ARUNDEL, JOHN

Biography of

by Aimée Bright

Part II

Book III.

CHAPTER IV.

In time of war, cause and effect, in trade development and depression, as in the great crises, follow each other so closely that it is difficult to differentiate between them. In peace they are widely separate; issues of a moment in a period when they seem to fill the horizon are found to have had their beginnings a score or even a decade of years before they were noticed. So the depression arriving in the 'eighties was born in some of the Dominions at a time when it seemed certain that fortune had come to these lands to stay.

This was especially the case in New Zealand, where it was intended, so the diary seemed to point out that the guano enterprise should have had its headquarters. The opening of the 'seventies with the end of the Maori war, had brought a period of fictitious prosperity to the Dominion. The Thames goldfield, a generous expenditure on public works, the boom in land, together with the growing trade with the islands which its position in the South Pacific seemed to promise made the prospects of the young colony extremely hopeful. From one cause or another none of the hopes were justified at the time and the combination of circumstances that drove John Arundel into conducting his chief business in ports far removed from the Waitemata may have been fortunate for the company whose first venture was Starbuck.

For the gold discovery in the North Island did not justify the expectations that had been formed; public works expenditure was very soon cut down; by the year 1879 the island-trade on which such hopes had been

hopes had been built hardly existed. The demand for land was always justified, though not at such prices as ruled for a year or two: in a very short time these came down, and by the mid-eighties farming in New Zealand, as in Australia and the United States was in actual straits.

And yet the New Farming was then actually in being. It had not reached the South Pacific, but it was born into the old-world. Though for land owners small and big, the world over, prospects were so depressing, throughout Pacific lands they were governed, not by the disasters of the years in which they languished but by those of the decade preceding these. The depression in India only noticed in the 'eighties had its root in the early 'seventies, when the failing coffee crops began to appear. Actually the 'eighties, though charged with the depression, were bringing ameliorations.

If the Colonial Office had listened to the counsels of Australian statesmen, perhaps the annexation of New Guinea and other islands asked for might have saved Queensland and New South Wales from the world-wide fall in prices. This is perhaps doubtful; but it is certain that the repudiation of the Queensland annexation by the Home Government helped the downward fall. In 1880 the price of a bullock in Australia was quoted at £15. In 1885 to '88 the same beast sold in Brisbane for £5, while in Paddy's Market Sydney a whole sheep could be bought for 1/-. New Zealand beef fell still lower, though in the Dominion in the 'eighties, sheep were not plentiful enough for mutton to fetch less than fourpence per pound. Other lands showed their own prices. In ~~Saprica~~ South Africa palm-oil sold in 1883 at £36 at the end of '85 was down to £19 per ton.

To the fact that the Pacific Islands were involved in the general depression, the change in the governments in Hawaii, Samoa and Fiji is partly due: but these changes also affected the fall in values. Writers of the day made charges against the shipping ring which are probably justified. Yet it must be remembered that in periods of uncertain trade, shipping enterprise of every description is in a peculiarly unstable condition. The volcanic disturbances and phenomenal storms of the 'eighties affected small island activities even more than larger issues; while labour difficulties in Samoa, Fiji and Hawaii clogged development in these groups as directly as did the constitutional changes.

And yet in those Pacific lands the 'eighties were to be remembered as ushering in the new era in scientific progress and in development generally.

The 'eighties in the life of John Arundel were to stand in vivid light and shade. They gave the dates of his marriage, of his only home-life, of the floating of the J. T. Arundel Co. and the first successful activities of that hardworking firm. They brought great business anxieties due to the falling demand for guano, to the shortage of labour and to shipping disasters. With the 'eighties came his irreparable loss. And as the hopes of his young manhood led up to the happiness these years had brought him, so memory for the rest of his life, according to the diaries, was centred in this period.

Cares for his little daughters, the friendship and practical help of his friend and colleague on the company Mr. ~~Ernest~~ Cayford,

helped him in the strain of the summer months. The entries of those days are few and brief, charged with intimate and tender references, evidently for his own reading only. Yet chiefly they show the fine faith and humble submissiveness which, before any other attribute, make the life of John Arundel noteworthy. Business took him to Europe in July - Hamburg, Frankfort, Brussels, Antwerp and Cologne by the Rhine boat - and in London he carried through an immense amount of work. Never a good sleeper, at this time he made a from sixteen to twenty hour day the rule. By September 1887 he was ready for return to the South Seas and on the 28th, after the parting from his little daughters, he left for New York, Montreal and Winnipeg crossing the Rockies to Vancouver and thence to San Francisco.

In the avalanche of business awaiting him reference to the moorings at Howland Island seem important. The matter was paramount when the call in March had carried him to England. During his enforced absence it had to be left to the expert at the island, acting in concert with the travelling manager. The October diary notes that the plan for moorings adopted under the supervision of the chief at other islands in this case was modified. To this new system ~~the chief~~ he is inclined to attribute a series of shipping delays and disasters in the laste 'eighties, although the history of those years of exceptionally bad weather shows the boats running to other islands than the Phoenix and chartered by widely separate firms had the same set-backs.

John Arundel had very early made himself an authority in the laying of moorings. Like Queen Elizabeth, Pitt and other great administrators he had the gift of recognising the men he needed for

his work, and for twenty years and more the fame of his mooring masters was spread in shipping circles. But these experts themselves invariably consulted the chief. That his judgment was eminently sound is evidenced by the testimony of ship-masters who knew his anchorages. At Starbuck, Caroline, Flint and Fanning, ships drew into moorings that were the admiration and envy of many island traders. In the Phoenix Group the problem was as happily conquered, even Howland ultimately being joined in the list of islands with anchorages "perfectly safe in ordinary circumstances."

From a bundle of letters these cuttings taken at random speak for themselves.

Sydney Island October 10th, 1883.

I arrived at Sydney Island on 12th September, Discharged 360 tons of ballast and loaded 1100 tons of guano..... To my astonishment found the anchorage much better than expected. Was able to moor with one anchor in six fathoms of water with the outer anchor and 60 fathoms of chain in 22 fathoms.

(Sd.) F.H.B.Master Papa.

Baker Island July 28th 1887.

I have loaded a cargo of guano at Baker Island and am ready for sea having lain at moorings for a month with weather variable and squalls from all quarters. Although the wind was often dead ashore she rode quite safely.

(Sd.) J.C. Master St. Patrick.

The Master of the Tranmere loaded at both Enderbury and Canton Islands, Phoenix Group, the prevailing winds varying E.N.E. and E.F.E. right off the land. Lost only three days through surf and bad weather, yet - "would not have any objection to going again to these islands, except in the season of storms."

The Northampton 1173 tons loaded 1650 tons guano and discharged 400 tons ballast at Baker Island in one day under the month at moorings, "during which time" says the master "weather was variable with squalls from eastward. I am satisfied the moorings are quite safe under ordinary circumstances."

From San Francisco a run to Honolulu brought the first rest taken for some time. Through these months the faithful Maunga was in attendance, his small mistresses in England no longer requiring his care. Maunga for the moment felt himself to be almost an institution. Indeed his concern for his master's prestige led him into assuming a certain emount of state himself. This was diverting enough but was not infrequently resented among the islanders and ultimately Maunga returned to his own people at Niue.

At Honolulu Mr. Gale direct from Baker Island was waiting with very satisfactory reports. As always the meeting with his old friend was a pleasurable one. Gale had been at Starbuck, at Flint and Fanning and was always one of the most reliable, though among the least articulate of men. Of all the early island employees few were held in higher regard. It is noticeable that after his experience of the first few months the traveller's marked approbation is for men who are "not chatterers."

November 7th 1887. "Now for a new page in my life" is the entry with which the diary opens on board the Olive en route for Baker Island. Here, perhaps through Maunga's personal attendance thelonely man sees more of the humours of the quarters than he has noticed before. He speaks of the night class where the men - all smiles and gleaming teeth when they see Aneru - are teaching themselves to speak English by intoning in a sort of Gregorian chant after the self-appointed instructor extremely forcible oaths with great gusto and telling effect.

Asking why the islanders dig their narrow graves downwards and place the departed in an upright position with his feet uppermost, he learned this was a precaution againt the visitations of ghosts. "Black fellow no can walk on his head" he was told with obvious satisfaction.

Again on one of the labour-returning trips a merry fellow whose gaiety had never deserted him on the guano field was found in extremely low spirits and as the brig drew nearer to his native reef be became plunged in gloom.

"Why Kaila, what's the matter? Don't you want to see your people? Haven't you a father?" asked one of the boat's crew.

"Oh yes - me prenty father - prenty brother", came the rueful reply. "He love me very hard". A statement which was verified when two stalwart islanders clambering on to the boat with shrieks of joy, dragged their beloved one on to the beach, administering welcome the while with pommellings that might well have daunted a Dempsey or Carpentier.

The southern solstice found the chief at Howland Island and from there in January he proceeded to Samoa and Tonga, where he met those interesting personages, the Bakers and King George. From a Sydney paper he notes "A syndicate of capitalists proposes to erect at Fiji larger mills for the manufacture of copra and coconut fibre rope," and further -

"Sir John Thurston, governor elect of Fiji, will introduce into these islands many new industries centring in mills for the extraction of coconut oil, for the making of coconut matting and for fruit canning."

At Sydney, on this trip, came the opening of a future very close friendship.

Says the diary: Feb. 15th 1888. At Petty's Hotel.

"Have had a long talk with Sir John Thurston. He remembers with much pleasure his meeting with Mr. Ellis. Is interested in South Sea Islands - most of which he seems to know intimately. Has not visited, but is curious about the Phoenix Group and knows apparently all there is to know about the J.T.A.Co., self, and islands. Does not look on Suva and Levuka as a field for coconut working: thinks the hurricanes in Fiji would be fatal to the industry. Has heard that guano exists on Walpole island. Seems to understand most island issues thoroughly. A remarkable man - perhaps the greatest in the Islands."

Sir John Thurston at this time was one of the prominent figures of the southern hemisphere and his life reads not unlike a chapter of romance. Born In England in 1836 he became successively an officer on an Indian liner, a farmer in New South Wales and a government servant

settled in Sydney. This last position lasted only a year. In 1863 he went on a botanising expedition to the Western Pacific. Wrecked on one of the smaller Samoan Islands in 1864 he lived for two years among the natives, becoming familiar with both language and customs; and by the time he was rescued in 1866 he understood the island peoples very thoroughly. Then he accepted employment in the British Consulate of Fiji. In '69 he was acting Consul: in 1872 when the parliamentary constitution of Fiji collapsed Thurston was made Chief Secretary and Minister for Foreign affairs. In 1874 through his influence the islands were transferred to Britain and he became Colonial Secretary and Auditor General of the young Crown Colony. In 1879 he was made secretary to the newly appointed High Commissioner of the Pacific; in 1880 he was acting Governor of Fiji; deputy Governor in '82 and Consul General for the Western Pacific in '83. In '85 he went as British Commissioner to the Anglo-German Conferance and in 1886 became Governor of Fiji and High Commissioner of the Western Pacific. In view of this career the summing up that closes the entry is fully justified.

The acquaintanceship and mutual esteem in a few years ripened into intimacy and at the time of Sir John's death Arundel was perhaps his closest personal friend.

The summer of 1888 was spent chiefly in cities in negotiations touching the lease of islands near Australia. A good mail service helped the work on the Phoenix and more distant islands, where Messrs. Ellis and Gale were pressing on operations with weather conditions greatly to their advantage, although disastrous storms

were again reported from Fiji and Raratonga. The chief while interested in rumours of deposits remaining at Malden Island is still chiefly concerned at Brisbane, Sydney and Melbourne with business connected with Raine, Lady Elliott Island, etc. On this run which ends at Auckland he enters without comment a cutting from the Weekly News of April 18th - a telegram from New York.

"The American Government claims Christmas Island and protests against its annexation by England". Probably America while indifferent on the subject of Pacific guano was looking for a supply of coconuts near to her Western ports. Certainly if, as Hague says, the American flag waved for 25 years over Jarvis and Baker, it would seem that the protest was extremely just.

Book III.

CHAPTER V.

From the beginning of May 1888, a series of untoward happenings succeeded each other without a break, and for a time the Phoenix Island enterprise seemed to be immersed in a sea of troubles. First to Howland where G.C.E. on his way to Suva was awaiting the return of the chief from Auckland came news of a shocking dynamite accident in which his son, the analytical chemist of the staff was seriously injured on one of the smaller islets. Captain Ross of the Isabel was sent up to take the wounded man to Samoa, so delaying the shipping of guano at Howland. Then on the arrival of the chief in June, in the process of landing a new and larger buoy the Flying Scud which had succeeded the Vivid and the Explorer in the recruiting and inspecting trips, was nearly wrecked. Finally unexpected and most untimely wind storms, swept both Baker and Howland, where stores of dry guano which ought to have gone by the earlier boat were awaiting shipment. For some days the staff at these islands could only impotently watch while the precious dust blew away in clouds. This was a quite unusual occurrence. A little guano had been wasted in the same way at Starbuck and Fanning in the 'seventies, but the wind soon dropped again and the loss was not on anything like the scale of this disaster. The account of some days tells of clouds of guano blowing out to sea. However, the wind modified at last,

24.6.88. "It is now dead calm. Doldrums all round. Flying Scud becalmed, but she would not be made fast even if she were not.

The Alice May to westward becalmed too." Yet next day the wind was blowing all stores away again.

"A little Niue lad died last month and was buried here. His mother sent up (from Niue presumably) her dress and hat and other personal belongings to hang on his grave." After all comedy on the islands swings between melodrama and tragedy as it does elsewhere. Certainly there was little monotony in life at the Phoenix Group. As for the weather - it could never be foretold. "Heavy squalls" is the morning entry. Next comes " calm and very hot." Existence for those weeks seemed to be largely governed by the gyrations of the weather-cock.

27th June 1888. "Flying Scud came ashore 6 a.m. on the North Point. After a hard day we got her off at 6 p.m. She has lost the best part of her false keel." It is little wonder that when she put to sea again the Scud was found to be "not answering well to her helm".

On the 17 July "The Cecile broke the moorings bringing the buoy ashore. All hands then left her and she was washed off the reef again - gradually sinking. Worked all night." Then "Cecile a total wreck".

After superintending some coconut plantings on Howland, in August the Chief, full of forebodings, voyaged to Fiji on the Martaban. The diastrous summer had brought colossal worries at a time when owing to prices ruling, every enterprise in the Pacific gave cause for concern. This natural depression increased by sleeplessness ill health and his private griefs was aggravated by the crowded state of the ship which had the captain of the Cecile and his crew on board. On arrival at Suva, however, the warm welcome at Government House and his ready instant and keen

interest in Thurston's scheme for introducing rice as a staple crop for the group brought change of outlook, and with it the much needed rest. At Auckland in September matters were "looking up". At his next port of call the entry is much in his old vein. "At Honolulu - delightful as ever."

In San Francisco where the market for toa was falling, though copra had much higher quotations, he learns with satisfaction that the Hervey Group is annexed by H.M. Government and a British Protectorate declared over Savage Island (Niue). "How pleased Maunga will be!" is the comment. Maunga has by this time, all unwillingly, returned to his own people, but only for a visit. In a short time he is found nursing memories of Aneru, of his beloved mistresses, and of his stay in England on Flint Island where he took charge of a small party working coconuts and Toa.

In view of the position in the Western Pacific held in this year of grace by the Gilbert and Marshall Groups, a Press cutting under date 14.10.88 is interesting. After speaking of seven Gilbert Islanders picked up at sea by the Respigadera and the need for raising funds for their return the writer points out that this people "forty years ago cannibals are now among the most intelligent and hospitable of the inhabitants of the South Seas." The article then gives particulars of this now prosperous group, as it was known in 1888.

"These islands are mere coral reefs breaking the wide expanse of the Mid-Pacific. Lying out of the ordinary trade routes they are rarely visited ..... They are 2,000 miles from Hawaii, the nearest land being the Marshalls, a similar cluster of reefs about one day's sail due north. The average elevation of the fifteen tiny

islets is not more than eight feet, and the largest reef less than three quarters of a mile wide. The only vegetation is a dense growth of coconut trees furnishing subsistence to the 50,000 and more human beings who make up the population."

"Prior to the visits of the missionaries the fate of sailors shipwrecked on these islands was a terrible one, for the natives hated and feared white men who had frequently visited these valleys and carried off labour to Tahiti and Hawaii ..... The islanders have now become the most hospitable of any in the Pacific. Within the last three years no fewer than twelve trading vessels have been cast ashore on these islands and the natives have cared for the shipwrecked sailors with a humanity as great as could have been experienced anywhere .... The natives are desperately poor, copra is their only product. Soil is so scarce that any great increase of population would mean starvation for all. As a result infanticide is a common practice it is in fact a necessity and 80% of deaths are through violence, although the people here have never been cannibals from choice as are the natives of New Guinea."

This information given to the paper by a Mr. Clark once shipwrecked on the Gilberts and sent to them again as Commissioner for the Hawaiian Government is in general not incorrect. That the cutting should be placed with important papers in this part of the Arundel diary is remarkable, seeing that at the time J. T. A. knew nothing of their hidden stores although within a score of years, largely through the working of the company, of which he was managing director the Gilberts and Marshalls became far and away the most prosperous groups of the Central Pacific - to be ultimately fitted with electric light and linked by wireless with each other and with Australia.

Yet up till 1896 this paper cutting might be held to roughly describe the one group. The Marshalls were developed a little earlier by the big German company interested in Jaluit.

The twelve wrecks between '85 and '88 referred to, prove that in these years the little known islands as well as Raratonga, Fiji, Samoa, and the smaller groups experienced unusual storms. It will be remembered that these were years of earthquakes - those at Krakatoa in 1883 at Tarawera in 1886 historical; and the whole region was shaken with minor shocks. Whether this was phenomenal is for experts to determine but weather conditions are given in the diary as the days follow each other and were as uncertain as they were depressing.

An entry at Honolulu: "Captain Ross just down from Tahiti described old remains on Howland not there now. He tells of flat stones and a kind of earthwork. He saw a spring in the middle of the island near the trees: this for some unexplained reason was filled up by the natives just after his first visit."

On many of the islands together with the remains of a not remotely distant occupation is sometimes found traces of an earlier one still. Those north Pacific groups - the Ladrones etc. where trenches are quite distinct are extremely puzzling. They may have been the work of the early Spaniards. But within the last three years, trenches have been found in the Auckland Paninsula in the North Island of New Zealand, why formed and by whom, it is impossible to guess. If as is sometimes suggested the works tell of Mexican occupation then at some period the Mexicans were wider travellers than Cortes himself.

In March 1889 after a brief return to Howland and a flying visit to Baker, Sydney and Gardner Island, all in full swing, a longer stay was made at Flint to examine the coconuts there. Maunga is now in charge" comes the entry. "Toa is good, coconuts surprisingly so. In one grove we counted 2,000 young palms. M. was much pleased when I commented on this, and on the number of crabs - swarms everywhere. "How in the world do you keep them from the nuts?" I asked. "He no can bite," said Maunga, with great glee - as if that was one mercy he feels we may be thankful for.

After marine birds, the crab which in other latitudes is hardly more in evidence than the oyster, in equatorial lands is quite the most arresting of live creatures. In coconut islands he is a perpetual nuisance; his depredations very often ruining whole plantations. In some islands as Maunga remarks, "he no can bite" and so does not hurt the fully formed and ripe nut. But going out in companies he can climb on a neighbour's back with great agility and from this height he reaches to the young shoots which he can tear off and swallow. Robbed of these, of course the plant eventually dies. But again the big robber crab on other islands has jaws with which he opens the ripe nut.

In another form he is a welcome visitant; a positive benefactor. For, frequenting the quarters about the cook-house in his hundreds, he acts as a scavenger - a very thorough one too. As J.T.A. comments "The native is a wasteful feeder and throws on the ground more food than he eats," a habit which might have consequences indescribably unpleasant, were it not for the industrious crab. The men have not finished their meal when the creature is found hurrying round the cookhouse, intent on tidying up. "His mania for swabbed decks"

~~[illegible]~~ wrote one of a boat's company visiting the islands "makes him clear everything away - bits of ~~rag~~, or even stones, any old garbage, together with fishbones and other titbits, and he is as keen as any factory inspector to remove any accumulations of dirt" His habits are much appreciated by the few sailors who find their way into the white staff of encampments, such as Arundel's. One old salt, a Yankee, after listening in the store to a long discussion on reincarnation, was heard to remark outside "Waal, I guess my missis was once a crab. Surely no other critter afloat could grow up to keep lockers so clean."

At one time a depredator, at another a benefactor, the crab is again something in the nature of a merry-andrew. The land crab at ~~times~~ has no shell, which gives him the appearance of being as uncovered as a new born babe. But he is not naked and unashamed - far from it. Quite conscious of his state of undress, he evidently realises that for him, some form of armour is the mode, so from beaches strewn with the most beautiful and gaily coloured of shells he seizes the first to meet his eye and, as becomes so hardworking a character, wastes no time in adjusting his harness, nor does he stop to consider fashion's devices. Quite indifferent to fit and form, he will wear with equal nonchalance the shell of an oyster flung over his head, or that of a nautilus balanced on a claw, quite regardless of the large part of him which is still uncovered.

As these crabs scuttle to their work in their ill-fitting suits the rattling of shells on the floor of the cookhouse becomes faintly reminiscent of the sound of pattens hurrying ~~in numbers~~

over cobble-stones: In a bottle and steeped in spirits, one of these shell-less crabs is an unpleasant sight. In the quarters in his quaint fancy dress, he is extremely diverting; at times it is difficult to believe that he is not intentionally trying to be funny.

Staffs on the guano islands proper in 1889 were maintained with some difficulty, but that on Baker Island with deposits now nearly worked out, numbered 98 after 70 men had been returned to Nuie. "Rats very bad," writes J. T. A. "They bit my fingers last night." J. D. Hague, a quarter of a century before, told of swarms of rats on Baker Island, a result , it would seem, of the freedom from the high surfs that so often wash over Jarvis.

All efforts were now bent to the removal of the main staffs to islands nearer Australia. As usual on beds nearly worked out, the chief spent some time on this closing visit. "Wind blowing guano about badly" is noted more than once at Baker Island about this time, "but it is not a serious matter like the waste in 1888."

It is proposed to employ Chinese and Japs on the new islands and J. T. A. is evidently a little regretful over his Kanakas, with whom, from the beginning, he was always on the best of terms. They especially loved the tall Englishman. His friendliness pleased them, but much more markedly, his dignity appealed to some attribute in themselves which gives the Polynesians wherever they are found, surprisingly fine manners; and at this time when as a rule, he was a prey to care, the childishness of his employees amused him. "One of the men to-day threw down his shovel and deliberately broke his

barrow" he writes. "G. expostulated loudly. Says the culprit airily, pointing to loose nail in the handle, 'Barrow no good. He break my pant. I break him'."

"18 October 1889. Little Jack died last night - poor old friend. Only yesterday, when he could hardly breathe, he tried to wag his tail when we came in, and though he could not eat, he watched most anxiously to see if he was wanted. One of the boys spoke to him, and he dragged himself up, thinking this meant rats." Jack "the best terrier that ever ratted" as he was known on the many islands he lived on, had succeeded the little cats on Starbuck, Mr. Gladstone, the always welcoming friend on Caroline, the hack, Charlie of Fanning and other memories, as the intimate most suited to the mood of those days. Indeed Jack was a friend not easily spared by any on the staff, and was still mourned by his owner "one of the boys" when Aneru was on the way to England, as he hoped, to spend Christmas with his small daughters.

The Pacific Islands Company

(Bdle)

CHAPTER I.

Book IV. ~~With Broader Issues.~~

The 'nineties came in ~~very~~ quietly, although they were to bring greatly improved prospects throughout the Pacific. Probably the bank unrest prevalent in the period, held the years from the recognition that should have been theirs, for they ushered in ~~very~~ wide-spread progress. Gold discoveries in Western Australia and the Klondyke, the arrival as an accepted wheat-land of Manitoba, the benefits of cold storage, increased and much improved shipping facilities, the development of the wool trade and of the factory system of dairying - under all these headings, prosperity was making strides. In England men of perspicacity thought the presence of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain at the Colonial Office was altogether accountable for the development of Pacific lands. In the Commonwealth and New Zealand some politicians still declare that the improved outlook of those years was the result of the emergence of the Labour Party from its obscurity of a quarter of a century. Again there are authorities in the Dominions and out of them, who claim the whole upward movement as the work of the new farming.

Actually nearly all this development had its rise in the 'eighties but in the memory of those who most benefited by it, the 'nineties are held as the golden years, when wages began to rise and dairy factory shares began to pay, when the small man had money enough to work his acres, when his bigger neighbour paid off his overdraft, when exports of all Pacific lands began to equalise the expenditure upon im-

ports.

The immediate venture with which John Arundel was concerned, in seeming widely separate from these distant issues, was of course, immensely dependent on land values and dairy factory dividends. The keen business man quite realised that these were matters beside which even labour and shipping might take a secondary place, and so far as was possible, he watched the signs of the times as anxiously as the portents of the weather. But the years between 1890 and the birth of the century saw modifications in the working of his enterprise that were as unforeseen as they were successful. Without any premeditation on his part by the birth of the 20th century operations of his company were to be carried on in parts of the world which he had hardly penetrated and ultimately the years brought him success, before which in his own estimation, his earlier achievements sink into insignificance, so that in general, the diary quite suggests that they were forgotten.

But it was never forgotten that at this time prospects, as far as could be seen, were not hopeful. Always, through the 'nineties, he realised that the known stores of guano in the South Pacific were worked out, and that such deposits as he had gained possession of on Australian coasts, were quite inconsiderable. This certainty perhaps changed his point of view, and the diaries seem to show that in these years came worries he had not noticed before. The young man who, in face of overwhelming odds, determined to make a success of Starbuck, in his prime was not nearly so certain of himself nor of his judgment. And yet, throughout the 'nineties, it is noticeable that he is quite as tenacious as he ever was, of his first aim in coming to the Pacific. He had elected to sail the South Seas in search of fortune, and without this, he would never be induced to

abandon these latitudes.

The workings off the Australian coast were planned before the home on Sydney Island took shape; the formation of a big Company to work wide Pacific issues had been discussed with Messrs. Alfred Houlder and Ernest Cayford, his most intimate friend in England, while the J.T.Arundel Co. was unthought of. The Pacific Islands Co., when it eventuated, was only the consummation of the original plan. In the beginning, the wide activities of the future P.I.C. were lined with stress laid on the development of cocoanut working. But the most noticeable features of his work in the 'nineties - the opening up of relations with Japan, the diplomatic negotiations in the States and Mexico re Clipperton Island and the discovery of phosphates at Ocean and Nauru, with the immediate change of working and of outlook, were quite unforeseen so late as 1895. Indeed the success of his life was to come as a bolt from the blue, with no premonition on his part at all, so that for some months he did not recognise his success.

In another respect the reading of past portents had been totally misleading. The foresight which impelled the English company in the late 'seventies and for ten years after to prepare for a decreasing demand in Pacific phosphates proved to be quite at fault. There was a no less insistent call for these in either the 'eighties or 'nineties; indeed, all through the period, the need for fertilisers increased rather than diminished.

Still the premonition that led to the widening of the Pacific interests proved to be not ill-timed. In 1890 the J.T.Arundel Co.was faced with the possibility of soon becoming dependent on its other

island resources - copra, beche-de-mer, Toa-wood, pearl-shell, etc., to the total exclusion of guano, not because of the American output, nor of the Tunis-Algerian find - rumoured to be inexhaustible - but because the then known guano stores in the South Pacific and off the Australian coast were evidently quite insufficient to meet the growing demand voiced from every port.

So, although in the 'nineties more phosphates were exported from America alone than the whole world had produced in the 'sixties, in taking up his Australian islands, the licensee found himself concerned, not lest these phosphates should be a drug on the market but lest the stores he could be assured of should be altogether inadequate.

As a fact it was inadequate. Neither Torres Straits nor the Gulf of Carpentaria had any appreciable supply, and there was no promist of further discoveries. The Louisade archipelago had been recently prospected; the Gulf of Carpentaria was now thoroughly examined without any result. Small island stores in the Indian Ocean taken over in 1882, when prospected were found to have no value, and the lessee was happy to be relieved of them by the Colonial Office. But this left him, in addition to the unshipped store on Howland, only deposits on Raine, Lady Elliott, Bunker Island, etc., on which to depend for immediate needs. When these should be worked out, it seemed that the J.T.A. Co. as a guano firm, would cease to exist.

Fortunately the transference of the company into a general trading and agency firm had been prepared for. Had guano given place in public favour to other island wares the position which had been

looked for would have been tenable enough. But since the demand for phosphates was not dying out but growing daily, it is no wonder that John Arundel found immediate prospects little to his liking.

The new activities embracing in Queensland, interests in meat freezing and iron smelting, and in New Zealand the carrying of cargoes and supplies for neighbour firms - (receiving the like service in return -) required much more representation in cities, so the chief was now domiciled the better part of the year in Australian and New Zealand towns. For a time much less business was done with the States although visits to Hawii and California were not infrequent. American business efficiency was always appreciated by the keen-eyed man of business, who was now no longer to spend months in sailing the sunny seas in tiny island craft. The life of strenuous endeavour and few relaxations on these islands for the next ten years fell to sub-managers. The chief's part now lay in cities among business men - Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Auckland, were successively his homes, and his travelling was done by rail or in ocean liners. He occasionally visited the widely parted guano workings about the Phoenix Group and North Australia, but his stay was seldom prolonged, although after all, in spite of past portents, guano was still the main business of the company.

The cause of the unforeseen development in the demand for phosphates is not far to seek. It came in with the new farming, as this established itself in Pacific lands. In the earlier [illegible] th cent[illegible]

before the appalling exhaustion that overtakes his acres. This was the experience that came to thousands "out west"; and in some of the districts of Kansas and Utah, Ohio and Illinois, straw of the sorry grain crops had to be burnt or ploughed in.

Delete

Cap It is now an accepted principle, taught in any A.B.C. of farming, that immeasurable waste of elements making for fertility attends the first cropping of virgin soil. This principle, though not formulated, guided agriculturists in the old world for centuries and was known by the Latins in earlier times still. But its application was not guessed by the men of many trades who were pioneers. These amateur farmers of the western States and after them the early settlers in Australia and New Zealand, probably charged to the soil, the failures which in the mid-nineteenth century were the result of their own ignorance.

Happily the nature of this soil exhaustion was discovered in time, and the remedy to hand was found to be those fertilisers in which phosphates played a part. Though phosphorus is not a necessary constituent of the soil, its agency is potent in insuring the fullest return from the presence of more needful elements. This fact underlay all the suddenly increased demand for the island fertiliser.

This discovery by savants had introduced artificial fertilisers into Europe before the 'sixties. But the little agricultural education of the day did not carry its lessons far, and amateur farmers in the younger new lands of Australia and New Zealand, like westerners in America, rejoicing in soil dressed with woodash from burnt forest-

trees were again faced by ruin when the inevitable soil exhaustion followed their cropping. However, by the end of the 'eighties the lesson was mastered all round, and by this time factories with the separator, as well as the freezing works of many districts were advancing strong claims to the reclamation of all poor lands.

A fact stressed by the diaries of the later years points out how remarkably public opinion as to agriculture, had been trained in one Pacific country during the last decade. Through members of the big ~~guano~~ syndicates of Japan, professors in the university of Tokio took up the matter with enthusiasm and free public lectures were given all through the islands, with demonstrations illustrating the value of phosphates. Very soon Japan was producing her own super phosphates at a cost which enabled her, after buying raw supplies, to sell in Australian ports at a profit. But this development is treated in later diaries. It is noteworthy, however, that in Japan this public demonstration was the rule at a time when in ~~New Zealand~~ Australasia, only a few progressives realized the principles underlying soil preservation. J.T.A. travelling widely in agricultural districts on both sides of the Tasmon Sea, has no entry touching any such popular education on the subject in these lands, though in Japan the fact of lectures being given with their immediate results evidenced in commerce as well as in agriculture, is commented on frequently.

Through the 'nineties difficulties of securing island labour which had increased in preceding years, led to the introduction on to the Australian islands of Chinese and Malays, who worked under their own foremen. The introduction of Javanese was mooted with the advice

given to avoid Arabs, Klings, Cingalese and American negroes. Ultimately Chinese labour was shipped from Cairns. A series of losses in shipping belongs to these years; but as an offset, the supplies of guano on the new islands were bigger than was expected and Baker and Howland stores brought higher quotations than had been looked for.

Friends in Australia and New Zealand have pleasant memories of that period when John Arundel, sometimes for three months together, was living in Sydney, Melbourne or Auckland. "He was the friendliest of men - and quite the kindest" writes one of his friends of Australian days. His preference for working at night, enabled him when mails were not pressing to enjoy the many interests that now succeeded the relaxations of the islands. Probably none of them brought the keen enjoyment he had known when his business took him in ~~the crown of~~ his young manhood on those cruises amongst the sunny islands from Caroline to Starbuck and on to Flint, and so to Tahiti and back to Hawaii, long ago in the 'seventies, when his hopes and his enterprise were still young together. And the happiness known on Sydney Island, belonged only to memory. But there is relaxation and a good deal of pleasure in such entries as come in May 1890 in Auckland after the rush of a big mail, where he is found lecturing on Pacific Islands at the Y.M.C.A., taking the little T's to the circus - "a delightful experience". (For their (our) sakes, ~~and~~ as well as for those little daughters at home, he loved children, who in return adored him. Then there were theatre parties ~~for~~ when we took both the Charringtons, then (were) appearing in Peg Woffington and The Doll's House. This latter presented for the first time in New Zealand, with Janet ~~Ashworth~~ Achurch as Nora is not yet forgotten by Auckland theatre-goers.

Such entries made in Australia bring back some notable happenings in Melbourne and Sydney. Who that can remember would forget the years before the Williamson and Musgrove combination had grown up when, for instance, the Broughs and Titheradge were running "Much Ado" at the Criterion for - how many nights? - in a presentment that has not often been equalled anywhere: when the big organ in the Sydney town hall was opened: when Bernhardt first came south, when "Jo" and Toole brought England to the antipodes in those days, when it ~~did~~ not quite realised how far Australia had travelled from the homeland, although its distinct school of painting and sculpture proclaimed the fact.

Delete

Toole and his company were loved chiefly for the atmosphere they brought. Never was such a welcome, - never in Australia or out of it such tenderness mingled with the laughter! Said a Sydney writer of the day "In his own little theatre in King William Street or at the larger one in the Strand, he could not feel himself more at home or more closely the centre of personal friends.....The demonstration was unparalleled. For many exiles who would never make the voyage Home, the presentment of Dot was not a mere triumph among stage events. It was Dickens' England, here under the Southern Cross. For some it was youth again, under wrinkles and grey hair."

The traveller enjoyed these relaxations chiefly when through them he could give pleasure to his friends but, as always, no mere social happening could lessen his interest in the meetings at the Sailor's Rest, in the doings of the British and Foreign Bible Society, in the work of the Y.M.C.A. and in all Missions. These were only some of the causes nearest his heart. Through these years too, every letter

touching the doings of his children, their lessons, their pleasures, their party frocks, as well as every scrap of writing from their small hands was sorted, docketed and packed away among his immediate treasures, to be found thus tenderly stored, after his death.

The firm's business in New Zealand in the 'nineties was concerned largely with agricultural interests. The raising of stock to meet the demands of the frozen meat trade was now an important development, which, ~~of course~~ naturally, affected the demand for guano. The rise of big herds and of notable flocks into popular favour belongs to this period. The big stations told of by Lady Brassey were beginning to be broken up, but Longbeach "the largest farm in the world" as a writer in an English paper tells of it, was doing perhaps its finest work, and for the small farmer, dairying as an industry, had arrived. Prosperity came slowly to the south lands in those days, however, and the impressions gathered from his not protracted stays in the Dominion were associated in John Andell's mind with the impossibility of ever again getting Raratongan labour. For the Cook Islands ~~being~~ now taken over by New Zealand's labour Government, were immediately ~~now~~ brought under the newly established labour laws.

Book IV.

CHAPTER II.

The visit to England did not eventuate after all and October 1890 found the traveller back in North Queensland. From here he was booked to sail by the Quetta to Java at the end of the month, but through an unforeseen delay at Thursday Island he lost his passage. On the 1st of March, the Quetta struck a rock off Mt. Adolphus Island and went down in three minutes. Of the 394 passengers only 128 were saved.

His stay at Thursday Island was for the purpose of looking into the matter of the pearl and bech-de mer fisheries there, which at that time represented a collective annual value of £100,000. Of Hong Kong Honolulu and Thursday Island, (perhaps the most cosmopolitan ports in the Pacific) in its season, the last is perhaps the most interesting, with its motley assemblages of white and coloured folk - generally adventurers - from every part of the world. During the working of the Queensland Islets, the chief stayed at Thursday Island frequently and had very high hopes for its future when New Guinea and adjacent lands should be opened up. Here he often met his first missionary friend of Raratonga, Mr. Chalmers now working in New Guinea. From this centre, too, he became familiar with the Solomons, as well as with Cape York district, by this time maintaining very big herds of cattle.

Raine Island was now staffed with Chinese and Malays, and under Mr. Ellis's management houses were built and guano working was pushed forward at a great pace, while the chief from the mainland arranged.

for mails and stores, and a regular service of boats. Meanwhile, Auckland papers note that "The brigantine Lady Mabel has cleared for Howland and Niue under charter to Messrs. Arundel & Co. to load guano for Australian ports." "The Silver Cloud is bound for Howland to load guano for Dunedin." Then "The Maile bound for an extended cruise among guano deposits of the Phoenix and other groups, carries a large buoy for Howland", where Captain Theet was still stationed.

June found the chief in New Zealand intent on the business of chartering small craft to thread the Queensland channels for most of the island boats were brought from New Zealand. Auckland at the time was famed for its homebuilt ketches, schooners, etc., ~~and in Sydney and Auckland regattas, yachts from North Shore yards were generally successful~~. and most ~~Some~~ of the neatest island craft hailed from these ~~same~~ shipyards. According to the Star 4th July, 1890 "Within the past few months the guano firm of J. T. Arundel Co. has despatched five vessels from Auckland to Howland Island for guano for New Zealand ports. Howland is now perhaps the richest guano depot in the Pacific."

~~These~~ Central Pacific islands with strong managers under the directions of the travelling representative, were working very well. Old difficulties incidental to the manning of the staff no longer existed, for employees who had once worked for the firm, were always anxious to enlist again. So Kanakas, for work in smaller South Sea centres were easily found.

The anchorages were good, and while J.T.A. pursued his busy way in the haunts of men, members of the Whits staff, who had emerged from the early workings and were now experts, pushed through the work as once the chief had done at Starbuck. Except in phenomenal weather, shipping from the Phoenix Group proceeded with the regularity of clockwork.

An April notice in the Star -

"On leaving Auckland on May 4th the barque Vivid called at Niue taking back native labour from the guano fields. She then proceeded to Samoa and loaded cocoanut plants for cultivation on the islands. From Apia she laid her course to the Phoenix Group, touching Phoenix, Sydney, Birnie, Enderbury, Hull, Canton and Gardner Islands and here landed cocoanut stores and the native labour to plant the nuts. These men will be called for by the schooner Maile doing the same round a fortnight later. From Gardner Island the barque reached Howland on May 26th, and there discharged stores and loaded with guano for New Zealand, calling on return at Enderbury with mails and stores."

There is a good deal of incident hidden behind the mere shipping intelligence of these seaport papers. Those little island boats, beating out around the North head and so up the channel to be lost behind Rangitoto, carried others beside the accredited employees of the Arundel Co. These are the years when writings such as Louis Becke's familiarised readers with the Pacific world of romance, of mystery, of sunshine and laughter, of tragic disillusions, of buried hopes and ruined reputations. However, life on the

guano islands was chiefly one of strenuous endeavour; its gala happenings - the arrival of the Vivid, the Ryno, the Lady Mabel, etc. with mails, or the departure of that same little craft with a load of guano when generally all hands made holiday. Rumours of tragedy came from outside the boundary reefs.

On the mainland the chief too led a strenuous life. An August entry shows a week train travel touching Sydney, Melbourne, Newcastle and Brisbane leading to the further journey by boat to Townsville, Cook town and Cairns where he engaged more Chinese labour and looked up Temple Cay and Forbes Island, - neither of importance. His trip ended in a visit to Raine Island - reached after a most difficult passage.

24th Aug. "Arrived here by Griffin yesterday and found the Maile waiting, though on account of the high wind she has not made fast. After an anxious night we went inside the great detached reef, and getting out the big scow, towed it across and made it fast to the shore with a hawser. Then the Maile in her turn, dropped her anchor to stern and so we safely got ashore to a very warm welcome. It was pleasant to meet these friends again".

Assembled at Raine Island were several members of the old white staff - experts who had most expeditiously got the new workings in hand. The travelling manager was here with Mrs. Ellis, whom the chief had not met since her visit to the islands at the time of her son's accident. According to a Cook- town paper, there was now a complete village on Raine Island.

Another August entry.

"Getting near the fall the tides here are very high or very low. The tide last night was so high that it washed right into the blacksmith's shop".

"The Chinese want me to guarantee them against robbery or murder by the Malays."

"Oyster Cay, Bramble Cay, Temple Cay, have no guano, but Oyster has good bech-de-mer fishing." These rocks in Torres Straits were at the time reported by Queensland papers as containing a wealth of guano. Indeed comments by the Australian press during this time ofuncertainty, are entertaining. Even the Bulletin which in those days, in the hands of its finest editor was usually accurate, had a paragraph touching "a guano island leased by speculators which has 4,000,000 tons of guano on it!" J.T.A's comment on this is merely"Presumably Raine Island."

From the Cook-town Courier.

"By the Jumna Mr. Baker of the Custom House returned from Raine Island via Thursday Island. Raine is half a mile long, by a quarter wide,covered with legumtous shrubs and runners. Fresh water, though not of good quality was at first obtained at two springs which were very poor, but a good permaneent supply has now been found. The guano deposit is excellent - several layers of varying depth. Some in the form of soft rock is evidently formed by the action of rain water, percolating the layer and liberating CO2 thus forming a breccia of shell, lime and guano. The island is covered with birds' nests. Turtle is plentiful."

The navigation of Torres Straits was always difficult. There are two passages - the outer and inner - and the cost of pilotage for the safer and inner route is from £30 to £50. The discussion as to the merits of the two routes led ultimately to a visit from Lord Charles Scott and to official proclamation as to the navigation of the Straits.

A later press cutting tells that a much discussed "patch" is of coral, 550 yards in diameter and rising from deep water. Unfortunately it is below the surface, but is clearly visible when the sun is in certain positions. J.T.A. mentions this "patch" several times in the diary of his voyages in 1890-91. The 1892 report was made by Lieu. Commander Pirie of H.M.S. Patuma.

From Brisbane one voyage lasted the better part of a month, spent chiefly in tossing about the unusally stormy strait. "An awfully dark night" comes the comment, "for a chance of being drowned". The Townsville paper refers to this visit of the proprietor of Raine Island where "work has been hopelessly impeded by excessive rains" (The early 'nineties are remembered in Queensland as the years of the big floods.) "Heating chambers", continues the article, "are now being made for the purpose of drying the guano. The Cleveland Foundry, at work on these, is open night and day, pressing through the contract."

The end of June 1891 found the chief at Raine Island again, relieving his friend after the sudden unlooked for death there of Mrs. Ellis. For two months he took charge - again surveying guano fields - again settling disputes among the members of the white staff - again engrossed in measurements of floors (for Chinese

houses this time,) again, when all the guano was dry, restraining his impatience as best he might at the untimely and phenomenal rains. He has not dealt with Chinese labour before and finds himself somewhat at sea in drawing out the first orders for supplies for the Chinese New Year. But by the end of September he is back on the mainland and in Sydney comes the entry "Doctor says it is influenza and orders rest from work."

The ravages of influenza during the 'nineties throughout the Australian towns gave matter for comment in Stevenson's letters. Certainly the form it assumed in Sydney was sufficiently unpleasant, but it was not the death-dealing visitation that swept Southern lands in 1818. And in a week the wanderer is about again, and entries from his train or mail-boat or temporary inn note "sermons of Bishop Julius" just heard in Christchurch. "Price paid for bullocks in the open markets" in Brisbane, "rumours", in Hobart, "that X has an island in hand," And from Thursday Island in January 1892 he writes -

"Among the exports from this port for 1891 with pearl-shell representing £78,851, beche de mer, £6,810, tortoiseshell £1,582, guano is credited with £21,648."

In connection with the price of bullocks in Brisbane in 1892, it must be rembered that in that year, Queensland, according to a writer in the Daily News (London) had an increase of 6½ million well bred cattle. In February came news of the wreck of the gallant little Ryno at Flint Island - only 85 tons - but with a record of strenous work to her credit that would do honour to many bigger and better-known ships. In May from the cabin of the Richmond comes the entry opening half a year of deep-sea sailings. "Just off Rarotonga."

The Cook Islands were then in a state of transition. In 1892 they plunged into a democracy with a courage that would not have been possible if either the island powers or the New Zealand ones had had any conception of the difficulties that hedged in the situation. Happily the resident, Mr. Moss, was possessed of a large patience, and did not lack a sense of humour, both of which must have been exercised to their limit in the first years of his residency.

The launching of the New Constitution with its benefits of self-government, was in this primitive land extraordinarily difficult. The first Parliament called in 1892, was a remarkable gathering, although happily a few geniuses among the natives, assisted by the imperturbable resident, prevented this from showing to the world. Even the terms "Votes", "Supplies", "Taxes", "Revenues", "Expenditure", although glibly spoken of by the few, ~~even when translated~~, had no meaning whatever, for most of the dusky representatives. The confusion was almost beyond control; some of the quarrels were as absurd as they were general.

The case of the seventeen Arikis who, up to this time had governed their districts not unwisely, and with some show of dignity, is remembered by those who fear to see woman in Parliament. There was a preliminary meeting of these queens to decide which of them should present the address to the Commons already drawn up by a white man. Necessarily a representative Ariki had to be chosen and this election among themselves brought about perhaps the first ~~disappointment~~ agreement among the ladies who had for so long been supreme each in her own domain. The quarrel ended in a general break-down into tears. Then the Prime Minister, Tepou-o-te-Rangi, wily diplomat as he was, rose to the occasion, and appointed himself to move the address to Parliament (this honour by statute reserved as the prerogative of the Arikis), so seizing in

his casual male manner, the only privilege which had been settled exclusively on the royalties "For men must work" - he would probably have explained "while the women weep."

Another time when the House was asked to vote a somewhat large proportion of the revenue and the greater part of a good year's surplus for the upkeep of roads, quays, bridges, etc., at Awarua, on which island is the capital of the group Raratonga, there was a great outcry from the representatives from the other islands - "Omai te matou moni ki kai matou" ("Give us our money to eat") - shouted these parliamentarians in chorus voicing the sentiments of districts that were not Awarua. However in Tepou - o - te - Rangi an Abraham Lincoln had come to judgment; and the rebels were politely shown by this able and acting despot, that Parliamentary privileges once conferred, cannot be easily evaded.

In 1870, in his first arrival in the group, J.T.A. had been much impressed by the Raratongans. Their hospitality, gaiety and simplicity, together with the influence exercised on them by Mr. and Mrs. Chalmers, pleased him immensely, and after his first unfortunate experience at Starbuck, he found them particularly reliable workmen. With them, too, 'Aneru' was very popular and as labour was brought back fresh recruits were always found waiting to sign on for his islands.

But on the annexation of this group by New Zealand, the newly passed labour laws of that country were applied to the Raratongans, innocent of all knowledge of unions, arbitration or the nature of contracts. The new conditions would undoubtedly benefit them in time, but at present neither self-government nor its working was understood, and its immediate consequences was paralyzing. Neither workman nor employer knew exactly what were the limitations of

the one, nor the requirements of the other. Necessarily this closed for both any association of interests or enterprises except in barter and exchange. This visit of J. T. A. to Raratonga, however, did not touch labour, but was concerned with shipping and the usual friendly relations ruled quite as pleasantly with the Resident as with the original governing powers.

From the Cook islands the Richmond proceeded to Tahiti - "lovely as ever." With wood brought from Tahiti the voyager in June repaired beacons on Starbuck and Phoenix and later called with stores at Flint and Caroline, where the small staffs were doing very well. There were fine trees on North Islet, while pineapples, and bananas as well as cocoanuts flourished on Brothers Island. Vostok without staff or custodian, had been visited by trespassers, and so was provided with a new board bearing the old notice as to the rights of the Lessee. Phoenix Island was looking very green, and at Sydney although landing was difficult, there was a warm welcome. "Cocoanuts here coming forward well, guarded by a staff of very fine fellows." Enderbury again had a notice left that as legally appointed agents, J.T.A. and Co., warned trespassers against interfering with the property of the owner Mr. C. A. Williams, of New London. At Hull, nuts planted in 1881 were now imposing palms. Here sad news awaited the Richmond. The manager of Gardner Island, perfectly well on the last inspection visit, had died some months before. H.M.S. Curacoa called at Gardner just before the arrival of the Richmond.

Upola Savai and Apia were visited in July. At the last port the Richmond's passenger booked by the Monowai to Auckland, and the

whole of August was spent in the towns of New Zealand. In Wellington "~~conversation~~ business" with his Excellency (Sir J. Prendergast) demanded a longer stay in the Colony than had been planned. However September saw the voyager again afloat, this time bound for Hobart, Melbourne, Sydney, Queensland ports and Thursday Island en route for China and Japan and thence through America to England.

The diary dated from Hong Kong on November 4th, 1892. "Part of the Chinese Fleet was waiting here, and 4 7 five days later the vermillion coloured war boats were again found outside the harbour of Shanghai, where a stay of twenty-four hours was much enjoyed. "One of the Company's boats took us off and passed us on to a punt worked up stream by an old woman. Craft of all shapes, sizes and colours surrounded us, On landing everything was new - have seen nothing like it in any port touched yet. Chinese groves between rows of barn-like store houses line the roads we followed. The remarkably low tides of this year make very much worse the collections of dirt; the creeks were bad enough, but the streets flanking these waterways were indescribable."

The traveller found a good hotel and much enjoyed tiffin in town. A tame deer at the hotel was amusing. "The rascal has been taught to chin-chin for fruit and bread and makes his obeisance with absurd dignity. He was once found all alone in front of a bunch of bananas hung out of reach, chin-chinning for all he was worth."

15 November 1892. Nagasaki. "So large a number of fishing boats outside that in the morning light I took them for the town."

"At the native house I bought presents - a most delightful choice." Further entries touch the toa gardens, the dwarf trees, temples with their long flights of steps, the elegance of the best part of the towns - "Views lovely." "No beggars" "Width and cleanliness of streets amazing."

An up to date tea house had an amusing notice - "Visitors will be enormously pleased with view of the city and harbours of Nagasaki and especiallyof its coolness and pleasantry in summer."

After only a couple of days spent at Nagasaki a call was made at Kobe and thence the traveller proceeded to Osaki by rail. "Fine rivers and canals - fifty bridges - very picturesque." So the diary runs on and gives longer entries to Osaka's factories making it the Birmingham of Japan. From Osaka to Yokohama, the trip was made by sea and Fujiyama showed itself covered with snow "Mast impressive in its winter dress." Then come comments on the industry of the people, the natural beauties and extraordinary developement of the country. This first trip was only a cursory glance, as it were, at modern Japan. It took no notice at all of the then, still existing traces of the feudal state, now so nearly lost. The diary shows recognition of the fact that the Japanese understood principles underlying preservation of the soil, but this first visit is only for the purpose of viewing the land. No business is attempted, and the actual life of the people is not seen.

At Yokahama a berth was taken on the Belgic for California. The 3rd of December spent at San Francisco, is given up to enquiry as to value of toa, walnut-wood, Spanish cedar etc, and in visits

to copra

to copra works. Here comes one of the earliest mentions of Clipperton Islands The run across the continent was not drawn out, yet New York was reached too late to allow of Christmas at home. The first day of 1893, however, was spent with his children and for a week or two the entries in the diary bear only on this experience and on the great uncertainty as to future plans.

The island, meanwhile, under the general direction of G.S.E. were in the hands of Captain Theet and Messrs. Gale, Ellis, and others, ~~working~~ with greatly reduced staffs, maintaining cocoanut plantations in such centres as Howland ~~for instance~~, with only three men and provisions to last until the middle of 1893. Captain Daldy in Auckland was to remain closely in touch by cable with head-quarters in London; and the only active guano working of this year centred about North Queensland ports, where Raine Island now gave way to Lady Elliot as the principal depot.

This general pause in operations points to other difficulties than those of labour, ~~or~~ and of dwindling guano supplies. Every business in the Pacific in the early nineties, felt the financial strain brought about by the Bank unrest. Says one authority; "In the first two years of the period the failure of Baring Brothers in London affected Uruguay stocks. The consequent refusal of those syndicates which financed colonial loans to assist early issues was necessarily followed by a tightness all through the money market."

The years 1895, 1896 and 1897 were to see crises in the history of the Bank of New Zealand and the Queensland National

Bank, averted by the prompt and businesslike intervention of the Legislatures of those countries. But apart from the recovery of Colonial Banks, business was slowly and steadily improving in every part of the world - a fact which had its weight in the final settlement of that which took John Arundel to England on the two visits of the years 93 and 95. This was the forming of the larger Pacific Island Company, with wider activities in the Pacific than any carried on by its predecessor.

CHAPTER III.

In the quarter of a century already spent in the South Seas it would almost seem that the delights and disillusionments of the real Pacific, known to history as well as to fiction, had passed the traveller by. Existence on guano islands as revealed by the diaries, except in a perpetual fight with difficulties sounds almost as dull as Fanny Burney's life at court, and might be summed up in much the same terms as those Thackeray uses, to paint the passing of days that were ordered after the pattern set by His Majesty King George III.

The diaries seem to imply that most of the employees of the company lived as blameless a life as did J.T.A. himself, who though tolerant of the foibles of his fellows, followed the straitest sect of the Puritans in his own beliefs, and consistently lived up to these. His staffs may have done the same. However if members fell from grace, it certainly was not recorded nor, apparently, remembered against them. In the few cases in which it becomes a matter of common knowledge, that he had cause to be bitterly disappointed and perhaps resentful, his only comment where reference is necessary is to the "case of poor X." He never on any occasion, seems to remember against anyone coloured or white a mistake, a fault, an error or a crime, and he consistently refrains from writing these down.

Perhaps this is the reason why in his comments on it, the world set to the bounds of the Pacific is so eminently what other writers have taught their readers not to expect. It almost

seems that in J.T.A's summing up, Pacific ports are chiefly notable because of their various organisations devoted to good works; life on remoter islands, according to him, centres chiefly in the mission-house; ship-masters and seamen out on the blue Pacific, hotel-keepers up and down the Queensland coast, his cabin boy and the tout who fetches his cab are, as he sees them, generally church-going folk intent on progress much as M. Coue directs it. And almost it seems possible that John Arundel, in the course of his long life, never met any but good women - so chivalrous is he, so kind and yet so strangely aloof from much that can hardly be escaped in those South Seas.

Yet he was no fool, no Don Quixote, nor could he be called an anchorite. Puritan though he was in many ways, he very thoroughly enjoyed the pleasures of the table, and was far from being indifferent to the delights of ~~the~~ a good vintage. Probably he never felt that disturbing force that sings in the music of the Hawaiian waterside, that sweeps with the breezes across the creeks and valleys of Marquesas, that lingers about the palm groves and lurks in magic ponds fringing lagoons of tiny atolls-that force which seems to rule the South Seas - the force to which so many of the most promising of the pioneers in Pacific enterprise have succumbed.

To some it brings a perpetual unrest. Others again find in these islands an ecstasy of repose that acts as the deadliest of drugs. Perhaps the impermanency that rules under the south magnetic

pole sweeping the present into a past that is nothingness, is partly responsible for the tragedy that seems to brood over the islands. The great ocean deeps with their million secrets that have only just been fathomed having their own bearing on temperature and climate may also have their influence on human joys and sorrows. But again climate and opportunity, the lack of any unkind discipline on the part of Nature, and the monotony of island life, probably accounts for much that writers have elaborated out of the fact that a serpent lurks in every Eden.

Though the diaries give little hint of any happenings in guano islands that is not as exemplary as it is strenuous, the Pacific of fiction seemed to rule in other archipelagoes. This is the conclusion formed from reading the newspapers of the day. There are island tragedies, generally pitiful, governed by droughts and storms and by those other powers introduced by the white invasion. And, as always in the Pacific of buccaneers of the past and beachcombers of modern life, there were crimes.

It must be remembered that the islands of the Pacific have received the scum of two continents. This was so in the days of the seadogs. There are traces of the fillibusters on the Torres Straits islands of to-day as well as at Lady Elliott. Then from the penal settlements, English and French, escaped convicts, beach-combers landed at and changed the character of such islands as Naura. Indeed

not only criminals have carried fear and devastation to these Polynesian lands. Among so many elements making for crime it is little wonder if occasionally shocking outrages were reported from the high seas.

J.T.A. on the inspecting tours of 1892, though he did not know it, sailed in the wake of one of these tragedies.

The Auckland Star (9.8.92) tells the story:

Two brothers, Belgians, using the name Rorique, who had apparently sailed every part of the Pacific, arrived at Tahiti at the end of '91. One shipped as seaman on a schooner from Papeete, bound for the Paumotus. The second brother, already a trader in the Low Archipelago, went direct to these islands by another boat.

The Schooner was captained by a Tahitian half-caste with a white supercargo, while a Portuguese, a friend of the Roriques, was cook. There were four Kanakas in the crew, In December 1891 the schooner sailed out of Papeete. After a few months she was heard of at the Paumotus, where she picked up the other Rorique, and then she disappeared and was never seen or heard of again.

Twelve months later, however, a schooner very like her, but painted differently, turned up at Ponape in the Carolines. At that port the ship's company had a royal quarrel and were brought before the Spanish governor. To this gentleman two widely different stories were told.

According to the brothers, their crew had deserted at Penrhyn Island, so at Ebon and Strong Islands, they shipped three other Kanakas who refused to work. Hence this disagreement in the Spanish port.

But the cook told quite another tale. The captain and super-cargo were shot - so ran his version of the story - and their bodies were flung overboard. The next day the Kanaka crew were quietened by poison administered in their breakfast. Sail was then set for Penrhyn, where three natives were kidnapped. After touching at other islands, at Ponape the scoundrels quarrelled and brought themselves to justice.

The story when it came to the less frequented J.T.A. islands rather startled the small staffs there, for it brought to mind a mysterious illness of the captain and crew of a passing vessel calling round the island a few years before. The younger Rorique, then a sailor on this boat, was the only man not affected by the illness. In the light of the Ponape story, it seemed possible the desperadoes had tried the poisoning plan before, and had failed, probably through an under-dose. Since it was generally believed among island staffs that the trespass on Vostok and Enderbury had been the work of these unpleasant sea-vagrants for the moment the breath of tragedy appeared to have been very near.

Members of island staffs, if they escaped the greater tragedies of the Pacific, had their own griefs. Men were cut off from their homes for years together, deaths, such as that of Mrs. Ellis, warning them against any attempt to plant family life on these atolls. ~~Then there were sudden deaths, like Mr. Moore's at Gardner~~. And there were times when the loneliness and desolation played on what in ordinary circumstances, were nerves of steel.

Life on the guano islands is aptly touched in an account of coconut working in the South Seas.

"For the first few days," writes Sir Basil Thompson, "you feel you have arrived in Paradise. The air is soft, the feathery palms away in the breeze, the sands are dazzlingly white, the sea deep blue and calm within the reef, while in the middle distance an irregular line of white foam marks the reef itself. Night and day the roar of the 'league-long' roller is heard in an undertone, and on still nights when the undertone rises to a roar, you know bad weather is at hand. A shimmery mist of spray hangs over the reef, and when the wind is blowing from the shore the rollers take on new beauty. Their white crests stream backwards like horse's manes, as they fling themselves impotently against the barrier. Pools left at low tide teem with fantastic life; fish, azure and scarlet dart amongst the branches of the coral .... On the white sand itself you meet hermit crabs of all sizes at banquet. A dead fish has brought them together, and if you watch you see one who has outgrown his tight waistcoat, leaving it for an empty shell of larger size.

"But when you have exhausted the novelty, the deadly monotony tells on you as it did on Enoch Arden. You hate the brilliant sunshine, the dark green of the trees that have no spring or autumn, the boom of the ocean rollers, the triviality of the life. You long for some breath to blow in from the outer world, for a change of voices and faces. You know the very thoughts behind these - and seeing the same faces and hearing the same voices every day - there comes a day when it is a choice between suicide and wilful murder."

Sir Basil writes of a coconut island. Remove the trees and add the appurtenances of a guano field with its dust and there are times when the pain of existence becomes perhaps more poignant, although happily a variation of weather conditions or the arrival of a boat with mails, changes all this.

The island toll in shipping is enormous. The description of Starbuck with its seven wrecks gives a picture of only one of the fatal rocks. But in their cruises to the South Seas, island craft set sail with much the air of almost gay expectancy that marks the newcomer to the islands. It would almost seem that boats love those seas where coloured fish and seaweed make pictures in the depths, and they sail from the harbours of civilisation, from Auckland and Sydney from Honolulu and out from the Golden Gates as if they leave these havens with relief. Yet in nine cases out of ten among those same islands they will be buffetted in their last storm.

Of course if they were sentient things as some men among the islands look on them, they would realise that only vicissitudes await the end of their short usefulness. The mail-packet of to-day may carry any cargo to-morrow; the fine clipper ship the Golden Horn of the 'sixties only ten years later was shipping guano for her old ports. So in every harbour beautiful outlines are to be found under the grime of blackened coalhulks that were once makers of history. Island craft are rarely found in these conditions. Their last voyage carries them out from the harbour and its quays to the sunny seas - and they do not return.

So too the true Pacific wanderer. He may have paid his toll. ~~He may have earned and found his reward;~~ or he may have ~~even~~ retired and surrounded himself with the comforts of home life in town. But if a chance offers he returns into the glamour land.

During the 'nineties John Arundel made three voyages to England, and after the third spent over a year in London attending meetings of the Board concerned chiefly with business connected with the floating of the larger Pacific Islands Company. Meanwhile Island staffs, as always in these latitudes, had many experiences, meeting storms, mutinies, food shortage with the philosophy that is taught by the life. Some situations were amusing.

Guano fields neighbouring Australia were worked chiefly by Chinese, generally under their own overseers, and directly protected by the Chinese Consul stationed at Brisbane. While digging in the guano sand on one of the islets off North Queensland, these fine workmen - as they are - turned up first a rusty sword, then a skeleton. The island was known to have been an old buccaneering station. A rude tower formed of guano slabs was judged to have been first put up as a beacon to pirate ships, and rusty knife blades, etc., found quite frequently, told of some past occupation now forgotten.

Kanakas would have been immensely interested in the find, but the Chinese stolidly worked on, even when a second skeleton was unearthed and a bag of coins - doubloons chiefly. Then came a headless body and a little further on a skull, with close beside it a pigtail.

This quite changed the whole affair. Here was tragedy touching themselves and every man on the field accepted it as a personal matter charged with disaster - not that he was prepared to mourn for a compatriot or a brother, but that he found himself confronted with the powers of evil, which must instantly be appeased or everyone on the station would suffer.

So the bones were taken to the cookhouse and there laid in state and a holiday was proclaimed while the various rites necessary to the wellbeing of the departed and to the laying of his ghost were religiously carried out. Meanwhile the white men in charge of the island possessed their souls in some impatience, for a boat was expected daily and only about half the required cargo was stored. However, with this most superstitious of peoplex it was impossible to hurry the matter and work had been at a standstill for some days before the final rites were concluded.

When the bones were at length packed away in a case to be forwarded to Pekin by the first boat going there the mourners fell to readily enough and worked so well that there was good ground for hoping that there would be no shortage after all in the supply of a very big and urgent order.

At the manager's bungalow as well as at the quarters, the whole incident was almost forgotten when one evening the storekeeper, a keen collector of curiosities casually remarked that he had opened the box and had abstracted the Chinaman's head for his collection. Happily the manager understand the Oriental very well and

pointing out that when a ship for China actually came the box would certainly be opened and further ~~obsequies~~ ceremonies ordained, he prevailed on his friend to replace the skull - that night if possible, or at any rate before the boat actually appeared.

In due course the vessel was signalled. The cookhouse was again given up to the ~~further~~ funeral rites obsequies and the box was opened. But the head which, when packed away, was in its right position, was now found between the feet. Restitution had been made in haste and on a dark night, but to explain this would have led to more than a riot on the island. As it was panic reigned for the moment, and the guano delivery had to be further delayed while the newly arrived vessel in the interests of the company carried off the whole staff to the nearest port, whence they could ship for China.

"A dead loss all round," commented the manager of the island in his letter telling of the delay. "But is was hugely amusing."

The year 1893 had brought hopeful portents for the Pacific in many quarters. Western Canada where Seattle, Tacoma and Portland were making phenomenal progress opened direct trade relations with Australia. From the Northern hemisphere timber and lumber were exchanged for wool and fruit from the south. New districts sprang up about Puget Sound, while fruit-lands in Australia entered a prolonged period of prosperity. A world-wide demand for a Pacific Trade Federation was helped by a very successful West Australian loan, the peculiar feature of which was the tender in small parcels of £100 of an amount large enough to cover the whole transaction.

In the London diary mention is made of letters which point to Hull as a coconut island with bigger potentialities than Flint, and a copy is given of a press notice touching guano deposits above expectation on Clipperton. ~~"The Auckland branch is doing very well"~~ comes the entry at the end of '93, ~~"the half-year's return is most satisfactory."~~ Then in conversation with R. of Cocos it is learned that that island "produces over 1000 tons of copra annually." Batavia is the head quarters of the trade and it is noticed as perhaps a "peg" in the wished-for federation.

Together with the comment on a letter from Auckland with news of the first election in the Empire, held under combined suffrage (men and women) is one giving the report that "rock guano at the Indian Ocean Christmas Island gives 90% of phosphate" and another with a quotation from the Times which declares "that the financial situation in London is healthier than for some years. Argentine, Australia and the United States" says the writer of the article "are all prospering."

It is probably in connection with the proposed Pacific Islands Company that this December entry concludes: "Business carried through and congratulations pouring in!" But the new company was certainly not registered so soon.

By New Year's Day 1894 the traveller is on board the Paramatta again bound for the South Seas. Pearl-shell, copra, coconut oil, gold-mining in Western Australia and the monstrous increase of shipping due to the corresponding development of the frozen meat trade have all their comment. Entries hint at sugar interests in Fiji, and to a pronounced widening of all operations.

Australian business held the busy man in the southern continent throughout '94 and until the summer of 1895. Australian bank shares were steadily rising at this time and the estimated value per unit of the population of the Australias and New Zealand gave Queensland the premier place with £35. 19.4 per head, New Zealand following with £32. 4. 0, New South Wales £29. 4. 7; Victoria and Tasmania over £25 each, while at that time Western Australia only gave £3. 6.11; per head. Certainly so long as the coastal islands were being worked the guano company found Queensland quite the best headquarters. Then came another call Home where important business required the advice of an expert at deliberations of the Board and Mr. Ellis once more assumed the direction of affairs in Australia and the south seas.

Short calls were made at Samoa, San Francisco and New York. Entries are of the briefest, though a meeting with Mr. ~~Moreton Frewen~~ was mentioned, chiefly through the useful introductions that gentleman gave in America. In London the annual Queensland dinner brings discussions with many old friends - with Sir R. Herbert, Sir J. Thurston Mr. Featherstonhaugh, etc. The subject of the hour is the boom in West Australian gold mines, though the name of the new company and the members of its directorate are also under discussion. But necessarily the reunion with his daughters and the little home life that business permitted, had peculiarly happy and intimate mention.

During the 'nineties the Pacific was kept before the English public both in bank quotations and in many articles in the press. At this time Louis Becke was writing in Pall Mall and at the Colonial

Office the Chamberlain influence had brought a quite changed view point. Meanwhile a new guano enterprise is noticed in London papers.

29.8.95 from the Paris correspondent of the Standard.

"The commission instituted by the Ministry of the Interior to make enquiry into the affairs of the phosphate-of-lime beds in Algeria left Paris to-day. It may be remembered that protests have been made against the granting of certain concessions to British companies for the working of these beds."

Two months later the Daily News suggests that the Algerian phosphate concession should become an international question. Under date October 29.1895 its Paris correspondent points out that a Ministerial decree nullified the Teheran concession granted in 1893 to the Constantine Phosphates Company of Leith on the ground of irregularities discovered in the granting of the concession, the omission of indispensable formalities being the chief.

The company's appeal against the decree, the Daily News points out, is based on the fact that the existence of phosphate deposits in Algeria was first made known to the public by the failure of a French company after losing over £40,000 in the province of Constantine. A Scotch engineer then bought, and with a French Company successfully worked another deposit, and in 1893 sold out to the Leith firm with capital £150,000. Preliminary expenses were £10,000 and a railway, every part of which was bought in France, was laid down. By this in two years France benefited to the amount of £60,000 and the staff was chiefly French. The suspicion of the public, however, was aroused

by rumours of monstrous profits, and this forced on the proceedings in Paris. So comes into notice the great French mine.

The Times, dated 4.12.95 remarks that the whole affair is so strange and the proceedings attributed to the French government so unusual "that for the moment it is best to assume there is extraordinary misunderstanding on one side or the other."

A trip to Plymouth to meet an employee direct from the islands full of news from the cocoanut workings on Caroline and Flint with a further railway run to Exeter, to entertain the wife and sister of another, is held by this man of affairs as a delightful interlude. That John Arundel was beloved by his employees is very evident, and their regard was certainly returned. In comments made on these meetings, his attention to small details reveals itself in the diary. "The higher the cocoanut tree the less danger of its being uprooted by storms, as from the greater height it bends more easily before the wind."

"The nut planted in dry sand has to depend for moisture on the fluid in the seed - in damp and much more fertile soil this reserve is not needed, and so the seed nut rots and poisons the plant. The remedy is to pierce the nut when the young tree recovers immediately."

October finds him in Paris, this time consulting Lord Stanmore, from the first immensely interested in the new company and now its chairman elect. "The main aim of the association," according to the proposed chairman, "will make the business a big and successful thing for the whole Pacific, not for Fiji nor any other group alone."

Back in London, tired and a little depressed J.T.A. considers in his notes coffee planting in the Pacific Islands, the Fiji Cable Extension and the vexed question of oil versus copra. Then he gives a friend's comments on Fiji planters, as applying equally to other workers in the Pacific.

"The reason fellows have not made money in Fiji is that as a rule, they set out from England knowing nothing of what they are going to do. Then they take up cotton. First they buy books, with rules for the planting of cotton, which written for the States are quite inapplicable to the islands. At the end of the first week they know everything. After five years they think they know something but at the end of the second five they have good grounds for being certain they know nothing. Then they get into the hands of the traders lots of whom have done very well in Fiji and have made plenty of money."

An interesting entry refers to the German Jaluit Company and the steamers connecting with Spanish vessels at Ponape. A press cutting is given that when the total German population of Togoland, Cameroons and the Marshall Islands was only 259 persons, goods imported to Togoland and the Cameroons from Germany were valued at £60,000, while the exports of Teuton firms in these colonies were quoted at £400,000. German trade with the Marshalls in 1895 was insignificant.

A matter on which public interest was keen on the private interview granted by Mr. Chamberlain to the Agents General interested in the Pacific cable. The French cable to Noumea cost £300,000

while the proposed line to Fiji was estimated at £700,000 an amount which all authorities agreed was excessive.

30.12.95. "L. has been to Marseilles buying Circassian walnut. Wants Toa instead. Calls Toa Italian walnut. Says market practically unlimited. Saw it first at Chicago and thinks it cannot be bettered."

"Truth's forecast for 1896 assumes increased prosperity."

Mention of the Jameson Raid, the Transvaal crisis, Kruger, the German Emperor, Uitlanders is followed by reference to President Cleveland's Venezuelean policy with a comment made by the Linkman in Truth that "one result of the dispute is to make plain that Americans and English are not brothers - only brothers-in-law."

Early in '96 came news of the losses attendant upon Queensland's storms and the hurricanes at the Friendly Islands. Queensland losses were estimated at half a million, but in the diary more notice is taken of the stong anti-German feeling called out by the arbitrary pronouncements of the Emperor William and by German companies in the South Seas. In reply to American protests the German Ambassador in New York objected to any criticism of these charges being given to foreigners and claimed that all complaints must be addressed to the Imperial Government through the United States Ambassador in Berlin!

A comment on Transvaal affairs is followed by a notice of the new vessels built by Messrs. Houlder for the growing frozen meat trade. The Denton and the Langley Grange were launched very successfully the occasion being one on which John Arundel met many old friends.

Among the earliest nogotiations of the new directorate during the stay in London of its hardworking member was the interview in 1896 with Japanese buyers of guano, and another with Li Hung Chang, the Chinese prime minister, both preliminary to the closer connection with those countries in the Pacific guano business. A press interview with Li Hung Chang gives his dictum that China is always a better customer than Japan for British goods, and the English interests lie in supporting China, - with which statement the diarist does not at all agree. After touching other issues in which he holds Japanese interests coincide with ours he reverts back to the guano "Japan needs all sorts of fertilisers, but as the country has its own nitrogen, only phosphatesare required. China at present has little demand."

Still detained in England at the end of 1896, he mentions that the competition in France in guano, grows enormously, and that for the current year, the launching of new companies for general trade, (irrespective of guano) has called in subscribed capital at the rate of £13,000,000 a month. On the 30th of December 1896 the record becomes £152,000,000 for the year. Then comes another reference to Clipperton, this time as an island producing Toa.

On the 8th February 1897 news of the death of Sir John Thurston is a blow to all members of the London board, and a grief to his intimate friend there. In another month the terms of purchase for Clipperton Island were arranged. It is chiefly business connected

with Clipperton that has detained the traveller in England longer than he expected; but there are further complications in company matters. However these progressed satisfactorily during the spring, and on the 19th May 1897 the new Pacific Islands Company was registered, with Lord Stanmore chairman and John T. Arundel, travelling director and deputy-chairman.
A month later, by the Lucana, the traveller sailed for America; his immediate business the purchase of Clipperton Island and the extension of the operations of the P.I.Co. in the States, and in Canada.

Book IV.

CHAPTER IV.

The work of the Pacific Islands Company was not primarily connected with guano. As its chairman had declared in the Paris interview its aim was the development of all the resources of the Pacific. Not any single issue in any separate locality, was to have preferential claim on its deliberations. As its policy matured the work of the Sydney and Melbourne offices increased enormously; and while Clipperton was on the tapis San Francisco was virtually headquarters of the guano business.

Fiji with its cotton difficulties, was a theatre for research, in the hope of finding there perhaps, a future for coconut planters. For in 1897 the sugar plantations, immensely successful as they are to-day, were too young to be depended upon. In any case, there was always the possibility of German firms rushing into operations if British enterprise in Fiji held aloof. Again, it was in Fiji that Sir John Thurston was primarily interested and his executor was necessarily concerned with those properties in the management of which he was directly involved. The connection with New Zealand, which had been so successfully fostered by the small firm, gradually ceased and very little business was done in the dominion by the company which succeeded the J.T.A. and Co.

The passing of a quarter of a century had made changes in the personnel of the staff. In the Auckland office Capt. Daldy now took very little part in actual business. Mr. Ellis

(G.C.E.) no longer travelling representative, was living in England and in the late 'nineties was called to a seat on the London board. Mr. Arthur Brander, one of the family the traveller had known so long at Tahiti had acted as Secretary to and had travelled widely with the chief both on long voyages and on island cruises. In 1897 he was secretary to the London Board but by the beginning of the century was appointed to take charge of the growing business of the P.I.C. in San Francisco and for some years the business in California was in his hands.

Among island managers, Capt. Theet in the Central Pacific and Mr. A. F. Ellis in Australian waters were now prominent. The former had long been one of the most trusted and efficient of the island staff - a fine seaman and administrator, his influence on the native workers was extremely happy, while young Ellis sometime analytical chemist, sometime ~~secretary~~ manager Tonga, in spite of his youth was rapidly gaining the confidence of the company, as well as that of his chief. Like J. T. A. himself, he had first hand knowledge of the islands, allied with a huge capacity for work, and his gifts for business ~~that~~ had been fostered by a commercial ~~rather than a college~~ education.

As the widespread activities of the company made greater claims on the time of the acting chairman of the firm it naturally followed that these young lieutenants were brought more

prominently into the position of responsibility which each filled ~~so~~ well. Ellis had been extremely successful as organiser and manager of the Australian islands. With his brother he had very thoroughly explored the Gulf of Carpentaria in search of guano deposits, prospecting the rocks and islets of that tropic sea under very hard conditions. The voyage was as full of interest as of hardship, but no phosphates were found. However, Lady Elliott, Rocky and Bunker Island were still working as well as Howland and Jarvis and the young men returned to their stations without any immediate prospect of the opening of further stores.

The voyager by the Lucana was at work in America by July. In the eastern States he discussed labour with Japanese Consuls and merchants residing in New York. Probably he saw Professor Agassiz, then returned from his cruise through the Pacific islands. Certainly he was in correspondence with that authority on guano, but his information on the deposit in which he was most interested, came from other sources, chiefly through San Francisco agents. Clipperton guano, it was reported, must be shipped in bags, and (a much more serious matter) - there seemed to be some doubt as to its analysis.

On arrival at the western capital, Clipperton for the moment was found to be one of the chief topics of conversation, through the recent wreck of the Kinkora on its reef. Reports brought by a boat load of this vessel's crew, told of the dire straits in which the staff of three men on the island had been left through provisioning the shipwrecked company. Opportunely and yet most unfortunately for Mr. Arundel's purpose a boat was at the moment

being fitted out with stores for the island. On this, together with the manager and another representative of the American company in ~~nominal~~ possession, the Englishman immediately took passage.

This relief boat unquestionably made the preliminary visit of enquiry a much simpler matter than it might have been, but the publicity attending its fitting out, brought Clipperton into a position of prominence that was to be held by that unfortunate island until its sudden collapse in the early years of the next century. It could not escape the Argus eye of the Californian press that the chairman of a big English company, who in his earlier visits to California was concerned chiefly in guano, was one of the passengers on the relief ship; and immediately the whole purpose of his mission became matter for public comment. The wildest surmises as to the value of the guano deposit were hazarded, and exception was taken to British capitalists buying up territory so close to Lower California. The paper outcry sent its echoes far. Presently Mexico advanced claims to the island, which in the neighbourhood of Panama, might have a strategical value to add to its commercial one. Shortly after, France appeared as a claimant, and the triangular duel ultimately became a matter of international concern, with, at one time it was supposed, quite grave issues.

The English company, of course, was not concerned with the question of ownership. All its interests centred in lease and

concession. But the publicity of the matter, and the quite erroneous impression as to the value of the guano, complicated issues so that in all his long experience of island working no deposit had given as much anxiety to this experienced prospector, nor did any repay so unkindly for the trouble expended. As for profit - if fortune had not shot its gift of success, all suddenly from the blue, Clipperton might have brought a quite different ending to John Arundel's life work, ~~although his company never actually completed the terms of purchase~~.

This was the last of the island workings opened by the expert in person. In many ways it resembled Starbuck. Its initial business was even more difficult; its first appearance almost as disheartening. But whereas in the early 'seventies the young city-man had come all untrained to his stupendous task, in the late 'nineties it was a well tried specialist with practical experience who approached it. Yet the one with no knowledge at all ignored difficulties, and from the beginning, decided he would make a success of what looked like inevitable failure, while the older man, now seasoned to difficulties, and with quite exceptional knowledge of both guano and labour conditions, from the very outset found in Clipperton what looked like his Waterloo. This was the only guano deposit of which he was never to write at any period of working "Progress satisfactory". Indeed this island within easy distance of Panama, with guano and coconut possibilities and some Tba, apparently never benefited any of the many prospectors, companies or governments that at one time or another, in the decades of its recognised exis-

tence, made it a subject of lively concern.

31st July, 1897. "The whole island under heavy rain clouds, looked very dismal. As we steamed in, however, the houses came into view and the flag went up - a welcome sight showing all was well. We landed to south of the houses without much difficulty. A good deal of the Kinkora's wreckage in evidence. The place presented a curious appearance; the boobies sitting on their eggs and lots of yellow crabs everywhere, for as the sun was overclouded they came out more boldly than usual. A black retriever from the Kinkora, was very glad to see us; welcomed us with expressions of great joy - possibly as a relief from guano-island existence, of which the Kinkora's crew speaks so unappreciatively. Then it began to rain. However all stuff was landed by 11 a.m., the steamer in the meantime making fast to the surf-line buoy. By noon, after we had a meal, the place seemed to be swimming in water - very discouraging, making it most difficult to come to any decision at all".

"In the afternoon the three captains and I went round the rock in a boat with S. and M. who after landing us went after eggs to the small lagoon island. We overhauled the rock taking samples - also of the alluvial in the fissures and of the decayed and decaying coral on the edges of the lagoon - this last in places very valuable, though not much of it. We then walked home, crossing from side to side, the beach being much like the outer edge of most of our islands, with raised red coral on the outer edge. Surf moderate along south east - but little trace of guano, though the place is alive with birds. The colony of man-o-war hawks all rose as we

passed through it and so did the adjacent one of white boobies.

"We passed one of the cairns that marked Jensen's and Shaw's lines (presumably the early workings). N. stayed behind looking for shell. On return we arranged our house, sleeping arrangements, etc. We were all drenched, but after changing found supper with a good omelette made from eggs got this afternoon very welcome. The guano in the two houses seems dry.

"M. (one of the men in charge) says it rains here nearly every day. As a rule the winters are driest, though a month without rain at any season is unknown. In the winter dry season, north-east Trades prevail. He says reef is smooth and solid, so wharfage is a simple matter. Took soundings this morning - 19 fathoms at surf-line-buoy. Sea-snakes come on the beach at times, probably in search of crabs and then get washed up. On return to the house found cock-roaches busy on all leather bags, etc., so there was a general stowing away."

Clipperton in this '97 diary sounds even less pleasant than Starbuck in the days of wrecks. At least the rock in the Pacific was never the haunt of anything worse than rats.

"On Sunday we took another walk round the island, but heavy rain began about 11 a.m. and fell steadily till two, wetting us all to the skin. We found the old workings, but the deluge prevented further investigations. Came home dripping and very glad of midday dinner. Then most of the party went fishing till the contingent for the ship left at 4.30. Shore party chattered on the verandah till bedtime."

Monday 2nd August. "Better weather. The surf has been stronger to-day so have had no communication with the ship, though M. went off last night with the mate. All shore-hands in a survey party - some on foot, some in the sailing boat. The men here say that in the dry season the lagoon is so low that they can cross only with difficulty. Captain T. says he has seen coral block peeping above water."

Another two days was spent in the same fashion, and on the 6th the party left the island, J.T.A. on the voyage sorting samples. By the 14th the Navarro arrived at Diego, close to the Mexican border. Here the Englishman landed and returned to San Francisco by rail, passing some of the beautiful South Californian scenery, which he always admired so much.

The first entry on return to San Francisco recalls some of those made in tha 'seventies. "K. called and talked of Clipperton. Does not think much of it." The worried man probably felt that this might be an echo of warnings in the early days, when intimates in Sydney and Melbourne, on the subject of Starbuck, took for themselves the privileges of Job's friends, feeling that the less palatable the truth the more need for it to be spoken. As it happened, the warnings were not without ground in either case. Certainly no one else would have made the success of Starbuck that John Arundel did and in the case of Clipperton, even John Arundel failed to reap anything but disappointment, in return for his prolonged ~~negotiations with the legislatures interested.~~ work

Negotiations with the Oceanic Phosphates Co. and with the American Government, although quite straightforward, took up time. In the interval a visit was paid to Portland, Oregon, via Tacoma, and another to Fiji, where all authorities welcomed the representative of a company formed for the forwarding of British interests in the islands. A very interesting visit to coconut and banana plantations in the group, impressed the visitor with the future that awaited systematic development of these islands. But his first interest after that in the properties spoken of by Sir John Thurston was in the districts where it was proposed to grow tobacco. This lovely country and the Tobacco Company now formed to work it, he thought held promise of greater success than any that might attend cotton or banana growing; and he left Fiji more interested in than impressed by its resources. This expert in guano, indeed, never became enthusiastic over other productions in the islands.

A lightning trip to Australian ports and New Zealand followed. At Brisbane a meeting with Sir William MacGregor, Governor of New Guinea, an authority on coconuts, and discussions with His Excellency on New Guinea as a field for rubber, bring the earliest entries in 1898. Then comes, in a cutting from the Pall Mall Gazette, an article commenting on the annexation by Mexico of Clipperton Island which, says the writer, "is situated some 800 miles from the Mexican coast in latitude 10° 17N. and longitude 109°W. It presents the usual features of a coral island in its central lagoon and surrounding coral reef. Some nine miles in circumference it possesses guano

in large quantities.

"The island," so runs the article, "was discovered in the eighteenth century by Clipperton and Dampier. Later it was claimed by France. In 1839 Sir Edward Belcher of H.M.S. "Sulphur" hoisted the British flag on the reef, but a little later Captain Parmien claimed it on behalf of the United States. Then the Oceanic Phosphates Co., an American firm, opened works there, selling out recently to the Pacific Island Co. prepared to work the field whosever owned the island' Comment is then made that when the Chairman of the P.I.C. visited the island some sections of the Californian press declared this was another instance of the Grab-all policy of England. The same papers had spoken of millions of tons of guano on Clipperton - which was an exaggeration."

As a matter of fact the completion of purchase by the English company was delayed through the uncertainty as to ownership of the island, but the article was correct in the fact that the P.I.C. was working the guano deposit irrespective of the various claims on the island.

The States at that time resented England's conception of neutrality in the Spanish American war. An article in the San Francisco Chronicle points out that this strict adherence to the rules governing neutrality would strengthen Britain in her own war. "The ordering of Admiral Dewar out of Hong Kong" argues the American writer "establishes a most useful precedent for the closing of neutral ports to belligerent fleets." The British attitude was extremely irritating to the mass of American citizens, but ~~Mr. Bryce~~ in London

in the same year, Mr Bryce struck the higher note in a speech that concludes "None can feel a sympathy so deep and true as we Americans in England, whose pride it is that you and we come from the same stock, that you and we cherish the same ideals and are swayed by the same traditions, that you and we have been and are, fellow workers, foremost among the nations in spreading enlightenment throughout the world." J.T.A. one of those Englishmen who especially admired American thoroughness quotes more of the noble speech which pleased him much.

The Mexican annexation complicated matters very much. Whatever its press might feel, the government of the United States had placed no difficulties in the way of systematic working of the Clipperton stores by capital from any part of the world. But the new owners must now ratify concessions. This made it imperative that a visit should be paid immediately to Mexico, and the diary on Easter Monday, 12th April 1898 is dated -

In Mexican territory. Between Tunuilco and Camache.

"Very warm but not so bad as before reaching El Paso. Got across the river by furious driving and just caught the train leaving the station. Breakfasted at Torrean - a large manufacturing town. Before this, passed through miles of cotton fields. Many soap works here are owned by the planters, soap being made from cotton seed oil. Torrean is a big junction with the International. Changed here for Monterey."

14th April, Hotel Sanz. Maxico.

"Arrived here yesterday, called on Mr. - at the British Embassy, who does not wish to appear since any reference in American papers might bring our work into the arena of politics;

but he is ready to give introductions. Advises my seeing Minister of Foreign Affairs, Senor M. - a very pleasant fellow, who speaks English."

(Later) "Called on minister as advised and everything seems satisfactory. He does not think the French will make any actual claim." Next day comes the entry "The British chargé d'affaires here believes in the fact of the French claim, but not in its validity." And so on. All very interesting and satisfactory, with drives to Poseo, interviews with President Diaz, and the comment, after a call on Madame Diaz that "her drawing-room is quite a modern one with one picture in it - a painting of Queen Victoria!"

Altogether the Mexican business was quite successful. The president was friendly and the country interesting. Indeed, the traveller had many times carried through much more intricate business than was offered by the Mexican complication. It is noticeable that though the island specialist was worsted by the vagaries of Clipperton itself, the diplomatist that was the larger part of John Arundel, never failed in any negotiations where he dealt directly with men of the world. This is remarkable seeing that in many ways, he was one of the simplest of men and apparently regarded his fellows from a view-point that very often hid their weaknesses. Yet although in his early years he gained his end by indomitable pluck and endurance as he grew older he called into play strategical gifts which, applied to statecraft, would have made him a diplomat of the first rank.

No strategy was needed in his Mexican mission. The business

here was straightforward and successful, and though he found the climate trying he enjoyed the visit. By the end of April on his return journey, the diary notices a halt at El Paso and Soltan, the latter 203 miles below sea level; and the writer expresses much interest in the country threaded on the way to Los Angeles where there is a good demand for Clipperton guano.

At Los Angeles he finds a Mexican Sulphur company at work, but the longer entries touch regulations as to the employment of Japanese. "If they come to Los Angeles on a contract for America they will be sent back to their port of embarkation. If they are under contract for a foreign port American authorities do not interfere, so long as they are sent away at once; but they must not land in either case, even at the quarantine station."

The matter it was found could be arranged and the demand for toa wood from the island gave an added reason for promptly staffing the field. Unfortunately there was still the doubt as to eventualities if the French claim to Clipperton should be pressed, but there was apparently quite a fair amount of phosphates to be obtained from the Gulf Islands, leased from the O.Ps. Co. as well as the store on Clipperton.

San Diego, the chief port of the Californian guano-field was full of revelations as to these stores. The Mexican Sulphur Syndicate, at work here, was negotiating for a branch line from the Yuma-San Diego railroad to the sulphur mines. At Coronado Beach a guano firm with seventy travellers afield, was reported to be at work. The headquarters of this company was New York, but J.T.A. met one

of the partners in San Diego. Two guano smugglers were arrested. A visit was paid to Spreckels' place in Santa Fe. Between all these happenings and the scenery of the country - the orange groves, the ostrich farm, Eagle Rock Valley, etc., the entries show much to interest and a great deal to impress in South California and Mexico, where the exercise of a certain amount of diplomacy was still imperative if any immediate success was to attend the mission.

The negotiations carried through by J.T.A. in '98 are remarkable chiefly for the extraordinary success with which he amicably worked, not only with the original Oceanic Phosphates company, but with the lesser sulphur firm, the Mexican Land Co., all the big American firms such as Spreckels etc., with the Government officials of the States and Mexico and in addition with all the little concessionaires, sea captains and professional smugglers, directly or indirectly interested in guano.

In September with the representatives of the O.P. Co., he paid another visit to Clipperton, where again matters were far from satisfactory. The 73 Japanese who, through their Consul, had engaged for the work were on strike. After a couple of uncomfortable days, in a fight at the quarters, "the old fisherman" killed four men! "So came the report to the principals sitting at lunch, and though the victims were only wounded, a rather dramatic six hours followed. Happily the "old fisherman," "a favourite with the white staff, escaped to the ship. "Crew got him to bed and suggested keeping him quiet," writes the English visitor "and Captain Turner

hoisted the American flag and refused to allow anyone to come aboard. So finally the men turned back to work. The wounded men have been brought to P's house and there tended by their own doctor, who was four years in charge of a hospital at Tokio."

The stay of nearly three weeks here was a troubled time, although there was a certain amount of interest in taking up again, if only as an onlooker, the old island life - surveying the guano field, watching the loading of the ship, talking after work with the men, as well as taking soundings. But bad weather tried the traveller now, and it must be confessed that though among Japanese merchant princes John Arundel's business acumen held its place uncommonly well, among Japanese labourers he was at a loss. Experience of Kanakas was no help here, any more than it would be in dealing with workmen in Newcastle or Manchester. It almost seems that the grievances, over the manner of payments, over food, etc., were trumped up to force the management into working Clipperton as the extremely wily, capable and up-to-date workmen preferred. Accustomed to his islanders who returned for friendliness friendship, for kindness gratitude and for dignity respect, the chairman of the P.I.C. was glad to return to California on the return trip of the Alice Blanchard.

From San Diego a prospecting trip to the islands in the Gulf of California brought a delightful interlude from business worries. It is doubtful whether the island magnate, as he became, was ever more himself as he grew older, than he was in California. The dry

air and the sunshine, the magnificent views and, it must be admited, the standard of living, not only pleased him, but kept at bay the sleeplessness and other ills that were beginning to tell on his constitution. These Californian islands - Margarita, San Ignacio St. George's, Patos, San Pedro, had all been worked, but the expert found a good deal of phosphate left. Entries here sound almost like those of thirty years ago, made by young Arundel, full of life and vigour.

"At San Pedro made fast to the old buoy. Pulled round island and the Captain shot seals. Went to very top - big climb but no phosphates showing. Then on to Pelican Island, where the landing party gave good reports. Looks inaccessible - very brown. Large tract of flat land with lagoon. San Pedro Nolasco much larger than San Ignacio. Fine samples of crust and bird guanos. On return to boats steamed round island. Then to Venado - a splendid little place covered with alluvial guano. " And so on - it might be a continuation of Caroline or some of the early islands - better than was expected.

He was still extremely like the newcomer of thirty years ago in other ways. Preliminary to one of these '98 trips to Clipperton he rushed through a pressing English mail before boarding the Alice Blanchard some time after nightfall. When extremely tired and jaded he reached his cabin, orders were given that the much needed rest was not to be disturbed, but the first pencilled entry of the voyage concludes "A little bird is asleep on the rack above me. Can't think how he got in. Am locking the door so that he need not be disturbed!

The entry is evidently made to remind him why his door was locked, for at this time he complains of lapses of memory over details, when he is overtired. Anyone else in the wide world would have insured against the risk of being wakened by turning the visitor out. Happily the event justified the experiment. "The little thing slept all night. I heard him leaving very early and then I slept on." He had been working twenty hours a day for over a week at heavy mails, provisioning Clipperton, concerned with the refloating of the Alice Blanchard (which had run aground) settling unpleasant business with one of his managers, sending and receiving cables day and night - and he locked his door for fear that a bird in the cabin should be alarmed!

In November on a trip to Clipperton, some islands en route were touched. An unusual rock called by the explorers Blanchard Island with a small dry lagoon had guano. At the next rock good guano was found, and there were three grades of phosphate on the summit of Cargo Island. But as there was no bottom at 24 fathoms the boat did not anchor.

The singleness of purpose that was the traveller's leading characteristic, though it undoubtedly brought him success, in his diary utterances is sometimes very exasperating. He was travelling in Upper and Lower California with everyone ready to show him that delightful land and its wealth of associations. Personally he loved the brightness of the life and its setting. But neither the fascinating history nor the magnificent scenery could quicken in

him recognition of anything but what he was looking for. As, when a young man, he could travel in Europe apparently quite unconscious of works of art that stand for the delight of the nations, so in Oregon he looks on the view from Portland Heights, in New South Wales at the wide skies above the Blue Mountains and on the other side of the ocean, on the sweep of the Californian Sierras and sees in them not as much as he finds in "coconut palms and toa tree and and a view of the brig out at sea." This is very strange, because of all men, subconsciously he loved the open air and the singing of the breeze in the ship's-shrouds, and the sunshine and starlit nights.

On 7th Nov. about 6.40 p.m. the Alice Blanchard "steamed into a curious milky tract of sea, stopped engines. Sounded no bottom at 80 fathoms. One bright flash of lightning. Passed what we thought was a dead fish and some black balls - probably pumice. Very strange appearance of something like snow on the water. Stars looked heavy and everything left hot. An odd experience - am thankful to be out of it."

CHAPTER V.

9 Nov. "At Clipperton. Heavy surf. Wharf gone. Impossible to land. A boat ashore is being got ready to send across. Island looks moist. Good deal of lightning about, but seems to be clearing now."

Later. "Probably 200 Japanese needed for this and the seventeen Gulf Islands. Affairs here seem improving."

However, the improvement hardly bore analysis. The men were grumbling about the system of payments - cash or cash orders were in dispute. The former, according to the Japanese overseers, led to gambling, and the men did not understand the orders. Then the food was wrong. What poi was to Raratongans at Starbuck, misu seemed to be to these orientals at Clipperton. Again, the question of moorings come to the fore; and, to give point to the matter, the Alice Blanchard without warning dragged her lines and had to be taken out to sea, while the usual fever of anxiety held those on shore until she steamed back again. Certainly though the crew of the Kinkora had filled San Francisco papers with tales of the monotony of existence on Clipperton, members of the English and American Companies during their sojourn on the islands, did not find time lag at all.

"On returning to the settlement," runs another entry, "the view of the Alice Blanchard was again disturbing. Just off our doorway she was as badly placed as she could be. However, from the landing place, she looked better. Rover was missing - which added to our gloom, for his is an extremely cheerful presence. Later he

returned, so unostentatiously that I did not see him. At 1.30 after a lot of trouble - Captain H. getting capsized - communication with the boat was re-established, etc. etc." Happily the next squall brought the regular South East Trade, and finally, after a tremendous blow, fine weather.

Apparently on both visits of the chairman of the English company, the staff worked up grievances for the purpose of forcing the management to give to Japanese the contract for working Clipperton. This time they carried their purpose, although the present staff of grumblers was carried back to San Francisco and ultimately to Honolulu and new men were engaged.

At San Francisco Professor Woodworth of Harvard College, one of the Agassiz expedition to the South Seas in 1896, had just returned from Samoa, visited in the interests of the Harvard Museum of Comparative Anatomy, to investigate the palolo, that curious marine worm of Fiji and Samoa, and the island traveller and the scholar spent some very interesting hours together, discussing island and fauna.

The palolo according to Prof. Woodworth is the tail of a marine worm, living on coral rocks, and the appendage is thrown off at the breeding season.

On two days in the year the sea about Samoa and Fiji, "is thick with the palolo, so that the water looks like vermicelli soup. It is held as a great delicasy by the natives who come from distances to collect it, making a sort of festival of the occasion. The palolo comes to the surface only in October and November on the tenth day

after the full moon. The weather, always bad, is known as Palolo weather, and the first and second gatherings respectively, are known as the "Little" and the "Big" palolo, because in October the catch is much less than at the later gathering."

The diary notes Prof. Woodworth's theory but J.T.A. comments; "Prof. David of Sydney lectures on quite different lines," and he concludes. "The palolo is ejected from the parent for the purpose of reproduction. As the appendage breaks from the stem, the seeds commingle." But there is no statement as to whether this is David's discovery nor whether it is an accepted fact or still merely a theory.

With Clipperton now to be worked under contract by Japanese, and with the question of its sovereignty still unsettled, there was no pressing business in California, so by the end of January 1899 entries in the diary are made on board the Teutonic, bound for England. Mr. Brander meanwhile, proceeded to San Francisco to watch interests at Clipperton and the working of the seventeen islands in the gulf.

The first week in London was full of care. Clipperton business had been expensive, and so far there was no adequate return. Coconut islands were to be dispoed of but the sale was not completed and quotations for copra on which terms partly depended were low. At board meetings prolonged discussions ruled on contracts- on allied companies - on island staffs - ~~on Board members~~ - and on finance. The money market was tight at the time, and private business presented difficulties. J.T.A. however, did not lose his faith in phosphates.

"G called. He says the demand for phosphates is increasing enormously in Italy, Russia and the United States. Referred to the Bradley Trust, and said unless more deposits opened soon the poorer guanos must come on the market. Clipperton very good."

The stay in England had little result, except in lightening the financial strain and by July the traveller was planning to return to Australia via San Francisco, arranging Clipperton business en route. The first meeting with Mr. Gaze going to take charge of the P.I.Co's business in Australia, is noted, together with the result of the board meeting and of a very satisfactory consultation with Lord Stanmore.

Then comes a nightmare of about ten days - calls to be made on all sorts of people - on business colleagues, on old friends, on relatives of South Sea employees; and as often as is permitted, there are flying visits to the school where his daughters were being educated on a plan that pleased him much.

During all the days on English soil, though friends are seldom actually mentioned in the diary, there is evidence to show how personal was the regard felt for this extraordinarily self-restrained, sensitive, stoical and yet sentimental person. Friendship with him seemed to become almost an obsession with his younger colleagues as well as with old and tried friends. Selfless, it seemed as far as the weaknesses of most men are concerned, yet he was self-centred to an extreme. Both men and women who were his intimates, ~~held~~ prized his friendship ~~high~~ very much, while by mere acquaintances, he was deservedly claimed to be the "very kindest of men". This extreme

kindness to young and old, white and coloured, was natural to the man, but it was also an expression of his faith, which demanded untiring service to his fellows.

The voyage to America brought a needed rest and the stay in New York was not prolonged. By August the voyager was at Kansas City from here reaching Los Angeles by the southern route. Mr. Brander who had discovered rockguano under unpromising surfaces at Clipperton was awaiting him here with a favourable report, together with a big American order just received.

The expert was not so satisfied with Clipperton as was his lieutenant. "Excellent guano," he comments, "except in quantities, is not any better than a good average." The entry on leaving London had run "Am leaving matters here on a ~~much~~ more satisfactory footing", At San Francisco he writes "A.B. has good hopes of Clipperton."

The year 1899 which with all its worries was to be remembered as the golden year in the history of the guano workings in its early months offered no respite from worry for The wider operations of the Pacific Islands Company made great demands on available capital, and so far there had been outlay without adequate return. Other islands were under discussion, but the publicity that attended every step in the opening of stores in and about the Gulf of California had its lesson. For the future absolute secrecy was to be maintained about prospective workings, and though the public were allowed to know that the English company were interested in the Solomons and Samoa, in the Ellice group, in Fiji and islands nearer New Caledonia, these interests were not actually the ones primarily under discussion.

As a matter of fact not any part of the Pacific was without

its interest for the directors of this firm, most of whom ~~had Colo-~~ favoured ~~nial~~ investments in Canadian land or ventures in Queenland, in New Guinea, or in the Solomons. But for the future no operations should be accompanied by the clamour of comment that in all parts of California had been voiced over Clipperton. The wreck of the Kinkora the rescue of the passengers by the Comus, the relief ship with the representative of British interests on board, the advent of the Japanese, the Permien claim, the Mexican one, the various worries over labour and the final complication with France, all gave matter for columns of voluble journalese. How J.T.A. at this time kept his portrait out of the papers is a mystery. Capt. Permiem figured there largely. The Kinkora wreck was photographed; so was the landing of the Mexican marines and the call of the French ship, - and not the least striking of the pictures was that of the sea snake - 30 feet long. One or other of these views were reproduced in some issue of the Californian illustrated papers throughout the period of Clipperton workings. In addition the enterprise was used as a peg on which to hang expressions of spleen materialised in anti-British feeling. And always in the 'nineties the American Press, like the Australian papers during the 'eighties assured its readers that monstrous fortunes were being made by these foreigners out of the exploitation of national resources.

Seeing that the chief care of the representative of the British Company was not either the difficulty of working the island, nor the complications of labour, nor the disposal of cargoes (which last was assured), but that his whole concern in 1899 and two following years

was the reduction of expenses and the provision of capital to meet them this loudly expressed distrust of his doings was extremely irritating. Never a babbler, he became almost obsessed by the necessity for keeping to himself all preliminary steps taken in any business in the future. So careful did he become that for the next ten years, even in his journal he uses ambiguous terms in which to refer to new islands, to important concessions, even to completed business.

At times this makes his diary utterances except in the light of after events, utterly meaningless. But without the precaution it is doubtful whether even he, could have carried through negotiations with German firms, (notably the Jaluit Co.) which during the late war, were found to have been extremely opportune. Indeed at the end of the century and for the next ten years, his old fear that British interests in the Pacific would succumb before the powerful organisations backed by Berlin, is even more keenly alive, than it was in the days of the Godeffroy influence. This is expressed invariably in his advice to his board, in his own operations, and in such entries as he makes in the diary.

It was in 1899 that the phosphates of Ocean and Pleasant Islands were brought to light. The discoverer of these stores from the moment of his first analysis, was assured of the value of his find, but though his principal had unshaken confidence in his opinion, even in the diary, he refrains from expressing it. At the board meetings, at the Overseas centres, among the members of staffs still clearing up stores on some Central Pacific and

Australian islands the need for economy and the possible closing of the guano business became so much a reality that it is surprising the company did not lose its credit outside. However, it was known that the P.I.C. was intent on big business though not with quick returns and the adoption of coal as one of its new interests, was accepted as a ground for the prominence given to its negotiations with the Jaluit Co.

The last quarter of 1899 was spent in Australia, where the Sydney and Melbourne offices were now conducted by Messrs. Denis\ton and Gaze respectively. In October the visitation of influenza that so nearly killed Robert Louis Stevenson was raging, and in Melbourne a slight attack kept the traveller to his room, and ~~Apparently the attack was slight, as compared with the illness of R.L.S. In his diary~~, and he quotes with approval the message sent to the doctor by the native Mrs. David mentions in her book. "Me very bad - head no good - belly no good. Come." A ~~very~~ apt summing up, ~~he thought~~ of the symptoms of that 1899 epidemic in Australia.

In November under the doctor's orders the traveller voyaged to Fiji, convalescing ~~very~~ rapidly on board the Hauroto. At Suva business carried through with the governor touched licenses, concessions, ordnance charts and regulations dealing with the holding of land. The matter of self defence came up, but was set aside. The islands under discussion were possibly Ocean and Nauru, but the diary in its cryptic sententiousness, does not give much ground for guesswork, and these names are never mentioned until Dec. 1899. All these precautionary enquiries might be made of any new holdings in the broad seas that were now under the jurisdiction of the Commissioner of the Western Pacific.

Meanwhile among other islands where work was being carried on by the company, Clipperton supplied its regular orders and pursued its troubled way, until with the other guano deposits about the Gulf of California it suffered in the earthquakes of the early part of this century when workings temporily ceased. The question of its ownership was still unsettled in 1912. Progress towards completion of the ~~Suez~~

Canal, made any territory within a thousand miles of the zone, valuable, amd from 1899 the French became more insistent in their demands. In view of the larger interests now claiming all the energies of the representative of the British firm the rest of the Clipperton's history is better told by extracts from newpapers than by the very meagre references in the diary. Although it was through the P. I. Company's activities it was first made an object of solicitude, to Californian papers, to the Mexican government and to France. In the early years of this century it was partly destroyed by the earthquakes that swept the Californian coast, a fate perhaps not unlooked for.

Admiral Wharton in 1898 in a paper read before the Geological Society had commented on the resemblance of this island to Krakatoa. He quotes Mr. Arundel as his authority on the very deep soundings, and he gives analysis of rock sent to him by the guano expert, which led to his conclusions that point to Clipperton as a subject for earthquakes.

"The solution that presents itself to me," concludes this note "is that we here have the rare case of a coral forming on the tip of a volcanic crater, one part of which alone, perhaps the plug, has resisted the action of the sea which has warn the rest down to the limits of wave action. (Guano.)

The explosion at Krukatoa, resulted in the blowing away of that part of the island situated above the hollowed out interior. A similar incident may explain the existence of the Clipperton Rock."

In 1909 the dispute between Mexico and France was made a case for arbitration by the King of Italy. In 1912 the decision had not been given, it was presumed because the various earthquakes had left so little on which to adjudicate.

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Book V. CHAPTER I.

31.12.99.

"Received cable from London yesterday touching Ocean Island. Spent the day at the office with A.F.E. who lunched and dined with me, after which I saw him off by Waikare".

This is the first time Ocean Island appears in the diary under its own name, but allusions have been made to it in aliases. Indeed at the end of 1899 this member of the Gilbert Islands, up to that year hardly known by any but missionaries and sea captains, suddenly became the main subject of discussions in board meetings and of negotiations with government officials. For on it, so asserted A. F. Ellis, ~~that~~ the most cautious of prospectors and least eulogistic of reporters, is stored phosphate of a grade never known in any of the company's past workings; and this exists in quantities beside which Clipperton's supplies and Fanning's and all the Phoenix stores and the deposits on Australian islands sink into insignificance.

"Ocean Island", declared its discoverer in his slow periods, over the dinner table, "is an almost inexhaustible mine, and it provides phosphates of a grade I have never seen before."

He said this in despatches to the company, both before and after he lived in his [illegible] tent on the phosphate ridge. But that was before the preliminaries were settled, before even the necessary outlay was assured. On this last day of 1899, however, that

immense stores of phosphates existing on Ocean Island, were of vast importance to the company was acknowledged by the cable from London, and for the future no more secrecy was maintained as to the whereabouts of the deposit or its value. In a couple of years Ocean was accepted as a veritable treasure island, representing thousands of pounds in outlay, with appliances that were to be the envy of the Pacific. Comforts for the workpeople were such as not even Stockton's pampered voyagers had ever found, and these ultimately became luxuries of which staffs in the early guano workings had never dreamed.

The now extremely sententious writer of the diaries does not yet permit himself to be enthusiastic. His lieutenant's report is accepted Ocean Island has floated into the realms of certainties from the office in Leadenhall Street. But there are complications still, the chief of which is that Nauru, 160 miles west of Ocean, a little nearer to the equator and according to the same successful prospector "even richer in phosphates" is an outlier of the Marshall group, by the end of the nineteenth century, the chief centre of German influence in the Central Pacific. The stores at Ocean, abundant and excellent as they were reported, would not materially benefit anybody if the Nauru deposit should be taken up by the Jaluit Co., backed by the efficiency and resource, the big subsidies and aggressive methods ruling any enterprise in which the Imperial government at Berlin might find pickings.

It is easy to see that Ocean Island guano, in the hands of the Limited Liability Company in London, if it were the best in the world,

against such competition as could be set up, would have no chance at all. It was this consideration that brought all the worry and fatigue, the diplomatic negotiations, and the strenous activities of the next two years. For so far, the existence of Nauru stores, although that island had been prospected by German experts, was made known only to his principals by the discreetly silent personage who was its discoverer.

John Arundel's solution of the probable complication was for the London Company under lease or purchase to become the owner of the stores at Naura before the value of the deposit was realised by the administration on the island, already a fairly prosperous copra depot. Enquiry of the Commissioner of the Western Pacific and of his principal at Suva, made it plain that purchase was out of the question - no land could be bought and no product of the soil could be exported from the Marshalls - but leasing ~~of the land~~ was possible, though extremely difficult. The leasing of Nauru's store of phosphates from the German Company was the task, to the successful carrying out of which the deputy chairman of the P.I.C. was now devoting all his energy. Meanwhile, the island in office negotiations was hardly spoken of, and in the diary does not appear at all, for nearly a year.

The need for the exercise of caution can only be realised by those who in the period of the Teuton supremacy at Samoa had learned at some cost that the advent of German enterprise in any zone was coincident with the crushing of all rival activities. Meanwhile

the opening of the work on Ocean Island was pushed on apace, for pa partly owing to the developements at Clipperton, partly through s shortage in shipping and again through the wreck at Baker Id of the regular boat, there seemed no possible means of supplying the orders that were now pouring in.

In the early years of the century, between empty boats from California, the wreck in the Phoenix Islands and the difficulty of chartering "it almost seemed" writes A. F. Ellis, "as if the stars in their courses were working against the London firm."

However, as touching Ocean Island the stars were distinctly propitious, and after that 1899 entry, all was plain sailing. At the end of 1900, at Suva, under the seal of her Britannic Majesty's High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, proclamation was made that "The Secretary of State for the Colonies having issued a license for the collection of guano and other mineral stores from Ocean Island, this member of the Gilbert group is now brought within the Gilbert and Ellice Island Protectorate." On the 28th Sept. 1901 H.M.S. Pylades formally annexed this once insignificant island.

The Gilbert Islands of which Ocean is a distant outlier, are unique, in that although they are so small, (total area barely 170 square miles) and not at all fertile - coral rock, with hard sand to the depth of eight feet covered with the thinnest possible coat of soil - they are more densely populated than the most fertile islands in Oceania, the inhabitants numbering 30,000. Tarawa, the most important island except Ocean, has good anchorage and a water cistern holding 110,000

gallons. It is the chief port for the shipping to San Francisco of copra, which from the whole group in 1918 was valued at £63465. At Tarawa is a central hospital, and the headquarters of the Catholic mission. The London Missionary Society is established on the more northerly island of Beru.

To-day the existence of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony, with regular communication with both Australia and America, with its big hospital and warehouses at Tarawa, is a matter of common knowledge. The group has many mission churches and schools, and is threaded by two hundred miles of good road from twelve to thirty feet wide. Its production of copra, the generally comfortable and on one island extraordinarily high standard of living, makes a stay in the archipelago extremely pleasant for native and settler alike. Yet at the close of the 'eighties the Gilbertines had barely emerged from their state of savagery.

The excellence of the roads in these islands, as in many other inhabited Pacific groups, is maintained by the villagers themselves, John Arundel in 1870, found Raratongan roads kept in fine repair by the drunkards, who were sentenced to this form of hard labour in preference to the calaboose. In the Gilbert Group these highways, running the whole length on the lagoon side of the islets existed before British administration, and the natives take such pride in their roads, that in most villages, a fine of one shilling is imposed on anyone found passing without removing leaves or refuse that may have fallen. In addition to this conception of citizenship "the Gilbert Islanders" writes the Resident Commissioner in his report, "may be

said to possess a talent for being governed."

Although British law is paramount, a good deal of authority is still exercised by descendants of such old families as remain to represent the once despotic ruling caste. The Native Government in Council is known as the Bowi, and it is this body that maintains the best of the native customs, espicially as these relate to marriage, temperance, etc. Tarawa, after Ocean Island is the most progressive of the group and from this port, two auxiliary schooners make their trading trips all round the islands.

Ocean Island, also known as Banaba, ~~according to the briefest, geographical authority,~~ is situated in latitude 0.52 min.S. and longitude 169.35 min. E. It is, but for a large bay at Ooma, almost oval in shape and is six miles round at high water mark. Since 1901 it has been a British possession and is the best known member of the Gilbert Group. The centre of the island is about 270 ft. in height and the land descends fairly regularly to the coast. Stewart's Handbook of the Pacific, to these details adds that "the climate is healthy for though hot it is tempered by refreshing sea breezes;" that the aboriginal population of some 450 adults, are quiet folk who have benefited by the advent of the Pacific Phosphates Co. and its successors in the ownership of the phosphate deposit - the British Phosphate Commission.

A staff of 70 white men, 320 Chinese and 600 native labourers is maintained here. All the comforts and conveniences of modern life, make this probably the most luxurious island in the Pacific.

Its one industry has established splendid sewerage, fresh and salt water systems, electric light, refrigerators, ice-making plant, telephones, etc., together with fine tennis courts, a sports ground, a picture show house, an open air theatre and one of the most up-to-date of hospitals.

In March 1916 the Ocean Island Wireless Station was completed, and now by the use of amplifiers, communication can be made direct to Suva, as well as to Australia, where Sydney is only an 11 days voyage distant from this treasure island which in 1918 exported phosphates to the value of £82,845. The total supply on the island is estimated as 30,000,000 tons, but this is probably an under-statement.

Nauru or Pleasant Island, larger than Ocean is more fertile and has a larger store of phosphates, the original estimate being 50,000,000 tons,, which the working has shown to be probably half as much again. The island, discovered in 1798, was first named Pleasant from the appearance and manners of the inhabitants, at that time unspoiled by contact with the visitors who for half a century and more have represented the European in this isolated and distant member of the Marshall Group. These were the beach-combers - runaway sailors or escaped convicts who for many years held the islanders in terror and by their influence gradually changed their character. Mr. F. J. Moss, in his book Through Atolls and Islands of the Great South Seas, written before the German administration was set up in Jaluit, tells of the inter-tribal

fighting, principally in the form of sniping, that was decimating the population when in 1888 the island became German territory.

It must be granted that Teuton influence here, as in the rest of the Marshalls, was apparently ~~largely~~ for good. The natives were disarmed, inter-tribal fights became a thing of the past. The German adminstrator, from his headquarters at Jaluit, established a highly efficient rule, under which the diseases prevalent in these archipelagoes, as in most other groups, were held in check. The people were encouraged to produce copra, and although they were required to sell at a price set by their protectors, no outsider was allowed to exploit them.

By 1900 Nauru was a rather important depot for copra; but no one guessed the existence of phosphates, although deposits might easily have been discovered, for in 1876 the agents of an American Company, prospecting for guano about the Phoenix group in the schooner Ariel, actually sailed these equatorial seas where Ocean and Nauru stores were waiting to be found. However, the formation of these islands is quite different from that of the low-lying islands of the Phoenix Group so the Ariel sailed on to the Marshalls; and it was left to young Ellis, then analytical chemist attached to the Sydney office of the P.I.C., to bring these mineral stores to light and to make of these atolls a subject for Cabinet discussions and Imperial concern.

Mr. Ellis tells the story.

"In the Sydney office," he said, "my attention was arrested by a

large block used for holding open the door of the laboratory. In some ways it seemed to me to resemble a very rare form of phosphate rock, once found in a deep depression on one of the Phoenix Islands some years before. However, the manager assured me he himself had found it on Pleasant Island in the Marshalls in 1896, and that more than one geologist agreed with him that it was a lump of petrified wood.

"This seemed decisive; but every time I saw it that piece of "wood worried me, until at last I knocked a chip off, ground up and "tested it and found it was phosphate rock of the highest known grade. "Ocean Island was always known by sailors to be an elevated coral "island of the same formation as Nauru, so when I was sent to ascertain "the extent of the deposits I visited Ocean Island first and after a "three weeks' stay there I made arrangements with the native owners "for starting operations immediately. These, however, were not for "work on the field. An immense amount of preparation was necessary "before that could be opened.

"I next visited Nauru and asked permission to prospect the "island. Both the German magistrate and the old resident who inter- "preted, were certain there was nothing to find. German warships, "they said, visited the island regularly, very often with scientists "on board. However, at last, I got my permit and guides were supplied."

"As soon as the coconut belt on the coast was passed I could see

the rising ground beyond was phosphate country, and the track ran inland, it seemed for miles. Prospecting operations hardly necessary consisted of knocking off a piece of rock occasionally and testing it or else dropping the acid into a hole scraped in the ground.

"These proceedings were watched by the natives at first with blank amazement and then with smiles of pity. On return to the settlement they reported that the white man from the steamer was quite mad. He examined the rock, poured medicine on them - and then carried off pieces in bags. The Nauru natives are strong in nicknames. To this day they know me as the Stone Man."

The Stone Man had seen all he wanted to see, and was able to maintain a calm face ~~through~~ before it. ~~Probably~~ He was certain that no one in the magistrate's office, nor any of his fellows in the boat that carried him back to Sydney, could guess that he had just found and recognized a deposit that would rival the great world stores. His cablegrams to his company both before and after his stay on these islands mention the fact merely in code abbreviations. It is possible that not till that meeting in Sydney, when he lunched and dined and ~~in short~~ spent the day with his chief, ~~was he able~~ did he permit himself to tell his tale.

Book V.

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CHAPTER II.

The journal of 1900 opens with notice of a cable just received "boats from Clipperton empty" with further comment that orders for guano are pouring in with good quotations for superphosphates. Supplies, however, are running short. Ocean Island so far is still just a name. The Emu, the Archer, the Rob Roy are all belated in their various seas. The entry concludes - "Discussed New Hebrides with X. who made a proposal. Cabled to London immediately."

On the 13th January from Melbourne, a letter quoted in the diary is posted to one of the promenient guano retailers. "Then we may assume that we are to complete contracts <u>when we can!</u>"

All contracts were late in this depressing year, when January and February dailies told only of the straits of Ladysmith and Mafeking and these columns in March were given up to the plague scare - short, and not serious, as it happened, but quite paralysing to business. Money was very short. "Cabled London to-day for power to draw clear drafts to a bigger figure" comes the entry on the 31st January: for the equipping of Ocean Island proves to be very expensive. The condensing plant there was costing an enormous sum and since the big supplies called for cargo steamers, no system of moorings used before would meet the needs of this new property. Then comes a tantalising entry "X. tells me a Berlin Syndicate is prepared to give a big sum for the Island", (presumably in the Solomons.)

ation together with the establishment of coaling stations about the islands. The entry concludes "Very bad day - worries rain and headache." It is evident that these planting operations on such widely parted islands as the Marshalls, Fijis, Solomons and New Hebrides - in all of which the P.I.C. has extended its influence- bring unusual strain to the worker in Sydney, who while an expert touching phosphates, with planters is merely an amateur, and with traders almost a looker-on, for his business gifts run on quite different lines. It is clear too, that while where guano is concerned his judgment is immediate, these other issues make demands that he finds difficult to meet. Visits to the islands will hardly help him here, since his knowledge of planting is that of an outsider.

Conflicting reports of the Solomons come from men who know these islands. One man says "Island covered with coconut palms, and people making copra everywhere. Dense bush. Solomon islanders likeable. Won't work, but Japs and Chinese will. Not a fever country. Magnificent climate, no hurricanes." Run on

Next day two more statements are contrasted. "One who has known the Solomons for years says (1) Quantities of copra. (2) easily prepared (3) in beautiful climate. Next man declares (1) Not half copra now that was produced in past: (2) to be worked must be spread on bags and dried by burning husks underneath. (3) so much rain makes it impossible to dry out of doors."

Again the only solution of the difficulty would appear to be the disposal of all these unfamiliar issues.

On the 2nd July, a welcome cable brings news "The Jaluit Co. agrees to our working Pleasant Island."

A few days previously a friend interested in the Solomon Concessions and ready to take up Ocean Island Debentures had pointed out the probabilities after all of "our all dropping dead money on Ocean" which of course, while Nauru was unsecured, was possible. However, this last cable insures success, and it is possible now to talk openly of both the great phosphate islands, and, though still guardedly, of Solomon Island concessions.

Ultimately, all properties outside guano were disposed of - the Solomons, New Hebrides and Marshall interests being made over to the Jaluit Company in exchange for the lease of Nauru phosphates, while most of the leases of the other islands were transferred to a firm interested in coconuts. But this all took time and for some months all energies were bent on-

(1) The equipment of Ocean Island - a most expensive process, for which the P.I.C. is not prepared to find funds.
(2) The transfer of sale of properties, other than those concerned with guano.
(3) The obtaining from the Jaluit Company of a lease of Nauru on suitable terms.
(4) The opening of new markets for fertilisers to be available at end of 1901.
(5) The formation of a new company with interests centred in phosphates.

Issues (1) and (5) were the first causes of immediate worry, for on these the conflicting views of some of his fellow directors bid fair to strain personal friendships, a possibility extremely painful to the South Seas representative. The lease of Nauru and the transference of properties were rapidly becoming eventualities, and for the bigger sale of phosphates, a voyage to Japan was under consideration. But the feeling of some of his fellow directors that he was playing a lone hand, distressed him more than he admitted to any confidant but his diary.

It must be noticed that the P.I.C. was engaged on a quite different adventure from the one on which it had embarked. Its first concern was not to be guano. The dream dear to its members was that the firm was to work for the developement of the Pacific on safe lines for the good of all. As Lord Stanmore had pointed out in the Paris interview, no group was to receive preferential treatment. It was felt that to bind such widely different interests as were now to be taken up would need an ambassador such as the deputy chairman was known to be, and in the earlier stages of the operations J.T.A. showed his genius for the part. No man on earth could have more effectively launched the big undertaking on such limited funds as were at his disposal.

But then came Clipperton with its promises, and as the guano expert had been successful beyond expectation in other ventures no one doubted that the not inconsiderable outlay was warranted. It was almost unfortunate that the Nauru block from the Sydney office should have been flung at the London Board just when Clipperton's returns were there to show conclusively how poor an appearance company finance can make, when rumours of guano are in the air. Indeed every mail brought a further argument for such directors as were feeling that the guano enterprise might be all very well for their representative travelling au grand seigneur up and down Mexico and the States but that Leadenhall Street in paying the bills without the prospect of dividends to follow had but a dismal part to play.

It was not even as if J.T.A. himself knew Ocean Island. So far he had never seen it and after all who was this underling at whose bidding his chief clamoured for clear drafts running into four and

even five figures? There is no doubt that this attitude on the part of some of his friends was felt by the Company's representative in Sydney; but it is easy to see their point of view. Probably the fact that Arundel was a spcialist in guano and was not even interested in planting did not enter into consideration although it might have changed the point of view of some friends whose regard he prized.

Discussions with Admiral Pearson re the annexation of Ocean Island came in August, and on September 28th, the traveller took passage for Noumea by the St. Louis, "the dirtiest boat in the Pacific", according to a New Caledonian resident. Here he transhipped to the Victoria, bound for Ocean Island where he intended to pay a surprise visit to the works before completing any more contracts.

On the Victoria, with very poor accommodation, this seasoned traveller who in cities sleeps two or four hours at a stretch, found as much rest as he needed. In spite of dirt, discomfort, bad weather, and limited space, the time had passed very pleasantly, when on the 12th October he first sighted Ocean Island.

"Lovely morning, weather cleared up last night and the stars came out. It was quite fine when the moon rose at 9.30. Ocean sighted about 6.50 a.m. looms quite large now. Very thankful to be here at last".

Three boats were lying off the island, the Titus having brought Capt. Theet up from Baker that morning. News brought to the Victoria by the King of Ocean Island, who came to welcome the unexpected visitor made the last words of the entry very appropriate for the manager

and most of the white staff were down with influenza, and some of the men had seized the opportunity to go on strike.

On landing the most welcome newcomer found Capt. Theet with the manager, the latter "terribly weak and worried" at the tent door. "Several of the staff are ill and G. a complete wreck," is the summing up of the situation. Indeed never was a visit more opportunely timed to bring that refreshment and new vigour with which J.T.A. had for thirty years inspired those working for him.

His plan of campaign was formed immediately. The Nine boys who were on strike were returned immediately on the Titus to their home, where the captain was instructed to load up copra and A.F.E. and his brother were sent off by the Victoria to recruit labour in the Gilbert and Ellice group. "Remain here myself" writes the man of ready action. His next entry, too, is characteristic. "Went to evening service in the large church at Ooma. Quite full. Pleased to see there the Rev. Solomon Kairaka and a lot of Ellice islanders."

"The reef is apparently like a turtle's back," is the only entry after a glance at the moorings, which are not so far suitable for the work. More amusing is the consideration of grievances. As illness had disabled the staff, the hours had been lengthened by Mr. Ellis worried over broken contracts, and were "quite too long" decided the chief. Work is to cease earlier - to everyone's satisfaction. The next grievance touched precedence. "They want to get into the store all at a time instead of singly. Promised more room in new store." Then "O. swears at them. I said I do not

swear at them myself and do not like anyone else to do it. At same time feel greatly tempted, so can't interfere.

"Ocean Island has two working settlements Ooma and Tapiwa. The latter looks very good. Well cleared and with alluvial workings. 35 minutes walk to Ooma."

"The king has not much power, but the old queen, sister of the last monarch, is a [redacted] influential personage and with her white hair and refined face looks very interesting.

"At night kept waking, thinking I heard rain. Only westerly wind." Next day. "Have been all round workings. Much pleased with everything. Bricks to be laid on floor of native houses."

"Altered screening. Medium will do as well and give quicker work. Quite a respectable lot dry. Men seem delighted to have me in the field. Altogether a successful afternoon."

19th October. "Vessel sighted last night turns out to be Archer before her time."

She brought letters requiring immediate attention. "Up before 5.30. a.m. At work with mails" writes the relieving manager full of energy. "Left off to look at guano floors - fairly dry after smart shower in the night. Arranging for H. to go to Pleasant Island and return on Sunday. I shall be on board the Titus to save his coming in, and he can take instructions and then proceed with mails to Noumea."

23rd. "Heavy day Saturday. Busy with mail. Titus along 6. p.m. and I went on board with letters and orders. Archer hove in sight

about noon. Mr. P. on board is much impressed with our discovery of Ocean. Says Germans will be exercised about Pleasant, but I explained we have secured the deposit there."

"Captain H. reports nothing to be done about Pleasant until instructions come from Berlin. Gave cable for Noumea and watched the boat off, then remained on board Titus which drifted down into the night - dined, smoked and turned in early. Did not sleep any better, however."

"Landed at Tapiwa in the morning and went over heaps being bagged. My native house finished yesterday, etc., etc."

The tired traveller is infinitely happier here among his islanders and sleeping on a stretcher bed with a native cook ministering to his needs than he had been in his rooms at the Australia.

He notes in almost boyish fashion some of his old staff, - the pleasure of working again with Captain Theet, tried friend and administrator who for a time is to manage affairs at the second settlement. He recognises why young Cozens is a general favourite with the white staff and adored by the natives, whom he can treat as he likes without fear of any complications. "Like a duck in the water" comments the chief remembering the fine rescue of the shipwrecked crew at Baker, as told in Sydney papers "without exaggeration." Comments seem to show that young Cozens was very like the Marine Superintendent he has grown into - now in the employ of the Phosphate Commission at Ocean Island, ~~who is still able to treat his dusky helpers after the manner of Amyas Leigh with his Indians, if he so wishes~~.

"Last few days occupied with ~~Captain~~ ~~Theet~~ and ~~Cozens~~ over moorings. Work going on splendidly. Find A.F.E. not at all out in his

calculations had the Nuie boys worked properly and he and G. had been well."

Next day." A.F.E. arrived with 76 Gilbert islanders. Has succeeded admirably. G. no better. Is to go up to Solomons for a change."

In entries such as these the man partly reveals himself as one of the most considerate and understanding of employers as he was. For some of those Ocean Island workers in 1900 he came, as he had on other islands so often come before, as the finest of all tonics, He brought hope and sympathy and understanding and fresh vigour, and there are those of them to-day who hold that in the world of men there never was one like him.

~~Always~~, ~~writes~~ ~~A.F.Ellis as~~ One of these managers writing a decade later, says, "The knowledge that the head of the firm was taking his full share of risk and discomfort, through the many ~~unique difficulties~~ hardships, ~~together with~~ and the recognition of the almost inconceivable kindness and consideration which characterised his dealings with ~~all his~~ the staff, brought an element into the service that is not often found. It was a pleasure to serve him, a privilege to work with him and, as everyone felt, an honour to please him"

~~This~~ did was the feeling ~~with~~ of all his employees throughout the period of his work in the Pacific. With most it has stayed - to be stored in that memory, which, as he quotes somewhere "is a paradise from which we can never be driven". No one, however, would ~~be~~ have more surprised than John Arundel to learn in how many such memories he ~~was~~ is enshrined.

31st October. ~~A short entry~~. "Again laying moorings."

1st November. "Theet has fixed up anchor to steel hawser on

reef & is getting the inshore chain into the punt and boats, but I fear weather."

Later. " T. has the 56 fathoms chain to punt and boat. C. does not like to make fast and he is right. Westerly wind. Hope to get alluvial off."

3rd November. "Rain - and all that guano waiting to be shipped".

5th November. "Victoria arrived. Still raining. Men's houses washed out."

7th November. "This miserable squall has now closed in again. Everything absolutely sodden."

9.11.'00. "Good weather. Ideal drying day and for laying moorings. Three boats shipped before breakfast. Moorings a stiff job Theet and Cozens working from 3.30 a.m. till sunset. At end of day obliged to give up and float buoy at end of chain— 86 fathoms. Engaged on the job—Victoria and Titus, J.T.A., Captain Theet, Cozens and his men. Then the whole lot of gear gave way and the new hawser parted. Finally work of moorings abandoned."

Ocean is not Clipperton island by any means, but it did not float into being out of the sea-foam, as it would almost seem some people imagine.

The new vigour so often brought to the white staff by the chief's mere presence was felt almost to the point of hysteria by the natives.

"24.11.00. 5.30 a.m. Fine night breeze. Steamers close handy. Hope for another day's fine shipping.

6.a.m. The ringing of the bell brings delighted shrieks from the Ellice boys who seem to have been waiting on the Look-out for

half an hour. The Gilbert boys are generally close to my house before it is time to begin the day's work.

"8.a.m. "Best morning's work yet. Five boat-loads already on board and one at the buoy."

" Johnson showed me Tapiaing Point and No.4. shipping place. Very remarkable. Saw the blow-holes at the Lower Point - the upper would be a splendid site for a house. In olden times before missionaries, the natives kept tame man-o-war hawks for fishing, and one of the posts like this  is still standing. Fine nuts and bread fruit here.

"Later we saw another cave, but as the women were in it, and had left their grass clothes outside in charge of a white dog, we thought it best not to approach the entrance. This water-hole supplies the king's village, where we went next.

"Unusual pinnacles of old coral standing along the bank.

"Remarkable caves everywhere.

"Veins of phosphate running down the cliffs, as if pressed through blowholes.

"A.F.E. thinks remains of old phosphate pillars accounts for the curious circles on reefs - about a foot in diameter.

"Some phosphate pillars - one groupstanding about a foot above the reef."

~~In one, a later entry~~. "The work after the Niue mutiny and influenza - from 19 November to December 1 (twelve days) totals 830 tons shipped, of which 714 tons is rock guano!"

Considering the island was not yet fitted up with any conveniences for shipping, that such moorings as were in use were

inadequate and that a number of men had not recovered from influenza, this was a result to remove any lingering doubts as to the value of Ocean Island - if there were any.

Book V.

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CHAPTER III.

Ocean Island was left very regretfully, but on the 13th Dec. at Brisbane, entries of the news of the world outside, almost forgotten in the last month, and passing without comment in the days of stress, before it, show that the point of view is changed, and that the writer, so engrossed in business only three months ago, is now in the thick of city activities with interests beyond the immediate present. "Queen Victoria is better" he writes (a rumour of her death had been brought to the island by one of the boats) "Boxer rebellion unchanged. War not over. Lord Roberts in Capetown". From Queensland he engages rooms in Sydney for the approaching Commonwealth celebrations which the future king and queen are to grace.

Always return to Sydney brings reunion with friends made long ago on his first voyage in the Golden Horn, as well as with more recently met fellow passengers of late travel years. A lifelong friendship was that with the Crosbys at Sydney, Adelaide and Hobart; with Dr. Moffat's family and with Mrs. Reid. From the seventies during the years when he was the always welcome sojourner at Petty's to the days when the suite at the Australia was kept ready for him, he added to these intimacies, so that in Sydney his coming was watched for not only by gray headed contemporaries but by children whose grandparents had welcomed him to homes in the country that were now gathered into the suburbs. One of the friendliest of men, he could not neglect any of these, but social

duties were often made possible by working into the dawn.

For the future Sydney and Melbourne were to be headquarters for Ocean and Nauru business. They were the ports from which direct boats set out for these islands. To-day Melbourne is connected with the phosphate centres by wireless. In the initial stages the chief work passed through the Sydney office, where in the opening years of the century, Mr. Gaze was in charge, until the closer union of the islands with Victoria made it advisable for him to go to Melbourne.

Always the return to Sydney was welcome, but its memories covered periods of great strain. In the early nineteenth century the pressure was aggravated by very indifferent health. As he grew older and found it more difficult to rest, in Sydney, if the diaries are to be trusted, he slept rather less than in any other part of the world.

On 6th January 1901 at Melbourne he writes "The facts touching Ocean and Nauru have brought merchants to quite another mind; they are now vying with each other to get sole sales." Also though he does not say so, he is able to speak at first hand to London as to the significance of the new deposits.

It is evident that the ~~great~~ confidence he feels in Mr. Gaze had made it easier for the chief to pay flying visits to Melbourne and other ports if necessary, or to make trips to Ocean Island. In May he found the staff here, increased by a resident doctor and chemist; but at this time since he was not relieving anyone, his stay was short. By the 23rd of May he writes up his diary at

Jaluit the capital of the Marshall Islands and chief seat in the Central Pacific of the big German Company.

"An official here evidently does not know of the 99 years concession. Doubtful if he knows anything. Says he does not like the idea of our taking copra from Pleasant". The silence touching Nauru has hidden the existence of guano deposits from all but principals in the business. Apparently the fact a German scientist having visited the island and lived there without finding any mineral wealth has made it quite easy to keep the secret." It almost sounds as if the adminstrator of Jaluit would not believe in guano on Nauru if he were told of it." Then as an instance of the trend of currents follows: "Saw our buoy here. Came ashore ten years ago from the Gilberts." Phoenix islands.

The stay here is necessarily longer than expected, but in due course comes the entry: "On opening his mail to-day, Mr. B. found instructions to go to Nauru with the representative of the P.I.C. and an official of the Jaluit Company.... He is advised he tells me -

"To see what area of land we want and roughly measure it.

"To give us permission to begin work at once on certain lines.

"To allow natives to sell the produce of their soil.

"To leave it to us to consider what we should pay them."

The extraordinary foresight of J.T.A. is thrown into strong relief by this May journey in 1901. For the first time in twelve years the position is safe for the future. Ocean Island is now producing more than any deposit has ever done and supplies give no

hint of being worked out in half a century. Orders for years ahead are guaranteed. The 99 years' concession of Nauru is granted. The traveller is very unwell and fearfully overworked, and in spite of the future wealth that is assured, the immediate financing of the enterprise is still extremely difficult - as most matters of finance were in the years succeeding the Boer War.

Yet remembering German methods at Samoa, realising very clearly what the term German aggressiveness really means, instead of resting and enjoying the lightening of business worries which are disappearing as each boat from Ocean Island unloads at its port, he takes, on this trip an extremely difficult mission (none more delicate in the course of his life). His purpose is to establish the Company on Nauru at once so as to ensure possession - the nine points of the law-before Berlin should realise the value of the concession.

Of course it is possible that Berlin already had discovered it - but John Arundel, not yet having experienced the war, could not consider this. To gain their interests in the Solomons, etc. by the mere exchange of a lease that in due course would become waste paper was, if this was Berlin's diplomacy, quite good business. In any case the Company's terms were generous, and these would do away with the need for the expenditure of German marks in opening works which in the event of complications would be useful for supplying more than fertilisers.

But as the war had not eventuated, the Englishman could not consider this, although he invariably mistrusted the Teuton. In 1902, to one of his colleagues on the London board, he writes "I should like to know if Germans make any more proposals. In the meantime, though it is easier to take the first money that comes, I personally very much prefer an Englishmans to theirs." And again, to another director he as forcibly expressess the same distrust. "Will get the latest news of German negotiations before I leave (for the Pacific). Must confess to being somewhat chary about them and suspicious of their motive. We know it is not purely philanthropic." - all this with a perspicacity that neither the P.I.C. nor the firm that was its successor appreciated at its full value.

However, even J.T.A. did not consider the possibility that Berlin might be already awake to the similarity of the formation of the two islands, and might be using the guano experts to get matters into train for the future. Whether this was so or not, however, the value of Mr. Arundel's work in 1901, when he took possession of the second but larger deposit is only seen in the light of war happenings. In 1914 the mere fact that the English company was at work at Nauru for a few fateful weeks hampered the use of the big wireless station that had been all silently raised, while the holding of the phosphate by Britian instead of by Germany, if the war had been prolonged, would have set a very effective limit to the output of enemy ammunition.

On this stay at Jaluit Jja does justice to the administration there. "The natives are very well governed" he writes, "with hospitals, etc. to cope with the mortality. These islands seem to be specially cared for by Berlin, and great care is taken to extirpate syphilis."

resident physician is in charge of the hospital here, and neither in Jaluit nor Nauru are natives allowed to leave their island. Officials helpful to us in every way."

All the chief representatives of the German government in Jaluit were present at supper on the night the party left for Nauru, and among the toasts was one wishing success to the P.I.C. Indeed, as the traveller writes, proceedings were extremely cordial.

Jaluit is the capital of the Marshall Islands situated with the exception of the outlying Nauru in the northern hemisphere. The area of the group is 150 miles; population roughly 10,000. The most considerable island of the Marshalls is one of the largest atoll lagoons in the world, stretching for nearly 100 miles. In the southern islands of the group, coconut, pandamus, bread fruit, bananas and taro grow freely, and there is plenty of fresh water. Jaluit centrally situated is the chief seat of a trade which at the end of last century was valued by the big firm working there at £40,000 per annum.

For a hundred years these fertile islands were the haunt of whalers and beachcombers. In the nineteenth century three firms were trading there - Messrs. Hernsheim & Co. of Hamburg, Henderson & Macfarlane of Auckland, Crawford & Co., of San Francisco. Then came the Jaluit Co. absorbing the first and buying up Crawford's firm. Henderson & Macfarlane sold to the P.I.C., whose boats among other activities, carried mails for the group. It was in the very unequal struggle that followed that the deputy chairman of the English firm found such good ground for adding distrust of German methods to the doubts which he had first conceived in Samoa. As one of the methods resorted to for ensuring for German trade a free course, the Jaluit company's work is illuminating. In 1896 there was no trade in the Marshalls. In 1904 profits amounted to nearly £40,000. So that no outside firm should share this return license-fee charged by the administration to foreign boats touching the Marshalls was £225. A fair levy would have been £50. When some Australian traders still clung to the group the tax was immediately raised to £450 a month. Ultimately the German company became the possessor of the rights of the

P.I.C. throughout the Marshalls through the negotiations that gave the Nauru lease to Britain.

The English Company during the years until the war, worked quite pleasantly with the German administration on the islands. Indeed throughout the period, as on the occasion of the Jaluit supper, the utmost cordiality ruled. A German was appointed as the first manager of Nauru phosphate works ~~here~~ but this arrangement not being satisfactory, the appointment of Captain Theet, the tried and valued officer of many guano fields, was agreed to by the Jaluit administration, and throughout ~~to the end of~~ the occupation of the English company, there was no friction of any kind, except through the few weeks' crisis in the beginning of the war.

"May 28. 1901. At Nauru with representative of the Jaluit Co. and a German official." This was the traveller's first visit to the favoured island where coconut palms as well as phosphates abounded. He had called at Jaluit ~~before~~ some years ago, but he did not see Nauru until he was directly interested in it, ~~as~~ which was his experience at Ocean some six months before. He is of course immensely interested, though it is not policy to show how much he sees of the rock his lieutenant had led him to look for.

"We walked along a hot road," he writes, "crowds of people watching us all day, ~~with~~ and lots of children. Presently the ~~highest~~ most influential chief on the island, ~~with~~, with grass petticoat and wonderful beard appeared. With him came the high chieftainess. With this couple we visited the caves, then climbed the steep rise and found phosphate stone all through. On top was a level plateau - all phosphates. Then descending again we came to the lake, very pretty and divided into sections. The natives bring small fish from the sea into one of these sections, where they

grow big. Water of the lake rises and falls slightly with the tide. On the lake side soil appears to be all phosphate.

Then we reached a bush village, meeting another patriarch, again very proud of his white flowing beard an ornament much affected by the older men. From this village we ascended and struck more rock phosphate in large and small blocks covering the ground except where coral protruded. In the villages, noddies are kept as pets - a tame one with clipped wings acts as a decoy for the wild birds..

"At the meeting next day the German spokesman complimented the chiefs on the prosperity of their island, and after a suitable reply from them, he said the German Emperor being desirous of improving conditions here, had given permission to myself (whom he described) and to Mr. W. (whom he also described), to take ~~over the sea~~ stones from the unoccupied parts of their island to convey over the sea.

"Ques. How should we get it across the sea?

Reply. By vessels that would come here.

"He said that was all right, but they hoped we would not take the stones they used to weight their bait with.

"Reply. No, we wanted a different kind of stone - but we afterwards found that they do use pure phosphate for the purpose, for S. brought some up in sounding the lagoon.

"This seemed to satisfy them and then they turned the conversation on copra, in which they were much more interested than in phosphates. This was not our affair, but the distribution of black tobacco and a general hand-shaking all round brought us together again."

From Nauru came a run to Ocean where moorings at Home Bay were the chief concern. This call showed the island had been

progressing by leaps and bounds. Since J.T.A's first visit only seven months before, the whole environment might have been changed. Tramway at work, a much bigger staff white and coloured, and machinery where needed, were speeding the departure of steamers as it appeared to the natives, miraculously. "They got off six boats before breakfast," writes the visitor. "Second boat loaded in two minutes. Shipped to-day a hundred tons."

By the fourth of July Ocean was left behind and J.T.A. was on his way to Noumea. To this run a longer voyage was added at the end of the year. On this trip to England via America the traveller was brought closely into touch with Mr. Lever and party, crossing by same boat from Sydney to San Francisco. The ship-board association became a friendship which probably had some influence in the establishment of closer business relations between Lever's firm and that with which J.T.A, was connected.

As once more evidencing the perspicacity of this seasoned man of affairs, it is noteworthy that in the floating of the new Pacific Phosphates Company by which in 1902 the P.I.C. was superseded, on the London Board there were two parties - the one actively working for purely British interests and the other tempted by the offers of German financiers who proposed to make big purchases of shares in return for representation on the board of directors. The all British company was sedulously supported by J.T.A; the purchase of shares by Germans was the scheme approved by his closest friend on the board. That the P.P.C. was not the Anglo German Company, it was by some few authorities accused of being, was entirely due to the never-ceasing efforts of its most far-sighted director, whose sacrifice to patriotism in this case was the straining of perhaps

the most prized personal friendship of his life.

The end of 1902 found him again in Japan, this time becoming more conversant with business methods there and meeting all the most prominent commercial figures in the islands. The terms of sale ~~of~~ the new phosphates were discussed, and the contract price probably decided on but the question of labour was not so happily settled and here and in Hong Kong the entries under this head shows some discouragement.

From the Hong Kong Telegraph 29.10.02 the traveller enters a cutting touching the new coaling station at Suwarrow. The article concludes "The island is a place of call for the steamers of the P.I.Co. which holds large interests here, etc. etc." Evidently Suwarrow was another of the distant properties which the Pacific Island Co. was to develop.

Entries touching the 1901 and 1902 negotiations show the traveller at perhaps the most brilliant period of his career. His concentration on a single aim maintained through an amazing complexity of issues, his perspicacity and his assurance in succeeding years are influenced by periods of serious ill health. His business foresight remained with him until he retired into private life, but no issue so important as those of the first few years of the century was again to be written of in his diary with the same keen insight and sure prescience that mark his comments on this work.

The Ocean Island became very dear to him, as indeed it does to everyone that knows it, is shown by many diary utterances.

" 31.1.03. Ocean Island. O's house.

" Just after last entry (off the island) the shower passed.

leaving Ocean looking like a beautiful emerald on the blue sea. Rain touched only Tapiwa - Oonn had not felt it, and stood out lit up in sunlight. We found the Claudius lying at the new Ooma moorings and saw the Tapiwa jetty and buoy, indicating that the work was done. "Sapphire had left for Newcastle on the 10th' reported A.F.E. coming off from Claudius, which arrived on 15th, while the Albany left a week later." The entry concludes "All is well".

Indeed all was well on this delightful equatorial treasure island; and looking at it after thirty years of generally unrequited labour the worker for the moment is inclined to view it as the achievement of his life, overlooking as indeed others beside John Arundel did, the many almost hopeless undertakings he had written off not perhaps with the pride that pens his "All's well" but with satisfaction and relief and some cause for self-congratulation.

CHAPTER IV.

2.2.03. At Naura.

"Told German officials operations will not commence for some months, and consulted them as to employment of Japanese. They think 500 too many, and suggest half should be Chinese. Population of island to date, male 700, females 800."

A further entry notes that the price of copra has been lowered for the natives since his last visit, while the charge for goods supplied to them from the store is raised, and another notes the many disagreements among the Nauru missionaries.

In his forty years experience of the South Seas the writer shows very clearly in his journals his great interest in missions. He helped all, quite irrespective of creed, but his association with the work of the London Missionary Society began in his boyhood, while in later years many members of the Melanesian mission were his personal friends. However, any Christian body at work in the Pacific whether under the control of the Jesuit fathers in French Colonies or of the Seventh Day Adventists on some of the less frequented islands were supported by this tolerant Churchman. On islands in which his works were established, Roman Catholic and Protestant Missions worked side by side amicably, although as a rule most of his Kanakas brought their native parsons with them, an arrangement that worked admirably.

Evidently, in both these entries at Naura, there is some dis-

trust expressed of the manner in which improved conditions among the islanders are produced. In an article on Pleasant Island, written in 1920, Mr. MacMahon declares that officials were quite brutal in their methods with the natives who were extremely pleased when the war put an end to German dominion here, but J.T.A. if he thought this, never said so.

Ocean Island had no troubles with the missionaries, but it presented its own complications, generally connected with the land. Here the women are the chief land owners. In ignorance of this, the company in its first leasing of blocks dealt with the men. Says the diary, "A.F.E. explains that in the early days as women had the sole right of getting water from the caves in time of drought, they refused to part with this except for land. In Ocean Island little children with inherited holdings are taken at an early age to see their boundaries, so that they may know their possessions."

So the annual progress round the town boundaries of London citizens, in its conception, it would seem, is not such a purely English custom as the beating of the bounds is generally considered. On many Polynesian islands the women own the land and in New Zealand ~~this is generally the rule.~~ some arrangement is very usual.

The fact that the men had sold or leased away their blocks, while their wives owned them, gave endless trouble all round. Probably no one suffered more than the original vendors when their women-kind began to raise the price of their acres whenever the humour seized them, evidently rather pleased than otherwise that this threw out all the working of the island. Between the officials of the Company, the Visiting Commissioner and the native council, all sorts of solutions were offered but for some time none were accepted by the angry

ladies. In this case J.T.A's. presence was no help at all. It is easily seen how the natural concern felt by these wives and mothers as they watched their soil disappearing by shiploads and leaving only bare coral rocks, became aggravated by the consideration that in this disposal of their rights they had had no say at all. Probably, however, the men's action was not premeditated. In the first hurried negotiations their signatures to the original documents were asked for and accepted by the company's representative because in the Marshalls the chiefs own all the land.

In November 1903, after a brief visit to England via Japan and America, J.T.A. finds the trouble still acute. Indeed it seems to be aggravated by his arrival, for it is noticeable that this successful manager of men on islands or in cities, is extremely helpless before an angry woman. "Lapham says the old women are back; A further row all along the line. Men were driven away, and he was confronted with the rib of a cocoanut leaf - More warlike indeed even than yesterday." There were two hundred landowners, over 90% of whom were women with from fifteen ~~hundred~~ to seventeen hundred separate holdings on this tiny atoll, and the trouble arising over these plots was as intricate as the transactions at Maori land-courts touching hundreds of thousands of acres.

The claims of the malcontents disgusted even the patient Commissioner, who advised the Company to gain new leases of the blocks for limited periods and then to trade back the land roaded and replanted; but no direct solution offered by the Commissioner was accepted by the irate landowners. "Some stayed by the trees because they declared our boys would eat the coconuts. Some wanted to know

if the trees would die with only a ring of soil round them. B. said he devoutly hoped they would - and the owners too." The entry closes with the remark made by the Commissioner, "In spite of all this the work here is extremely popular."

Happily the ~~Constitutional~~ Native Council, to which each district on the island sent its representative, knew how to deal with both men and women, ~~so~~ through this body ~~eventually~~ the Commissioner was able to settle the dispute with the company and eventually to satisfy all parties. "The native council" writes J.T.A. "advised members to be very careful, because if there was any more trouble the Company might go over to Nauru and stay there since Ocean is only a little corner of Nauru. This would not have pleased the leaders at all."

An ~~very~~ interesting entry is made when the chief is spending a lonely Christmas, relieving Mr. Ellis away on leave. ~~The~~ This touches the Cave of Sailing - so called because it and its store of water was discovered just when the bulk of the population had determined to leave the island, in one of the severe droughts of the 'sixties. An article in Blackwood's Magazine, November 1910, written by the Deputy Commissioner, who spent six months on Ocean Island and knew the whole of the Gilbert Group well, gives a very full description of the caves and indeed of island customs generally. His first-hand knowledge of conditions, as well as his association with the people, adds value to quite the most interesting of the many accounts which all paint the islands in delightful colours.

"Probably no richer island of the same size exists, and I am sure there is none more curious. I first visited the place in 1896, and found it in the occupation of a purely native community - -

I well remember the natives coming off in their canoes with bundles of shark fins and their anxiety to exchange their murderous looking spears and swords edged with shark's teeth for glass bottles, with which I suppose they shave themselves, and cut each other's hair. The men were a fine athletic race wonderfully clever in managing their outrigger canoes and rather dark in colour when compared with the Gilbert Islanders. They spoke the purest Gilbertine and their tattooing closely resembled that of the Gilbert Islanders with whom I was well acquainted..... I little thought, as I walked about among the curious natives followed by a troop of delightful clamorous children, that under my feet lay wealth beyond the dreams of avarice and that in thirteen years time, I should again visit the island to find railways, electric light and telephones installed and to see four or five 6000 ton steamers waiting to carry away the very ground on which I stood. In 1896 the last white man who lived on Ocean Island, a relic of some dozen who once dwelt there, had died, and there was no European left. In 1908 there were 80 white employees of the Pacific Phosphates Co., 350 Japenese and some 700 labourers of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, beside the 470 aboriginal natives, who still survive.

Year by year improvements are made in the methods of winning and shipping the rock. Long iron and concrete canti-lever piers jut out over the narrow fringing reef; and by means of capacious surf boats..... over 1100 tons of phosphate can be shipped in one working day.

The island forms the almost circular top of a very steep and very symmetrical submarine mountain. It is plain that at one period even this summit must have been submerged, for the whole framework of the island is composed of coral... The land appears to be rising, shown by the curious system of terraces, of which the first is formed by the present reef, the next occurs at the height of about 150 feet and runs all round the island, while the top is almost flat, and about 250 feet above sea level.

The coast line is composed for the most part of a well-nigh impenetrable belt of most curious coral pinnacles about thirty feet in height. Above this fringe of pinnacles, a gentle slope leads up to the first terrace and the pinnacles which are almost as numerous here as in the lower belt, are packed with a deep layer of pure phosphate. From this second terrace rises the final slope to the summit of the island.

In speaking of the vegetation of the island which is comparatively varied, Mr. Mahaffy says, - "How such considerable trees could find nourishment upon an island where there is almost no humus, and on which prolonged droughts are a frequent occurrence

always puzzled me, until I came to know of the labyrinth of galleries which honeycomb the island, and in which the natives collected all the water for their needs in the long periods when no rain fell. These caves or galleries are the exclusive domain of the women who alone are allowed to enter them. The gateway to each well is fenced about with care, and it is strictly tabu. It was formerly an offence punishable by death for any man to enter it. The women ..... crawl into these narrow passages and collect the water in coconut shell bottles from depressions in the rock into which it filters from above. This supply has never been known entirely to fail ..... I have little doubt that the deep roots of the larger trees go down to some of these water supplies.

The reef is, I think, the worst and most dangerous I have ever seen. The sea is often considerable and indeed tremendous and the current is strong and treacherous. Yet these people will launch their frail outrigger canoes through a narrow passage in the reef in an immense breaking sea, and will calmly fish at the very edge of the break of the great rollers.

The most curious form of fishing is one which I never tired of watching ... in which the artist, for indeed he is one, walks over the edge of the reef armed only with a spear and diving just outside the break of the sea, spears fish under water, thus matching his activity and quickness against that of the fish in his native element.

...The native dietary is neither varied nor luxurious, and it is somewhat surprising that the race should be such a fine one. The reason is, I suppose, to be found in the fact that the struggle for existence was so intense that weakly members of community were eliminated.... the elder men and women of the island are far finer physically than those of the present generation. With the arrival of the Company.... there passed for ever the need for personal and unceasing struggle for food.

Even the water problem has been solved, and to the utter amazement of the natives, about 4,000 gallons of water are daily condensed from the sea. After this final miracle..... I fancy they have given up being surprised, considering as they do that nothing is impossible to that strange being, the white man, who can even make the sea fresh."

In common with most visitors to the island, Mr. Mahaffy thinks the climate splendid. The heat, constantly tempered by the sea breeze makes work possible at all times of the day. "The nights

are indescribably beautiful, quite cool and so brilliantly clear by moonlight that it was possible to read small print and when there is no moon, the great company of the stars shine with a brilliance which is hardly credible." ~~At certain periods writes another visitor to Ocean, "it is possible to see~~ " the Pole Star and ~~the Southern Cross together, while some constellations of the two hemispheres are always visible in the Equatorial sky".~~ unseen

The summer of 1904 was a disastrous one for the cocoanut industry. At Christmas Island according to the entry in the diary only 23,000 growing nuts out of 100,000, were left by the tidal wave of that year: At Flint, after total submergence, only dead stumps of palms were left standing; while Caroline was so damaged in the same submergence that workings here were abandoned altogether. Of the early plantations only Gardner was flourishing. The delay in island shipping, caused by this tidal wave which held back mails for months together, led to entries in the diary which show that the traveller is now considering a new interest which, in his opinion, is more important than even the latest cable extensions. This is the establishment of wireless stations to ~~hook~~ link up Tahiti, Raratonga, New Caledonia and the outlying Gilberts and Marshalls with Fiji, Samoa, America, Australia and Japan. For his remaining years of active business this seems to be a development of the Pacific much nearer to his heart than any other.

An entry made early in 1905 quotes approvingly a letter in the

Sydney Morning Herald, from H. E. White, who takes exception to the enactment of the Labour Government that shipping companies trading with Australia must not carry any but white labour. Says the writer, "Why they picked out colour is inexplicable. They would have done much better if they (the Australian Labour Party) had put language before colour and said that no Shipping Company that carried non-English-speaking crews shall handle our mails. It is possible that one of our friends of another language may have the carrying of our mails and specie with the prospect, in these uncertain times, of war being declared when cargoes of great value are on the high seas in an enemy's ships."

The letter is admirably to the point but not every business man in Sydney knew this. That the diarist did is another proof of his recognition of the actual enemy hidden in these seemingly friendly foreigners who at the time were so well established in Australia that they quite seriously believed the commonwealth would be neutral in any coming war. The diary from the period of the 'seventies has noted every instance of German aggression ~~in Samoa~~. Through 1904-1905-1906 the distrust ~~expressed~~ evidenced in entries becomes daily more marked. It is strange that the doubt expressed after ~~meetings or~~ business relations with Germans is the only distrust of his fellows that the traveller ever acknowledged. Americans he liked and admired; in dealings with the French he shows an ever warm esteem; he had no distrust of Japanese and the islanders as

he knew them were in general delightful people. Even the North Queensland Blacks, with whom he came into contact in stays at Thursday Island were not so black as they were painted. Never was there a traveller who saw or overlooked more tolerantly the weaknesses of those with whom he came into contact. And yet his comments on Germans in the Pacific - on their aims, their successes, their methods, make in themselves an ~~indictment that almost presaged~~ series of charges that might be made or understood ~~this war.~~ seem to show that J.D.P. at corporate would not be surprised by war.

Early in 1905 a visit to Japan was arranged and in April the representative of the new P.P.Co. was establishing the friendliest of business relations in Tokio. Labour and the phosphate contracts claimed ~~the first care~~ attention but Pacific Wireless was under discussion. Business held him in these islands during the closing years of the war and there at Tokio he saw the rejoicing for the first peace negotiations as well as that for the final victory. A printed receipt for luggage he was asked to sign in ~~Tokio~~ one port gives English as it was then spoken on the Japanese wharfside.

"Received baggage to lent wagon a contract of coolie. Delivery of goods and a message in the city besides that he shall be manage with cheapest for transportation the carriage of baggage."

From Japan comes a run across America visiting Prof. Agassiz at Newport ~~on route~~ on business connected chiefly with a French island. By the end of September the traveller is again for a few weeks in London, his whole energies bent on the combating of pro

German sympathies on the P.P.C. Board. Lord S. in this contest is staunchly British but there was a strong party working for Berlin. The visit was short. It had come as a relaxation for its chief purpose was to arrange a long promised tour of the islands of ~~with~~ his daughters and sister-in-law. Chiefly its purpose was pleasure The ~~States, Japan, Australia, New Zealand and Nauru were in the itinerary, and a stay was to be made on Ocean Island. It was also hoped that atolls in the Phoenix, in which the party was closely interested,~~ ~~should be visited.~~ but business incidental to the land inspection visit would fit up ~~at~~ time be transacted where possible.

Book 5.

CHAPTER V.

Probably since 1882 no preparations had given so much pleasure as those for the travel year of 1906-07. The States, Japan, Australia, New Zealand and a few of the big groups were to be visited, a stay of perhaps six months would be made at Ocean Island and Nauru and it was hoped that some of the Phoenix Islands might be touched. Chiefly the tour was undertaken for the sake of the rest it promised, for from 1903 a series of illnesses more or less severe followed any protracted business strain and the doctors increasingly urged rest and relaxation.

Diary utterances of the next twelve months chiefly speak of the itinerary but there are entries showing that again the development of the Pacific is holding its place as an object dear to the writer. In 1905-06-07 the opening of lands for cotton and sugar growing, etc., no longer is held as a first consideration; the linking up of all those widely parted islands by wireless telegraphy and the establishments of reliable shipping communication between the outposts has become a scheme in which John Arundel finds the phase of Pacific development in which he is most interested. He is considering the possibility of joining up the Marshalls and Gilberts with Australia at his own expense. Throughout the tour the examination of different systems and discussion with experts give matter for endless debates with those interested as

well as for engrossing study in his cabin.

So in crossing America, wherever a halt was called the installation of radio was the chief matter of concern: but in California in January 1906 a longer stay was devoted to showing the attractions of that pleasant land to his family who already had associations there through the brief home life of the 'eighties. Then the party crossed to Japan but it was necessarily the stay of some months at Ocean in which they were most interested. The manager was away in Auckland so the chief again took temporary charge. Probably this added to the enjoyment of the experience both for him and for the ladies of his party.

All visitors tell of the delights of this small Eden. Its pleasant native inhabitants, its waving palm trees, vivid colouring and fine climate impressed Mr. Mahaffy before the new century with miraculous developments in its train found the coral pinnacles. From the date of his first visit Aneru especially loved the island and perhaps in the first four years of the century there was no spot on the earth's surface in which he felt so happily at home. Especially he was pleased with the comfortable conditions for his workpeople, on whole behalf the discomforts of some of the early workings had often worried him and in the simplicity of the life here, combined with its comparative luxury, he himself was able to find the much needed sleep that so often eluded him in centres of civilisation.

The diary of 1907 at Ocean Island notes with no little

approval the immense improvement in working gear. Moorings, tramways, all the fine appliances for loading and shipping were on a scale never known in this entreprise before. "So far the best day's work on Ocean (with 1100 tons shipped)" he notes on the 28th day of April, 1907. "The previous record is 455 ton". Even this insignificant total is an improvement on the records of Starbuck, Caroline and Fanning in the old days. In June Ocean celebrated the birthday of one of the party in a style that made this gala day one of the memorable events in the island's history. Nothing could have given the chief greater pleasure. Indeed it was immensely gratifying to him to find how his daughters appreciated the island life and how readily they adapted themselves to the conditions of this little dominion where, for the time, their will was supreme. That all three ladies found great pleasure in the visit - and especially enjoyed the boating, fishing, sketching, as well as entertainments given in their honour was a circumstance in which he found perhaps the greatest ~~pleasure~~ satisfaction of the voyage. "Perhaps it is significant," he writes on one of those full days, "that the boats waiting here are the Promise and the Progress."

The stay at Nauru was shorter and not so satisfactory from a business view point, although again the visitors were much interested in this newer station. However, business was calling for a return to Sydney and, after leaving the equatorial islands, only a short visit was made to New Zealand. It fell just before the

opening of the Main Trunk railway and the diary notes the delay at Pipiriki where the party was flood-bound. Rotorua was full of interest and the beauty of the Kaikouras which always impressed him was noted. But the coming parting is haunting him - for his family were due in England before the winter and he looks to the mass of work waiting in Australia to make the leavetaking easier. On the 9th of May, 1907, comes one of those few very brief comments so seldom written when he was younger. "I cannot face many more partings," writes the now tired traveller.

In the year succeeding this first voyage with his daughters, business tried him more than he liked to admit and only the many short voyages of the next ten months made it possible for him to carry through the office work on shore. When ship-board accommodation was good, however, he slept well and partly made up the strain of city work. Actually there was now no cause for engrossing concern. Ocean Island had lifted the whole enterprise into the realm of certainties and was progressing still, as the returns for the first half dozen years of working abundantly proved.

"First year 1,500 tons: Second year 20,000 tons: Third year 50,000 tons: Fourth year 90,000 tons: Fifth year 148,000 and sixth year 200,000 tons:" runs the entry. Had John Arundel followed his doctor's advice and accompanied his family on their return to England he would have been spared some years of unnecessary strain although had he retired then, he believed the

German representation on the London Board might have been stronger. However, he was especially anxious to see the wireless installation and working ~~air~~ through out the groups before he left the Pacific and also he was held in the south seas by his interest in the newly discovered phosphate deposits in Makatea, a small island north of Tahiti, held by the French.

In many ways he was still the Arundel of the early guano workings, no less absorbed by the subtleties of business rather than by actual finance, and no less tenacious of any purpose holding him. And he was still, in spite of his success, one of the simplest of men and one of the most friendly. In 1908 in a crowded trip of the Haurolo running from Tahiti round the islands, in spite of his so indifferent health he gave up his cabin to one after another of the passengers until - so a letter from a fellow-voyager tells - the captain interfered. On all his voyages he necessarily carried a good deal of luggage for many of his most important reports were drawn up in these periods of leisure. But always he finds space in his cabin for another package to be delivered to some exile on the more distant islands. Whether this was small or big it was unfailingly delivered, generally by the bearer in person and there was no measure of difficulty or discomfort that he would not face to ensure that those who were looking for the packet he carried should not be disappointed.

"J.T.A's interest in missions did not blind him to the dif-

ficulties or the temptations of the traders", writes one who travelled with him on some of his last island voyages. "A most large-hearted man who never forgot the smallest commission - never omitted to call on any relative of an exile in distant outposts whether this was a planter, government official or a black cook. Never left a letter unanswered; never omitted to write one of sympathy or help. His personal influence over some of these derelicts was remarkable; and it was on a boat full of typical hard cases that on the last evening the passengers gathered to sing hymns for Mr. Arundel, realising that no act of friendship could give more pleasure to this most friendly of fellow-travellers."

As he grew older it was difficult to associate the almost fragile figure, who, as no one could fail to realise, was extraordinarily simple-minded with the John Arundel who according to report was one of the most successful [illegible] of Pacific merchants.

A visit to England with business in Paris and many discussions on Wireless, came at the end of 1908. "Was asked by V. at the Board Meeting the cost of installing Ocean Island for radio. Told him I should pay for it myself."

"Dined with Sir ~~Evarard~~. Very interesting chat about old friends and islands. Discussed New Zealand extensions in Pacific. Agree there will be no difficulty if existing licenses are respected." Then follows notes on Board work with other entries showing very plainly that again warnings must not be disregarded if there is to be any hope of complete recovery from the effects

of the last breakdown. Probably it was owing to these warnings that in the early weeks of 1909 another tour of the islands was arranged, this time on board the SS. Ocean Queen chartered for the voyage to visit all the islands that had ever had guano or cocoanut workings, as well as better-known centres. This time the route was via the Canaries, St. Helena, Capetown and Australian ports. Actually it was a yachting trip and the diary touches very lightly the re-union with his family, frequently comparing this association with his daughters with the development of his boys in the care of their mother. But the voyage is full of interest, even the family of cats and the cow which is unhappy on shipboard, and plaintively tells her woes whenever any of the party appear on deck, claim each their entry among the travel notes.

After a short stay at Sydney the course was set for Ocean Island where business with the commission, with natives, with staff, etc., was waiting. His daughters are especially happy here, and he, though very busy, finds much enjoyment in their pleasure. However, there were signs that the Ocean Queen needed overhauling and the stay at the island was shortened to allow a visit to Honolulu, where the ship was laid up for repairs. After some weeks in dock she proceeded on her way, with entries in the diary that note, "Sixty eighth birthday was spent at Fanning." "Beacon at Jarvis in a bad state." "Off Starbuck - great changes. Landing to rebuild beacon." Then comes Raratea and Tahiti, where it is

explained to visitors that the doctors order, "No work, no worry, no excitement."

The voyage on the Ocean Queen was avowedly undertaken with the object of making a last appearance among the islands in the character of director or deputy chairman of the Pacific Phosphates Company. Probably it was in dread of this farewell the tired traveller took some pains to have his family with him. For a man of his temperament it would have been a severe strain to say farewell to the staff at Ocean and Nauru - many of them, tried henchmen ~~and~~ old friends who had served him well. The last inspection of Fanning and the islands of the earlier workings would have been equally trying if he had been alone. Happily in the Marshalls and Gilberts what pain there might have been in these partings was generally overlooked in ~~the~~ anxiety attendant on the illness of one of his beloved party, while the visit to Jarvis, Starbuck and Fanning was made into a picnic by his daughters and sister helping to build the last beacons on those ocean rocks. No actual farewell was said to Ocean Island for it was intended to call there again after the tour of the Central Pacific.

But the best laid plans in voyaging are easily swept aside. From the day of embarkation the Ocean Queen had shown herself a most unsatisfactory seaboat. All the sturdy little island craft, cutters, ketches, barquantine of insignificant tonnage had served this traveller well and in them he had voyaged the length and breadth of the Pacific, if sometimes in discomfort always in safety.

But the big vessels failed him. In her unreliability the Ocean Queen faintly resembled the Lucebella of imposing proportions in which the newcomer to the Pacific made his second appearance at Starbuck. When speed was required of either of these vessels some small accident would impede progress; when all that was asked was a smooth passage the Ocean Queen especially adopted a gait that was uncomfortable for even such a seasoned traveller as the one who held her charter. After the repair at Honolulu it was found something was wrong with the bridge, causing further delay. At Jarvis Island comes the entry, "Capt. tells me the damper has fallen in." And a later note ~~16/9~~ "the pumps are not working properly". In the end J.T.A. accepted her vagaries as a matter of course and the last notice of the consistent misdoings of the steamer is made without comment.

19/9/09. "Ocean Queen wrecked on Makatea on sixteenth of September. Mishap due to some failure of eccentric rod connected with high pressure cylinder. In 20 minutes bumping on the reef and at 6 p.m. out of sight - having sailed in, or attempted to sail in, all flags flying at 7 a.m."

No fuller tale of the wreck is told in the diary. Letters show no lives were lost although members of the party were very much upset and two of them ill after the shock. Letters also tell of the general distress until the little cats were rescued, "C. diving after them", and of the concern of the Makatea chiefs

one of whom held a parasol over Aneru as he stood on the reef directing such operations as were possible. In spite of the warning at Tahiti that he must not be excited during the actual occurrence strangely enough he was the least perturbed of the company and on return to Tahiti he made all arrangements for the ~~return~~ voyage to Sydney of part of the party = Mrs B, a friend of his daughters, his secretary ~~Mr. D.~~, and ~~S. C.~~, the mooring master from Ocean Island, together with his 'boys' and mooring gear. The Chief with his family took passage for San Francisco. Probably, however, the shock with the strain of those busy days was partly responsible for the prolonged period of ill health that followed, holding him in California for some years. He was really too ill to do much business although at first some was imperative. Happily Mr. Brander was able to relieve him of San Francisco worries and after some very alarming heart attacks the last entry of his business journal is made.

28/10/09. "Cabled resignation to London. Much relieved thereat - like a boy out of school."

The actual parting from the old life, ~~however~~, seems to have come at Tahiti on the September day when the company from the Ocean Queen went their separate ways, the two steamers leaving on the same day but at different hours. There is a hint in the journal entry of a prescience of this being farewell. "Cozens and Bundesk who had climbed with the boys to the awning of the Hauroto tried

to cheer us - but it was a little sad. Poor B. said he felt he would soon have a big lump in his throat." Even the genial ~~moving~~ mooring master though he tried very hard to raise a laugh to accompany the cheering smiled only lugubriously himself. Probably all were fighting the premonition Aneru acknowledged and knew themselves assisting at a mummery when the occasion was ~~one of the saddest of partings.~~ actually a sad one. To some of his white employees, it was a leavetaking from the finest influence in their lives; there were men on Ocean Island - men of hero mould too - who held this quiet gentleman, worn out in the work he had done among them, as the finest man they had known. There was little wonder indeed if C. and ~~B.~~ representatives of those who would have felt so much, from their stations on the awning found they could see only dimly the company on the other boat.

Actually, except in the health of the leader, there was nothing to call for a display of sentiment here. John Arundel, who some ~~43~~ forty five years before sailed into the Pacific to seek his fortune had succeeded beyond his wildest dreams. Long ago his beloved islands had claimed their toll in the long waiting beside which no other parting seemed to count. There was no further charge. No ill-fortune had dogged him; no ambition had miscarried. True his health was not good. But not many days before the wreck the diary noted his 68th birthday and still his actual resignation was not yet posted. Health that allows a man to work up to within two

years of his allotted span cannot be counted as sacrificed in any way. Indeed, it was to nearly ten years of usefulness in other scenes that on that late September day ~~from Tahiti~~ from Papeete, John Arundel set sail for his return from the South Seas.
