(^{17}\) On 10 June a large armed party, some from the inland districts, some from the south, thronged the mission station. Various of these

\(^{15}\) R.P.M. 1861-62, November 1861, pp 375-376.

\(^{16}\) Patterson, Missionary Life Among the Cannibals ..., p 450.

\(^{17}\) Ibid.; Patterson, Memoirs ..., p 485.
praised the Erromangans for what they had done and tried to persuade the others to kill Paton. "Let us all talk about killing Misi Paton and the Aneityumese till we see if a man-of-war does punish the Erromangans and, if not, let us all unite in killing the missionaries, and banishing the worship of Jehovah from our land". In the face of this pressure even the most friendly of the Mwanahnepwi drew back. Even Nowar painted his face and took up arms, and joined the agitators. Miaki, the principal Kwotexen chief, who had recently been friendly enough, was particularly angry. Finally, all the Aneityumese teachers except Abraham, Paton's faithful old attendant, left the island to return home.¹⁸

With the removal of the teachers Paton's task seemed a hopeless one. But from this time the pro-Christian element at the harbour manifested a growing disposition to assist Paton in any work they could do. These few friends of the mission were, however, placed under considerable pressure from the threats and hatred of the hostile party in the power of Miaki.¹⁹ On 3 August 1861, Miaki and Nowar went again to Paton's residence to praise the Erromangans for killing 'the servant of God', and to threaten the missionary with death. Nowar declared that Miaki would make a great wind and sink any man-of-war that attempted to come here, or they would all assemble

and take the vessel, and kill all on board. At that moment, however, the missionary vessel, *John Knox*, entered the harbour along with two great ships of war. Miaki's threats of the previous minutes immediately subsided, and he fled in terror and Paton's friends came out of hiding and demanded that the Kwotexen should be punished.

A short while later, Geddie came on shore, followed by Commodore Seymour and Captain Hume from the ships of war, Pelorus and Cordelia, respectively. After hearing how unfavourably Paton was situated on Tanna, the Commodore urged him to leave at once, and offered to remove him to Aneityum. But Paton refused to surrender the field to heathenism; the mission had invested much effort and money in Tanna. At his request, however, the naval officers met with a number of the leading men of the harbour district, friend and foe, and gave them some good advices. With a view to securing the safety of the missionary, he also gave them a display of the fire power at their disposal. The heathen were not deterred by this naval display from their desire for Paton's despatch, however, and in the following weeks,

20. Ibid., p 115.

21. Paton had written to Geddie informing him of the state of matters at Port Resolution, and Geddie decided at once to pay him a visit as he thought he might have some influence for the better upon Miaki, whom he had known for some time.

several attempts were made upon the missionary's life. On 13 September, Miaki made a bold attempt and, on 20 September, Yosian, Miaki's colleague, attempted to kill him after Paton had accused him of stealing.23

The intense trials of an existence at Port Resolution abated when, in December 1861, Mrs Matheson gave birth to a daughter at the Kwamera station on the south coast of Tanna, and Paton departed to attend to her during her confinement.24 In his absence, Nowar and Jau, two friendly Mwanahnepwi chiefs, were hired to sleep at and take care of Paton's mission-house while two Aneityumese teachers returned to assist old Abraham in conducting the affairs of the mission. Despite this precaution, the heathen succeeded in breaking the bedroom windows of the house, and in stealing some axes. After that the house was guarded, with muskets, by the pro-Christian chiefs and their colleagues. All were resolved to shoot the first person caught stealing from the premises. This effectively put a stop to the exertions of Miaki and his accomplices.25

When Paton returned to Port Resolution, all of the pro-Christian Mwanahnepwi natives and some of the influential Kwotexen hostile to the mission assembled at his house. The pro-Christian group were pleased to see him back and declared themselves innocent of all the

23. R.P.M. 1861-62, April 1862, p 147.
25. Ibid.
misdeeds that had occurred during his absence. The hostile party expressed their intention to force his removal again, however, and openly declared the now familiar threat to kill him if he remained. But Paton held firm and told them that he could not leave. His friends then rose and said, "He is our Missi. He will stop here, and we will all worship Jehovah, and obey his word". The others countered, saying, "As he lives on our land, he must leave it, and you can take him where you please". The meeting at Paton's house ended with both parties threatening one another in a display of much bad feeling. The friendly Mwanahnpwi chiefs Sirania and Manuman then summoned all the people living in the neighbourhood of the mission to meet at the village of Nowifa. Two days before, Miaki's men had threatened Sirania and killed one of his large pigs. This summons amounted to a war proposal for when they met at Nowifa, all armed, the leaders publicly declared that Miaki and his friends must die for their long and continued wickedness. Paton was called to this meeting, at which he told them not to seek revenge but to live in peace. But when he left some of Sirania's under-chiefs said, "Let Miaki and Nauka give our land which they took from our fathers in war, and we will come and live in peace among them, and if not, we will fight for it".

27. Ibid.
The next day Paton did what he could to reconcile both parties. The friendly Mwanahnpwi chief Jau, and a host of followers, brought Miaki and Nauka a large present for which they hoped the land they desired could be exchanged. The present was received, and Miaki and his followers promised to give up the land peaceably. Jau then proceeded to Paton's house to tell him that he now lived on Christian land, and that the path leading to the house was the dividing line between Christian and heathen property. Miaki's sincerity with regard to the land transaction was questionable, however, for one day in the last week of the year his fellow chief and accomplice, Nauka, went to see Paton, professing great friendship and entreaty to the missionary to go with Miaki and see and talk with the people of the volcano district. Paton refused, and two days later the missionary was informed by his unsteady friend, Nowar, that Nauka's intention had been a devious one. The Kasurumene people had been ravaged by a new outbreak of disease and eagerly sought to kill the missionary in whom they saw the cause. Miaki, it seems, had had no intention of relinquishing his hold of the contentious piece of land and therein admitting defeat. By the beginning of 1862, therefore, Paton's existence at Port Resolution still remained tenuous.

29. Ibid., p 286.
During the month of January 1862, Paton's work received some encouragement. There was an increased interest in Christianity. But conversely, this so increased the hatred and opposition of the hostile party that a further outbreak of war seemed inevitable. Nauka, Miaki and Karewick, another hostile Kwotexen, united against Paton's people and issued a challenge to war by killing a fat pig, cutting down Paton's fences, killing three of his goats, and attempting to kill the son of a friendly chief who had come to stay at the mission-house. Paton managed to restrain his people, now numbering fourteen chiefs and their respective people, and exacted from them a promise not to go to war unless someone was killed.

Miaki and Nauka now threatened to kill Jau, one of the most powerful chiefs on the south-east of Tanna, and then promised to make a hurricane to destroy 'Missi's' house, and kill him along with the others who worshipped the new religion. Oddly enough, Jau took ill within the next few days and died and, a week later, on 16 January, a fearful hurricane ravaged the villages and plantations of south-eastern Tanna, destroying many settlements and most of the crops. The inland people took this as a sign of Miaki's ill-will, and many of them now assembled at the harbour to assist Manuman and the friends of the mission in taking revenge upon Miaki.

On Saturday, 18 January 1862, the war began. Both parties urged Paton to remain at his house and he would not be injured. But Miaki and his party took shelter and fought around the mission-house. When Jau's people retired that day, Miaki and Nauka gave a large present of food to those Enekahi and Kasurumene people who had earlier joined the pro-Christian party against them. This was a gesture on Miaki's part to induce them to return to his ranks and join him in fighting Paton and his people. The gift was accepted and they all now agreed to "kill and cook Missi and his two Aneityumese at every village on Tanna, to steal all their property, and to burn all their houses."  

The next morning, 19 January, the mission-house was surrounded by thousands of natives. Miaki sent the word to kill Paton, and the Enekahi and Kasurumene people immediately began to discharge their muskets at his house. Attempts upon Paton's life at close quarters were thwarted by a pistol which the missionary brandished, and by the intercession of the now faithful Nowar. Later that same day Paton met with Miaki who now professed great friendship and promised to end the war. But this was a further deceit on his part. Nowar recognised Miaki's pretensions of friendship for what they were and

31. Ibid.; Patterson, Missionary Life Among the Cannibals ..., p 457.  
33. Ibid., pp 243-244.
asked Paton to take some of his property to his house during the night where it could be protected. He had heard that Miaki planned to deliver the final blow against the mission the following morning. Paton, therefore, did as he asked.\textsuperscript{34}

At daybreak on 20 January, Miaki blew his conch and a flood of howling savages rushed down the Enekahi hills and converged upon the shore. As they moved on toward the mission-house, Paton decided to leave and, after locking up, he fled to Nowar's village where he found everyone trembling with fear. A party of Miaki's men finding Paton's house locked up, Miaki decided to postpone his attack upon Paton until nightfall. Meanwhile, they would fight and kill the pro-Christian Mwanahnegi, Manuman, and his people, for their supposed part in causing the hurricane which had destroyed their food. The feeble fell victim in this raid, in which seven villages were burned and all native property carried off.\textsuperscript{35}

About midday, Nauka, Miaki and Karewick sent Paton a message professing to love him and imploring his return to the mission-house. But Nowar and Abraham would not allow him to expose himself to yet another plot against his life. On the following morning, Miaki, disappointed in the failure of his object, broke into

\textsuperscript{34} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{35} Ibid., pp 244-245.
the mission-house, stole all he could, and destroyed Paton's books. On this day, 21 January, the Kwotexen renewed their attack upon Manuman, and resolved to murder Paton that night at Nowar's house. Nowar, too, was sought by them for protecting the missionary, and towards that evening the chief informed Paton that he could no longer protect him. 36

In these circumstances Paton decided to go by boat to Matheson's station at Kwamera, but was foiled by the rough seas of that night. His decision to leave was a solemn admission that the mission had been broken. On shore again, he met an inland chief named Firmingo, a Mwanahnpwi friendly to Paton, and pleaded with him to lead the Christian party out of the district, for which he would be paid in kind. 37 After much persuasion the chief agreed, and summoned seven of his men to join him. This flight was Paton's last chance of survival, for Iliaki had already caused the flight of Nowar and his people and was now in pursuit of the missionary and his helpers. Many trying situations lay ahead, but confrontations with hostile parties were successfully negotiated by Firmingo's firm hand and iron will that Paton should not be killed. On reaching his village, however,

36. Ibid., p 245.

37. The hurricane of 16 January had so destroyed the bush in and around Port Resolution that the pathways were heavily obstructed. Only a native of the land could hope to find his way around at night in these circumstances.
Firmingo would go no further. He nonetheless allowed the party three of his men, but they too went only a short distance, to the borders of land occupied by Firmingo's enemies. Fortunately, though the people of this district had promised Miaki they would kill the missionary should he reach their territory, they were all absent on a war expedition, and the party got away safely. 38

In the event, Paton's party reached Matheson's station in safety, hopeful of a passage at some early date from Tanna. 39 By Thursday, 23 January, Paton was receiving reports that Manuman was being chased over half the length of Tanna, and every day his people were being murdered and their villages burned. On 24 January, Manuman was trapped on a hill top by his adversaries and, reduced to famine, his people were eating their own wives and children. 40

On 3 February 1862, an attempt upon Paton's life was made by the inhabitants of a village in the vicinity of Matheson's station, who set fire to the church with the intention that the house should also be destroyed. But they were foiled in their object by a downpour of


39. Before leaving Port Resolution, Paton had written a letter which he gave to Nowar to give to the first captain that might call at the harbour, entreating him to call at Kwamera and to remove the mission party to Aneityum.

40. R.P.M. 1861-62, June 1862, p 249.
rain. On 4 February, a vessel appeared off Tanna's south coast and its boat pulled in off Kwamera. The Captain had received letters from Mr Geddie who had heard of Paton's trials, and offered to take him to Aneityum, to which Paton reluctantly agreed. The party made for the vessel in two boats but found it had drifted away out of sight; they were forced, therefore to make for Port Resolution where they joined the ship, the Bluebell, the following morning.41

On 4 February, at Port Resolution, Paton's friend Nowar, along with his adversary, Miaki, came off with some food for him. Nowar was kind while Miaki urged Paton to go ashore and see his house, claiming it to be uninjured, but seeing a number of armed men near the house, the missionary refused to go. Abraham and a small party went with them, however, and found it to be otherwise. A number of Paton's pro-Christian friends told Abraham that Miaki and his hostile accomplices wrecked Paton's house and property, and had sold books and chairs to traders for tobacco and powder. Abraham left, therefore, and Miaki's last statement before the final departure of the Christian party to Aneityum was that he hated the Christian worship but because his fathers did not destroy Turner's house, so they would not destroy Paton's. They would, nevertheless, destroy

41. Ibid., pp 250-251.
everything else and the Christians, too, if they could. So ended Paton's ill-fated attempt to convert the Tannese to Christianity.

The significance of all this may now be summed up. At the end of the war of 1835 land which had hitherto been held by the Kwotexen passed to the Mwanahnepwj. In 1842-3 these people settled Turner and Nisbet on part of the disputed land and thus became the pro-Christian party. In the ensuing conflict the Mwanahnepwj were all but driven off but then managed to recover the ground and reassert their predominance. In 1854, however, the Mwanahnepwj were virtually driven off by the Kwotexen. In 1857, the Mwanahnepwj remnant then proceeded to settle Paton on the very same property. It is, of course, too simplistic to suggest at this point that the Mwanahnepwj as a whole were pro-Christian and the Kwotexen hostile to the mission. Both parties included elements in favour of and opposed to the new religion. But the leading individuals in the two parties and their followings were certainly opposed to each other on the point, and tended to align themselves with rival groups of Europears. Miaki, and Nauka, on the Kwotexen side, thus tended to associate themselves with the sandalwood traders who were traditionally at odds with the missionaries. Nowar, Manuman, Firmingo

42. Ibid., pp 251-252.
and Jau, all Mwanahnopwi, man-war, in turn sided with the missionary and became the pro-Christian party. Miaki's and Nauka's repeated threats upon Paton's life, however, were not so much a direct response to the introduction of the Christian religion - the fact that Miaki was prepared to allow the pro-Christian group to locate Paton elsewhere on the island, and even attend worship himself indicates this - as an attempt on their part to win back the disputed land and assert their political dominance over the harbour. In brief, the wars which characterised the missionary presence in south-eastern Tanna between 1842-62 went far deeper than contemporary missionaries supposed. In Turner's and Nisbet's and Paton's view, it was a simple conflict between the forces of good and evil in which Satan was allowed to triumph. The true cause of the long conflict at Port Resolution, however, was not the coming of the new religion; it was a power struggle between the rival Numrukwen groups for supremacy that was fundamental, a struggle in which the missionaries and the traders were used as the weapon of one party against the other. Their Eurocentric vision, however, would not allow the missionaries at least this essential perception.
The eviction of the Presbyterian mission from Tanna in 1862 aroused in the missionary Paton a bitter condemnation of the Kwotexen heathen of Tanna for their recalcitrance. Unlike the more pacific John Geddie, he believed that some measures were necessary in order to secure the better protection of the lives and property of British subjects on that island.¹ It was not, of course, the first time that the question of employing British men-of-war to punish Melanesians for their "evil deeds" had arisen. In 1860 Paton himself had pressed this course on Commodore Seymour who, on Geddie's advice, and much to Paton's disappointment refused to do anything more than extract promises of better conduct in future.²

Soon after his flight from Tanna, however, Paton went to Australia where he addressed a memorandum on the misdeeds of the Tannese to the governor of New South Wales. This missive was in turn referred to Commodore Burnet with a request to make a full investigation into the charges. In the event, however, Burnet's vessel and

1. Parsonson, op. cit., p 49; Patterson, Missionary Life Among the Cannibals ..., p 474.
the memorial were lost at sea off the New Zealand coast so that when his successor, Commodore Sir William Wiseman of H.M.S. Curacoa, arrived at Aneityum in August 1865, he was obliged to inquire from the missionaries, then holding their annual synod meeting, what complaints had been levelled against the natives. These were detailed in a long document, highlighting the loss of property suffered by Paton in his flight from Tanna.3

The missionaries' document was in many respects unsatisfactory. But Wiseman at once decided to take action and on 10 August, in company with the mission vessel Dayspring, he anchored off Port Resolution. Some of the chiefs were induced by Paton to come off to the ship. On their appearance, Wiseman, through Paton as interpreter, warned them of the punishment that would be meted out to them by noon the following day, together with their fellow offending chiefs, if they did not make their appearance on board to guarantee better behaviour in future. By the evening of the next day, 11 August, however, there had been no native response to speak of. It was decided, therefore, that two hostile villages, one in the bush at the head of the bay, the other between the volcano and the northern shore, should be singled out for punishment. The village "between the points of the bay", the friendly village of Samoa, was to be excluded.

3. Ibid.; Patterson, Missionary Life Among the Cannibals ..., p 475.
On 12 August, then, a landing party of nearly two hundred marines was mustered, whose task it was to destroy as much as possible of the offenders' villages and plantations, and burn the bush. After an opening salvo of shell and rocket fire from the Curacoa and its accompanying cutter, the landing party was sent on shore. There was some brief opposition but no real contact between either side. A number of gardens were uprooted and several houses were fired and twenty one canoes destroyed - the latter a loss which would have been sorely felt by the Tannese for the construction of a single canoe took many months. The bush, however, failed to catch alight because of the heavy rain which had fallen the previous evening. The party thus retired with the loss of one of their number, a Crimean Victoria Cross winner, Holland. Several Tannese subsequently blew themselves up while examining an unexploded shell.

Before sailing again from Port Resolution on 13 August, Paton went ashore at the friendly village of Samoa in the vicinity of the former mission station, and there met several of the principal hostile chiefs. He reported that they seemed thoroughly cowed by the proceedings of the day before and one of them, who had

4. (Ed.) Sir Robert H. Meade, A Ride Through the Disturbed Districts of New Zealand; Together with some Account of the South Sea Islands..., pp 230-246.

5. Ibid., pp 237-246; Julius Brenchley, Jottings During the Cruise of H.M.S. Curacoa Among the South Sea Islands in 1865, p 202.
never before met the missionary without threatening his life, was now friendly and humble, for the time at least, and promised to comply with his every wish. Before leaving the gathering Paton managed to extract from them "a declaration in terms curiously like those he himself might have used which promised a permanent improvement in their attitude to the missionaries".

The unfortunate results of this episode, from the European point of view at least, were soon apparent. On his return to Aneityum from furlough a year after the bombardment, Geddie lost no time in visiting Nauka, the Kwotexen chief whose village would seem to have suffered most from the shelling, to discuss with him the prospect of settling another missionary on the island. Nauka, however, informed him that the people were most opposed to having a missionary among them. An old man standing on the shore spoke in a very angry strain, saying "that we had come to settle a missionary, but they had received a missionary already who had brought a man-of-war to kill them and destroy their property, and they would receive no more missionaries". According to Geddie, "The most of the natives were unarmed and civil, but there were two or three fierce-looking strangers, who had guns loaded and capped, with

8. Ibid., p 51.
9. Patterson, Missionary Life Among the Cannibals ..., p 495.
them. Our meeting commenced in a friendly spirit, considering our peculiar circumstances. Several of the natives spoke, and told us their reasons for declining to receive a missionary. Some wished to retain their old customs, and live and die as their forefathers had done; others were afraid of Christianity, lest they should take sick and die; but the prominent objection was the Curacoa's hostile visit. They repeatedly asked what they had done to merit the severe punishment inflicted on them by a man-of-war - a question I could not answer, even had I been inclined to speak on this painful subject. 10

A further attempt at a landing was made the following year. It had been made plain that Paton would not be permitted to settle on the island again and he was finally sent to the tiny adjacent island of Aniwa. On 28 September 1867 Geddie tried to persuade the people of Port Resolution to accept his son-in-law, the Rev. Thomas Neilson. Nauka refused to put in an appearance but he made it clear that he and his people were as adamant as ever. Nowar, however, invited Neilson to set his things ashore at his place. The boat was accordingly loaded with the studs and flooring of the house. There was some desultory conversation on the beach. One of the Tannese called out: "What for you come here? Tanna man he no want you ... Man Tanna

10. Ibid.
he no want missionary; he wart white man". Neilson naturally replied that he was a white man and was informed: "Oh no, you no white man, you missionary". 

Soon after a large crowd assembled and began throwing back all the timber into the sea. In the absence of Nauka, who still refused to come, the missionaries held a conference with forty or fifty Tannese. Their opposition was clear and specific. One said: "Suppose missionary come here, he want man Tanna to put on clothes; no good man Tanna he wear clothes; very good white man he wear clothes, all the same as you". A third said, "Look here, Tanna man he lazy, he plenty lazy, he no like work, he like walk about. Suppose missionary come here, he say, very good man he work; no very good woman do all the work; man Tanna he lazy, he plenty lazy". Another objected to the introduction of monogamy. But the gravamen of their charge was the risk of further violence. "What for Mr Paton bring man-of-war here, fight man Port Resolution. Mr Paton come here make plenty good talk, then he go away make plenty bad talk, bring man-of-war here, fight man Port Resolution; man Port Resolution no fight Mr Paton, man belong a bush he come fight Mr Paton. Suppose missionary he come here, man bush he come make fight, he come burn house belong a missionary, missionary he go away bring man-of-war, man-of-war he no fight bush, he fight man belong Port Resolution - you go away, man Tanna
he no want missionary". 11 It was, then, not until 2 September 1868 that Neilson was finally able to effect a landing, 12 but he laboured on Tanna for a decade without baptising a single recruit. 13 The Shipee party, the Kwotexen, had thus triumphed over the Man-war, the Mwanahnepwi, the party of the missionary and his worship, though the struggle was destined to continue for several decades yet, on the battlefield at home and further afield in Queensland where conscripts from both sides laboured to secure the price of the all-important muskets needed to carry on their internecine struggle.

11. The Rev. T. Neilson, 30 November 1867, R.P.M., 1 April 1868, pp 126-129.

12. The Rev. T. Neilson to J. Kay, 8 October 1868, R.P.M., 1 April 1869.

(6 August 1774)

After mooring the Ship by four anchors with her broad side to the landing place, from which she was hardly Musquet Shott, and placing our Artillery in such a manner as to command the whole harbour, we embarked the Marines and a party of Seamen in three boats and rowed in for the Shore; I have already observed that the two divisions of the Natives were drawn up on each side the landing place, the space between was 30 or 40 yards, here were laid to the most advantage a few bunches of plantains, a yam and two Tara roots, between them and the shore were stuck in the sand four small reeds about 2 feet from each other in a line at right angles to the sea shore, for what purpose they were put there I never could learn; the old man before mentioned and two more stood by these things and by Signs invited us a Shore, but we were not in a hurry to land, I had not forgot the trap I had like to have been caught in at the last isle and this looked some thing like it; we answered the old men by makeing signs that the two divisions must retire farther back and give us more room, the old men seem'd to desire them so to do but as little regard was paid to them as us. More were continually joining them, and except the 3 old men, not one was without arms; in short every thing conspired to make us believe they intended to attack us as soon as we were on shore. The consequence of such a step was easily seen, many of them must have been kill'd and wounded and we should hardly have escaped unhurt. Sence therefore they would not give us the room we required I thought it was best to frighten them away rather than oblige them by the deadly effect of our fire Arms and accordingly order a Musquet to be fired over the heads of the party on our right for this was by far the Strongest body, the alarm it gave them was only momentary, in an instant they recovered themselves and began to display their weapons, one fellow shewed us his backside in such a manner that it was not necessary to have an interpreter to explain his meaning; after this I ordered three or four more to be fired, this was the Signal for the Ship to fire a few four pound Shott over them which presently dispersed them and then we landed and marked out the limits on the right and [left] by a line. Our old friend stood his ground all the time, tho' diserted by his two companions, the moment we landed I made him a present of Cloth and other things I had taken with me for the purpose. Insencibly the Natives came to us seemingly in a more friendly manner, some even came without arms, but by far the greatest part brought them and when we made signs to them to lay them down, they told us to lay down ours first; they climed Cocoa trees and threw us down the Nutts, without requiring anything for their trouble, but we took care they were always paid. After filling half a doz’n Small Casks with Water and obtaining leave of the old man whose name was [Paowang] to cut wood for fireing, just to let the people see what we wanted we return’d on board

Wednesday 10th... As soon as we landed the youth and some of his friends took me by the hand in order to conduct me to their habitations, at least so I understood. We had not gone far before some of the company, for what reason I know not, was unwilling I should proceed in consequence of which the whole company stopped, and if I did not mistake them some were detached for some fruit &c for me, for I was desired to sit down and wait which I accordingly did, during which time several of our Gentlemen pass'd us, at which they shewed great uneasiness and importuned me so much to order them back that I was at last obliged to comply, they were jealous at our making the least excursions inland or even along the shore of the harbour...

Ibid., p.488.

Sunday 14th... After breakfast we made up a party consisting of 9 or 10 and set out in order to see if we could not have a nearer and better View of the Volcano, we first went to one of those burning or hot places before mentioned, having a Thermometer with us we made a hole in the ground where the greatest heat seem'd to be into which we put it; in the open air the mercury stood at but here it presently rose to and stood at 110 which is only two below boiling Water... Happening to turn out of the common path we came into a plantation where there was a Man at work, he either out of good Nature or to get us sooner out of his territories, undertook to be our guide, we had not gone with him far before we met another fellow standing at the junction of two roads with a Sling and a Stone in his hand, both of which he thought proper to lay aside when a Musquet was pointed at him, the Attitude we found him in and the ferocity which appear'd in his looks and his behaviour after, led us to think he meant to defend the path he stood in; he pointed to the other along which he and our guide led us, he counted us several times over and kept calling for assistance, and was presently joined by two or three more one of which was a young Woman with a Club in her hand; they presently conducted us to the brow of a hill and pointed to a road which led down to the harbour and wanted us to go that way, we refused to comply and returned to the one we had left which we pursued alone our guide refusing to go with us; after ascending a nother ridge as closely covered with Wood as those we had come over, we saw still other hills between us and the Volcano which discouraged us from proceeding farther especially as we could get no one to be our guide and therefore to dinner after which they to a man retired. I never learnt that any one of them was hurt by our Shott.
came to a resolution to return, we had but just put this into execution when we met twenty or thirty of the Natives collected together and were close at our heels, we judged their design was to oppose our advancing into the Country but now they saw us returning they suffered us to pass unmolested and some of them put us into the right road and accompanied us down the hill, made us to stop in one place where they brought us Cocoa nutts, Plantains and Sugar Canes and we did not eat on the spot, brought down the hill for us; thus we found these people Civil and good Natured when not prompted by jealousy to a contrary conduct, a conduct one cannot blame them for when one considers the light in which they must look upon us in, its impossible for them to know our real design, we enter their Ports without their daring to make opposition, we attempt to land in a peaceable manner, if this succeeds its well, if not we land nevertheless and maintain the footing we thus got by the Superiority of our fire arms, in what other light can they at first look upon us but as invaders of their Country; time and some acquaintance with us can only convince them of their mistake.

Monday 15th. In the PM I made an excursion in company with Mr Wales on the other side of the harbour, where we met from the Natives very different treatment from what we had done in the morning, these people, in whose neighbourhood lived our friend Paowang, being better acquainted with us than those we had seen in the morning, shewed a readiness to oblige us in every thing in their power...

Ibid., 491-4.
The soil is well laid under cultivation. Perhaps you remember Capt. Cook's expressions of surprise on seeing plantations here so carefully laid off- enclosed by reed fences- and carefully kept. This still obtains. The yam especially is cultivated to great perfection. In their plantations they raise a great many mounds of various sizes, some are about ten feet high and sixty in circumference. Into the middle of these they put a large yam whole, and as it sends forth its shoots they erect a trellis work of reeds to train them carefully along. This perhaps yields them a yam six, seven, or eight feet long with 7 or 8 smaller ones. In addition to the productions common to the islands to the eastward we have here in great abundance several species of figs and sweet apples. Sandalwood is said to be plentiful. There is none however in the neighbourhood of the harbor here. Lately the Captain of a sandal wood vessel would not believe us when we told him this, but sent in an armed party to scour the bush a few miles in-land. Happily for us they were unsuccessful. Pigs and fowls are to be got, but they are not plentiful. Dogs too have been introduced and also the domestic cat. I have seen two or three birds and insects which I think are not found in the islands to the eastward, I cannot, however, yet speak particularly on any of these minor points.

George Turner, Port Resolution, Tanna, 19 December 1842, SSL, L.M.S.
It is impossible yet to give a correct estimate of the population of the island. But it must be great as it seems to be populated all over— not only all around the coast, but far, far, inland. The people generally are under the middle stature. There are many fine exceptions but this I think is the rule. They are two or three shades darker than either Samoans or Tahitians. Sometimes they appear almost as dark as the aborigines of New Holland, but this is occasioned by their dying their bodies with the juice of a plant, which, with their painted faces is supposed by them to improve their appearance. They are well proportioned and have fine intelligent countenances if they would but wash their faces and look like men. We rarely see anything approaching to the negro cast of countenance. All paint their faces. Red, black and white are the prevailing colors, and these are laid on according to rank or occasion. The face completely covered with black, for example, is the sign of mourning. Their ears are dreadfully disfigured by earrings. Some have holes in their ears through which a child's hand might pass. They also pierce holes in their noses in which they wear a little piece of reed horizontally. The men bestow a great deal of care and labor upon their hair. This they divide into some seven or eight hundred little bunches or tresses, each of which is carefully wound round by the rind of a running plant leaving about two inches at the end exposed which they curl. The whole is folded back, forming a good covering for the head against the rays of the sun, and hanging down behind eighteen inches or more. You will see something very much resembling this description among the sculptures of eastern females in the British and Foreign Museum... The women too are at great pains with their hair. They keep it short but have it all portioned with little bunches and oiled and curled. The hair of all is generally light rather of a yellowish color and frizzled. Many ornament their arms, breasts and loins by cutting or burning some rude devices— the leaf of a tree— a fish or something of that sort. Now and then we see a tattooed part— but never on the face. The men cut the hair off the upper lip, but allow the lower part of the beard to grow long and this they divide into a good many little tresses. The women are pretty well covered by a long girdle of leaves, but the men are all but naked. Their only covering is a leaf or a little bit of narrow matting wound the penis and this they suspend in an ugly manner by a narrow belt of native cloth worn round the waist— leaving the scrotum all exposed... All wear some ornaments of beads—whales teeth &c. &c. round the neck. On the arm above the elbow joint they wear rings made from the cocoa-but, and from these the men suspend their spear thrower and sling. The women are never armed, but we almost never see a man or boy without his club and kawas, or spears and bow and arrows. The kawas is a piece of stone about 18 In. long, made round like a ruler and 1½ or 2 In. in diameter which they always throw at
their enemy when he is near enough to have a blow aimed at his head.

A great deal of labor in the course of the year is bestowed upon their plantations. In the cultivation of the soil they are far in advance of many of the Polynesian tribes. The greater part of their labor falls upon the women as the men are constantly taken up with war. Very few articles of useful manufacture are to be found here. On this part of the island they do not even make mats. On the adjacent islands, and, it is said, that on some other parts of this island, many such things are made. When we urge them to set to work and learn to make them they give their heads an independent cast and say "Oh no we leave that to other people we can buy them when we want them." Similar difficulty has often been found in getting one native to learn from another. We must hope that they will yield bye and bye, and turn their hands to something useful, as their neighbours do. Their canoes are very clumsy and unsafe, and they content themselves with wretched hovels for houses. They make a little rough native cloth from the bark of the banian tree which they cut into narrow strips for belts. Nets too they make, and fishing lines, but especially weapons of destruction—clubs—bows—arrows—spears, slings &c. I have seen two musical instruments— the one a piece of thin bamboo with two or three holes something like a flute,— and the other six or seven reed pipes of unequal length neatly put together, similar to what we have often seen strolling musicians play...

George Turner, Port Resolution, Tanna, 19 December 1842, SSL, L.M.S.
I have already remarked that war is the chief employment of the men. This is really the case. A state of peace is evidently an exception. We have only been here six months, and during the last four, the people have been at war; and now the matter is as unsettled as ever. This war is between the people on this side of the bay and some tribes about three miles inland from us. About four miles to the eastward of us on the sea coast there is another war going on which is much more deadly than this one, and which they say has been going on from time immemorial. No one knows-(and we have often inquired about it) when or how it commenced, and all agree in saying that it has been "Kumuesan" that is eternal. There are no doubt many wars now going on at other parts of the island respecting which we know nothing. War, however, is not so destructive here as it was in some of the groups to the eastward. It is seldom anything but bush fighting-they rarely advance to close club fighting in an open plain. Every day, however, many are wounded, and as they do not poison their spears or arrows the majority recover. A deal of mischief is done by burning houses-destroying trees, plantations &c. &c. While fighting if a chief sees that his is the weaker party, he will very likely turn round upon his own people, kill one or two of them, and then run to the other side. In such circumstances the enemy will receive him and protect him. This treacherous spirit makes all jealous of the movements of their dearest friends. In times of war the parties are constantly laying in wait for each other about the roads and bathing places; and it matters not who it is—man, woman or child if found unprotected he is murdered on the spot, and, if possible, the body carried off and cooked. It has long been a custom not to fight at night. It was not so formerly, but a change for the better was unanimously agreed to by this part of the island some time ago. While this state of things continues, we shall be able to retire to rest without so much apprehension of alarm, as we might otherwise have.

This constant fighting of course shows that the people have no political constitution of any value whatever. All are divided into small districts or tribes, at the head of which there is one or more principal chiefs. These chiefs take the lead in war, and are the principal proprietors of the soil, but they have very little influence over those that are called the common people. They work at their plantations just like common men. Cases of stealing, and other offences are rarely settled but by the club. We have already repeatedly advised on the necessity of a few wholesome laws; but they do not yet feel the want of them.

George Turner, Port Resolution, Tanna, 19 December 1842, SSL, L.M.S.
... I have already remarked that the bodies of those who are killed in war, if they fall into the hands of the enemy, are cooked and eaten. I think that Cannibalism here is confined to this, although there is no doubt but the natives delight in human flesh. We have had them arguing the point with us, and replying to some of our remonstrances by a sarcastic sneer and remarks such as this: "Pigs' flesh is very good for you, human flesh is very good for us." The people in our immediate neighbourhood, knowing how we detest such customs, have not so far as we know had dead bodies in their possession for some time. When they were in the habit of bringing a victim from inland, they took it to the marum of the district next to their own, and exchanged it for a pig. The people who got it then carried it on to the next marum, and there again exchanged it for a pig; and after being carried through several marums in this way, it reached the district next to the sea, and as they could not carry it farther, it was there cooked and eaten. We often see human bones in use in the shape of cooking utensils.

George Turner, Port Resolution, Tanna, 19 December 1842, SSL, L.M.S.
Connected with every district there is a large square or circular place set apart for public meetings, feats &c. This is called the marum; and at every marum there must be at least one bani tree. I am told that at Iana the bani tree is considered sacred and that the residence of a chief is invariably close by one of these trees. This obtains at Iana, and the only reason the people give for it is just that "it is an old custom". In the marum there is a house of public resort, but even these, their best and largest houses are so small, that no public business could be transacted in them— all this is done outside. Their meetings are frequent and chiefly about war. On these occasions some of the orators chant their speeches, and all in delivering their addresses make the most savage gestures—brandishing their clubs &c. All keep walking too while they speak. The different tribes are all seated round the sides of the marum, leaving an open space in the centre. The orator rises from among his tribe, advances at a slow pace to the middle of the marum, speaking all the while, here he stands for a moment, and then returns in silence to his people. He sets out again with another paragraph— and goes on so until the close of his speech. In the marum there are many friendly meetings for distributions of property, feasting &c. The chiefs and people of a district will erect in their manner perhaps fifty poles forty feet long— cover these from top to bottom with yams— bananas and taro— heap in other parts mats— native cloth, and as much foreign property as they can collect— some fifteen or twenty pigs are also set apart for the occasion. A day is fixed, on which all the tribes with whom that party is on friendly terms assemble, oiled and painted in their best style, and every one gets something. Similar distributions of property are taking place all the year round, but the greatest are in the yam season, and about this time they are followed by dancing. We landed here just about their "harvest home" /30 June 1842— Ed./ and for several weeks there was a regular succession of the convivial meetings attended by dancing which was kept up sometimes from sunset till four o'clock next morning. They dance in companies of forty or fifty at a time, and while one party is going on another is resting close bye and ready to jump up and alternate...

George Turner, Port Resolution, Tanna, 19 December 1842, SSL, L.M.S.
In sickness the Tanese always find some one to attend to them. It is supposed that the patient must lie out of doors during the day. Be the ground ever so damp, if there be no rain, the poor sufferer is laid out on a few leaves or on an old mat. They have no notion of medicine. Bleeding is generally resorted to, and as a last remedy they burn in a shocking manner the right foot. In bleeding they do not open a vein, but make several incisions with a bamboo knife around the seat of pain. They think it essential to a person in sickness to have a fire close by him. A number take our medicines, but many dare not, as the priestcraft swear vengeance on all who do so to the neglect of them. Some however try both—give all their property to these cellows, and at the same time beg our medicines.

When a chief is expected to die, he is carried into the marum, and there all his friends and brother chiefs assemble to give expression to their respect and sympathy. One will get up and say: "You are sick and we are all well. We all love you very much and it destroys our health to see that you are so ill. If you die our hearts will grow cold and great will be our weeping." They spend an hour in this way, and then they separate. When the patient is beyond all hope of recovery, a great wailing takes place and all the friends are assembled to await the death. The women and children assemble around the sufferer, and keep up a most hideous wailing—the men sit quietly and wait in the marum. After death the wailing is increased. In an hour or so the body is laid out in a mat—having the face exposed and painted, and soon after it is buried amid great wailing. The grave, which is not infrequently inside the house, is dug six or seven feet deep, and after getting down this length they scoop out a vault on the one side into which the body is gently laid. When the grave is filled up, then follows a feast and a distribution of the property of the deceased. When a person falls in war and the body is secured by his friends it is sunk out at sea. In token of mourning the friends paint their faces black for some time, and wear round their necks or twisted with their own hair some of the hair of the deceased. In cases of extreme grief, a person will cut off all his hair—kill all his pigs—throw all their property to the winds—and weep for a day or two. The day after the death of a person, all the women of the district walk one by one in procession to the sea—there they bathe shouting at the same time. This seems to be a purification and their exhorting I am told is to their forefathers to keep disease away from them. It is considered sacred [tapu] for a person to stand and look at one of these processions as they pass...

George Turner, Port Resolution, Tanna, 19 December 1842, SSL, L.M.S.
... The people here have strange notions as to the greater part of the disease that prevails among them. It is supposed to be caused by certain "sacred men". It is supposed that if these persons get hold of a few crumbs of food— a banana skin— a drop of blood, or saliva, or any such rubbish whatever that they have it in their power to sicken and put the party to death to whom it belonged. When any stuff of this kind is got hold of, it is eagerly seized by these disease makers, who are always prowling about in search of it. They go to a large tree— scrape off some of the bark— mix it with the stuff— get a stone and besmear it all over. They now roll the rubbish in a leaf in a thin elongated form, tie it tightly, and it is ready for burning. Then they go to their house— suspend the stone over the fire, and place the one end of the stuff close to the fire, but in such a way as that it may burn very slowly. Whenever the burning commences, it is supposed that the person to whom the rubbish, or "nahak" (as they call it) belonged is thrown into great pain, and that if it is permitted to burn until all is consumed, the party shall certainly die. Whenever a person is attacked with severe pain, it is thought that some one is burning his nahak. He causes a shell to be blown— a sign that he is willing to give a present to the man who has got his nahak if he will but give over burning it. At the same time messengers are dispatched to the head quarters of these disease makers to find out who has got it, and to offer property that this man's life may be saved. Of course, some of the craft are always ready to say "O! me know who has got it, bring a pig and some mats and we shall try and stop the burning of it." Well— this is immediately sent. Tomorrow and next day the man is still unwell— he thinks that the stuff is yet burning— sends off again— renewed demands are made, and at once satisfied. This is repeated again and again. "All that a man hath will he give for his life" and when personal resources are exhausted, friends step in and contribute to meet all the demands of these crafty deceivers for the supposed rescue of him who is dear to them. After all perhaps the poor deluded sufferer expires; and when this is the case, it only inspires the people with the greater dread of these priests, and urges them in the next case of illness to be the more prompt in sending largely to avert the dreaded evil.* (* If the rubbish is buried or thrown into the sea it is considered beyond the power of these disease-makers.) From this priestcraft we are likely to meet with much opposition. The struggle indeed has already commenced. They are beginning to see that Xtnty. is likely to strip them of their sacred honors and sink them to the level of common men, and I believe that now they would do anything to put us out of the way. Their principal residence is about four miles from us, in the neighbourhood of the volcano, but they are often about the place in search of Nahak.

G. Turner, Port Resolution, Tanna, 19 December 1842, SSL, L.M.S.
About two months after we went to Tanna war broke out between the people among whom we had settled and a people about two miles inland of us. Not long before, the same parties had been at war—our people had got the upper hand of them—and the matter was at rest for a time. Knowing that they had been so recently fighting, we sent for Lamias the leading chief of the other party when we landed, and gave him a present equal to any given to our own chiefs, and begged that there would be no more fighting. He assented—but we never saw him after that. He and his people kept in the distance devising schemes of clandestinely seeking revenge. One morning they gained their object by rushing upon one of our chiefs while he was bathing and beating him to death. This filled our people with all the savage fury imaginable, and off they went determined that their enemies should severely suffer. This war lasted for five months. Just before we left, we thought that the matter had been brought to a close, but then it was renewed again with more vigor than ever. The fighting proved a sad hindrance to our work. It broke out at the planting season and as all the time that could be spared from the fighting was thrown into their plantations, promising schools were all but deserted—the sabbath more disregarded than ever—and many in the distance who were formerly our friends, by joining the other party now became our avowed enemies. About this time we were constantly teased by our people entreating us to let them have a musket and some one to fire it... We had no fire arms of our own. Bro. Heath however happened to have his fowling piece, and one of our teachers had got hold of a musket somewhere...

This disturbed state of affairs was going on when Bro Heath left us by the "Camden" in October... A fortnight after Bro Heath left us, Bro Nisbet and I set out one morning to visit the people in the neighbourhood of the volcano, not only with a view to keep hold of our ground, but also to make advance on our way round the island. None of our people would go with us, but rather entrated us not to go lest we should be killed. These words were not new to us. We never could go to any distance from our own door without being forbidden, and told that we should be killed and cooked. One reason for their refusing to accompany us, and showing their displeasure at our visiting places in the distance, was, that they wished to keep us entirely to themselves—then, there were old quarrels on account of which they feared some long cherished feelings of revenge—and there was another reason which we did not then know—many people in the distance suppose that foreigners carry with them the seeds of disease and scatter them wherever they go. Only a few months before we landed, some of our people went on a friendly visit to Enskahi the name of the mountain on the N.W. side of Port Resolution. Suddenly they were attacked—three of them were killed and the bodies carried off and cooked, and all this for no other reason than that they and their friends...
had received our teachers in to the land and had thus been the means of causing much disease on the island which did not formerly exist among them...

Well- Bro Nisbet and I set out for Kasurumene- the general name of the districts in the neighborhood of the volcano. On crossing the mountain Enekahi we met with several of our friends who all but forced us not to proceed farther. Being so familiar with such opposition, we thought little of it and insisted on going on. Two of the chiefs joined us and often on the way implored us to return. At length we arrived at Iarofi- the first marum (or place of public meeting) of the district. Here we found one of the chiefs and a few of the people.- More soon came, and we thought that all looked very shy. On seeing the chiefs who accompanied us from Enekahi sitting in the distance as if afraid to advance, we began to suspect that there was something wrong. We got out some scissors, beads, and fish hooks, and gave the principal part of the people presents. On this they looked pleased, and one of them shouted to the chiefs to come near- adding- "We are doing something just now, we shall not beat you till bye and bye." From the jocular tone, however, of the person who said this we took no notice of it. After some conversation with them on Divine things we arose and said "well now we shall go and see our friends at Ratobus and some other places, and on our way back we shall call again." Immediately they all got up and implored us not to go a step towards Ratobus- telling us with all possible earnestness the old tale: "they will kill you, and cook you, and eat you." Knowing no reason how it was likely to be otherwise with us at Ratobus, than at many dreaded places where we had received the greatest kindness, we insisted on going on. Not one of them, however, would accompany us altho' the distance was not more than a quarter of a mile. On turning into the way, we saw a man before us who waved for us to come on and said that he would shew us the way. In a few minutes we were at Ratobus, and there we found some forty or fifty men assembled in the marum. They seemed to me the finest looking natives I had seen at Tana. We recognized a few who had lately visited us at our own house, and who seemed pleased to see us. The most of them we had not seen, and many of these looked exceedingly sullen and suspicious; and even when we got out and distributed our presents they sat in the distance and would not come near. In course of conversation, we were asked some questions about the causes of disease- these we answered- tried to convince them of their moral maladies, and to lead their minds to Jesus as the way to Eternal life. We then prayed, and got a good many to kneel down with us. This was our first and our last religious service with them. Whenever I knelt down to conduct the devotions, a fellow came round and took up his position behind me- seized his club with both hands, and by his looks and attitude betrayed his awful intention to Bro. Nisbet. I did not see him, but Bro. N. kept his eye fixed upon him all the time I prayed, and this was the means of enervating him. We intended to
have gone farther, but this unaccountable procedure led us to return without any delay. On reaching iarofi again we talked for a few minutes with one of the old chiefs—shook hands and passed on. I had not gone many yards until I saw a fellow a few yards to my left with his hand uplifted and about to throw his kawas at me (The kawas is a long piece of stone or iron which they throw in war when near enough to aim a blow at the head). At the same moment an old woman rushed forward, and seized his arm— he struggled to get clear, but his other hand in which he had his club was immediately made fast by some others who rushed upon him. On making inquiry into the matter we found the man's name was Nari meta, and many reasons were given for his mysterious conduct. Some said that it was on account of a quarrel which one of the teachers had a long time before with one of their friends,—others said that they thought us disease makers—other that they did not wish us to go near their sacred land, and most of all either could not or would not give us any reason, and what was most perplexing this last class, included those with whom we were most intimate, and upon whom we were greatly dependant for information. We did not rest, however, until we made inquiry in every direction respecting these Kasurumene people, and it was now that we for the first time learned that they are the disease makers which I have already described to you, and that from them we were in all probability about to meet with undisguised opposition. The great object of our mission was now better understood, and it was being better & more extensively seen, not only what Xnty was, but likewise what it was likely to do. These men saw that if it prevailed they should be sunk to the level of common men—should no longer be called "sacred" and be propitiated as disease makers—should never again see multitudes daily approaching them laden with offerings to propitiate their favor and avert threatened evil. This they could not brook, and doubtless the attempt upon our lives at iarofi was the first blow towards our extermination and the defence of the craft.

G. Turner, Port Resolution, Tanna, 19 December 1842, SSJ, L.M.S.
Saturday. January 7 (1842) On the following Wednesday Temen died and was buried— he who was at the head of that treacherous party only four days before. He was cut off by Dysentery which had for some time been raging all around, with the remarkable exception of this immediate district in which we resided. As the priestcraft at Kasurumene were especially smarting under the rod, almost all supposed that we were causing this epidemic as a punishment for the repeated attempts made at our lives. Now, these Kasurumene men came and lurked for us by night and by day, bent upon our destruction. One night four of them were undoing the back gate of our teachers' fence to come in closer to the house when their attention was arrested by something red on the beach in front of the house. They thought that it was one of our servants, who sometimes wore red shirts; and, rushing towards the object, one threw his spear and another his kawas. They listened— but not hearing a groan or noise of any description they got frightened and ran off, supposing it to be a spirit. The kawas and spear were found on the beach in the morning and this led to a discovery. These very men were seized with dysentery and some of not all of them died. It was said that they all died.

These wily priests now succeeded in mustering a powerful party against us— all seemed to believe that we had this fatal disease entirely at our disposal. The district in which we lived being free from it, and its raging among our avowed enemies confirmed them in this supposition. Two old men were sent down one day by our principal chief to implore us to be propitious still to himself— his father— and the district. I talked for a long time with them but could not get them to see their delusion— and to believe that we were all exposed to disease, as well as themselves and that I did not know but I might be attacked myself and dead in a day or two. "No" said they, "no, you are a great chief an everlasting chief— disease will never gnaw you! About this time, some asked us if we would accept a pig and some other things as a propitiatory offering saying that on a former occasion they gave our teachers a pig and some yams which were received and effectual in removing a similar epidemic. On inquiry at our teachers as to this they say that at the time referred to they did receive a present, but they considered it on occasion of entering their new house...

One disaster now followed another in rapid succession and speedily brought things to a crisis. Seeing that all their counsels against us had been brought to nought, these Kasurumene men now mustered a powerful party— upwards of three thousand men I should think— came and implored our people to join them in an open attack upon us and have the horrid work done completely and at once. On that dreadful morning, not knowing what was going on, we sent three of our Samoans up to the villages behind our house— to purchase food. Soon however they returned in consternation telling us what was about to take place— that our enemies were pouring into the land by a back road— that Lahi and many others whom he regarded as our best friends would not speak to them, and that they had
been entreated to run home for their lives and tell "Misi" to get guns loaded and not to go out of the house. Viavia sent a messenger privately to say the same thing; but before others of them came our suspicions were excited by seeing natives from the distance crowding past our house and going up the hill to the marum— all extra armed— and not calling as they were in the habit of doing to give us a friendly salutation. For a moment we knew not what to do. We had a desire to go up and defend ourselves before them, but I believe that if we had done so, we should never have returned. We could only pray— and this was everything... We rose from our knees and sat for a moment listening— not knowing but that the first sound we should hear would be the yells of these deluded savages thirsting for our blood. On looking out we were surprised to see that the horizon had suddenly blackened, and that a heavy squall was rapidly approaching. A few minutes— and we were enveloped in a darkness singularly emblematical of our circumstances. It burst upon us, and continued long and as the thunder roared we could not help hearing it as the promising and warning voice of the omnipotent. We gave thanks for the storm and soon found that it had the anticipated effect of hurrying the awful meeting to a close. Many who sat at a distance on the beach waiting on the result ran off, and now we heard others hurrying down the hill... On coming down they hurried past our house making all haste home, and from this we concluded that the decision was in our favour.

In the afternoon Kuanuan came down and told us what had taken place. This was the only man upon whom we could now look as a friend, and who to the last showed less treachery than any one. He said that Nauiau the aged father of our chief Viavia had died that morning and that a few of them had just met to condole with him when our enemies came and made known their desire. I asked how this circumstance called together at this moment when they were wanted a few of the principal chiefs who had pledged themselves to protect us! Kuanuan especially defended us, and upon him they gnashed with their teeth and said that he and his village were marked out for destruction. At length they came to the point, and put the question to Viavia. He sat in silence for some time with his head down— a sign of great displeasure and then broke silence by saying in a sharp tone "If it is in your hearts to kill Misi— go and do so— I shall have no hand in it." By this time the squall had burst upon them, and on hearing these words they all got up in a rage and went off, vowing vengeance upon us and all who adhered to us. The people of the adjacent districts were all assembled in their respective marums waiting the decision of Viavia. Many of them on account of the disease had by this time become our enemies, but they all wished to act unitedly, and, as Viavia was the chief of the largest district, they resolved to be guided by him. Viavia had for about two months been confined to his village by rheumatism— had been greatly relieved by
our medicine— and firmly believed— notwithstanding all we could do to the contrary— that we were saving the district from dysentery; and on these grounds probably more than on any other gave our enemies a denial. These deluded people alleged the diseases as their reason for such cruel procedure; I think, however, that it was not this as much as a conviction that their craft was in danger.

Hearing that our enemies had gone off annoyed and vowing vengeance upon us and all who protected us, we feared an immediate attack. And we doubted whether our friends would unite to sustain it. Many around us who had been most friendly, now, on account of the sickness became suspicious, and would not come near us. If we attempted to stop and talk with them as we often did on meeting they would hurry past saying: "good bye" and pretend that they did not hear us. These things led us to fear that our people would not unite and stand up to protect us as they had promised. On the following day, we gave them all a present— upwards of twelve chiefs and their people shared at the time. We said it was a token of our gratitude for their adherence to us, when those evil designing men came and made such wicked proposals. We said nothing of our fears as to an attack, but had no doubt, that this, in the event of it, would be a means of uniting them. Next day was sabbath, and we had an unusual turn out at the services. We feared that there might be some enemies lurking among the party, but, under the covert and in the strength of the Almighty, we went and preached to them as usual. At the close of the afternoon service, I saw among the crowd, outside a lot of these Kasurumene men, and immediately heard some loud talking about war. We told some of our chiefs to follow us, and walked quietly away to the house. They came a good deal agitated and said: "These men say they want medicine for their friends who are ill of dysentery, and are threatening war." We at once made up some fifty doses of medicine and handed it out to them through our chiefs. Our chiefs would not allow us to go outside— we succeeded however in speaking a few kind words to them from the doorway. There is no doubt I think that they came for a diabolical purpose. They knew that generally we had but a few unarmed people at the service in the afternoon. On account of the present it was on this occasion very different, and great must have been the astonishment of the enemy in coming near to find not only the little chapel crowded but many many more outside all mostly armed. Here again we mark the finger of God.

Well— they went away, and, in two hours the war was formally declared by killing one of the people belonging to our party. The victim was a boy and one of the two persons who killed him was the very Nari meta who at Iarofi made such a daring attempt at my life. Early on the following evening the whole land was in arms and down at our house wanting some of us to take the lead with a musket... "It is on your account that the people is coming upon us— are they to advance and burn down our
villages when you can keep them back? Are we to be killed when you can protect us? These were weighty arguments for savages. In reply we told them that we were the offended and not the offending party— that they had promised to protect us against the violence of any in the distance that were not fighting men such as they had seen in ships—that it was a thing absolutely forbidden by God—and that we dreaded his displeasure more than that of any who might wish to injure us. They especially felt the allusion to their own promise when we landed. There was still a hope that the enemy would not seek further mischief than the murder of the boy. We therefore begged our people not to retaliate, and to appease him we sent a present to the father of the boy. They all went to bury the child and sent for the enemy promising merely to defend themselves. There was no fighting that day. Early on the following morning, however, both parties met in the bush about three miles inland of our house. Our people kept united and sustained the attack without much injury. A desperate rush was made upon our friend Kuanuan, and he only escaped by running back and throwing his arms behind him. This is considered a great disgrace and one or two similar things infused additional courage into the enemy at the close of this first day's fighting. We now wished to go to sea and made for another island but it was impossible unless we had made up our minds to go to Erromanga. It was stormy and the wind right in that direction.

All were still clamorous for our help and it was distressing to hear them talking about "Missi's war" to see the wounded carried past our door—and to have every man and boy of the land asking something for fighting for us!! Next morning all were off again by daybreak. They met at the same place, but now the enemy had got great accessions of strength. The chief of our district who was taking the lead in room of Viavia, when he saw the multitudes of the enemy shouted to them "Come on and I shall join you and we shall go down and kill misi". Observe their treachery. He thought it was his only hope of safety for themselves. I have already remarked that it is common in war for a man to turn round upon his own party that he may run and be safe among the enemy. But "no" said some other chiefs "no—let us not be deceived—we have promised to protect "Misi". Here you see they are not all treacherous. Well-while they thus quarrelled among themselves the enemy advanced and took and burned one village and part of another. This enraged our people and united them a little but still the enemy came rapidly on. By the close of the day's fighting our people were greatly divided, and the few who seemed our friends were more urgent than ever for our fire arms as their last hope of safety. Still we told them plainly that we would not interfere, and on hearing this, again our friends frowned upon us and said that if we did not we should doubtless suffer...

About sunset they retired and all the evening people were carrying pigs and other property from the villages in-land to places near the sea as they had no hope that
these villages could be protected another day. From the
time our teachers were left at Tana up to that period
the people among whom they were placed and where we
lived had been considered the powerful party— and this th
they traced to the new religion. But when they saw one
village after another being taken and destroyed places
which from our having preached at them they considered
under the special protection of God— their confidence
vanished, and they began to cry out against Jehovah, and
in the most revolting terms to talk of their aremhas
(spirits) as invested with superior power and wisdom...

We had not one now whom we could really call our
friend. Kuanuan even had been heard to say that he would
ramuki misi— that he would cast us off— if we did not
let them have fire-arms. It appeared clear to us all that
there was no visible hope of safety on the coming day
but by firing upon the enemy. But at this we shuddered—
we could not— we dared not do it. We felt a willingness
to meet death in any form rather than be the murderers of
one of them. What then was to be done? After much delib­
eration and wrestling for Divine guidance we unanimously
determined to go out to sea at midnight, if the weather
abated a little, and try to find a way through the billows
to some adjacent islands...

G. Turner, Port Resolution, Tanna, 19 December 1842,
SSJ, L.M.S.
APPENDIX XI

... For the last two months this island has been fearfully scourged with measles and other disease. A vessel landed four young Tanna men will with measles about three months ago, and in a short time this epidemic spread all over the island. Some of the lads were killed for bringing the disease. Many have died, and the people are still dying in great numbers from the after effects. The mortality is so great in some places that many persons are left lying, here and there, on the earth unburied, or the door of the house is closed, and the dead body left to decay along with the house. The disease is still cutting off hundreds, and the people are for killing us, and burning our houses and all that belongs to us, because, they say, we are foreigners, and the foreigners brought this disease to Tanna which is killing them all. Many of the most important chiefs have died, and only three men are left who come to worship. The inland people say they are all dying, and the worship is in some way the cause of it, therefore they want to destroy the worship of God from Tanna; but the tribes around us say the worship is good, and the medicine is good, and that "it is only dark-hearted Tannese who blame missionaries for the sickness." I believe our cause has gained much ground during the sickness, if we are only spared to survive it.

The people around us come in crowds for medicine, consequently the mortality in Port Resolution has been small compared with that at a distance, which the natives know well. I a few weeks I used nearly 2000 pills, 30 lbs. of Epsom salts, a bottle of calomel, and another of jalap; a bottle of prepared chalk, and one of laudanum; a bottle of quine, and one of essence of senne; a bottle of tincture of rhubarb, and a quantity of the powder of rhubarb; sweet spirits of nitre, Dover's powder, and a large quantity of sulphur, which, though not in its purest state, is plentiful here. Sometimes forty persons will come for medicine in the morning before breakfast, which will likely cease when the measles leave us...

April 1st.- I feel sorry to add that I had scarcely recovered from my last fever, when I had a severe attack of "ague and fever"; but, through the divine blessing again, I am almost recovered, and hope it will not return; though our natives are suffering much from it at present. Mrs Johnston has had ague and fever twice and is now very weakly.

On the 5d., and again on the 10th of January, we had dreadful hurricanes. On each day, as the sky darkened, the barometer fell suddenly from 30.3 to 29.2. So we put stoops to our houses, and tried to prepare for it. The wind kept going round and round, and steadily increasing, till it fixed in the north and blew fearfully, as if commissioned to destroy everything that grew on the earth. It tore up the trees, smashed the bread-fruit, chestnut, and cocoanut trees, and strewed the ground with their half-ripe fruits. It tore the yams and reeds from the ground, threw down the bananas, and laid the houses and
fences of the natives in one common ruin. We trembled for the safety of our houses; but, being well protected by a large banyan tree, and by cocoa-nut trees, they stood it well. By God's kind protection they sustained little or no injury, though everything around us was destroyed. The sea rose to a great height, sweeping away trees, and rocks, and earth, with every wave. It foamed, and seemed as if it would spring from its basin in the bay, and swallow up everything around. The rain was like hail, and almost cut my face and hands. These storms have left our poor Tannese with nothing but apparent starvation...

A few nights after, we had a dreadful thunder-storm, which killed a man, a woman, and a pig, and cut a great hole about six steps in front of our house, removing about twenty cart loads of earth to a distance of nearly 200 feet.

On the 12th and 13th of March, again I got my mission ground and premises nicely fenced in, for which I felt thankful; but,

On the 14th the sea rose much higher than I had seen it in the bay. We had almost no wind, and yet it continued to rise, till, at two p.m., it had swept away a small coral island which stood before our old house, and brought pieces of coral ashore that would load a cart; and my new fence is destroyed, and about nineteen feet of our garden covered with coral, so that all I had planted is destroyed. It is sweeping away great trees that have grown for thirty or forty years unharmed. At 4 p.m. the barometer began to fall, the sky darkened, and yet there was very little wind. At 6 p.m. the sea still rises, the wind increases, and it is very dark. The barometer continues to fall, and all at once everything shines out from the darkness, having a green colour. The sky was a bright yellow, and the whole scene was awful. Soon after 7 p.m. the barometer fell from 30.3 to 29., where it remained for some hours during the strength of the hurricane. The sea now foamed fearfully, the wind roared, and the rain fell in torrents. Our houses writhed, and bent, and creaked under its tremendous pressure. At 8 p.m. Mrs Johnston had to leave our house, and had scarcely got into her own when it began to fall. I now got an Aneteum woman to take her to the teachers' house, which was better protected by great trees. Here all our people sought shelter, and the arm of a great breadfruit tree fell with its heavy end on the house, and all its branches on the ground, acting as supports to the house against the storm, and so it was preserved. At 8 p.m. two great trees that protected our church were blown down; and soon after the church was lifted from the ground, and though wall plates, studs, and roof kept firmly fastened together, yet it was thrown against some large cocoanut trees and borne down, partly on one of its sides. The box, containing the windows for my new dwelling-house was smashed to pieces, and the windows fell under its ruins, yet not a pane of glass was broken. I had now to put out all lamps and fires, and it was very dark. All my store-house, except ten feet occupied as a bedroom, was blown down, the
roof being iron and wood, kept firmly fastened together, and bent down upon its site, its sides being blown down. I think the wood of both church and store will be useable again. As we durst not keep near our houses, but had to watch the ruins for fear of our property, which was exposed, being stolen, I went and stood at the foot of a large bread-fruit tree, one of the arms of which fell at my feet, but did me no injury. I now left for the shelter of a large chestnut tree, the roots of which also shook the surrounding earth as if it would fall every moment; so leaving this tree I went and stood in an open piece of ground under the pouring rain, for I could hear nothing but crashes as branch after branch, and tree after tree, yielded to the storm. My church, school-room, store, wright's shop, cook-house, goats'-house, and fences were all blown down, and everything growing around was much destroyed. At Mr Matheson's station, except one bedroom, all his houses are also swept away by waves and wind. His boat is also much injured, and rendered useless for the present. My small house shook, creaked, and rent, but did not fall, which was a great blessing for us, or we would have been left houseless among savages who are continually thirsting for our blood. Had not our merciful God preserved Mr Matheson's bedroom and mine, undoubtedly they would also have fallen, for they were the least protected of all our houses. I was drenched, being out in the rain for above four hours, and yet I felt none the worse for it. We have suffered much loss by the falling of our houses; for besides losing the houses, many things are smashed under the ruins, where nearly all my books are and must remain for some time. The sea was round our old house; and men, who appear to be about thirty years of age, say they have seen nothing like it. The yams, fruits, fruit trees, and fences of our Tannese are all levelled with the ground, and their canoes are mostly destroyed. It will be years before our natives recover from the damage to property they have now suffered. The sea swept away several villages, and the natives fled to the open grounds of their plantations on a hill for safety.

Friday was a very calm, delightful day, but on Saturday, at nine A.M., we had a severe squall, which shook our house, and caused the sugar-cane leaf to stand right up, so that the rain poured down upon us. The wind became stronger, the sea again roared and foamed, and our poor house trembled. At dark the wind veered round and fixed in the north, just opposite to our Thursday's heavy wind; and, till after twelve midnight, it blew as if commissioned to destroy all that had escaped Thursday's strong south wind, so that everything wears a dismal appearance. My house still stands, and this wind did not affect Mr Matheson's station. We had no hurricanes last season, but we have had four this season. Last season we had a very large crop of yams, and of all Tanna fruits more than our natives could destroy; but this season the fruits are all destroyed, and the yams are so injured that they will be few and small; so I fear they have five or six months' starvation.
before them if the yams were done. This time they have not blamed us for making the winds, &c.

On the 6th of January one man was killed, and a day or two after another was killed, for bringing the measles to Tanna. On the 16th of February four men were killed, as servants to follow the spirit of the infant of Miaki (our great war chief), that had just died. For four days they were eager to kill us also and for three days we had to keep our house locked, and durst not go out, as we were besieged by multitudes of savages, armed and watching an opportunity to take our lives; yet they did not think of breaking our doors or windows to accomplish their purpose, and God graciously preserved us from them. They killed my fowls, cut down my bananas, and broke down my fences, and speared my goats, and tried to burn our house, but failed. On the 1st of March again, our people killed four men, and gave their bodies to chiefs, who feasted on them, and who gave a large fat pig in return for each of the ten bodies received. They have killed and feasted on thirteen or fourteen persons within a few months. I hear nothing of these murders till they are over. Two bodies were presented for a feast to the people of a near village, where we conduct worship on Sabbath; but the people refused, saying they knew it was wrong to eat human flesh, but another chief was at hand eager to obtain them for a feast. As our people become much excited at these times, and tried often to kill us, Nowar the chief advised us all to leave, and go to Aneiteum, and he would go with us; but as I refused, for a few weeks he laid aside his shirt, went naked like the others, painted his face, and attended some of their meetings, and was absent from worship for three Sabbaths; but now he is again friendly as before, and attends to religious duties as previously stated.

We were almost engaged in a public war; but by talking with the chiefs, I have got them all to promise to oppose it, so that I hope it is stopped for the present. They often talk about it, but they seem afraid, and restrained from engaging in public war.

Our people seem more mild and friendly at present, and many of the chiefs have visited me of late. Inland, many are dying in measles, and consequently the people are all talking bad, and threatening to kill us all, and to banish the worship from benighted Tanna; but God is all sufficient, and our hope is in him...

APPENDIX XII

In our last letter we stated that at a great meet­
ing or feast, the harbour people declared that they were now favourable to Christianity, and would fight no more except on the defensive. Since that we have enjoyed universal peace (which is a new thing on Tana), except on one morning when a quarrel between two chiefs led the people on the opposite sides of the bay to meet in deadly conflict. Being awakened by the war-cry, in a few minutes I was on the shore among them and succeeded in getting them separated and made friends, not, however, till three men had been severely wounded, and many club blows inflicted. Since that morning we have been wel­comed to conduct worship among the Kasirumeni people, who were formerly our worst enemies. At some of their villages we meet about thirty persons at worship, and all listen attentively. A few days ago our old friend Nowar became offended with one of his under chiefs, and clubbed him till he was left for death. The abused chief's brother met with his men and said,"We will not go to war to revenge the abuse of my brother. Let us hold to missi's word, and if it is true, Jehovah will take revenge and punish Nowar."

About two months ago a banished chief, who was living here, left in a canoe to visit his wife and family, but as he attempted to land his people took his life, they said, because he had once caused the death of some party by witchcraft. This chief was a regular attender at worship on Sabbath, and much re­spected by our people, consequently a meeting was called, at which thirty chiefs and many of their people were present, and resolved to take revenge, but I reasoned with them till they resolved to live in peace, and made me promise to go and reprove the murderers, which I did on the following Sabbath, but the men all fled as I approached the village. Next Sabbath one of the Kasirumeni chiefs killed and feasted on five men. My Aneiteum teacher, who was clubbed by the Tanese, died soon after in consequence of injuries sustained. Three chiefs have died, and their widows have all been spared; and as a whole, women and children are more kindly treated now, but I have just heard of a chief's wife being strangled about three miles inland by "Ramus", a young chief lately returned from spending five years in and about Sydney. This is the only case that has come to my knowledge since January last; and as we sometimes meet seventy men at his village, at worship on Sabbath, who profess to have given up such conduct, I did not suspect that they would take his life; but as yet no confidence can be placed in their professions.

Our people having agreed to live in peace, their enemies called a meeting and passed the same resolution, and armed two powerful young chiefs, appointing them to come to the mission house at midnight, and let me know the result of their meeting. Next morning I sent for our chiefs and informed them of my visitors and their message, which led to a great meeting being called, at which they enjoyed a united feast and became
friends, and since, those who for many years previously never met except in war, have been daily feasting together and making presents to each other in the most friendly manner. I have been invited to attend nearly all the meetings, and, by the divine blessing, my advice is generally followed. For the last three months I have occupied much time in connection with such meetings, and at them I have become familiar with all the leading men on this side of Tana, and communicated religious knowledge to many whom I could not have otherwise met with.

On Friday last all the harbour people were invited to attend a meeting about seven miles inland, but they said, "If missi will not accompany us we will not go;" so Mr Johnston and I went at the head of a very large and noisy procession, loaded with pigs and presents for the inland people; behind us was a herald making the bush echo with his trumpet-shell announcing our approach; next to him were the leading men, followed by their people all yelling and singing as if bereft of reason. Some of the leading men had the honour to sit or stand on the backs of pigs, carried on their men's shoulders, which made the cries of the poor creatures add to the deafening noise. Our people clubbed eighteen fat pigs, and gave other gifts to the inland people, who in return gave eight large pigs and other presents to our people. The day was spent making and hearing speeches all of a peaceful, friendly character. I was invited to address the meeting, after which the chiefs unitedly declared that this day had put an end to all their fighting and bad conduct, and that now they would live in peace and learn to worship Jehovah. Our leading chief said, "We all, who follow missi, are his friends, and obey his word, and you see we are many; and we want all the inland people to return in peace, and worship Jehovah. Let us have one talk, and one conduct, and one heart. Before we began to fight we were many like the sand, but now we are few, and yet hating and killing each other in the service of Karipanamun (Satan) /Karaperamum/. Will we all live in peace now, and hear and obey the word of Jehovah, or what will we do?" A great inland chief answered for all, saying, "Your word is good. We have done with war and bad conduct. Missi's friends are many. Let us all be his people and learn to worship Jehovah. You have fought with us and we have fought with you till our people are nearly all killed. We who are left are old men. Let us live in peace, and every one go to his own land without fighting. Missi, this day is the finish to our bad conduct."

I feel exceedingly sorry to inform you that a boat has called here with the heartrending news that the Erromangans have treacherously murdered Mr and Mrs Gordon, our beloved missionaries. The boat was brought here by a Tahitian and a party of Erromangans, and was said to belong to Mr Underwood of Aneityum. The party came here after dark last night and left before daylight this morning, but they left an Erromangan lad here, and today Nowar, our friendly chief, brought him to tell me of this awful tragedy...

The party who came in the boat met during the night with our harbour chiefs, and urged them to kill my "Aneityum servant and me, and then Mr and Mrs Matheson, and then they proposed to go to Aneityum to assist in performing such horrifying work, for they had heard that the Aneityumese had burned Mr Geddie's church, and now hated the worship of Jehovah; and so they thought to destroy God's servants and his worship at once from all these islands. But as our chiefs refused to kill me at present, or to agree to their plan of destruction, and informed them that it was only one man who burned Mr Geddie's church, and that he was lying in irons and would be severely punished, they all agreed at once to return to Erromango.

Today our premises have been thronged with armed men, some from inland districts and some from Mr Matheson's station, and nearly all rejoicing and praising the Erromangans for killing God's servants. I heard the leader of a large party saying to them—"The men of Erromango killed Misi Williams long ago. We have killed some of the Samoan and Rarotongan teachers. We banished Misi Turner and Nisbet from our land. We killed an Aneityum teacher on Aniwa, and since Misi came we killed one of his Aneityum men, and no man-of-war came to punish the Erromangans or us for killing the servants of Jehovah. Let us talk about killing Misi Paton and the Aneityumese till we see if a man-of-war does punish the Erromangans, and, if not, let us all unite in killing the missionaries, and banishing the worship of Jehovah from our land." An inland chief also said in my hearing, "My love to the Erromangans. They are bold, good men. The Erromangans to kill Misi and his wife, and to destroy the worship of Jehovah. Our love to the Erromangans."

I said God would punish the Erromangans with eternal misery for such wickedness, and that God was angry with him for such bad talk at present. But as they cried out "Our love to the Erromangans", and were becoming excited, I left them...

Tonight many of our natives are assembled at their village dancing-ground dancing, singing, and yelling, as they do on all great occasions, so that this massacre has caused almost universal joy on Tanna. Such is the infatuation of our natives. Even Nowar, who comes regularly to worship, and is very friendly, had painted his face, and was armed with his bows and axe that he bogsts has killed three men and one woman. I asked him how he could profess to love God and his worship, and yet rejoice at his
servants being killed. He answered, "Truly, Misi, they have done well. It is very good. For, if the people of Eromanga are severely punished for this, we will all hear of it, and our people will be afraid to kill you, and Mr and Mrs Matheson, as as to destroy the worship from our land. They all say that the Eromangans killed Misi Williams, and that we have killed Samoan, Rarotongan, and Aneityum teachers, and foreigners, and no man-of-war has come to punish us; and now, if the Eromangans are not punished, by and by they will kill you, and the Aneityumese, and me, and all who worship at your house." I said, Nowar, let us all be strong to love and worship Jehovah, and he will protect us. It is only bad talk at present. He shrugged his shoulders, saying, "Misi, by and by you will see, mind I tell you the truth. I know the Tanese better than you. How is it that Jehovah has not protected Misi Gordon the man, and Misi Gordon the woman, and the Eromango people who worshipped with them? If they are not punished by and by, our people will truly kill you and all who come to worship."

J.G. Paton to J. Kay, 10 June 1861, RPM, January 1862, pp. 35-7.
... On Saturday, 3d August, Nowar and a party of Miaki's men came to our house at daylight, praising the Eromangans for killing God's servants, threatening me, and acting very wickedly. Nowar declared that Miaki would make a great wind, and sink any man of war that would attempt to come here, or they would all assemble and take the vessel, and kill all on board: "For the worship is lies, it makes us all sick, and kills us; if you and Abraham do not leave by the first vessel that calls, we will assuredly kill you." Here a crowd of natives came running to our house, crying, "Missi, missi! the John Knox is entering the bay, and two great ships of fire are following. Two ships of fire, missi! The smoke is very great!" I said, "It will be two men-of-war. Now make haste, and do as you have just threatened." But they all fled in terror; when Nowar whispered, "Missi, I know my talk is all lies; but if I speak the truth, they will kill me," and then in haste followed the others. Now from all parts of the district our friends assembled, and were very clamorous to have some of the leaders of our enemies punished in the sight of all; "and then we will all be strong to speak in your defence, and also to induce all the Tannese to worship Jehovah." Mr Geddie now came, followed by Commodore Seymour and Captain Hume, with two of H.B.M.'s ships of war. They came ashore and, after hearing how we were situated on Tanna, the commodore urged me to leave at once, and very kindly offered to remove me to Aneityum. But though my work has been very trying and dangerous since January last, and especially since the 18th of July, during which time I had not off my clothes, having to be constantly on my guard by night and day, yet I could not consent to leave my beloved Tannese to perish, for it would instantly have broken up the other stations also, and it is very unlikely that the present generation would have allowed a missionary again to land among them... Then, at my request, they kindly met a number of the leading men in our house, and gave them some good advices. And as they had no fault to find with me but the worship which would do them good, and as they had pledged themselves to protect me before I came among them, he made Miaki and the others give him their hand, and promise to protect me. Nauka spake for all, and said, through Lathella, who acted as interpreter with Mr Geddie, so as to keep me neutral. "Captain Paddon, and all the traders, tell us that the worship is the cause of all our sickness and death, and they all say they will not trade with us, and give us plenty of tobacco and pipes, powder, balls and caps, till we kill Missi; and after that they will send a trader to live at his house among us, and give us plenty. We love Missi; but when the traders all come and tell us that the worship makes us sick, and give us tobacco and powder to put him away or kill him, we believe them, and our hearts lead us to do bad conduct to Missi. Let Missi stop here, and we will try to love him; if you will tell "Queen Toria"
of our bad treatment, and prevent the traders from bringing sickness like the measles here to kill us all, and also prevent them from telling us lies to make us do bad conduct to Missi; for, if they come and talk as before, our hearts are very dark, and I fear we will again be led to do bad conduct to Missi." After the conversation, the commodore kindly invited all the chiefs to go and see his vessel, which they did, accompanied by Mr Geddie and me. After kindly shewing them through the vessel, a gun was fired, and then they saw all the men (about 300) at once; so that the advice given, and the kindness shewn them, might do them good; but as yet our Tannese cannot appreciate kindness, and it is only the grace of God that can influence them for good, or change their hearts, so as to interest them in salvation... The vessels sailed on Sabbath at daylight. I sent for Nowar, but he durst not appear while the vessels were here; yet, on Monday, as Mr Geddie left, Nowar had a great meeting on the shore, and said, "You have acted like children, to meet and speak with the missionaries and captains, who have told you lies to make you afraid. I knew better than to come and hear their lies. They will not punish then Eromangans, just as they have not punished us. They will talk to them— that's all; they are afraid of us. Give up Missi and the worship, it is lies." This poor man was our best friend, and is now become one of our bitterest enemies, without any known cause, unless it be that I gave him a blanket and an axe when his opposition began..."

Rev. and Dear Sir,— My last letter informed you that about sixty persons were now attending worship at my station; that they had put on clothing; that they were busy preparing to erect a new church; that they were eager to receive spiritual instruction; that a number of young men had begun to attend worship; and that, by God's blessing, our work was prospering as it had never done, which had so increased the hatred and opposition of our enemies that war between the two parties seemed inevitable.

Nauka, Miaki, and Karewick united against our people, and gave the challenge to war by killing a fat pig of Siranis's, cutting down my fences and bananas, killing three of my goats, and attempting to kill a chief's son who had come to stay at our house; and, though fourteen chiefs and their people were on our side, yet, notwithstanding of all these provocations, I got them to promise not to go to war unless some person was killed. Miaki and Nauka now said they would kill Jau by witchcraft, and then they would make a hurricane to destroy Missi's house, and kill him and all who attended worship; for they hated Jehovah and his word, as it caused the people to disregard their word and customs.

Jau, who was one of the most powerful chiefs on my side of the island, and one of my best friends, took ill and died in a few days; and a week after that we had a fearful hurricane, which destroyed yams and bananas, fruits and fruit trees, fences and houses, but left our mission-houses uninjured. Therefore, the inland people assembled in thousands to assist Siranis, Manuman, and our friends, to take revenge on Miaki and our enemies for all their base conduct.

The day after the hurricane Miaki came with all his associates to shoot me; but on seeing his forbidding appearance I asked for his wife, who was about to be confined, and gave him a blanket, a piece of calico, and a piece of soap, which he received, and after consulting with his followers, and shewing much hatred to us, they left.

Next morning (Saturday 18th) the war began; and as I had done my utmost to prevent it, both parties now urged me to keep my house, and they would do us no injury. But Miaki and his party took shelter, and fought round our houses, and though the balls fell thick near to it, God protected us from all harm. Jau's people now retired, and Nauka and Miaki gave a large present of food to the Inakahi and Kasirumini people to help them to fight Missi and the natives who now attended worship. The present was accepted, and they agreed to "kill and cook Missi and his two Aneiteumese at every village on Tanna, to steal all their property, and to burn all their houses." Our bodies were to be cut into small pieces, so that they might be sent to be cooked at all the public villages. So at five P.M. the whole party left to raise reinforcements for next morning, and yet Miaki and his friends assured me that the
present was given to keep them from doing me farther injury.

Next morning (Sabbath 19th) at daylight, our house was again surrounded by thousands of savages, howling and yelling. Miaki again sent them word, to "kill Missi, steal all his property, and burn his houses." So, headed by Hariwick, Esukarupi, and Ringian, the Inikahi and Kasirumini people began by discharging muskets at our house, and then they tried to beat in the walls with their clubs. They then smashed the window and door of my store-house, broke open boxes and casks, tore my books to pieces and scattered them about, and stole all that they could carry away, both of mission and of personal property. They also broke into my Aneityum teachers' house, and stole all it contained. They next made a rush at our house, firing muskets and howling fearfully. A chief called me to the window, professing great kindness, but instantly sent his axe through it, calling to all, "Come and kill them now." I said, "God will punish you for such bad conduct; and if you kill me, a man-of-war will punish you;" but he said, "It's all lies about a man-of-war," and instantly hundreds of muskets were presented at me, when again the chief cried, "Come on, let us all kill him," and aimed to strike his axe into my forehead; but on observing a revolver in my hand, he fell back and said something to the people, who instantly lay down for a few minutes, and then all fled for the nearest bush, where they kept howling and showing their fire-arms; and by this means God preserved our lives till about 5 P.M., when they all left.

I then went to see Maiki and Nauka, who professed great friendship, and seemed sorry at what had taken place; but assured me they would not return to-morrow, as they had given them a large present to do me no more injury; but our friends said the present was given to encourage them to kill us, steal our property, and burn our houses. Miaki said, "Missi, where was Jehovah today? There was no Jehovah to-day, to protect you. It's all lies about Jehovah. They all came to kill you, and Abraham and his wife, and to cut your bodies into small pieces, so that they might send you to be cooked and eaten at every village on Tanna." I said,"If such was your design, surely God has prevented you and them from doing so, and protected me, or I would not have been here; and rest assured God will punish such wickedness." He said, in great wrath,"Where is Jehovah? Where was Jehovah today? There was no Jehovah to-day, to protect you. The man-of-war dare not punish us, just as they durst not punish the Eromangans for killing Missi Gordon the man, and Missi Gordon the woman. We have no fear of a man-of-war now. His punishment is all lies; he will talk to us, that's all. And the Inakahi and Kasirumini people are resolved to kill and cook you; but I tell you the truth, they will not return to-morrow."

Rev. and Dear Sir,

... I cordially thank you, the Committee, and the Church for your kind and generous sympathy for our natives in their starving condition...

The fruit-trees were so much destroyed by the hurricanes, that the crop will be very small this year compared with former good years; yet if what is coming grows to perfection, it will be a great blessing to our poor natives, who have lived for nearly a twelve-month chiefly on the leaves and bark of trees. Though there has been bread-fruit nowhere else on Tanna, yet the third crop this season is coming fast to perfection on the trees around our mission-house, which has caused much astonishment among our natives, and is acknowledged by all to be the gift of God. Our enemies stole the first two crops just as they ripened, but as they were in want, we quietly let them take all. And even now my friends have brought me of the first-fruits, a few pieces of breadfruit and a basket of chestnuts; and after living exclusively on loaf-bread for twelve months, it seemed a pleasant change...

Mrs Matheson had a daughter in December last, and both mother and baby are doing well. To attend her during her confinement, I had to go to their station, and was detained longer than I expected. I hired Nowar and Jau, two friendly chiefs, to sleep at and take care of my house in my absence, and Mr Matheson's two Aneityum teachers went to assist my good old Abraham to look after things, and I believe they all tried faithfully to do their duty; yet our enemies succeeded in breaking both my bedroom windows, and in stealing some axes and other property. After that the house was guarded by the chiefs and their friends with muskets, and all our friends assembled at our house, and resolved to shoot the first person who was caught stealing from Missi when absent, which put a stop to the exertions of Miaki and his accomplices. But he sent and hired a party of Mr Matheson's people to go and kill me there. They accordingly came armed, and to deceive us, one chief sold Mr Matheson a fowl, and made strict inquiries about me, but as I was in my room writing, and had requested not to be disturbed, he did not see me; and after watching about till they were tired, they concluded I had gone last night and so they went and tried to kill Mr Matheson's goats; but as they fled, they took revenge by burning an old house, that had once belonged to an Aneityum teacher. Day after day the most alarming reports were circulated regarding the destructive work going on at Port Resolution by our enemies, but having used such means as were in our power, and entrusted all to the care of God, we followed what appeared to be the path of duty, and took little notice of such things.

On the day of my return, all our friends and some of our leading enemies assembled at our house, our friends rejoicing to see me back, and declaring their innocence of everything bad that had been done during my absence, our enemies scolding, and resolved to force
me again to leave and go to the south side, or to go and live inland, or they would kill me. I said I could not leave, and if they took my life God would undoubtedly punish them. Our friends now rose to a man, saying, "He is our Missi. He will stop here, and we will all worship Jehovah, and obey his word." Our opponents said, "As he lives on our land (my italics), he must leave it, and you can take him where you please." I said again, "I cannot leave my house and those who love me;" which led to the meeting being closed with threatening language on both sides, and a display of much bad feeling, our enemies threatening me, and our friends declaring that they would massacre Miaki and Nauka and their friends for their hatred to Missi.

As I walked to Mr Matheson's station, I got a very kind reception at every village on my way, and had worship with almost every group of natives I passed. On my return I resolved to visit all the remainder of my inland villages, which I had not visited since measles left. I was welcomed at every station, and some entreated me again to get Aneityum teachers to live among them; and with one apparent feeling of displeasure they expressed a strong desire to have revenge on Nauka, and Miaki, and Karewick, for their deceit and wickedness, and all said that "for the good of Tanno these men must perish." I urged all to love them, and try by kind treatment to make them friends.

Now, Sirania, Manuman and our friends, summoned all the people of my district to meet at our nearest village, Nowifa, for two days before Miaki's men had threatened Sirania, and killed a large fat pig of his; so they all came armed for war, and publicly declared that Miaki and his friends must die for their long continued wickedness, and a host of young men rose, presented their muskets, and cried, "Let us kill them just now." But Sirania and Manuman said, "Not till Missi comes, and we hear his word." Being sent for again and again, I went with Jau; and in order to make my advice have more influence, I took them a quantity of stripes of red calico, of which they are very fond. This being deposited on the ground in the centre of the ring, I went aside and sat down. Manuman and a number of my friends came and shook hands. Sirania said, "Missi, I told you that as your men-of-war sailed the sea, mine lived inland, and when needed, I would call them to protect you. Now you will not leave us, for here they are. Look around you; they are many, like the sand, and will protect you." "Missi, speak to us," was now uttered by many all around, when an old, bald-headed chief arose, and said, "Missi, I say it is good for us all to live here. We are all your people, I say. There is to be no more stealing from you or persecuting of you, or we will kill and cook those who do so. We have been talking about it all day." I then addressed the meeting, shewing how I loved them all, what I was living among them for, how they had acted and used me and my Aneityumese, and yet I loved them all, and would entreat them to live in peace, and love and
fear and worship God only, and he would reward them, otherwise he would punish them both here and hereafter; and concluded by saying, "I love Miaki, and Nauka, and you all, and entreat you all to unite and worship Jehovah, which alone will teach us to live in peace and happiness. Let us not fight in revenge, but live in peace, and worship Jehovah, and he will teach us to love each other. Miaki and Nauka, and many others, now cried out, "Missi's word is good; let us obey it," which was agreed to by Manuman and Sirania. I then left, saying, "My talk is done. Remember what I have said to you. My love to you all." There were some hundreds present, and it was the largest meeting and the most friendly I have had the pleasure of addressing for a twelvemonth. After I left, some of Sirania's under-chiefs said, "Let Miaki give our land which they took from our fathers in war, and we will come and live in peace among them, and if not, we will fight for it." I went and did what I could to reconcile the parties next day, when Jau and a host of followers brought Miaki and Nauka a large present to give up the land quietly; but the young men said, "This is our quarrel, and not yours, Missi, and if they don't take our present, we will have revenge for all their bad conduct. However, Miaki and Nauka took the present, promising to give up the land peacefully. Now all Sirania's young men came to the path near our house, and Jau cried, "Abraham, tell Missi that now you and Missi live on our land. This path is the march boundary between them and us. Now they can have no claim to Missi's land. All is ours, and you and Missi can take of our cocoa-nuts and bread-fruit what you require. You are our friends, living on our land, and we will protect you. Their own talk has led to this." It is causing much excitement in our favour, and I hope it will end in good. Oh, that God may keep us from being again involved in war!

A severe war inland, in which on some days as many as ten men have fallen and been feasted on, has forced hundreds of people down from the mountains, and they have mostly taken shelter under Sirania and his people, and are active, mild, and friendly to me. Nauka once summoned all our people to join the inland war, but next morning he left for it with only one attendant, and becoming faint-hearted, he turned and came home next day. Last week Miaki summoned our people again to join the war, but next morning he left with his brother and six or seven boys; but as the enemy had heard of his desire, the night before they had surprised and shot two of his leading friends. On hearing this, he returned about midday with his boys, being laughed at by all our people, having universally refused to join him.

Next day Nauka came, professing great friendship, and entreat ing me to go with him and Miaki to see and talk with the volcano district people; but as I refused to go, he urged exceedingly, and seemed much disappointed. Two days after, Nowar and some others came and informed me, that as three persons had died in that district, and
two persons were very ill, the people had agreed to kill me, if possible, for the worship causing their sickness and death; so they entreated me to be on my guard, and on no account to go out after dark, as the same party who tried to kill Mr Johnston and me on last New Year's day were now lurking about to kill me or Abraham. Thus again God has frustrated another attempt of Nauka's and of Miaki's to get my life taken.

I feel delighted to inform you that now about sixty persons attend worship on Sabbath morning at our house, and they are very quiet and attentive. Twelve young men now attend regularly, and are often about my house, acting very affectionately. Last Sabbath we had also four women and ten children present, all nicely dressed from the box lately received from Stirling. After worship I have a Sabbath school for the young men and children; and, at midday, from sixteen to twenty persons, mostly men, return to our house to worship. Indeed, they spend the most of the Sabbath about our house, listen attentively to what is said, and act very quietly. Some of them also frequently come to worship on week-day mornings and evenings; and I do what I can to teach them letters, but as yet they will not come regularly to school. A few now ask a blessing on, and return thanks after, their food, and some pray morning and evening with their children in their families; and the most of my young men and children now say that they pray to God when they lie down and when they arise. If I give any of them who may call on a week-day a piece of biscuit they either ask a short blessing, or request me to do so, before they will taste it. Last month our work has been very encouraging, and even Miaki has visited me twice in a friendly manner; and though we have still much opposition, yet I rejoice that again my whole district is opened up for visiting, and preaching the gospel...

Yours, &c.,

JOHN G. PATON.

APPENDIX XVII

The prayer of the Tannese who love the Word of Jehovah to the Great Chief of Sydney

To the Chief of Sydney, the servant of Queen Victoria of Britannia, saying, We great men of Tanna dwell in a dark land. Our people are very dark-hearted, they know nothing good.

Missi Paton the man, Missi Matheson the man, and Missi Matheson the woman, have dwelt here four years (years) to teach us the worship of Jehovah; their conduct has been straight and very good, therefore we love these three missionaries, and the worship of Jehovah which they three have taught us Tannese.

Alas! a part, as it were; only three of our chiefs, whose names are Nauka, Miaki, and Karewick, besides Ringian, Enukarupi, Attica, and Namaka, they and their people hate the worship, and all good conduct like that which the word of Jehovah teaches us, and the people of all lands. These men all belong to four villages only; they have stolen all Missi's property; they have broken into his house; they have cut down his bananas; they have scolded and persecuted him, and they desire to kill Missi and to eat him, so that they may destroy the worship of God from the land of Tanna.

We hate exceedingly their bad conduct, and pray you the Great Chief of Sydney to punish these dark Tannese who have persecuted Missi, who have deceived Missi, who have altogether deceived the Great Chief (Commodore Seymour), and the Chief (Captain Hume) of the men-of-war, and who deceived the chief and other missionaries in the John Williams, who murdered one of Mr Paton's Aneityum teachers, who fought Messrs Turner and Nisbet, who killed Vasa and his Samoan people, who killed the foreigners, who have now fought and driven away our three missionaries; their conduct has been exceedingly bad, they destroy the kingdom of Tanna, kill the people and eat them all, and are guilty of bad conduct every day; our hearts hate their bad conduct, we are pained with it.

Therefore, we earnestly pray you the chief of Sydney to send quickly a man-of-war to punish them, and to revenge all their bad conduct towards Missi. Then truly we will rejoice, then it will be good and safe for the three missionaries to dwell here, and to teach us men of the devil; our hearts are very dark, we know nothing, we are just like pigs, therefore it is good for Missi to teach us the word and the worship of Jehovah the Great King. Long ago He was unknown to us here. Missi brought his knowledge to us here.

Our love to you the Great Chief of Sydney, the servant of Queen Victoria, and we earnestly pray to you to protect us, and to protect our missionaries, and the worship of God in our land, the land of Tanna. We weep for our missionaries; they three gave us medicine for our sickness, clothing for our bodies, taught us what is good conduct, taught us the way to
heaven; and of all these things long ago we had no knowledge whatever; therefore we weep and our hearts cling to these three, our missionaries. If they three are not here, who will teach us the way to heaven, who will prevent our bad conduct, who will protect us from the bad conduct of foreigners, and who will love and teach us all good things?

Oh compassionate us, Chief of Sydney! Hold fast these three, our missionaries, and give us them back, and we will love you and your people. You and your people know the word of Jehovah. Oh! look in mercy on us dark-hearted men going to the bad land, to the great eternal fire, just like our fathers who are dead.

May Jehovah make your heart and the hearts of your people sweet towards us, to compassionate us, and to look in mercy on our dark land, and we will pray Jehovah to make you good and give you a rich reward.

The names of us the chiefs of Tanna who worship towards Jehovah:

- YARISI X his mark
- RUAWA X his mark
- KAPUKA X his mark
- TAURA X his mark
- FIRMINGO X his mark
- MANUMAN X his mark
- NUARU X his mark
- NEBUSAK X his mark
- KAUA X his mark
- NOWAR X his mark

Literal translation of a Petition sent subsequently to the flight of the Missionaries, by certain chiefs of Tanna, to the Governor of N.S.Wales.

Tanna is divided into a number of districts, each of which has a name, reminding one of familiar tribal divisions of the Holy Land. The people of these districts are wrongly called tribes. The names of districts... are descriptive of the district to which it is given, or of some feature in it. The people living in such a district are called by the name of the district, whatever the origin of the people. The people here are Numeragusimini, the people in the district south of us are called the Numakasuramini. Numa is about equal to the open field; gusi and kasuru are the descriptive parts of the above names; mini is probably a plural termination. In such a district families are to be found who claim a spot in far distant districts as their native place. Still the people in a district are in a strict sense, and according to native ideas, one people, though they have no common chief. In such a district there are smaller divisions indicated by the proximity of villages, or in a smaller division by the proximity of families. The distinguishing feature of these smaller divisions is the use of a common Imeium, or public square... Literally the name means club-house... There are scores of Imeiums in a single district, many of which are now never or seldom used. At the Imeium, the men generally eat their evening meal; there always they drink their kava unseen by females; there the councils are held and festivals celebrated. When there is an Imeium for a people, they have a chief.

There are two great divisions of the people which, to a large extent, are geographical. These are known as the Numrikwenim and the Kauyameramin. The people living on the south end along part of the east coast of Tanna are the Numrikwenim. The Kauyameramin occupy the opposite side of Tanna. Kauyamere is the name of a very small black bird (possibly a humming bird) with bright scarlet breast and long slender curved beak. It is connected with the myth about Teramsamus and Matik-tiki /Mauitikitiki, the Polynesian culture hero/. The explanation given of this name in connection with the division of the people is, that the Kauyameramin decorate their faces and bodies with red paint. The Numrikwen are not supposed to use red paint for this purpose. The termination mera means blood or bloody. Kau is a root found in the names of other birds, as Kauyamit, the owl. I have been able to get no explanation of Numrikwen. I should say that in time of peace Kauyameramin people are found living among the Numrikwen. But all are afraid to go into another's districts unless there are friends whose protection can be claimed.

There is still another division which takes no account of districts or the division just given. The people living on the coast all round the island are Kwatahrenimin, those inland are the Niiele Asolimin, the people who make big feasts, or Numatakeiyiv. These are undoubtedly the names of divisions, like our rustic. The exact meaning of Kwatahrin I do not know, but the idea it expresses is, "those fellows down below". Niiele Asolimin got their name from the high price they set on
their things. For a very small yam they expect a large pig... The meaning of Numatakeiyiv I do not know, except that it is one of derision. A similar term to the above in pidgin English is "man bush". Hence a person who does a thing in an awkward manner is "man bush".

These divisions are of importance in matters of war. The Kwatahren and Numatakeiyiv are divisions that do not count in war. The others all do. War may exist between two villages in the same district, or between the people of one district and that of another district, or the people of several districts may be united in carrying on war against a single district or several united districts. Still these are called small wars and the indignities of cannibalism are not perpetrated on the fallen foe. But a war between Numrikwen and the Kauyamera is a great war, the Crimea of the Tannese. One district of the Numrikwen may be at war with another district of the Numrikwen yet both carry on war against the Kauyamera. In all wars it is life for life. But in the great war it is any man of the Kauyamera for one killed in the Numrikwen. If a man at the south end of the Kauyamera region kills a Numrikwen, the life of a man at the north will do to pay for him.

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Carte des villages

- Village peuplé
- Village abandonné

Entre parenthèses, autre nom du village, ou village abandonné sans localisation précise

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**Phonétique**
- u-ou français: é-eu, de heure
- u- ou allemand: é-eu, de jeu
- ng-ce son dans l'anglais: king
- e-e, de jeu
toutes les lettres sont prononcées

**Carte établie par le laboratoire d'Ethnologie de l'Institut Français d'Océanie**

**District de Tanna, Nouvelles Hébrides**

**District de Waesis**

- Village peuplé
- Village abandonné

Entre parenthèses, autre nom du village, ou village abandonné sans localisation précise

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