

THE WOULD-BE EMPIRE BUILDER.

Tem Binoka, ruler of the State of Abemama, comprising the islands of Abemama, Kuria, and Aranuka in the central Gilbert Islands, might well be identified in Pacific history as either a caring, benevolent despot, or a scheming, ruthless tyrant. But perhaps he may best be remembered for his attempts to found a Gilbertese empire. This was the principal ambition of his life, which must have no doubt been whetted by the earlier achievements of his forbears, Kaitu and Uakeia, in subjugating all the southern islands, as well as those of the north save for Butaritari and Little Makin, whose Uea (high chief) sought peace, or by the achievements of Kamehameha in Hawaii or Pomare in Tahiti.

And yet, despite all the advantages he enjoyed - a powerful and secure political and economic base in the centre of the archipelago, his assets of armaments and ships, the almost certain failure of the regamuffin republics elsewhere in the Gilberts to oppose him successfully, and the debauched and decadent royal State of Butaritari and Little Makin which would probably have fallen into his lap like overripe fruit if he had assailed it - he failed to achieve his overriding ambition.

It may well be wondered why this was so in view of all the advantages he enjoyed. The answer must surely lie in the manner of his rule in the State of Abemama, and the consequent distrust with which the inhabitants of the other islands viewed him. It is a curious fact that his advantages, no less than his mistakes, contributed to his failure to achieve his overriding ambition. But it must be said that the final blow to his imperialist designs was the result of the most extraordinary political faux pas on his part, which leads one to suspect his reputation for intelligence.

His pedigree was unimpeachable. Thus Robert Louis Stevenson wrote in Chapter VII of his book, entitled "In the South Seas":-

"... our king counts cousinship with most of the high families in the archipelago, and traces his descent to a shark and a heroic woman. Directed by an oracle she swam beyond sight of land to meet her revolting paramour, and received at sea the seed of a predestined family".

Though Tem Binoka outwardly treated the story with some reserve, yet he was proud of the legend, an interesting sidelight on which is the fact that, on his visit to Abemama on the 4th July, 1893, Sir John Thurston, the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, recorded that he saw:-

"a tricolour flag flying with a shark proper sable natant lengthwise on the three colours. This we heard was designed by Mr. R.L. Stevenson while on a visit some years ago".

His forbears were men of great distinction. Thus, his grandfather reduced both Kuria and Aranuka to the status of tributary islands to Abemama.

His grandfather was both a renowned warrior and statesman, defeating rebellious subjects, consolidating his dynasty's power over Abemama itself, and bringing the other two islands under more direct centralized control.

His father, who succeeded to power in about 1850, was also a man of many talents, but equally of utter ruthlessness. Thus, soon after assuming power, he caused every foreigner on the three islands of Abemama, Kuria and Aranuka to be killed, since he found that the beachcombers and traders exercised a demoralizing influence on the indigenous population. Nor were missionaries permitted to stay on the islands. Two of the factors which ensured his success were that he took stern measures to control the importation of arms of every description into the State, and to forbid the manufacture and consumption of the intoxicating sour toddy. Whilst he was not himself an outstanding warrior, the same could not be said of his brother who was a renowned fighter with a reputation for being merciless, as witness the manner in which he put down rebellion on the islands of Kuria and Aranuka with great carnage.

But, if the uncle was the warrior, the father was the statesman, trader, economist and, remarkably, even an initiator of limited social services. He established a centralized and paternalized government in the State, and brought the import and export trade into a single marketing organization firmly under his sole control. Further, the new political and social structure which he established, with himself as the Uea (high chief), was admirably designed to maintain a stable dictatorship, in fact a highly centralized and highly efficient autocracy.

Stevenson, in the same chapter of the book above-mentioned, writes thus of Tem Binoka's father (Tem Baiteke), and of his uncle (Tem Binatake):-

" Tembaiteke, our king's father, was short, middling stout, a poet, a good genealogist, and something of a fighter; it seems he took himself seriously, and was perhaps scarce conscious that he was in all things the creature and nursling of his brother. There was no shadow of dispute between the pair: the greater man filled with alacrity and content the second place; held the breach in war, and all the portfolios in time of peace; and when his brother raved him, listened in silence, looking on the ground. Like Tengkoruti (their father), he was tall and lean and a swift walker - a rare trait in the islands. He possessed every accomplishment. He knew sorcery, he was the best genealogist of his day, he was a poet, he could dance and make canoes and armour ... his own activity inspired his followers; and the swiftness of his blows beat down, in one lifetime, the resistance of three islands; he made his brother sovereign, he left his nephew (Tem Binoka) absolute. 'My uncle make all smooth' said Tembinok. 'I mo' king than my father; I got power' he said with formidable relish".

Indeed, according to Stevenson, 'I got power' was Tem Binoka's favourite expression.

Such then was Tem Binoka's rich inheritance when, aged in the mid-thirties, he took over power from his father in the year 1878.

Unfortunately, however, he was spoilt. His father apparently made little or no effort to curb his extravagances, and left him to be brought up by what Stevenson describes as the inmates of "the palace of many women", and other palace favourites. His character was shaped accordingly. So, it is scarcely to be wondered at that he was inclined to be selfish and arrogant, with an autocratic nature emerging at the slightest hint of opposition. This trait was also probably the cause of his unpredictability and emotionalism, the latter remarked upon a number of times by Stevenson.

It has been said that he was intelligent, but I prefer Stevenson's statement that Tem Binoka was "cunning by nature" and, indeed, Stevenson emphasizes the fact of his "cunning" more than once. If only he had been a person of average, or above average, intelligence, he would surely never, if he had considered the circumstances calmly and deeply, have virtually cast away all possibilities of establishing an empire by his faux pas in 1884.

He was, however, apparently a man of wide interests, as revealed by his insatiate thirst for detailed knowledge about Europeans and every aspect of their civilization - in the fields of government, the law, the police, money, medicine, and even etiquette - according to Stevenson. But, as the latter wrote of Tem Binoka:-

"The king is no such economist. He is greedy of things new and foreign. House after house, chest after chest, in the palace precinct, is already crammed with clocks, musical boxes, blue spectacles, umbrellas, knitted waistcoats, bolts of stuff, tools, rifles, fowling pieces, medicines, European foods, sewing machines and, what is more extraordinary, stoves; all that ever caught his eye, tickled his appetite, pleased him for its use, or puzzled him with its apparent inutility. And still his lust is unabated. He is possessed by the seven devils of the collector. He hears a thing spoken of, and a shadow comes on his face. 'I think I no got him' he will say; and the treasures he has seem worthless in comparison".

His private life seems to have been above reasonable reproach but, because of its uniqueness, Stevenson devotes a whole chapter in his book to "The palace of many women", of which some of the extracts are as follows:-

"The palace, or rather the grounds which it includes, is several acres in extent. A terrace encloses it towards the lagoon; on the side of the land a palisade with several gates.....There is no parade of guards, soldiers, or weapons; the armoury is under lock and key; and the only sentinels are certain inconspicuous old women lurking day and night before the gates. By day these crones were often engaged in boiling syrup or the like household occupation; by night, they lay ambushed in the shadow or crouched along the palisade, filling the office of eunuchs to this harem, sole guards upon a tyrant life.

" Female wardens made a fit outpost for this palace of many women.....We distinguished four of the crowd; the king's mother; his sister.....; the queen proper, and a pretty graceful girl (the current favourite).....Many of the women were mere attendants; yet a surprising number shared the responsibility of the king's trust. These were key-bearers, treasurers, wardens of the armoury, the napery and the stores. Each knew and did her part to admiration.....Without delay or haste, and with the minimum of speech, the whole great establishment turned on wheels like a machine. Nowhere have I seen order more complete and pervasive".

And yet Stevenson remarks that he was assured that Tem Binoka's relations were purely platonic, possibly because it is also said that he was sexually impotent.

He was a moderately heavy drinker, though constantly having recourse to his stocks of spirits. Thus, Stevenson records the occasion when the king spent day after day on board the schooner "H. L. Haseltine" and that:-

"the gin proved unhappily to his taste; he brought a store of it ashore with him; and for some time the sole tyrant of the isle was half-seas-over. He was not drunk - the man is not a drunkard, he always has stores of liquor at hand, which he uses with moderation - but he was muzzy, dull and confused".

So much for some of the traits of his personality. His policies and actions were derived therefrom. That he was a tyrant, there can be little or no dispute, though his ruthlessness seems to have been sometimes leavened with benevolence. But Stevenson refers to him as a tyrant a number of times, and many of his actions confirm it. Any hint of opposition was ruthlessly dealt with. He reportedly quelled no fewer than three revolts early in his reign, and harshly suppressed all indications of opposition or unpopularity. Intimidation was a frequently used method of compelling obedience.

Further, he maintained a spy system that the present KGB might envy. As Stevenson records:-

"There is indeed a ministry and staff of males (at the palace): cook, steward, carpenter and supercargoes; the hierarchy of a schooner. The spies, 'his majesty's daily papers', as we called them, come every morning to report, and go again".

The result is, to cite Stevenson once more:-

"Orderly, sober and innocent, life flows in the isle from day to day as in a model plantation under a model planter. It is impossible to doubt the beneficence of that stern rule.....Violence, so common in Butaritari, seems unknown. So are theft and drunkenness..... The slaves are certainly not overworked, children of ten could do more without fatigue - and the Apamama labourers have holidays...The diet is hard..but there seems no defect in quantity".

But Stevenson was puzzled. Here was a people, he wrote, protected from all serious misfortune, relieved of all serious anxieties, and deprived of what Europeans would regard as their inalienable liberties. But he wondered if they liked and accepted it, and what their attitude was towards their ruler. One whom he asked whether the king was "a good man" replied 'Suppose he like you, he good man; no like, no good'. Then the man, realizing that he had in effect been guilty of what would be regarded as lèse majesté, which might well have fatal results for him if his remarks came to the king's ears, "vanished into the bush for ever" as Stevenson puts it, and he never saw him again. Two others, with whom Stevenson also spoke on this subject, and who likewise mildly criticized Tem Binoka, realized that their words might in some way reach the king's ears, and hastily departed from Stevenson in terror, for such criticisms could well mean death.

Again, the king was also too free in the use of his repeating rifle or fowling piece, as a means of intimidating or punishing his subjects. Thus, when the house called "Equator Town" was being built for the Stevensons, he recorded:-

"The morrow came. Mr. Osbourne landed, found nothing done, and carried his complaint to Tembinok'. The latter heard it, rose, called for a Winchester, stepped without the royal palisade, and fired two shots in the air. A shot in the air is the first Apamama warning; it has the force of a proclamation in more loquacious countries; and his majesty remarked agreeably that it would make his labourers 'mo bright'. In less than thirty minutes accordingly, the men had mustered, the work was begun..."

Among other instances, Stevenson also recorded the following:-

"I hear of him shooting at a wife for some levity on board a schooner. Another, on some more serious offence, he slew outright; he exposed her body in an open box, and (to make the warning more memorable) suffered it to putrefy before the palace gate".

A few other policies deserve some mention before turning to consider Tem Binoka's imperialist designs. He abolished all private trading in copra (the cause of the first rebellion), instituted a system of public works, and enforced even more strictly the laws against the possession of firearms, and the manufacture and consumption of all forms of alcohol. Immigration was closely controlled, and deportations effected whenever it seemed desirable without reason being given. One beneficent measure which he instituted, although somewhat contrary perhaps to his peoples' interests, was that he barred the visits of all ships recruiting labour for work in other parts of the Pacific, including Australia. Baiteke, his father, had treated all forms of education as a royal monopoly,

a policy which Tem Binoka was only too happy to follow. Finally, he endeavoured to establish trading posts throughout the Gilbert and Ellice Groups, in addition to chartering or owning trading vessels, but these projects were unsuccessful since he found himself unable to compete with individual European traders or companies.

Before considering his imperialist designs, it is worth recording two other quotes from Stevenson to round off the portrait of the man who saw himself as the Napoleon of the South Seas:-

"Not long ago he was overgrown with fat, obscured to view, and a burthen to himself. Captains visiting the island advised him to walk; and though it broke the habits of a life and the traditions of his rank, he practised the remedy with benefit. His corpulence is now portable; you would call him lusty rather than fat; but his gait is still dull, stumbling and elephantine. He neither stops nor hastens, but goes about his business with an implacable deliberation. We could never see him and not be struck with his extraordinary natural means for the theatre: a beaked profile like Dante's in the mask, a mane of long black hair, the eye brilliant, imperious and inquiring: for certain parts, and to one who could have used it, the face was a fortune. His voice matched it well, being shrill, powerful, and uncanny, with a note like a sea-bird's. Where there are no fashions, none to set them, few to follow them if they were set, and none to criticize, he dresses - as Sir Charles Grandison lived - 'to his own heart'. Now he wears a woman's frock, now a naval uniform: now (and more usually) figures in a masquerade costume of his own design: trousers and a singular jacket with shirt tails, the cut and fit wonderful for island workmanship, the material always handsome, sometimes green velvet, sometimes cardinal red silk. This masquerade becomes him admirably. In the woman's frock he looks ominous and weird beyond belief. I see him now come pacing towards me in the cruel sun, solitary, a figure out of Hoffman";

and,

"There is one great personage in the Gilberts: Tembinok' of Apemama: solely conspicuous, the hero of song, the butt of gossip. Through the rest of the group the kings are slain or fallen in tutelage: Tembinok alone remains, the last tyrant, the last erect vestige of a dead society. The white man is everywhere else, building his houses, drinking his gin, getting in and out of trouble with the weak native governments. There is only one white on Apemama, and he on sufferance, living far from court, and hearkening and watching his conduct like a mouse in a cat's ear. Through all the other islands a stream of native visitors comes and goes, travelling by families, spending years on the grand tour. Apemama alone is left upon one side, the tourist dreading to risk himself within the clutch of Tembinok'. And fear of the same Gorgon follows and troubles them at home. Maiana once

"paid him tribute; he at once fell upon and seized Nonuti; first steps to the empire of the archipelago. A British warship coming on the scene, the conqueror was driven to disgorge, his career checked in the outset, his dear-bought armoury sunk in his own lagoon. But the impression had been made; periodical fear of him still shakes the islands; rumour depicts him mustering his canoes for a fresh onfall; rumour can name his destination; and Tembinok' figures in the patriotic war-songs of the Gilberts like Napoleon in those of our grandfathers".

Alas, however, that Stevenson should, on or after his brief visit of only two months to Abemama in 1889, have so romanticized this extraordinary royal character, the pinnacle of whose powers and prestige had faded no less than five years previously, as to depict a lack-lustre and benign ruler as a heroic figure. Further, whereas Kaitu and Uakeia, Teng Karotu and Tem Baiteke, were never destined to be thwarted by a power greater than their own, Tem Binoka inadvertently found himself confronted by such a power at the very moment when he might be said to have been anticipating the fulfilment of his imperial dreams. But Stevenson never makes either of these two crucial points clear.

For all practical purposes, the tale of the would-be emperor commenced in the year 1880, when he decided to commence his empire-building by taking over and adding the comparatively small island of Maiana, which lay some 65 miles to the north-west, to the State of Abemama. But it was not until the 13th July, 1884, that the incident became more widely known when one Robert David Corrie, a native of Everton, Liverpool, the most respected trader throughout the whole group, where he had lived for 24 years, made the following statement to Lieutenant William Osborne Moore, R.N., of Her Majesty's Ship Dart:-

"Tembinoka sent me a message about October, 1880, by Mr. Harry Smith, who was then a passenger in the "Staghound", to ask if I would help him to take Maiana by supplying firearms to those chiefs who were known to be friendly to him. He would remunerate me by making me governor of the island.

I refused to do so, being satisfied with the position I held on the island at the time. At that time there were only a few muskets on Maiana, but since then the natives have been gradually arming with Snider and Winchester rifles in expectation of an attack from Tembinoka".

Tem Binoka, though discouraged but not defeatist, tried once more for Lieutenant Moore reported to his Commodore in Sydney by letter dated the 13th July, 1884, that Captain Joseph William Henty, a native of Portsmouth, but then in command of Tem Binoka's vessel "Sunbeam" -

"had a year before carried Binoka in the vessel "Sunbeam" to Maiana. Henty said that the king went to offer to rule over Maiana, if the inhabitants of that island 'would give up toddy', but they declined to give up toddy, and he returned more grieved than angry. It did not appear to me that Tem Binoka was the sort of person to object to toddy and I suspect that other reasons influenced his return".

If Henty's story is true, and there seems no reason to doubt it (on the understanding that by 'toddy' it is assumed that 'sour toddy' is meant), it does illustrate only too well that the peoples of the other islands were highly suspicious of gaining many, if any, of the supposed benefits under such a dictatorial regime, but preferred their freedoms, especially freedom to trade, and detrimental though some of them may have been to their well-being. It is for this reason that Tem Binoka's character and some of his policies have been recorded at some length earlier in this story.

The centrepiece of this story will deal with events which took place in December, 1883, and January, 1884, but to place those events in their appropriate setting it is desirable at this stage to record certain opinions expressed in mid-1884, since they almost certainly relate to circumstances pertaining in the Gilbert Islands earlier than the events at the turn of the year 1883.

Thus, Charles Morris Woodford (later to become the first Resident Commissioner of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, but then the Government Agent aboard the Fiji recruiting schooner "Patience") addressed the Assistant High Commissioner for the Western Pacific in a letter dated the 30th June, 1884, as follows:-

"Throughout the southern islands of the (Gilbert) group, the extending power of the King of Apamama is a topic of common discussion, and the natives look upon the acquisition by him of the whole group as only a question of time. He has agents now at work upon the islands of Tapetwea and Peru and he has on two occasions sent presents of tobacco to the latter island which have been, after discussion, accepted by the natives".

In his letter to Commodore Erskine in Sydney dated the 31st July, 1884, Lieutenant Moore expressed himself as follows:-

" The natives (of Nonouti) were thoroughly cowed by Tem Binoka, who has authority over several thousand people, is well armed, and has a name in the Line Islands not inferior to what Thakombau enjoys in Fiji, and Gori does now in the Solomon Islands.....

(he is) the chief of greatest authority in the group....

I find he is regarded everywhere with distrust, as being desirous of increasing his territory. He has sent threatening messages to Tarawa, and his favour to Tamuta, the southern district of Nonouti, looked like a design on Tapateoeua. In the latter island fighting is frequent. Nothing would have been easier a few months ago, if a decent pretext could have been made, than for Tem Binoka to have joined one war party of the other and afterwards possessed himself of the island....

Nonouti might well have been only the first step...".

Whilst the well-known author Louis Becke must be quoted with caution, since he was often inclined to romanticize or exaggerate characters or circumstances, nevertheless it is worth repeating some of his views from the tale entitled "An Island King" appearing in his book "Wild Life in Southern Seas" since they tally with those expressed by both Woodford and Moore. In that story,

Louis Becke tells of Tem Benoke (sic), or Apinoka (sic), courageous in war, cunning in diplomacy, and general all round "cuteness" who was for nearly 15 years the dreaded dictator of Apamama, Kuria and Aranuka, and ruled its peoples with a rod of iron. He relates how, as time went on, he began to harry the peoples of the neighbouring islands of the Gilberts and -

"soon threatened to be the one dominant ruler of the whole group... The King grew fat and waxed strong, and the terror of his name, and cold merciless nature, reached from Arorai in the south and to Butaritari in the north..."

But, by-and-by, there came a rumour that all this steady buying of rifles and revolvers, and ammunition, meant ill for the people of the islands to the south, and many of the white traders, who hated the grim old despot, joined hands with their hereditary foes, the native teachers, and made common cause together for his downfall..."

Others, too, were dabbling in the political cauldron of the Gilbert Islands at that time. Though one Asia James Lowther, an Englishman and a trader resident in Nonouti since 1863, cannot be wholly relied on as a completely dependable witness, especially since his ability to express himself in his native tongue was very poor and confused, and his trade with the natives of Nonouti in arms and spirits, placed him very low in Lieutenant Moore's estimation, yet, in a "petition and prayer on behalf of the native community" of Nonouti to the "Premier of Fee-jee" on the 31st March, 1884, he wrote in the following (unexpurgated) terms:-

"It is quite certain that the King of Hawai has been led by the mission affluence to write to the different Chiefs of this group of islands sympathizing with there lonely position and has advised them not to give up there islands to any power as a Protectorate but to consult him in all matters of emergency and he will give them his advice and assistance. He has appointed a one Mister Clark of Hawai as Counsel for Abamama or Simpson's Island who was here passenger in the "J.W. Seaver" of San Francisco. He was last away in the schooner Julia in the Immigration service of the Hawai kingdom of the island of Nu-kee-Nau. I spoke to him about the sad affray. He took notes of my writings to you. He also said he remembered the departure of these foreign natives from Honolulu as there was some trouble made about these natives carrying so many arms. , that the government was overruled by Revd. Hiram Bingham, he being at the head of the Board of Emmigration for the Kingdom of Hawai, on the grounds that these deceased people had been driven from their homes and that they might stand in need of them on their return. On Mr. Clark's interview with the King I know not. But the natives that arrived in the "Annie Briggs" speaks and says that the King is very angry with me for writing a letter.

It has done me much harm in my daily business. Wether he speaks of the letter i wrote to Mister Hayward of the "Kate McGregor" of the notes of Mr. Clark taking them from my writings or whether Mr. Clark has opened a letter I sent by him to the German Counsel for delivery to any officer in the Navy of Her Brittannic Majesty Queen Victoria of England I know not, what the extent of the anger of this Despot and Libertine (Tem Binoka) may be i know not. But one thing is quite certain, he has stopped my trade

"since the interview of Mister Clark last January, and it is also very certain that he has placed Simpson's Island, Kurier, Arranuka and Sydenham's Island under the Protectorate of the Hawai Kingdom and the King of the Sandwich Islds. has promised these natives a visit about the end of the year 1884. The whole of this policy will mean Emmigration in the background to the Hawai Kingdom".

Nevertheless, it is true that the Hawaiian authorities were in fact interested in the situation in the Gilbert Islands at that time. Professor Maude, the distinguished Pacific historian, in his article entitled "Baiteke and Binoka of Abemama" in the book "Pacific Islands Portraits" tells of how a Special Commissioner of King Kalakaua of Hawaii carried letters to the Gilbertese governments in 1883 with a view to promoting kindly relations between His Majesty's Government and the chiefs of the various Gilbert Islands. The Commissioner was greatly impressed with Tem Binoka, and the latter, assuming that it was an offer of assistance to subjugate the island of Tarawa, replied in the friendliest and most cooperative terms. But King Kalakaua had no intention of enabling Tem Binoka to fulfil his empire-building ambitions with his assistance though, by a remarkable paradox, this is in fact just what he did, as the centrepiece of this tale will tell.

And so to the story of the events which took place in the islands of Nonouti, Abemama, Kuria and Aranuka in the months of December, 1883, and January, 1884. It has had to be pieced together from a variety of sources; traders and captains of schooners, all of whom were interested parties and whose evidence was therefore by no means wholly reliable; crew members of such schooners; Tem Binoka, the leading figure in the cast and the most interested party of all; numerous natives; and the record of investigations conducted by Lieutenant Moore of H.M.S. Dart. For this reason, names, dates, times, etc., do not always agree, but the story as now told is substantially correct. But, first a preface is necessary.

The initial source of the trouble arose as a result of an all too common practice of masters of schooners, when repatriating labour from countries in which it had been working, disembarking such labourers at other than their home islands or villages. In this particular case, the Hawaiian labour schooner "Julia", the master of which was a Captain Howard (or Howell), but flying no flag, had in the later months of 1883 discharged thirty natives of Abaiang at Tamuta at the south end of Nonouti. Amongst them was one Nimatu, whose previous conduct had earned the disapproval of the High Chief of Abaiang and who had managed to persuade the Hawaiian authorities, who quite wrongly agreed, to discharge him and his followers at Nonouti instead of at Abaiang. This was particularly the case since he and all his followers were armed with Winchester repeating rifles (then popularly known as 'sixteen shooters'). On arrival in Nonouti, Nimatu changed his name to Karakaua, after the King of Hawaii. Also included in the group was one Paulo, a native of Nonouti, who was the means of their introduction to, and liaison with, the people of the south of Nonouti.

The natives of Abaiang were apparently received with great kindness by the Nonouti folk, and Paulo told the latter that the visitors had come "to instruct the people in good ways", a somewhat

elliptical reference to the preaching of religion. Assuming the guise of missionaries, the visitors propagated religious instruction for some three months. However, the resident missionary, one Cheep-wi (sic), a native of the island of Makin, whom the American Board of Foreign Missions had installed on Nonouti some $3\frac{1}{2}$ years previously, then advised the people of the holowness and falsity of the religious teaching of the newcomers. Thereupon Karakaua, in the words of one of the traders:-

"...chucked off the cloak which he had assumed when he first arrived and showed himself in his true colours... The people returned to their drunken habits....(and) in one month the island went back five years".

A quarrel then developed between some well-known land-owners of the north and Karakaua over his behaviour, as a result of which Karakaua finally shot two of the old men dead. Frantic attempts were then made to conciliate between the peoples of the north and south of the island but without success and warfare developed between the two groups, in which Karakaua and the small army which he had raised proved victorious since the northerners had virtually no guns.

It was at this point that many northerners, filling nearly one hundred canoes, fled to Abemama to seek refuge and aid from Tem Binoka.

At that point of time, the Auckland schooner "Kate McGregor", 65 tons register, was anchored in Abemama. Her master was one Horatio C. Hayward, who was formerly in command of Tem Binoka's schooner "Coronet". Tem Binoka was nothing loth, indeed delighted, to hearken to and accept the cri de coeur from the people of the northern part of Nonouti, obviously envisaging that this might well be the first successful step in his imperialist designs. Without further ado, he therefore persuaded Hayward to accept a charter to take 150 armed men to the south of Nonouti.

On the 27th November, and the two following days, men, rifles, revolvers, swords and ammunition were shipped aboard the schooner at Abemama, and, on the 30th November, the vessel embarked Tem Binoka and wives at Aranuka, together with three boats and further men and firearms. A total of 147 men and 12 women were by then on board and so crowded was the deck that it was almost impossible to move around. On the 1st December, with the vessel at sea, the natives were busy all day practising with their guns and revolvers but the following day the vessel which had made little headway had to put in to Kuria as it was running out of water. The 3rd and 4th December were principally occupied with taking on supplies of water, whereafter the vessel again put to sea. Whilst at sea on the 5th and 6th December, the natives resumed their shooting practice. At 4 a.m. on the 7th December, the vessel reached a point five miles off the south end of Nonouti.

The first boat, filled with natives, guns and ammunition, left the ship for the shore at 5 a.m. and soon afterwards all the other boats, similarly loaded, headed for the shore. There was a constant stream of boats between ship and shore all day.

The armed followers of Tem Binoka, aided and abetted by the southerners, then rampaged throughout the island, slaying all the Abaiang men, including Karakaua, and conquering the whole island, killing and looting as they went. Unfortunately the figures given for casualties vary so widely that they do not merit mention here: suffice it to say, however, that some Abemamans and their allies were killed as well as those from north Nonouti.

At this juncture in the story, it seems best to record that part of Lieutenant Moore's report to his Commodore, dated the 31st July, 1884, which relates his detailed inquiries into the events in the islands of Nonouti, Abemama, Kuria and Aranuka between the 21st June and the 11th July, during which he visited all four islands. Amplification of certain matters dealt with in the report then follow, especially with regard to the French labour vessel mentioned in paragraphs 10 and 16 of the report. The relative paragraphs of the report are as follows:-

"9. Anchored off Nanouti at 9 a.m. on 21st June. Mr. Gleeson, a trader, came off and reported what he knew of the proceedings of the "Kate M'Gregor" and the King of Apamama in December last year. It was soon established that Hayward, the master of the schooner, had not himself been personally concerned in the slaughter of natives and that as a Deputy Commissioner there was not much to be done in this affair, unless I should be so fortunate as to fall in with the "Agnes Donald", not expected for some weeks. As the island of Nanouti was, however, in a disturbed state, and the King of Apamama had directly interfered with the trade of British subjects who had given him no provocation, and the mischief had occurred through the unscrupulous conduct of the man Hayward in permitting the "Kate M'Gregor" to be chartered for a warlike purpose, it was equally clear that I could not leave the group without attempting to restore peace to the Nanouti people and check the King in his aggressive conduct.

10. Stripped of exaggeration, and making allowance for the irritation of my informant, Mr. Gleeson, in having a tambu imposed upon him, the story, corroborated by native witnesses, is this: in the latter end of January, 1883, the schooner "Julia" arrived at Nanouti from Honolulu. She flew no flag and was commanded by a Captain Howard or Howell, and landed at the south end of the island 30 Apiang people (returned labour), armed with Winchester repeating rifles, and one native of Nanouti called Paulo, who was the means of introducing the Apiang people to his countrymen, by whom they were well received. Karakaua, the chief of the Apiang men, appears from accounts to have been a passionate, daring savage, but with a good address. The strangers behaved well for a time, but soon finding their power, (for the people of Nanouti are not a spirited race and, moreover, have no arms), commenced to get bumptious, and one day Karakaua, when under the influence of liquor, obtained from Mr. Lowther (a British subject, who had received it from an English ship, the "George Noble"), shot two old men, landowners at the north end of Nanouti. This was the beginning of a desultory warfare between the north and south parts of the island, in which the former were defeated, as the armed Apiang men were on the side of the south, who had, in fact, adopted them according to native custom. Many of the people of the

"north taking to canoes, went over to Kuria, where they asked the assistance of Tembinoka (sometimes called Tembitik, or Pinoke, or Binoka), the King of Apamama. I believe the King has long had a wish to possess Nanouti and had, moreover, some grudge against Karakaua, whom he had known some years before. In December he chartered the "Kate M'Gregor" (Hayward, Master) and took over to the south end of Nanouti an armed force of over 100 men, whom he sent ashore. Karakaua defended himself well, but was at last overpowered, not however before he and his friends had contrived to kill four and wound several men of Apamama. If Tembinoka had stopped here, all would have been well as far as he was concerned. The Nanouti people were grateful to him for ridding them of Karakaua; and one white trader even - Mr. Gleeson - was so imprudent as to write an account of the cause of the fighting, commending the King, which he put into the hands of the master of the "Kate M'Gregor", and which, as you have perhaps perceived, Sir, found its way into the New Zealand Herald, with the untruthful narrative of Captain Hayward (date 16th January, 1884); but the Apamama people were excited and seeing helpless crowds of Nanouti people at their mercy went, as it is expressed in the statement "right through the island", shooting several men, women and children. It may be mentioned that, among other barbarities, one day when Tembinoka was landing at low water, three women, one with a child on her back, waded out to see what sort of a man he was and he shot them all with a repeating rifle. Finally, some 120 Nanouti people and those of Apiang who had not been killed were carried off in the "Kate M'Gregor" and landed at Apamama or Kuria. Tembinoka now considered himself King of Nanouti, as well as Kuria, Apamama and Aranuka, and began to give orders to ships to call and levy copra. Three soldiers were sent over to collect tribute, and they had orders to tambu the white men and to shoot anybody who traded with them. A French labour vessel came over in January and levied 150 men, women and children whom the King considered were prisoners of war, and took them off against their consent. A white man - Captain Henty - a British subject, was sent by Tembinoka to trade at Nanouti, and he was to hoist a flag which the King said had been sent to him by the Governor of New Zealand. This flag was blue, with a white diagonal cross and four stars, which Henty was to represent to the natives was to represent Kuria, Apamama, Aranuka and Nanouti. At the time of our arrival this flag had not been hoisted, but some of the natives had seen it and been informed of its significance. The natives were thoroughly cowed by Tembinoka, who has authority over several thousand people, is well armed, and has a name in the Line Islands not inferior to that enjoyed by Thakombau in Fiji, and Gori does now in the Solomon Islands.

11. If Tembinoka had confined his operations to killing or taking prisoners the armed strangers in Nanouti, as the report given by Hayward would lead one to suppose, his conduct as the chief of greatest authority in the group would not be open to question; if, further, he had even possessed himself of Nanouti, and without ill-treating the inhabitants, had established order there with the consent of the elders of the districts and avoiding interference with the whites, we could have only passed on; but he has behaved as a savage, murdered people in cold blood, seized the lands of those who appealed to him for assistance, and committed a gross offence against two British subjects,

"'boycotting' them in an island over which, even according to native customs, he has no right to exercise such a prerogative; and after considering the matter I came to the conclusion that as a naval officer sent here to see fair play between natives and Her Majesty's subjects, I ought to interpose; and being aware that half measures would only exasperate this powerful chief, and probably cause him to retaliate on the Nanouti people in his hands at Kuria, I consented to meet the islanders he had ill-treated, and I intended, if the desire of the elders not to be ruled by Tembinoka was unanimous, to give them back their land, to cause the King to return his captives taken away in a British vessel, and to impose a fine upon him which would draw his teeth and check him for some years, at least from offending British subjects, or fitting out filibustering expeditions to neighbouring islands.

12. Accordingly, on June 22nd, we shifted into the lagoon and received on board the three Apamama soldiers with their Sniders, for passage back to Kuria. The meeting with the people of Nanouti was an interesting one. It took place on the 24th June, in the maniyapa of Muttang, a district in the middle of the island. The house is smaller than that of Peru, but there were 500 people present (of which perhaps 150 were woman and children), including representatives from all the districts. Mr. Gleeson interpreted, but I arranged that Captain Henty should be present, as the colleague of Hayward, the friend of Tembinoka, and as a person whose pocket was affected by what I was going to say. He was to bring his previous flag, and if Mr. Gleeson put my address to the natives into language which did not render its correct meaning, or pressed too hardly upon him - if he exaggerated in fact - he (Henty) was to inform me, and that particular point should be discussed before proceeding further. Lieut. Messum and Dr. Luther were also present.

13. The older men representing the different districts were called to the front, and of them I inquired "Did they wish Tembinoka to have their land?". The unanimous answer was "We do not sigh over it" which I understand (and I have made particular enquiries respecting the meaning of the words 'Aki tangere minako') is equivalent to the slang phrase 'no fear', or 'not much', or 'not if we know it'. I then told them I had come to speak to them about the fighting which had taken place; the people of Nanouti should manage their own affairs and not send to another island for assistance. Tembinoka came to kill Karakaua at their request and then he wished for their land. As he came in an English ship and took away Nanouti people, and had ordered the tambu of Mr. Gleeson (Jimmy) and Mr. Louthier (Billy), I intended to interfere and take away his soldiers, Timbarrac, Timbuggin, and Tabua, and tell Tembinoka to send back the people of Nanouti whom he had taken away. Captain Henty's flag was then held up and the meaning of the stars explained, and that it was not true that the flag had been sent by the chief of Queen Victoria. Her Majesty wanted no more land for herself and wished to hear of the natives of these islands being at peace. I then cut out the star which represented Nanouti and said I should return the flag to Tembinoka, and tell him Nanouti could not be his land. At this there was some muttering behind - "Well, did they want me to put the star back? if so, it should be done" and I sat down. At this there was much

"jabbering among the younger men behind. It was the first time that the people of north and south had met since the fighting and mutual recriminations passed and so on. After a time the old men restored silence, and it was clearly expressed that the star was not to be put back. One man eagerly shouted "Jimmy, Jimmy, but how about it when the man of war goes away?" After a little talk to reassure these unfortunate people as to Tembinoka's not returning to their island, I went on to say it was the old men to whom I wished to speak. The people of Nanouti had a right to tambu Billy or Jimmy. White men must obey the laws of the islands in which they live, but a king from another island had no right to tambu them. Let the people of Nanouti pay no attention to orders from Tembinoka and take care not to give copra to ships flying this flag (spreading out the boat's ensign on the ground), unless they paid fairly for it. In Fiji there was a chief of Queen Victoria who ruled the white men in these islands. If the subjects of the Queen sold guns to the people, they would be taken away to Viti or punished. If the white men did not treat them fairly, they should complain to the captain of a man of war. The men of war came to these islands to see fair play between the white men and the natives. The circumstances of 150 Nanouti people going away against their will in a French barque would be reported to the French Government whom he felt sure would see that they were returned soon. In Peru the people governed themselves by kaupulis. If a man did wrong, he was fined. Why could they not adopt the same form of government in Nanouti? The young men behind were then called to and recommended to pay attention to the advice and directions of their seniors and to listen to Cheep-wi, the missionary; and two old men, one from the north and one from the south, were invited to come to Kuria in the "Dart" to assure themselves that Tembinoka would not again interfere with their island.

14. During the meeting, which lasted nearly two hours, one and only one difference of opinion occurred between the white men. Henty, irritated by the sure loss of profit as a trader under the protection of the King, accused Mr. Gleeson of having the day before told the natives that they would be tied up by the man of war if they declared for Tembinoka; but I insisted upon his producing his informants and proving his accusation, which he was unable to do. He even could not say if it was a man or a woman who had told him, and I may here mention that, though Mr. Gleeson is not free from the exaggerated manner of talking common with all the small English traders, I believe him to be a sober, honest man dealing fairly by the natives and living on excellent terms with them. He sells them neither arms nor spirits, and as far as I can learn, took no part directly or indirectly in their quarrels, though he was the means of saving the lives of several children whom he took under his protection. I wish I could form the same opinion of his friend, Mr. Lowther, now unfortunately in the Colonies.

15. When the talking was over, I asked the old landowners if they had anything to say. After a pause and a little discussion among themselves, I was told that they had not. A present of over 400 cocoanuts was brought in and given to us as an offering from Muttang; we shook hands with the old men wishing prosperity to their island, and the proceedings were over. The people in the maniyapa were on the whole silent and very attentive, but all

"in a terrible fright of the King of Apamama. There was an American schooner lying in the lagoon called the "Wm. H. Stevens". It was arranged that the wives of the Apamama passengers should go in her to Kuria. Captain Henson assured me that neither he nor the captain of the "Annie F. Briggs" would be guilty of the inhumanity of carrying armed parties from island to island, and I believe him. I doubt if Mr. Hensheim would permit his vessels to do so either, but I can assure myself on that point when I see him. The mischief which has been done by the man Hayward is incalculable.

16. On the 26th three more Apamama men were received for passage to Kuria. Having obtained the necessary observations for rates of chronometers and having collected all the information which I could relative to the proceedings of Tembinoka and the "Kate M'Gregor" and the kidnapping by the French barque in January, I left Nanouti lagoon on the 27th at 11 a.m. and proceeded to Kuria where we anchored at 8.30 a.m. on the following day. An officer was sent to desire Tembinoka to come on board, which he did at once, sending his side ladder ahead in accordance with his usual customs. He was interrogated as to his proceedings after the death of Karakaua at Nanouti, as to his taking the people of that island away in an English ship, his levying copra from the island, his giving the French barque permission to kidnap the people, and his ordering the tambu of the white traders. He evidently considered that Nanouti was his by conquest, and argued the point very forcibly, repeatedly exclaiming "Nanouch belong a me". They "fright" - a reminiscence, which seems to cause him great amusement; but at last he gave up the point, informing the delegates from Nonouti, who had come down with us, that he no longer claimed any part of their island. He promised to return the people by sending them in the American schooner "Wm. H. Stevens" which anchored an hour after us. As to the tambu of the white men in an island not his own, the point hardly admitted of discussion. He was confronted with his own soldiers, and though he shuffled a little, appeared well aware of the grave offence which had been committed and at my direction sent one of his boats for his arms and ammunition, which consisted of 37 breech-loading rifles, 117 muskets, 4,240 cartridges, and 17 lbs powder. These I ordered to be thrown overboard in the presence of the Nanouti men, who were thus reassured as to another invasion. His flag was hauled down in the afternoon by one of his men, and he himself cut out the fourth star, and I informed those of the Nanouti captives who could be found that the King had given permission for their return. After this, the boat containing 11 of his wives, which had waited about the stern for 8 hours, was called alongside and Tembinoka was informed that he could go on shore. He soon deposited his ponderous form in the arms of one of his wives and was rowed away much to their satisfaction and to my own. While he was on board he was treated with the utmost consideration. It was no part of my programme to humiliate this hereditary chief or to benefit the complaining trader at his expense. He had offended against Her Majesty, as I told him, by interfering with the fair trade of her subjects who had given him no provocation, and had made use of a British ship to seize land to which he had no sort of right, and to make prisoners of the inhabitants. For this it was my duty to fine him and to see that his captives were returned. I am bound to say that it was not established that Hayward prompted the

"expedition or was other than a passive spectator. I have much pleasure in stating that Mr. Gleeson preferred no claim for his loss occurring through the tambu being enforced for four months (probably about £70). This is much to his credit, and the trouble he has taken to promote the restoration of the Nanouti people to their homes does honour to his feelings of humanity.

17. Tembinoka has the appearance of aristocratic origin, but he is bloated, unwieldy and much diseased. Dr. Luther has done what he can for him. He was weighed in the engineer's steel-yard and found to be 287 lbs; his age must be about 40. The possession of Nanouti would have doubled his wealth and the number of his subjects, and with the firearms which I found it necessary to destroy, there is no knowing where he would have stopped if he had found another ship and another excuse for a second expedition; for, if Nanouti, why not Tapateouea? and, if Tapateouea, why not Peru, Maiana, and the rest of the defenceless Kingsmill Islands? His ambition has now received a check and I am much mistaken if any more filibustering expeditions are attempted from Kuria or Apamama during his lifetime. You will observe, Sir, that I have not punished Tembinoka for his plunder of Mr. Gleeson's trade or the conduct of his troops to Mr. Lowther (of which you have no doubt received a report from the sufferer now in Sydney). These offences were indirectly caused by the unjustifiable act on the part of an European; but the tambu had nothing to do with Hayward, and is a matter for which the king is solely responsible. In this case, I have throughout borne in mind your injunctions respecting the desirability of officers in command using their influence among the Pacific Islands to promote peace between hostile tribes as exemplified by the success which attended the efforts of my superior officer at atolls, north of this, last year; and I venture to hope that here you will consider that peace has been best assured until you can despatch another vessel to the Equator, by removing the implements of warfare.

18. In the course of the inquiry into the conduct of Tembinoka, it transpired that Henty had, a year ago, carried him in a vessel called the "Sunbeam" to Maiana. I invited Henty to produce witnesses to prove that there were no arms on board - which he was able to do - and thus avoid a summons before the Deputy Commissioner's Court. But I read extracts from the Order in Council to this person, and warned him to be careful what he was about. Henty's account of the cruise was that the King went to offer to rule over Maiana if the inhabitants of that island would "give up toddy", but they declined to give up toddy, and he returned more grieved than angry. It did not appear to me that Tembinoka was the sort of person to object to "toddy" and I suspect other reasons influenced his return; but as he did not "make fight" I saw no reason for moving further in the matter. The Arms Regulation was put up on a notice board in the meeting-house ashore.

19. On the 29th I paid Tembinoka a visit. His house contains a variety of articles which cannot be much use to him, such as sewing-machines, a musical box, writing-desk, clocks, bedsteads, sofas, lamps, etc. A peacock disports itself on the rafters, and four frigate birds sit solemnly on perches in a line - outside. Five of his wives were squatting round his couch plying him with medicines. He is quite a Nero in a small way. The captain of the

" Wm. H. Stevens" who has known him for years told me that he had once shot two of his wives, and the same trader who accused Captain Hayward of the corrosion (sic) of the captives in the "Kate M'Gregor" declared that the King was very "vindikative" and was in the habit of "hurrying up" his labourers by shooting at them with a Winchester repeater. The cold-blooded murder of the three woman at Nanouti, which he admitted, shows that he is a savage, and gives colour to other stories of his cruelty. He was anxious for me to give him a paper testifying to his having been fined; but I told him that it was unnecessary and the next morning sent Mr. Pearson to him with a considerable present as an indication that he was now at peace with "the ships of Queen Victoria". Tembinoka talks excellent sandalwood English and anybody accustomed to that jargon can do business with him. He has a clerk - an honest looking man called Tibuc - who keeps his accounts and writes his orders. At present a shipwrecked American named Smith is his guest and helps him in business matters.

20. Forty-nine of the Nanouti captives embarked on board the "Wm. H. Stevens" on the 30th and on the morning of the 1st July, in accordance with a promise I had made to Captain Henson (on account of the risk of his drifting to leeward of all the islands, short of water, and with a large number of passengers on hoard - the current ran two knots an hour on the 27th June). I accompanied him for the first part of his cruise, towing him to Aranuka, where 12 people were taken on board, and thence to Apamama. The schooner left Apamama on July 4th, with 75 captives in all (29 males and 46 females). Some of the Nonouti women, having formed ties at this island, desired to remain. To the best of my belief only one Nanouti prisoner remained in Tembinoka's territory against his will, and that is Paulo, the ex-servant of Mr. Bingham of Honolulu. He was the cause of much trouble in his own island and I thought it better he should stop behind and exercise his powers of conversion on the King of Apamama. The wife of one of the Apamama men, not having come from Nanouti because her husband was going back with Tembinoka (as he told me), Captain Henson said he would give her a passage back to Apamama.

21. In anticipation of your inquiry - "What then has Tembinoka received for suppressing the disorder at Nanouti caused by Karakaua?", I have made enquiries and find that he has become possessed of copra to the value of £600 or £700, and a boat worth £70 or £80. For the first day he was at their island the people of Nanouti, released from Karakaua, were grateful to him and a wiser man would then have gained the confidence of all by temperate measures and the cessation of hostilities. Had he done this, it would have been impolitic and unjust to depose him. Five out of the 150 of his guns have been retained on board the "Dart" in case you should call for them to satisfy yourself of his power in a group where the possession of firearms is uncommon and, in some islands like Nanouti, almost unknown. As regards Hayward, I do not propose to go back to the Kingsmill group on the chance of finding him. The return of the "Agnes Donald" is extremely doubtful; and, even if we came across her, all I can do is to bind down the master to keep the peace, a measure now hardly necessary and one which would only serve to

"exhibit the impotency of the law as it at present stands. She is not likely to obtain a cargo in this direction. The sort of expedition for which Hayward allowed his vessel to be used is so profitable in these islands that it may be repeated at some future time unless it is specially legislated for.

22. We remained inside the lagoon of Apamama until the 11th JulyThe "Wm. H. Stevens" returned on the 11th, and Captain Henson handed me a letter from Mr. Gleeson reporting his arrival with the Nonouti people, and giving the pleasing assurance that the opposing factions in the island were united and about to form laws to govern themselves by kaupuli. Everything has now been done which was in my power to effect to undo the mischief occasioned by the improper proceedings of the man Hayward, and we sailed at 6.30 p.m. for Maiana".

The following notes on matters arising in Lieutenant Moore's report may be of interest.

As Hayward's actions had, as far as could be ascertained, been solely confined to the carriage of the king and his armed forces from the State of Abemama to Nonouti, and back, the New Zealand and Western Pacific High Commission authorities, after taking legal advice, reluctantly found that there was no legislation under which he could be prosecuted, despite the mischief which he had caused.

With regard to the cold-blooded killing of three Nonouti women, Tem Binoka, in his evidence given at the inquiry before Lieutenant Moore, stated:-

"It is true that I shot three women and a child. I did not see them".

A witness at the inquiry also stated that, as the "Kate McGregor" was so heavily overloaded with passengers and loot on her return voyage from Nonouti to Abemama, Tem Binoka:-

"took a sword and forced a number of people overboard".

It is not entirely clear when exactly and by whom the tambu (restraint or prohibition of trade) against the European traders on Nonouti was introduced. There is no question but that Tem Binoka ordered it and, when confronted by the three 'soldiers' ordered to take such action, he stated in his evidence before Lieutenant Moore:-

"I did not tell these men to tambu Jimmy (Gleeson) and Billy (Lowther)"

but then added in an aside in the vernacular to the men:-

"You need not say that I told you to".

With regard to the statement that Tem Binoka ordered ships to visit Nonouti after the battle to "levy copra", there is evidence that, for example, the schooner "Agnes Donald" collected 20 tins, the American schooner "Annie F. Briggs" 20 tons, the schooner "Estella" 50 tons, and the schooner "George Noble" 5 tons. No payments were made for such deliveries, such collections being all part of the tambu imposed.

The visit of the French labour recruiting vessel "Forcade la Roquette" (sic) to Abemama from Tahiti early in January, 1884, added to the general confusion at the time. But evidence was given at the inquiry that Tem Binoka had given the French recruiting agent, one M. Garnier, who apparently held the posts of Protector of Immigrants and Government Agent in Tahiti, authority to recruit 250 natives from Nonouti, all of whose people Tem Binoka considered to be his prisoners of war. The vessel arrived at the south end of Nonouti on the 4th January and many natives gave evidence at the inquiry that most, if not all, of the men and women recruited were in fact seized by armed emissaries of Tem Binoka and forcibly placed aboard the vessel. However, it only proved possible to secure 150 natives, who were then taken to Kuria. There Tem Binoka took 65 ashore to work as serfs on his plantations, whilst the remaining 85 were taken away to Tahiti to work there for \$5 a day. But Tem Binoka had not yet finished feathering his nest, for he arranged with M. Garnier that \$3 of the above sum was to be paid to him when the labourers were repatriated and, additionally, that they were to be repatriated to Abemama, instead of to their home island of Nonouti, in order to furnish additional labour for his plantations.

With regard to the mention of the schooner "Agnes Donald", it might be mentioned that Captain Hayward, who was part-owner of the "Kate McGregor", disposed of his interest in that schooner as soon as possible on his return to New Zealand, and purchased the "Agnes Donald", by which action he may well have hoped to dissociate himself from his part in the events in the central Gilberts and maybe participate in other such affairs elsewhere with another vessel.

Captain Joseph William Henty was the master of Tem Binoka's schooner "Sunbeam" which was wrecked at Makin. He was then brought to Abemama aboard the "Forcade la Roquette", and was present when the 'recruiting' took place on Nonouti. He had however, previously been sent by Tem Binoka to trade on his behalf on Nonouti, after the imposition of the tambu, and was responsible for the introduction into the islands of the flag described in Lieutenant Moore's report.

In conclusion, it would perhaps be unfair to condemn Tem Binoka by the standards of today, though inevitably there must be reservations; and to judge him by his continued subjugation of the peoples of the State of Abemama; their state of serfdom; the imposition of an all-powerful state with its KGB-style methods; its denials of free speech, and other freedoms such as religion, education, elections, as well as restraint of trade; his occasional, but cold-blooded brutalities; his ambitions to extend his powers over others; and so on. And yet - just perhaps such a realm, despite all its shortcomings, imperfections, and even worse, which today would be regarded as utterly intolerable, was possibly preferable to the internecine struggles on those times in other islands and territories. But that, alas, we shall never know.

Tem Binoka lived for seven years more after the events in Nonouti and Abemama, where his grandiose imperialist dreams were snuffed out, at least for the time being, by a mere naval Lieutenant, though of an imperial power with whom he could never have hoped to compete or even confront. But, though his heart may well not have been in it, he continued to make overtures from time to time to the peoples of other islands by invitations or the gift of presents, for he realized that it was only by such peaceful methods that he would stand any chance of fulfilling his dreams. But, alas, his dreams were evanescent for he died on the 10th November, 1891, even though he cannot have been much more than 50 years of age at the time of his death.

But, if his dreams of empire were never fulfilled, at least he was spared the final humiliation of living to see the declaration of a protectorate over his islands in the following year by the same imperial power above-mentioned. And, as the British Protectorate was proclaimed in Abemama only some six months later, on the 27th May, 1892, Captain Davis of H.M.S. Royalist, who was later to be honoured by the award of Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George for his services, might well have been forgiven if he had murmured to himself as the Union Jack was raised the motto of that Order - "Auspiciis melioris ævi".