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# TAHITI:

CONTAINING

A REVIEW OF THE ORIGIN, CHARACTER, AND PROGRESS  
OF FRENCH ROMAN CATHOLIC EFFORTS

FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF

## ENGLISH PROTESTANT MISSIONS

IN THE

### SOUTH SEAS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF  
MARK WILKS.

121  
LONDON:  
JOHN SNOW, PATERNOSTER ROW.

1844.

*Price One Shilling and Sixpence.*

a badly arranged Pamphlet  
Bombast & declamatory  
not lucid

Too long

Too sarcastic & too full  
of retort

Yet I suppose the French must  
have acted most abominably  
Their morals shocked if  
the acts be true

What the result of the Protectorate  
1860

The French publication, consisting of Observations and Notes on the affairs of Tahiti, contains various documents translated from the English. In their re-translation, it is believed, there will not be found the slightest alteration of the sense. (Several articles, known in England, have been omitted.) The whole has been re-arranged; and the author has made several additions.

Does this agree  
with the title  
page.

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# T A H I T I.

Handwritten notes below the title: "Tahiti" and "1827".

EVENTS have occurred among the far distant islands of the Pacific of immense importance to the interests of the Protestant religion, and the peace of the world. The acts that have changed the moral bearing, and have affected the political relations of two great European nations, were of easy execution, or they would not have been attempted; but it will be difficult for those by whom they have been accomplished to support the heavy responsibility from which they will, one day or other, endeavour in vain to escape. The results must be disastrous. The laws of justice and religion cannot be violated; the dearest, the most sacred, rights and feelings of a defenceless people cannot be outraged with impunity.

Words are but a feeble response to the roar of cannon; but the remonstrances, and protestations, which fall harmless on the path of the criminal though successful oppressor, will become historic facts; they will remain to fix the character of the events, and to prove that the oppressions of which the people of Tahiti, and the friends of Protestant missions, so justly complain, were inspired by the envious, intolerant, persecuting spirit of the Romish Church; and were sanctioned by the government of France, for the promotion of a policy as futile as iniquitous.

## ORIGIN AND OBJECTS OF THE ROMISH MISSION TO TAHITI.

The revival and extension of Roman Catholic Missions may date from the French establishment of the *Œuvre de la propagation de la Foi*; a Society formed at Lyons in 1823, in the first instance to assist, by prayers and contributions exclusively the missionaries of the old, if not venerable Society of Foreign Missions; but afterwards re-organised, associated with Paris, and made to embrace all other Catholic missions in the old and new worlds. Among the objects that attracted, at an early period of its existence, the *Œuvre de la Foi*, were the regions of North and South America, and the islands of Oceania, or the Pacific Ocean.

In 1827, two Romish missionaries appeared at Honolulu, one of the

Sandwich Islands. They never obtained the consent of the king or the chiefs to their residing in the country. Seven times the king in vain ordered the foreigners to quit his dominions; he once more repeated his order, and gave them three months to make their preparations for departure. Other eight months expired, and they still refused to obey his injunctions:—the king then resolved to be obeyed. On the 24th of December, 1831, he had them conducted on board a vessel belonging to the government, and conveyed to their brethren in the diocese of California. No interference, on the part of the French or English governments, was exerted; nor did the Romish priests re-appear in those islands till six years later, when a special summons from the Pope directed them to re-attempt the permanent establishment of their mission, by efforts, of which notice will be taken hereafter.

In the mean time, another Catholic institution had risen to importance in France; and the Pope, and the congregation of the Propaganda at Rome, found in it as devoted an instrument for the supply of men, as they had found in the *Œuvre de la Foi* a successful agency for the supply of money; while, therefore, indulgences and privileges were liberally accorded to the *aves* and *sous* of the latter, decrees, prescriptions, titles, dioceses, stimulated the ambition, and the energy, of the former.

The Society of Picpus, so called from the name of the street in Paris, in which the institution is situated, was founded by the Abbé Coudrin, soon after the restoration of the Bourbons, in 1814. In fact, the zealous priest was fully entitled to place over the portal of his college at Picpus the inscription with which his fortunate sovereign had adorned his palace of the Tuilleries,—“Next to Providence, I owe it to the regent of England.”—The object of the Society is “to promote the revival of the Roman Catholic religion in France, and to propagate it by missions among unbelievers, or pagans.” It received papal sanction, by a bull of his holiness, in November, 1817. The establishment is placed under “the special protection of the Holy Hearts of Jesus and Mary;” and its missionary priests and agents are maintained by the now vast association, *L'Œuvre de la Foi*, formed for the support of Romish missions in all parts of the world.\* In 1833, the Congregation of the Propaganda, by a decree of the 28th of May, which was confirmed by the sovereign pontiff, confided to the Society of Picpus the conversion of all the islands of the Pacific Ocean. Two apostolical prefectures were established, and their limits were immediately traced; the authority of the prefects being subordinate to

\* An account of this association, and of French Catholic missions, appeared in the *Evangelical Magazine* for April, 1843. The annual receipts of the *Œuvre de la Foi*, which, in 1839, amounted to £93,500, had risen, in 1843, to the sum of £166,500. Of this sum more than £20,000 were appropriated to the missions in Oceania.



that of an apostolical vicar. M. E. Rouchouse was made bishop of Nilolopis, in partibus, and apostolical vicar of Eastern Oceania. M. C. Liansu was appointed as his prefect; two priests, Messrs. Caret and Laval, and a catechist, Columban, or Murphy, were placed under his direction.

In May, 1834, the Roman Catholic missionaries, who had sailed from Bordeaux, arrived at Valparaiso, and the correspondence of this hierarchy, from the moment of its institution, demonstrates that war, at any price, and by every means, was resolved upon by the emissaries of the Propaganda against the Protestant missions existing and extending in the Pacific. They began by attributing to the English nation, and its government, political ends and commercial interests, as the real motives and results of evangelical missions, and by representing the inhabitants of the christianized islands as deeply injured, and most cruelly oppressed. This plan was adopted on purpose to prepare the way for, and then to justify, attempts at political and mercantile rivalry and domination, without which their proselyting efforts were not likely to be supported by the power of France, or to succeed to any extent abroad.

From Valparaiso they wrote to their superiors, and in their Missionary Journal (*Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*),—"The biblical missionaries, sent by English societies, appear to have undertaken, of late (that is only since 1795), to invade all the islands of the Pacific ocean. They think, no doubt, that they shall easily establish their domination over people but recently discovered, docile, and to whom the gospel has not yet been announced. The English government favours them for ends purely political; already they have presses, have raised manufactories, and of course exercise great influence."—"Some persons endeavour to dissuade us from our purpose, by telling us that the Protestants are everywhere, and that the natives will kill us. We only see in this the rage of the demon, who feels that we are approaching, and would prevent us from entering the countries where he is master."

It is highly probable that the writers fabricated themselves these strong dissuasives; for, in point of fact, no missionaries had been killed in the islands for many long years; nor, indeed, had they been killed, could they very well be everywhere. If it was meant, by this representation, that the Protestants would everywhere induce the natives to kill the priests, the calumny is atrocious. At all events, according to them, the English Protestants were everywhere, and the devil was everywhere the master; the Protestant people were then everywhere the slaves of the devil, and, of course, capable of any crimes. The English government, too, though it has indeed quietly allowed French ships of war to carry priests to the Gambiers and the Marquesas, and to seize those groups; though it has even allowed

French ships of war to *protect* not only Romish priests, but the Protestant queen and people at Tahiti; still the English government is guilty, according to the Society of Picpus, of making "the people everywhere the slaves of the devil for purely political purposes."

The object of the priests, as avowed in similar communications, too numerous to be quoted, was then clear; it was to overcome the Protestant demon, and to overthrow English political influence; the one was inseparable from and essential to the other.

Nor were these views merely those of priestly and jesuitical fanatics, who zealously propagated them in Oceania and France; they were in perfect accordance with the sentiments expressed generally and strongly by French writers, travellers, naval officers, in official publications, and even in the journals said to be most accredited by the court and government of France.

Before proceeding to follow the movements of the Romish priests in the Pacific, it may be useful to look over a very few of these publications, not one of them in opposition to the government.

The *Journal des Debats*, considered to be the organ of the French ministry, and certainly a favourite journal with many persons in England, is as loud in its calumnies of Protestant missions, and of English philanthropy, as the emissaries of Picpus themselves.

This *respectable* journal (for by this distinguishing title it is known in England) informs the French public, "that religion itself has been hitherto only a cruel present to the Tahitians, since it has disturbed the security of conscience with which they gave themselves to their dissolute passions, without offering them the power to resist them;—that the chiefs and the queen appear not to know even the name of Jesus Christ, and only speak of God as the Jehovah, the God of thunder and vengeance;—that the English missionaries brought the natives religious wars, which during many years have desolated their countries;—and that, moreover, this state of things is unhappily not confined to Tahiti, but is common to all the groups of the South Sea!" These lines, and others equally respectable, served as the introduction to a letter written to the *Debats* by its own correspondent, an agent of the government, in which it is said, "The people of Tahiti detest the English missionaries, and the day on which queen Pomare shall withdraw her support their power will be annihilated; and that day has probably arrived, for French influence will very soon make itself felt in the political conduct of her Tahitian majesty."

To sustain accusations and statements so inconceivable, the *Journal des Debats*, with a measure of ignorance and impudence equally inconceivable, refers its readers to the work of M. Rienzi, as to the best authority on the subject; when this same M. Rienzi, without any other witness, disproves completely all that the journal itself asserts. So well indeed was Pomare, king of Tahiti, acquainted with the name

of Jesus Christ many years ago, that from his letters to Mr. Nott, M. Rienzi selects such passages as the following:—"May Jehovah grant me his good spirit to sanctify my heart, that I may love that which is good; and may he enable me to abandon my bad habits, and become a man of his people, that I may be saved by Jesus Christ, our only Saviour." In another letter, written when he was very ill, he says:—"My affliction is great; but if I can obtain the favour of God before I die, I shall esteem myself happy. May my sins be pardoned, and my soul saved by Jesus Christ!"\*

The design in propagating falsehoods, as stupid as they are odious of which we here give only a sample, was to furnish a pretext for the accomplishment of a project long meditated, and now in full execution, for the destruction of Protestantism and English connexion in all the islands of the Pacific.

The following passages, (extracted from the same journal,) though not on the subject of Tahiti, might have been written by M. Caret himself, or any of the vicars apostolic of Oceania.

Speaking, not long since, of Spain, it said:—"England,—heretical England,—aristocratical England,—England the tyrant of Ireland, that carefully maintains civil and political inequality in that country, and fattens the *Protestant clergy on the blood of Irish Catholics!*—England, knowing perfectly well that an abyss more profound than the ocean separates her from Catholic Spain, takes the greatest pains to keep that country in a consuming fever, to confound its ideas, to stir up the revolutionary mire, that it may more safely fish up from the troubled water a treaty of commerce, that last end of all its policy.†"

\* It is curious that M. Mœrenhout, the founder of the French Catholic mission, and of the French Protectorate at Tahiti, should undertake the justification of the English Protestant Missionaries from the calumnies of the *Journal des Debats*. With the design of exposing queen Pomare to ridicule, he published one of her letters written to him. "This letter," says he, "will show the *apostolical* style and formulary that all have adopted, and from which they never vary. It commences with these words, 'Peace to you, M. Mœrenhout, from God, through our Lord Jesus Christ.' She finishes by saying, 'Peace to you from Jesus, Mesi.—POMARE.'"

† The same systematic misrepresentation and abuse have long been employed in regard to all the religious and philanthropic efforts of Englishmen for the happiness of their fellow-creatures.

The *Globe*, another journal said to be devoted to the court, and quoted with great deference in England, especially as it is presumed to receive the inspirations and support the measures of the Minister for Foreign affairs,—the *Globe*, speaking of *slave trade and slavery*, says, "It would be carrying illusion to stupidity not to see very clearly that England, in clamouring for the abolition of the slave trade and slavery, is not influenced by any sentiment of morality or philanthropy. It is not the liberty of the blacks that England desires, for when she seizes them in slave ships, she keeps them to make soldiers of them. What England wants

Two officers of the French navy, Messrs. Vincendon-Dumoulin, and Desgraz, in their *General Considerations on the Colonization of Oceania by France, founded on Documents collected on the Spot*, say: "It is impossible for a traveller who may visit the islands of the Pacific, not to endeavour to speculate on the destiny of the happy groups scattered over its bosom. The first thing which affects him is the sight of men, consecrated to a religious work, meddling with the temporal affairs of these free people, whom they have brought under their domination, under pretence of directing their consciences. One spot, a spot unobserved on the vast surface of the globe, the little group of the Gambiers, knows and venerates the French name, and presents a spectacle of every virtue. Scarcely has the traveller left this group, than he meets with the islands of Tahiti, Samoa, Tonga, Feejee, in all which England holds domination. It is true, her missionaries govern for her, but if one of these savage kings, who preserves the pompous but vain title of royalty, were to attempt to act for himself and reject English counsels, in order to watch over his own interests, the British flag would at once be unfurled, and be the signal for absolute rule over the land in which a similarity of religious belief (*i. e.* Protestantism) would always assure it a strong party. When the rapid multiplication of the population of all European countries is considered, it is evident that ere long a European colony will be formed in each of the innumerable islands of the Pacific, and missionary efforts merit therefore all the attention of the Government; for if at present the conquest is a moral one, achieved by a few men, whose constancy and devotedness may be admired, it is not less really a conquest, and a conquest that already monopolizes the little commerce of these poor populations,— thanks to the grasping and intolerant character of certain Methodist ministers.

"The Sandwich islands, the most important, belong to the United States; English ministers are already established in almost the whole of Oceania; on one point alone, and that scarcely visible, the French language is spoken. Entirely devoted to their ministry, our priests pursue their religious object. But, on the contrary, a central authority seems to direct all the dissenting missionaries (*i. e.* dissenting from Rome), and under the mask of religion, it is easy to see that England pursues a colonizing system that wants only

"is, to annihilate the produce of the Brazils, of Cuba, of Porto Rico, of the southern and western states of North America, in order to supply itself the European market. Again, we say, this is the secret; and it is to attain this end that she has managed treaties for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade with France, Spain, Portugal, Russia, the Pope, and with all the world. From France, England has obtained all she pleased. Under pretence of fine sentiments, France was to give up her commerce, her ports, her manufactures, even her honour; and she has done it."

“ a few links to complete a vast chain encircling the whole globe, which she has evidently adjudged to herself. On the signal from the first cannon that shall be fired in Europe, a protecting flag will be seen to rise on each of these islands now so peaceful. God grant that the tri-coloured flag of our nation may shew itself with honour!

“ That banner now waves for the first time over the Marquesan islands, and seems to announce that France will be no longer a stranger to the partition of the world among rival powers. Had she been free to choose, the selection of the Marquesas, instead of the smiling Tahiti, would have been far from a happy one; but as this choice was not possible, the Marquesas are, and must remain, French possessions. Doubtless the possession of this archipelago is but the commencement of a project more vast and more worthy of the grandeur of the French name.”

The conduct of the captains of the *Venus*, the *Artemise*, and the *Reine Blanche*, has shown how far England had, under the mask of religion, colonized Tahiti and Eimeo, and the degree of honour with which the tri-coloured flag, without any signal from hostile cannons in Europe, has been hoisted at Tahiti. But why was it not possible at once to choose Tahiti instead of the Marquesas? Because it was then believed that England would never permit the violation of the independence of that island, and because the religious and political farce was not then prepared which was to terminate, by the pretended offer of their dearest liberties on the altar of French glory, by the queen and chiefs of that island.

Another naval officer, M. Dubouzet, commander of the *Aube*, corvette of war, expresses himself, in the *Voyage in the Pacific*, by *Admiral Dumont d'Urville*, as follows:—

“ The Tahitians no longer know their teachers by the benefits they have conferred; the prestige of their influence has been destroyed. The more thoughtful of the chiefs are already tired of their yoke, and seek an opportunity of throwing it off. They venture to inquire of what use their presence can be in the island, now that it is entirely converted (of what use then can the priests be?), and it is to be feared that they will very soon prepare a general revolt, and succeed in overthrowing the government of the queen. However well founded may be the discontent of these chiefs, such a revolution would probably prove the most calamitous event that could happen to the island; for the first use that the chiefs would make of their authority, would be to abolish the few wise laws that at present offer some check to their disorderly tendencies. The country would then become a prey to the most complete anarchy; and it is to be presumed that England, which knows so well how to take advantage of its religious faith to extend its power, and whose subjects, proprietors of certain portions of the soil, are almost the

“ only persons who have any interest in the island, would seize upon  
 “ this pretext to *protect* them, would interfere in favour of the young  
 “ queen, and would very soon crush her under its oppressive protection.  
 “ The Tahitians would lose for ever their nationality and their liberty,  
 “ of which indeed they have not known how to profit. Tahiti is not  
 “ likely to preserve her independence, if France and America, who are  
 “ interested in maintaining her nationality, do not aid the people to  
 “ constitute very differently their social system. It is to be feared that  
 “ it is her destiny to become an English colony ere long, and I believe  
 “ that the plan has been long decided on by Great Britain, and that a  
 “ pretext is only wanting for its immediate execution.”

It is not a little remarkable that this officer of the French navy, whose violent conduct is well remembered at Tahiti, should prophetically accuse England and her missionaries with the very villany of which France and her missionaries now stand accused and condemned before all Europe. His predictions have been accomplished as to the calamities to befall Tahiti; but the missionaries of Protestant England, and the queen and the inhabitants of Protestant Tahiti, have been deprived of liberty and independence, and been compelled, by the government of France, and by French ships of war, to receive Popish emissaries, and to submit to the protection and sovereignty of Rome.

In his work on *Polynesia and the Marquesas*, M. Louis Reybaud, the principal editor of the official account of the *Voyages of Captain Dumont d'Urville*, is very frank in his revelations. “ Religious considerations, says he, have contributed, and not a little, to the possession of the Marquesas. The history of Catholic missions in Polynesia, would require larger space than we can afford. The effects of this propaganda, the centre of which is at Paris, do not date from beyond 1834 or 1835. During the Restoration, the Catholic religion only appeared there as a passing traveller.

“ Protestant missionaries, of different sects, Anglican or Wesleyan, took possession by degrees, and slowly, of all the most important islands of the ocean. The Sandwich islands fell to the lot of the *Wesleyans*; Tahiti, Tonga, and New Zealand to the *Episcopalians*. They founded churches, built chapels, and gradually substituted their influence for the authority of the chiefs. Thus, all the honours and advantages of sovereignty became concentrated in the hands of the Lutheran apostles; and the kings or queens of the country were merely docile instruments of which they disposed at pleasure, sometimes against the natives, sometimes against the European visitors. This state of things was perfectly settled, when the missions of France determined to oppose *church to church—creed to creed*. We must do justice to the efforts of our Catholic priests; never was greater disinterestedness allied to greater courage. The

“ French government has watched with interest the progress of this “propaganda.”

Another officer of the *marine royale Française* throws a different, but an harmonious light on the projects and the conduct of the propaganda of Picpus. Speaking of the Gambier islands, he says:—

“ The bishop resides at Ao-kena, one of the smallest islets, on purpose, by his distance from the principal island, to preserve a greater influence. It is very curious to observe with what frankness they adduce this motive, while they, at the same time, bitterly blame the English missionaries for exercising an influence over the chiefs of the islands in which they reside. Open war is declared between the two creeds. The Catholic missionaries attack their antagonists in every direction, and such is their ardour, that very lately two of them have obtained a passage to Tahiti, to convert the natives, already Christians, to the Romish faith. This attempt is improper; for there are still plenty of idolaters, as they call the savages, to make Christians, without going to invade the sphere of others. But the cloven foot appears in all this; and it is easy to see that the efforts of our missionaries tend, not to the amelioration of the savage population, but to the fame that will result from their labours; they prefer, therefore, to make themselves talked of, by going to overthrow, if they can, the edifice raised by their neighbour, rather than devote themselves to the humbler and hard toil of civilization in an obscure corner of the world.

“ As for us, strangers to the quarrel, it is often difficult for us to understand the connection that the charges brought by our missionaries at the Gambier islands against the English have with religion. The English, they tell us, teach their neophytes the most abominable things: they teach them that the power of France is nothing, and that England is all-powerful. Now, even supposing that this be true, though the accusation is made by lips too partial to command credit, what does it amount to? Why, that the English conduct themselves as ill as our priests, who boast, very justly, of their country, but who teach their disciples to hate the heretics and to detest the English.”\*

Extracts of the same character, from many other documents, might be multiplied; but enough has been quoted to show the spirit and the objects with which the presence of the French missionaries in the Pacific must be for ever identified.

#### THE FRENCH ROMISH PRIESTS AT THE GAMBIE ISLANDS.

It was then with these dispositions that the Romish priests waited at Valparaiso for an opportunity to embark, and endeavoured to procure

\* Note au Voyage dans l'Océanie, par Dumont d'Urville.

information as to the places they should first occupy. "We are perfectly comfortable here," they write, "and we are treated with the greatest respect. Every day new establishments are formed, and the population is rapidly increasing. What good might be done here by zealous missionaries! The people, though living in the most profound ignorance, preserve, nevertheless, the faith they received from the Spaniards. The Catholic religion is the religion of the state, and, moreover, the laws prohibit the existence of any other sect!"

It is not surprising that the priests were so comfortable where such a prohibition existed; but it may well be asked, why did they leave a country in which intolerance and ignorance promised them such a harvest, to force, (by the fire of French artillery,) the converted and Protestant islands of the Pacific to allow them to establish themselves and their hierarchy? Shameless effrontery, indeed, to boast of the intolerance of Valparaiso, and sail from its port to invade a christianized country, and set its laws and police at defiance!

"This day, they continue, July the 9th, the feast of Our Lady of Paris, the door of our mission is open. In two or three days we shall sail for the Gambier islands, which lie in the way to Otaïti. The bargain is made."

Thus it is evident that their real object, was protestant Tahiti, and not pagan Polynesia.

"Captain Morne, a Frenchman, who conveyed the Protestant ministers to the Marquesas, pointed out to us the Gambier islands. He said he did not believe that we could get a passage for less than 100 piastres (£20) each, even if we should meet with a vessel going that way. On quitting his vessel, we saw an American captain, who was about to sail for Otaïti, and who offered, as a special favour, to take us there for 150 piastres (£30) each. We are afraid to go to that island, for we could not land without paying 30 piastres (£6) each; such is the law of the country in regard to all foreigners.\* (Wonderfully economical!) We have, therefore, refused. He at length consented to take 4 ounces (about £18 10). It was agreed that he should convey us to the Gambier islands, where he should land two of us, or the whole four if we should so decide; and that the others should go to Otaïti. We agreed among ourselves that Messrs. Caret and Laval should remain at the Gambiers, where we should construct a hut, and that Columban and I (M. Liansu writes) should go to Otaïti, *disguised as carpenters*. I agreed with the captain that he should stand off the island for a day or two, and then return

\* M. Rienzi, whose work on Oceania is cited and recommended by the accredited journal of the French ministry, the *Journal des Debats*, says, "In 1826, a law was made to prevent adventurers and suspected persons from disturbing the established order of things. This law condemned to a fine of thirty dollars, any foreign captain, who should leave any sailor ashore without authority from the chief of the district."



“ and land the baggage, if the missionaries thought they could remain in that group; and that if it was found impossible for two to remain there they should all go to Otaiti. Captain Morne offered us a New Zealand savage, who understands English, a little Spanish, and pretty well the language spoken at the Gambier group, where he is known and loved. M. Caret took him to the church at Valparaiso, and showed him the Christ; the good savage imitated him in every thing, going down on his knees and making after him the sign of the cross.” It is beyond dispute then that Tahiti was the primary object of their mission; that the priests knew that certain laws regulated the landing and residence of foreigners; that they were to go not as honest and true men, but as deceivers, in order both to conceal their real character and ends, and to cheat the government of its port duties; not as Christian apostles, but as smugglers; and that they carried their deceitfulness, not merely to the falsification of their own character, but the training of a poor savage to ape their religious mummeries, for they deserve no other name, in order to make the natives believe that this savage was a convert to the Roman Catholic faith.

M. Caret, who was named superior, and Laval and Columban, left Valparaiso on the 16th July, 1834, and on the 7th of August they arrived at Gambiers.\*

Let it not be supposed that this group had been hitherto abandoned to idolatry. Discovered by the *Duff* in her first voyage, in 1797, it was distinguished by the name of the pious Admiral Gambier, who was most friendly to the English Protestant mission. The islands of Manga-reva and Akena, had been visited by English and native missionaries, one of whom was a converted native of Rapa. A chapel and school-house had been built, and so much had been done in the work of enlightening the inhabitants, that some of them had renounced idolatry, and had sent their idols to Tahiti. From Tahiti they were taken to England; and these same idols have been often seen in the public assemblies, to which Mr. Pritchard, in 1841, gave an account of the progress of the Protestant missions in the South Seas. In consequence, however, of the presence of the Romish priests, the teachers, finding it impossible to remain, returned to the Georgian islands, and relinquished the work of evangelization, so hopefully commenced, and which, but for the invasion of Picpus, would in all probability have been carried on with growing success. But what a triumph for the coalition!—the French breviary and artillery coalition!—It had already dislodged Protestant missionaries from the islands, dis-

\* Ten years after, August 7th, 1844, a large assembly met in London to express its sympathy with the oppressed and despoiled people and queen of Tahiti, as well as its indignation at the murder of defenceless women and children, and the seizure of the British consul by a French governor, and French soldiers and sailors.

covered by a Protestant missionary ship, and called after a British Protestant admiral!

"Yesterday," says M. Caret, "we anchored at the Gambier islands. We met there an Englishman, who has been some weeks resident, with another of his countrymen, and a Kanac. Without being exactly a missionary, he is here to instruct the people. The Protestant missionaries at Otaiti have promised him a salary, and this may induce him to remain. I do not think this man will hurt us; he has even offered us the use of his hut till we can construct one." So that the first person who rendered these deceivers a service was an Englishman, a protestant, and a sort of missionary or teacher! The "slave of the demon" was found a very convenient friend.

M. Laval, notwithstanding this happy commencement, writes as follows: "Since the Protestants have been informed that the Catholic Church is about to evangelize Oceania, they redouble their efforts to gain possession of this new world. Under these circumstances, two things are necessary: 1st—That his lordship, the bishop of Nilopolis, should receive new power, and a mission of a larger extent; for, as the Protestants cannot be everywhere at once, we may precede them, at least in some islands. 2nd—At all events, more missionaries must be sent immediately. We can distribute them in several islands. The Protestants will not be able to get rid of them all at once, and those in which they remain may serve as a sort of home for the brethren who may not be able to remain among the Protestants, where the Methodists are. The gospel will thus extend from island to island. Those who have been seduced by heresy, and who are held under the iron yoke of the Methodists, such as the inhabitants of Otaiti, will voluntarily submit to the easy yoke of our Lord Jesus Christ, and will embrace the Catholic doctrine."

Such was the regular plan of operations, recommended from the Gambier islands, against Protestantism established by the English in Tahiti; a plan, the execution of which has produced the scenes that have been witnessed in that island. The Marquesas were also to be attacked as soon as possible; in fact, proselytism, and emancipation from English despotism, were to be everywhere attempted.

While they were preparing for the execution of these vast projects, the priests write, towards the close of the year, "We have gathered our first ear, and the first fruits of the harvest in the Gambier islands. From this moment, the peace of God seems to descend on the island of Akena. A child a few days old, at the point of death, was regenerated and sanctified by the water of baptism! It was the feast of the Assumption of the Holy Virgin, and, of course, we named the child Mary. We buried the child according to the prescribed ceremony of the Catholic Church, and raised a cross. At the foot of that cross, we pray that infant to become the patron of her country, and

“to obtain for it the gift of faith, and the graces that follow it.”  
 “At Akamaru, we observed that the children had diseases of the  
 “skin. We cut the hair of some of them, and washed their heads;  
 “we did this that we might more easily baptize them when dying,  
 “without their parents perceiving what we did.”—On the 27th of  
 December, they baptized another babe. “The infant uttered some  
 “faint cries, and seemed about to breathe its last; it has, however,  
 “regained its strength; but the infant that we baptized in so much haste,  
 “because it appeared to be at the last gasp, died the same evening,  
 “to *our great joy*, because death has ensured its happiness!”—The  
 benevolence that indited this avowal is far more questionable than the  
 selfish cruelty that would have rejoiced over the graves of all the  
 infants of the Pacific, if the missionaries could thereby have boasted  
 of an immense harvest secured for the Church of Rome. It is true  
 these men were not husbands or fathers; but had the pagan mothers of  
 Oceania known how eagerly they desired the death of their children,  
 and that what caused them anguish filled their teachers with delight,  
 they would have regarded them with horror, and their feelings would  
 have justified the remarks of M. Guizot, at a Protestant Missionary  
 Meeting in Paris. “The ~~Catholic~~—Missionaries,” said he, “are  
 “strangers to the common condition and affections of mankind: they  
 “are more fit to gain an ascendancy than to inspire sympathy. Pro-  
 “testant missions, on the contrary, are so to speak, family missions.  
 “The heathen may easily feel that they have brethren in men who are  
 “husbands and fathers as themselves, and who present examples of all  
 “the relations and sentiments of domestic life, regulated by the  
 “morality that the gospel inculcates.”

Some months later, in March 1835, they announce, as an interesting  
 fact, that “in these two islands the natives knew already the difference  
 “between them and the Protestants, and prefer the Catholics to the  
 “others.—When a dissolute man said the missionaries from Tahiti  
 “were coming, our two chiefs declared they would separate from them,  
 “and that they would do the same in the other islands. They know  
 “very well that our powers and our mission come from God. This is  
 “the chain. My Lord Etienne, Bishop Rouchouse, has given them  
 “to us; Pope Gregory gave them to him; St. Peter gave them to that  
 “great missionary, and Jesus Christ gave them to Peter, of whom he is  
 “the successor. Then your power comes from God, said the chief of  
 “Akamaru, to us. When a missionary comes here, I shall ask him  
 “who sent him; if he says, not Gregory, I shall say, ‘Go away, you  
 “are not a missionary of Jesus Christ.’ I shall ask him then, ‘To  
 “whom do that woman and those children belong?’ He will say, ‘To  
 “me.’ ‘Very well, then go about your business, for you are not a  
 “missionary. God has no wife; Jesus Christ had no wife; Tareta

“(Caret) has no wife; Tarava (Laval) has no wife. Ours are from “St. Peter, and you are only a common man.”

The gentlemen of Piepus, the successors of St. Pierre, may be left to discuss these questions with M. Guizot, lately French Minister of Public Instruction, and now Minister for Foreign Affairs, but it is well to know who and what are the agents destined to drive the English missionaries from the Gambier islands, and from Tahiti. They are entitled to perfect liberty to profess and to propagate, by all legal and peaceable means, their opinions, however absurd; but a commission direct, instead of in succession, from Peter, or even from his Master, to disseminate the purest sentiments, would not warrant the violation of the laws of honour and the rules of justice.

They do not appear, however, to have been quite as sure of the adults who preferred their church, and who, like the New Zealand savage at Valparaiso, had been taught to imitate their mummeries, as of their regenerated infants; for in March, 1835, they still rely on the babes. “Father Columban,” say they, “had the great consolation to “baptise an infant that died some days after. This is the *fourth* that has ascended to heaven, and they are all from Akena.”

#### THE FRENCH ROMISH PRIESTS AT TAHITI.

M. Rouchouse, Bishop of Nilopolis, did not arrive at the Gambier islands, the seat of his diocese, and the scene of Columban's exploits, till May, 1835, that is nine months after his clergy; so that there had been time for the spirit, conduct, and menaces of the priests to be fully known at Tahiti. His lordship, soon after his arrival, resolved to send the consoled Columban to the Sandwich Islands; but carrying out the original system of deception, he was to pass some time at Tahiti, as a spy, in the disguise of a carpenter. He arrived accordingly, looking like anything rather than a priest. He was clad like a man before the mast, was unshaven, smoked a short pipe, and at first was mistaken for what he appeared to be. But some difficulties presented themselves as to his quality and papers. It appears that, being a native of Ireland, Murphy had an old English passport, and that among other pious tricks, he endeavoured to make use of the lion and the unicorn, to prove to the natives that he was sent by the King of Great Britain. He was at last allowed to remain, and he spent nearly two months on the island, without experiencing the slightest inconvenience. He had time, thanks to the hospitality of the Protestant queen and population, to concert plans for the seduction of some disaffected chiefs, the overthrow of the royal authority, and the introduction of French priestcraft and power, by fraud and violence. He employed himself also in writing scandalous personalities and calumnies against the English Protestants, and pressing invitations to his bishop to make Tahiti the seat of his

apostolate. "It is not astonishing," says he, "that on the arrival of a son of the Holy Heart on this spot, so long devoted to the devil, the fury of this enemy of all righteousness should be redoubled, and that the Protestant emissaries should believe that I came to overthrow their empire." It is evident, however, that he anticipated no danger to his lordship, and that he thought the bishop's importance and dignity might procure for him a dispensation from the application of the laws, the terms of which he distinctly indicated.

"Since I wrote to you from Otaïti," he says, after he had left, "I have seen several chiefs (*i. e.* some who were not well affected to the reigning sovereign, and were later induced by M. Mœrenhout to raise the standard of revolt,) who have assured me that they should be very glad to see your lordship in these lands; at the same time, the Calvinists have many partisans. In order to the reception of a foreigner, it is necessary that the queen and the chiefs should meet to decide if he may remain or not. A foreigner may, however, be received in another way; some chief may give him land on which to build a house. I think you will do well to come as a bishop, because in Tahiti they have a great idea of the missionaries of Gambiers, and especially of your highness."

The cunning emissary had, in fact, so prepared the way, that some chief was to sell them land, which the bishop was to purchase at a high price, thus procure a right of settlement, and then be able the more easily to call in the aid of French men-of-war.—So much for the mission of Columban, the carpenter, and the intolerance of the queen and the English Protestant missionaries.

A reinforcement having after some time arrived at the Gambier islands, the Lord Bishop Rouchouse resolved to extend the propaganda to Tahiti, though not to venture openly and honourably himself. It is to be observed that this mission coincided with the return from Paris to Tahiti of M. Mœrenhout, a Belgian, of whom much will be said hereafter, who had obtained the appointment to the consulship of the United States.

"After mature reflection," says M. Caret, "we thought we ought to go at once to Tahiti, the centre of Austral Polynesia. His lordship selected M. Laval and myself for this enterprise. Mr. W. Hamilton, recently come from that island, offered us a passage in his little schooner, (*goûlette*), and we set sail on the 6th of November, 1836. We touched at Chain island; the inhabitants of that island, Anna, are the most powerful of the group called Dangerous. The Bibles they have received from the missionaries of Tahiti have not prevented them from murdering the savages of the smaller islands or from pillaging all on whom they can lay their hands. I think, notwithstanding, they would become good if they were to have missionaries after God's heart!"—It was with these malicious sentiments in their

hearts towards the "English biblical missionaries," that the priests, approached the peaceful shores of Tahiti. More than two years before they had announced their reluctance to pay the thirty piastres (£6) required, as they then thought, by the law, from each passenger who came to reside, and their intention nevertheless to go there disguised as carpenters. They now beheld that celebrated, civilized, and Protestant island, and determined to land both clandestinely and illegally.

"We got on shore," says M. Caret, "on one of the points of Tutaira, the place the most distant from the port. No sooner had we cast anchor than we disembarked, and we were right in using all dispatch, for we had scarcely landed, when one of the chiefs of the district went on board the schooner to order her to stand off, and not to land any passengers. But we were already on shore and had given the salutation of peace to this island, partly idolatrous, and partly heretic."

These few lines present a fair specimen of the falsehood, immorality, and effrontery that distinguish the whole of the correspondence, as well as of the conduct, of these miserable and mischievous men. They knew perfectly well, that "idolatry" had been long and entirely abolished; that no idols remained; and that the island was completely what they call "heretic."—They gave the "salutation of peace," by what M. Dumont d'Urville styles, "eluding the prohibition,"—in plain English, by violating the laws, and by acting the part of smugglers, in landing, as M. Caret himself says, thirty or forty leagues from Papeete (or Wilks Harbour), the proper port. This fact alone is sufficient to account for all that accompanied and followed the hostile invasion of the Catholic priests. The history they have given of what occurred after their landing, is a tissue of misrepresentations and calumnies; and to prove its general character, it is only necessary to notice a few extracts;—the real facts of the affair will thus be better appreciated.

Almost immediately after their arrival, the queen and the chiefs gave these lawless men an audience, and they thus state their own case:—

"A sort of judge rose and addressed us:—'There is a law which interdicts your coming to this country;—why are you here? Return to Manga-reva. You have made presents to the queen, who has given you some in return; do not persist in remaining.' To this M. Caret replied, 'This law of which you speak is new; the American consul, present, ought to know it;—he is ignorant of it.' On which, this consul, Mr. Mcerenhout, rose, and said, 'The law which forbids the residence of foreigners, without the good pleasure of the queen, is new, and unknown to me.'"

Now, this law existed and was public. When the priests were at Valparaiso, they knew that they must pay certain duties of which they had just now endeavoured to defraud the government, by landing where they could not pay them, and by refusing to return to the vessel though they

were not paid; and their disguised emissary, Columban, had written to his bishop, at Akena, that “before a foreigner could have leave to reside, the queen and chiefs must meet to decide on the subject.” Columban could only have ascertained this fact from the chiefs and his own experience. If the chiefs knew the law, the consul must have known it;—Columban, at all events, knew it, and had so written a year before this meeting took place:—the consul must therefore have known it, from Caret and Laval; so that the consul, when appealed to by Caret, uttered a deliberate falsehood; and Caret knew that he was prepared to utter such a falsehood; and the queen and chiefs knew that both consul and priests were shameless deceivers. What reliance could the government of Tahiti then, or can the public in Europe now, place on any of the statements or assertions of such unprincipled rogues?

Another proof of their contempt of truth appears in their account of the letter by which Pomare ordered them to reembark. “The 11th of December” (that is twenty-one days after their landing), say they, “five or six men, whom the people call the gendarmes of Piritati (a name given to one of the missionaries), came to the door of the small house belonging to M. Mærenhout, (who had placed them there in defiance of the laws). We refused to open the door; they threatened to break it open; but that day they did nothing. They went away, and some minutes after, brought us a letter from the queen. The women of the beach said, the letter was not the queen’s, though it was signed ‘Pomare.’ This letter was dictated by a spirit of fury:—it remained at the American consulate.”

Now this furious letter, written after these bad men had braved the authority of the law during three weeks,—had shut their door against the queen’s officers, who, instead of summarily executing their orders, retired, and gave them another day to reflect; this furious letter!—here it is:—

*Tahiti, 12th December, 1836.*

“To Messrs. Laval and Caret:—

“Peace be with you. This is what I have to say to you:—Return on board the vessel of Hamilton in which you came. On no account remain here; it is not agreeable to me, nor ever will be. I have ordered my officers to conduct you both on board the vessel. Do not be obstinate; do not make things difficult. In case you make things difficult, I shall see what I shall have to do with you. This is all I have to say to you. Peace be with you on your departure.

“POMARE.”

Is it possible to read any thing more calmly or respectably written? This falsehood, which concerns the temper and conduct of the queen, is

as shameless as that which respected their own pretended ignorance of the law.

Another specimen of the lying habits of the propagators of the faith, applies to the English missionaries and to Mr. Pritchard:—  
“The 7th of December,” say they, “another scene occurred, which shows how Messieurs the Methodists hate the French; being constantly afraid of being supplanted in their trade. Vincent, the carpenter, had accompanied us to Otaïti: Mr. Pritchard affected to consider him as a disguised missionary, and sent to inform him that he could not remain at Otaïti.”

If Mr. Pritchard had really considered the carpentering character as a disguise, it would not have been surprising or criminal; for it was precisely under this disguise that the gentlemen of Picpus thought of going from Valparaiso to Tahiti, and that Columban had been there. But Mr. Pritchard had nothing to do with the matter: and as for the detestation of the French by the English Methodists, which, by-the-bye, is ascribed by the priests to commercial jealousy, and therefore for the satisfaction of those most anxious for the rights of conscience, takes the question entirely out of the domain of religious liberty and toleration; as for English detestation of the French, the priests themselves prove that such a feeling did not exist.

“The 12th December,” (the day before their departure) say they, “we celebrated the holy mass in secret. A French carpenter, who has resided a long time at Otaïti, and who knew every thing that occurred, took an opportunity when nobody was about the house, to apprise us that the gendarmes would get at us through the roof.” According, therefore, to their own statement it was a French artisan, who had not been prevented by the Methodists from residing a long time at Tahiti, who acted as agent for the priests, and by giving them notice of the intentions of the queen’s officers, gave them the time to secure more strongly their doors.

After these proofs that the priests are utterly unworthy of credit, we might dispense with further notice of their descriptions of dreadful ill-usage, of exposure to dangerous navigation in an unsafe vessel, and content ourselves with recording the fact of their return in the same vessel that brought them to Tahiti, to the Gambier Islands, where we find them safe and sound, with all their baggage, on the 31st of December, 1837. It may, however, be useful to read the true though brief record of this pregnant event.

That would be a most incorrect view of this case, which should place it on a line with an ordinary measure of interference with the rights of conscience, or the liberty of religious profession and propagation. The country had recently risen from barbarism to social order, under the influence of a religion which had not been imposed, but introduced by foreigners, by the permission and with the consent



of the proper authorities; not a single act of intrusion, not a single attempt at resistance to the laws and orders of those authorities, had accompanied the introduction of that religion, or had since been committed by those by whom it had been introduced; all the social system of the country had been, however, changed in conformity with the dictates of that religion; the political institutions adopted had also received its sanction, and had been, in a great many respects, formed after the models offered by the country from which, though without any intervention or cognizance on the part of the government, that religion had been brought. Hitherto no foreign people had attempted to interfere with the religion voluntarily and generally embraced, or with the civil, social, and political order identified with its adoption. Some differences of a religious character had however arisen in the Georgian Isles. A sect had appeared which associated with pretensions to miraculous powers the wildest licentiousness on the subjects of polygamy and sexual intercourse, and open rebellion against the laws and the government; conflicts had resulted from these innovations, and though the sect had been suppressed, and some of the leaders had been punished, the bad feelings engendered were not entirely destroyed. The forcible introduction, by foreigners, under these circumstances, of another religion; of a religion announcing as its object the overthrow of the religion embraced by the government, and by the whole nation; of a religion, the propagators of which proclaimed personal hostility to the teachers of the religion that had been thus voluntarily received and was affectionately honoured and professed throughout all the islands depending on the government; and not only personal hostility to the teachers of that religion, but opposition to the nation from which they came, and the government of which they were subjects, and which was regarded as the friend and protector of the government of Tahiti—the introduction, we say, of such a religion by such foreign agents, and especially without the permission of the government, and by the violation of the laws, could only, and must inevitably, lead to the disturbing of the social and political, as well as the religious state of the nation; it must raise the hopes and rally the energies of all the discontented: if successful, produce revolution, and even if unsuccessful, involve in anarchy, civil war, and perhaps ultimate ruin a peaceful country, exposed already to many dangers from the depraved and violent conduct of increasing multitudes of adventurers who visit its shores.

It was not the rightful and peaceful diffusion of knowledge, the discussion of opinions and truths of a people among themselves, that was in question, but the aggression of men, violent and menacing, on the rights and peace of others. In such a country as England it might find a parallel in the question, whether strangers

should be allowed, on pretence of conscientious obligation and divine authority, to enter at pleasure your dwelling, and by opprobrious epithets and insulting provocations, throw your family into alarm, distress, and render violence inevitable; whether on the public highway any individual, especially a foreigner, should be permitted to impede the circulation, and insist on the crowd being compelled to hear his invectives and abuse of what all hold most dear and sacred; whether a public meeting might be disturbed, and its pious object defeated, by persons uninvited, or unentitled to interrupt the proceedings of the assembly? Every day's experience and practice in England furnish an answer to the question, and decide that religious liberty has its limits, and that they are found, and must be maintained, where protection and security are necessary. The propagation of opinions purely religious, even by and among fellow citizens, cannot be allowed to invade individual rights or to subvert social order; but when opinions are not simply religious, when they are necessarily and avowedly of a mixed, of a civil and political character, the sacred name of religious freedom must not be invoked to protect lawless and dangerous proceedings.

The communications of the priests from the Gambier islands, from Valparaiso, and from every quarter, render it quite clear, that the spirit and objects of the French Roman Catholics were, to a great extent, known at Tahiti; they, indeed, lost no opportunity of propagating their projects and their menaces of driving the English from Tahiti, and of destroying the existing social order in the centre of civilization and authority in Austral Polynesia. Their relations with M. Mcerenhout were also known, as well as his efforts to disaffect certain of the chiefs, and raise a party against the government. This individual, of whom much will be said hereafter, had done all he could in France to discredit the work of the missionaries, the social condition of the island, and the personal character of the queen; by false professions, he had obtained an appointment to the office of consul of the United States of America, and he now abused his official position to oppose the missionaries, insult the queen, and protect all those who might serve his personal interests. The worthy M. Columban, had apprized the Lord Bishop Rouchose, that several chiefs had a great desire for his presence, and that the people had a great idea of the French at the Gambier islands. The government could not then shut its eyes to the mischiefs that were in preparation, and the revolution that was to be effected for the profit of the French government and the Romish church: it could not but be observant; it could not but take such precautionary measures as consisted with its still comparatively imperfect administration of public affairs.

When the vessel of Hamilton was seen to anchor at Tutuara, the most remote point of the isthmus of Tairaitu, it was, therefore, both

natural and requisite that the proper local authority should satisfy itself as to the object of the captain in taking such an anchorage, and examine the vessel before any persons were allowed to land. In the execution of his duty, the chief of the district, who at that distance could not, as has been pretended, have had any special order since the arrival of the vessel, though prompt in his visit, was too tardy; the contraband propagators of the faith, had already evaded the laws, had left the ship in a boat belonging to a Swede, and obtained footing in Tahiti without leave or licence. The act was a fault as well as a crime; for it at once destroyed their moral influence, ruined their character as honest and upright men, exhibited their religion in the most odious light, and placed them on a level with the miserable run-a-way convicts of South Wales, or the unprincipled crews of adventuring vessels that frequent the shores of the island. The history of Christianity, as known to the Tahitians, afforded no example of Christian missionaries presenting themselves in disguise, or in opposition to the laws of even heathen governments; and it was not possible for the government of Pomare to treat them otherwise than as men both unworthy and dangerous; making religion a pretext, but capable of any attempt, however desperate, to disturb the order and the tranquillity of the country. What right, indeed, had such fellows to open their mouths in the name of the God of Truth, or to speak of that spiritual peace which is founded on justice and submission? Their plans were, however, long since formed, and they pursued them; once on shore, they resisted all authority; and instantly, on the beach, began to denounce to the curious crowd the English missionaries as impostors. The chief of the district requested of them that they would re-embark till their permission to land had been obtained. They refused compliance. "We assured him," say they, "that we were come to pay a visit to the queen, and he did not enforce the law. It was the day of the presentation of the Holy Virgin. Our resolution was fixed not to put foot again on board the vessel; for if we had, it was decided that we should not land on any other point." In other words, they were resolved to set the laws at defiance and to exercise a sovereign authority in the island.

On the third day after their landing, November 24, 1836, they arrived at Papeete, having traversed, as they say, thirty or forty leagues, but really not more than twenty, of the country of "the demon," unmolested by the Protestants, but not without continuing their endeavours to produce confusion by holding up the English missionaries to the people as base impostors, because they were husbands and fathers; and by declaring themselves to be only true ambassadors of God, because they were unmarried.

They were immediately welcomed by M. Mœrenhont, and promised his protection as American consul, as long as they chose to remain,

though they were Frenchmen, though he knew the law prohibited their residence unless permission were granted by the queen and the governors.

Five days after, the 26th of November, they were allowed an interview with the queen, in presence of several chiefs, accompanied by M. Mœrenhout. Her majesty sent a special messenger for Mr. Pritchard, her official interpreter, and directed him to inform the foreigners that she could not allow them to remain. They immediately manifested their rebellious spirit, by demanding that Mr. Pritchard should withdraw. To this the queen would not consent; she moreover declared, that that gentleman always served her in the capacity of interpreter, and as such acted whenever a ship of war anchored in the bay. What would be thought of any obscure foreigner, who should first break the laws of England, and then require queen Victoria to dismiss from her presence her chosen servants? The prerogatives of the sovereign of a vast empire in the centre of Europe, are not more sacred than those of the sovereign of a group of small islands in the Pacific ocean.

It may be as well to meet at once the charges preferred against Mr. Pritchard, of unnecessary interference, officious meddling, and undue influence. The qualifications, and the position of Mr. Pritchard, had attracted attention to that gentleman, and procured for him the confidence both of officers visiting Tahiti, and of her Tahitian majesty, long before the priests had made their appearance in that part of the world. His was not a special appointment for this occasion, either sought by him, or suggested to the queen, to meet the present circumstances; he had long been requested by Pomare and the chiefs to assist them in their communications with foreign powers. An instance may be cited, which occurred in 1835. Captain Fitzroy, commanding H. M. S. the *Beagle*, was charged by commodore Mason to demand from queen Pomare the payment of a sum of money promised as an indemnity for the pillage of an English vessel at the Pomotou islands, of which the right of the pearl fishery belonged to the queen. Pomare came from Eimeo on purpose to receive the captain in a solemn assembly of the chiefs, before whom the subject was to be discussed. It was important to have an interpreter who possessed the confidence of the Tahitian government and people. The queen was requested, through the medium of a pilot, to choose herself the interpreter. She immediately named Mr. Pritchard. The captain felt the delicacy of his position, and of that of Mr. Pritchard. It was an Englishman and a missionary who was requested by the queen to interpret in a discussion involving the separate interests of the two governments, and he pointed out to Her Majesty this peculiarity. The results of the discussion might be disagreeable; and hitherto English missionaries, he said, had been teachers of the principles of peace and good-will; at the same time, he expressed his conviction that Mr. Pritchard's

services would be highly useful, and acknowledged that he should be thankful for them. The queen was not moved by these considerations: Mr. Pritchard had all her confidence; and though he was an Englishman, and would naturally promote the object of his government, she and her chiefs were sure he would not betray their interests; he accordingly complied with her wishes, having first requested all present, who might have an acquaintance with both languages, to speak, if they should think his translations in the least degree incorrect. This arrangement was equally honorable to Mr. Pritchard and the queen; if he, a foreigner, might be implicitly trusted, when the interests of his own government were to be upheld in opposition to those of the government of Pomare, surely he ought not to have been treated with distrust, or his services to have been sacrificed by the queen, to satisfy the demands of two disreputable and turbulent adventurers. They persisted, however, in their outrageous demand, and, though it was not granted, they were allowed to bring forward an interpreter of their own, a Tahitian pilot, who knew enough of English for certain purposes connected with his calling, but was quite incompetent to the task assigned him. The priests represented themselves, of course, as the most harmless of men, come to seek the happiness of the queen, the chiefs, and the people,—men who had no intention to injure the missionaries, not even Pritchard (of whom they could know nothing personally, but whom they specially denounced to his friend the queen),—men who requested such hospitality as would be granted in their country, even to Pritchard himself, or in England or America to *inoffensive* persons like themselves. It is hardly necessary to observe the contrast between this language used, or said by them to have been used, in the presence of Pomare, and that employed in their correspondence, in their manifestoes, and even in their harangues to the natives on their way from Tairaitu to Papeete.

They at length offered to her majesty a present of a shawl; this she accepted, and ordered some presents to be sent them in return. “The queen did in fact,” says M. Caret, “make us presents of a small quantity of tappe, and of some provisions and shells, but we did not come to Tahiti to seek presents, (why then did they make them?) we brought them a present far more precious, of which they are as yet ignorant, and but which we desire they should receive,—the gift of the Catholic faith!”

Some time after the presentation of the shawl, (which, by-the-by, M. Mœrenhout, who knew the queen had admired it in his store, advised them to give to her to secure her favour,) they offered two doubloons, “in order,” they said, “to comply with the law, and obtain permission to reside.” They were told that the law did not require their money; and that they deceived themselves if they thought the payment of thirty piastres gave any right of residence. They then changed their batteries,

and said they offered their money "as a present;" and, notwithstanding their suppleness and their impudence, not being able to obtain the permission they required, they retired in anger, and with threats of defiance and revenge.

Before they left the royal presence, the Queen's interpreter made an effort to read to them the letter of the law, and to explain why they could not be allowed to remain after what had passed; but they refused to hear. The Queen sent a messenger after them to return their money, and to make them presents in exchange for the shawl. The same day her majesty sent to M. Mœrenhout an English copy of the port regulations, called his attention particularly to the 4th article, which forbids all captains to land passengers without special permission from the queen and the governors, and requested him to inform the foreigners of the reasons for which she could not permit them to remain. The following is an extract from her letter.

"You will perceive that the residence of foreigners does not depend on the payment of thirty dollars, but on the authorisation of the queen and the governors. If the commander of a vessel obtain their permission, a passenger may remain. Without such permission he cannot, though he should pay 100 dollars. You will observe, further, that the 3rd article does not refer to passengers, but to sailors whom a captain may discharge; that is to say, any captain who may dismiss a sailor, or any one belonging to his vessel, or depending on him, without permission, is to pay a fine of thirty dollars. The three Frenchmen, you well know, did not come here as sailors, nor as servants discharged by the captain; they come as passengers, and the 4th article alone is applicable in their case.

"You well know that it is not the habit of the queen to speak in the public conferences when affairs are considered. I (adds Mr. Pritchard) was charged to express her sentiments. You would not hear me on that occasion. I now inform you, by this communication, that the queen and the chiefs cannot allow the foreigners to reside here; neither the priests, nor the person who styles himself a carpenter. Three days ago an English carpenter asked permission to remain on the island, and it was refused. The foreigners implicitly admitted the right of the queen to accord or refuse permission, otherwise it would not have been asked."

Things continued in this state till the 28th of November, two days later, when the priests having paid no attention to the law, nor to the declared will of the government, a meeting of the queen, the royal family, and the principal chiefs, was held at Paofai, to decide on their case. Several hundred persons were present. The priests and the American consul were sent for; but it was not till they had been several times requested to present themselves that they consented. The queen's speaker then informed them that her majesty wished them no

evil, but that she could not allow them to remain in her dominions, and requested them to go on board the vessel by which they came, and to return to their own residence. One of them replied, "that they would not do any such thing." At the risk of producing a tumult in the assembly, he pointed to Mr. Pritchard, and proclaimed him a liar and an impostor, and declared "that they did not expect to find at Tahiti a queen, chiefs, and a people who would drive them away; that the men who had hitherto instructed them were false ministers, and had calumniated their doctrine, and they were come to defend it, and time was necessary to them that they might learn the language; that they knew of no law that forbade foreigners to reside on the island; neither did the American consul; and that they would wait till a French ship of war came to *establish* them at Tahiti." Their reply was supported by M. Mœrenhout, who declared that he was ignorant of the law in question; that if it existed, it was contrary to the law of nations, as it assumed to prevent foreigners from entering the country, unless it should please the government to admit them; that it was injurious to America, and that, as consul, he protested against its application. Here, then, was a direct appeal to foreign military force, a threat of hostilities opposed to the public laws, the port regulations of an independent state and the will of the sovereign calmly but solemnly expressed in public council. It is evident that if their threats were to be acted upon, and if the ships of war of one country were to compel the sovereign and the government of another to admit any foreigner that may choose to settle within its territories, the world must become a vast scene of conflict and violence.

The following day M. Mœrenhout, the American consul, invited the queen and some of her attendants, who accompanied her in her walk, to enter the consulate. Her majesty complied with his request. M. Mœrenhout, taking advantage of her complaisance, and of the absence of her advisers, asked the queen if what had been done was according to her orders, and if she would not allow the foreigners to reside at Tahiti. The queen replied that her orders had authorised all that had taken place, and that she would not permit the two priests to remain in the country. The consul then requested her to state her determination in a letter signed by her own hand, that her will might be clearly known. The queen condescended, to remove all possibility of mistake, and promised to do as the protector of the priests desired, and she addressed accordingly the following letters to the priests and the consul:—

" Tahiti, 29th November, 1836.

" To Messrs Laval and Caret:—

" Peace be with you on your arrival in my dominions. This is what I have to say to you. On no account remain in my country. Go to

“Manga-reva, your proper residence. Missionaries have resided a very long time in my country. They have taught us the gospel, and we know it; good is spread through my kingdom. Do not think evil of me; do not think I have ill-treated you. No: you know my compassion and kindness towards you—know also yours towards me.\* Do not think that what I now say is the language of any other person. It is not so. I and the governors speak to you. It is not agreeable to us that you remain in this country.

“Peace be with you at your departure.

“POMARE V.”

(*Same date.*)

“To M. Mœrenhout:—

“Peace be with you and your family during your stay in my dominions. I have received the letter that you sent me; it was read to me, and I know what it contained. You ask if the 4th article is really mine? This is what I have to say to you—this law is mine, and that of the governors of my kingdom.

“Peace be with you.

“POMARE V.”

These letters, though written, at the request of Mœrenhout, by the queen's secretary, and signed by herself, were treated with the most complete disrespect, and replied to personally by the priests, as they inform us, in the following way:—“You say that you have missionaries who have resided here a long time. Queen, they are not the ambassadors of God; but as for us, we are sent of God to teach you the true word. You say they are the first here; and so Simon Magus went first to Rome to teach his errors. St. Peter was not the first, but he went after him to confound him, and to announce the truth.”

Nearly three weeks had now elapsed, when, on the 10th of December, the priests sent a protest to the queen by M. Mœrenhout. In this protest they declared, “that the persecutions they had endured, and the order to leave the island, did not emanate from the sovereign; that they were contrary to the wishes of the majority of the chiefs, and almost the whole of the population, and that they were merely the arbitrary act of the English missionary, Pritchard. They refused to submit to the order, and now, in the written document, demanded to remain till a ship of war should arrive, not to *establish* them, as they had before threatened, but to furnish proper judges of their case.” Events have proved their veracity as to the almost unanimous wish of the population, and the dictatorship of Mr. Pritchard. As to the military judges they required, they did not need their opinions when

\* The queen, no doubt, made allusion to the exchange of presents.



they decided to violate the laws ; it was now too late to require the interference of such officers to expound the laws and pronounce on the acts of an independent state.

This protest was signed in M. Moerenhont's office, sealed with the consular seal, and sent by him to the queen, with a note, in which he said that he believed the *Eliza* to be unsafe, and that he would send a copy of his note to the French government. Thus the intrigue went on extending ; the threat of a French ship of war was followed up by a protest, and notes from the American consul. These formal measures were taken in the hope of alarming the natives, and bringing the government to acquiesce in the demand of the Romish priests, through fear of the consequences.

#### DEPARTURE OF THE ROMISH PRIESTS FROM TAHITI.

The facts, as far as they relate to Hamilton, are as follows. He is a native of Scotland or Ireland, but ran away first from home when a lad, and afterwards from his ship. By some means or other he found his way to Tahiti, where he at length married one of the female servants of the queen, and became owner of the *Eliza*, a little decked schooner, of a few tons burden. It appears that Hamilton had carried out some people to fish for pearls and shells, and that his vessel being too small to carry a sufficient stock of provisions, he, while the men were working in the Gambier islands, returned to Tahiti to fetch a further supply. He knew that it was the intention of the priests to evade the law and to brave the government, and he declares that when he was one evening in a state of intoxication they obtained his signature to a bargain to land them at Tahiti. The next morning, when sober, he wished to annul the agreement, and to decline taking them, but they insisted on his fulfilling his engagement, and obliged him to receive them on board. If this statement be true, and though he has not a very pure reputation, he is perhaps as worthy of credit as his passengers, it is evident that he went purposely to Tairaitu rather than to Papeete. At all events, he was obliged to return to the Gambier islands to furnish food to the people there employed on his account. He could not delay his departure beyond a certain time, nor could he refuse to re-embark his passengers on receiving the order of the queen ; he was, in fact, held to do this at his own risk as to eventual payment from the Roman Catholic mission. The intruders were not, therefore, forced to embark in a vessel destined solely to carry them ; but an opportunity offered which could not be deferred ; the government itself was under the necessity of enforcing prompt obedience.

The vessel of Hamilton was ready to sail, and in waiting. In order to exercise as much lenity as the circumstances would allow, Vincent, who was found to be really a carpenter, and who was less culpable and dangerous than his superiors, was permitted to remain on the island ;

but, on the 12th of December, the queen sent another letter to Laval and Caret : it has been already quoted, but it is here reproduced.

“*Tahiti, December 12th, 1836.*”

“To Messrs. Laval and Caret :—

“Peace be with you on your arrival in my dominions. This is what I have to say to you ;—Go on board *Hamilton’s* vessel, in which you came. On no account remain here. It is not agreeable to me, nor ever will it be. I have, therefore, ordered my officers to see you on board the vessel. Do not be obstinate ; do not make difficulties. If you make difficulties, I shall see what I shall do with you. This is all I have to say to you. Peace be with you at your departure.

“*POMARE V.*”

The gentlemen of *Picpus* had possession of a hut belonging to *M. Mœrenhout* ; not forming part of the consulate, but distant about 200 yards, and separated from it by a river. They refused to receive the communication of the queen ; secured the internal fastenings of their dwelling, and vowed they would not admit even the officers of her majesty. In the evening the American consul took charge of the letter, and promised to transmit it to his friends, who, at all events, treated it with contempt.

“We were satisfied,” says their own statement, “that the schooner once gone to sea without us, no other vessel would take us, and that we should remain at *Tahiti*. Our enemies knew this also ; and for that reason would not allow the schooner to sail without us. But, as it must soon go, we shut ourselves up in the house of *M. Mœrenhout*.”

During twenty-four hours the officers of *Pomare*, of whose visit we know the priests had been apprized by “the French carpenter resident in *Tahiti*,” waited, in the hope that they would feel the reasonableness, or the necessity, of complying with the royal order, and embark on board the vessel which was waiting on purpose to receive them. Nothing was to be effected however by patience or kindness ; application at the door had been frequently resorted to in vain, and, about noon, it was resolved, as the least violent mode of securing the inmates, to lift up the thatch or covering of the low building, and enter the apartment.

So much has been said of the dreadful means employed for obtaining possession of the offenders, that it should be known that the roof of this habitation, of which we shall again have occasion to speak, was made of materials adjusted in such a way as to allow of being easily displaced. The pitch of the roof was exceedingly rapid ; so that the height of the wall on which the end rested was not more than from three to four feet : a boy would have passed over it without assistance. The

officers had, therefore, only to raise the covering, and step over the wall. The interior was composed of two rooms on the ground floor, there being no upper story, separated from each other by a partition, which, as in Tahitian houses generally, did not rise to above two-thirds of the height of the roof; the upper part of the building being open and for the circulation of air the rafters, which support the roof, exposed, and ornamentally carved or decorated, as in our own ancient buildings. The priests had entered the second room, and had, also, fastened the door. Three of the officers of the queen having entered the building, and, being refused entrance to the inner apartment, had to climb over the partition, and unfasten the door of communication, as well as the street door. They then entreated Messrs. Caret and Laval quietly to retire. They, however, declared they would not quit the hut, and obstreperously resisted the officers who wished to lead them out. After all their false and contraband practises, they assumed the attitude of devotion, and affected to offer themselves as victims and martyrs on the altar of Christian truth and piety; so that the officers were obliged to take them, and they did it as gently as possible, by the shoulders, and to carry one of them several yards; but the priests being then both disposed to walk, they were conducted to the beach, and taken on board Hamilton's vessel. No violence was offered to their persons, no punishment was inflicted, as might have been done, for coming fraudently, and remaining rebelliously, in the country; all their effects were carefully sent with them; they went to sea in the same vessel, with the same captain they had chosen and hired to bring them to "the country of the demon."

The awful predictions of their anxious friend, Mcerenhout, were not fulfilled; the vessel proved sea-worthy; they arrived safely and well at the place from whence they came; nor of their pretended hardships and cruel treatment, is there a trace to be found.—They had, however, placed Hamilton in a difficult position, both as it respects his own queen, and the friends of the Romish missionaries at Manga-reva, which might well read him a lesson on temperance. He was obliged to take them from Tahiti, and yet such were the menaces of the priests that he feared to show himself at the Gambier islands. His passengers endeavoured first to be put on shore at a small low island, not very far distant from, and dependant on Tahiti, where Tati, a Tahitian chief, then was, where Hamilton had to leave his own wife and sister-in-law, and where Tati refused to receive the priests, or the captain to land them. The priests then declared that they wished to go to the Gambier islands, but that if he would take them back to Tahiti they would engage to go to Valparaiso by the first ship. Hamilton returned in fact towards Tahiti. At a certain distance he went on shore, and the next day sent another captain to take charge of the vessel and to carry the priests to their destination. They were landed at Manga-

reva on the 31st December, 1836, and thus closed their year with their missionary brethren.

As long as they remained at Tahiti, M. Mœrenhout adhered to them, and taking leave of them at sea, he expressed his regret that he had no armed force at his disposal, and pledged himself to make the Tahitians feel the weight of his authority. "They shall one day know," said he, "that I am an American consul." Accordingly, the following day, 14th of December, 1836, this personage wrote to queen Pomare, to inform her that as his hut had been forcibly opened, and the priests, who were under *his protection*, taken out, he considered the hut as no longer belonging to him, and that he should not again hoist the American flag on the consulate till an American ship of war should come to reinstate him in his office. Notwithstanding an appeal to American ships of war, similar to that made by the priests to those of France, the opinion of the American government of his conduct is sufficiently clear; instead of reinstating, it superseded him, leaving him to receive the laurels, which his intrigues might merit, from the hands of the government whose interests they were designed to advance. In the mean time, and in spite of his keen sense of insult, he did not the less visit all the ships and demand his four dollars from each of them, and insist on all the emoluments attached to his consular office.

#### VISIT OF LORD EDWARD RUSSELL TO TAHITI.

While Messrs. Caret and Laval were safely sailing towards the Gambier islands, and only a few days after their departure, the *Acteon*, commanded by Lord Edward Russell, arrived at Tahiti. Agitated and alarmed by the threats and intrigues of Mœrenhout, queen Pomare immediately wrote to his lordship. In her letter, dated the 16th December, 1836, she said :—

"You are the representative of the king of England. The king of England has long been accustomed to do us good. I am now in great trouble, and for this reason,—my laws are not respected, and my authority is set aside. It is the American consul who does not respect my laws: he took the part of two or three Frenchmen who came to Tahiti. Two priests came to teach a new doctrine. It is not agreeable to us that these men remain. It is not agreeable to us because we have English teachers—we have all been taught by them; they teach us the true word. If you will not assist me in my trouble, I believe I shall make all this known to the Britannic government."

A letter of the same date was sent to his lordship, signed by four missionaries, giving an account of all that had occurred. On the 22nd of

December, the captain of the *Acteon*, in consequence of his interference having been desired by the queen and the American consul, held a public meeting, to which M. Mœrenhout was invited; the queen, the chiefs, and a great number of natives, most of the foreign residents, several officers of the *Acteon*, and captains of whalers were present. After having heard all that the persons present were disposed to say, his lordship deliberately gave his opinion; and as it was translated into the Tahitian language, sentence by sentence, one of his officers had time to write the whole. It was dictated by a spirit of conciliation and of justice.

His lordship began by saying, that as the event that had occurred respected foreigners, he was not called to interfere; but his intervention having been requested by the queen, the American consul, and Mr. Pritchard, he could not refuse; he also expressed his regret that the American consul did not choose to attend the meeting, and his intention to have him exactly informed of what passed before he returned on board his own ship. He then declared his opinion, that the queen had an indisputable right to send away the priests; and that as their residence would inevitably have led to disorder and anarchy, disastrous for the island, she was justified in so doing; but that it might have been better to have had more patience; and, since they said they would wait the arrival of a ship of war, to have allowed them to remain till such arrival, and in the meantime to have so confined them as that they would not have been able to disturb the peace. His lordship, however, repeated, that if the queen thought it better to send them away, her right was undoubted. As to the uncovering of the hut, if it could be proved that it was part of the consulate, the officers of the queen had done wrong in entering it; but if it was only a private residence they acted properly, the American consul having given an asylum to foreigners, in defiance of the laws of the island. Still, he thought it would have answered the purpose to have surrounded the house, and as sooner or later the priests would have endeavoured to go out, then to have secured their persons. This opinion his lordship said, he expected the American consul would feel it right to communicate to the government of the United States. He concluded by observing, that as things then were, he advised the Tahitian government to write to the superior officers, both French and American, on the Chili station, and to represent to them the whole affair; he offered to take charge of the letters, and to act as mediator between the parties.

The natives, and most of the foreigners present, were thankful to Lord Russell for his conduct, though it was remarked, in answer to his opinion, that it would have been better to have waited for a French ship of war; that it might be a long time before a vessel would arrive to remove the priests, or to support them in their unjust demands; and that great difficulty and confusion would have

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resulted in the meantime from a prolonged stay of those men, either as prisoners or under strict oversight and restraint; that notwithstanding the false statements of M. Mœrenhout, no violence or injury had been committed; and that the small house from which they had been taken was distant from the consulate, and had been bought by M. Mœrenhout, entirely for distinct purposes, and for his own private accommodation.

The queen availed herself of the offer of Captain Russell, and wrote, on the 23rd of December, to the French and American officers commanding the station. Mr. Pritchard wrote also, by her desire, to Commodore Mason, commanding the English fleet, and to the American consul at Valparaiso. Pomare, in her letters, distinctly stated that, independently of the religious system of the priests, which was contrary to all they had learnt and now professed at Tahiti, "their residence on the island would produce great evil, because they had acted contrary to the laws.—On this account, she said, we are firmly resolved to maintain our laws. Have we done wrong in acting thus? We do not think that we have acted wrongly. We have in no manner ill-treated those two persons. This is what caused the difficulty:—These two persons would not respect our laws, and they were supported by the American consul. We think that was not his business. The day that he was received as American consul he said:—'I will respect all the Tahitian laws;' and now he does not respect them. We have not ill-treated him, since he has resided among us. This is what we desire; that we may live together in peace and in good will one with another."

Mr. Pritchard in his letter, of the 27th of December, to Commodore Mason, said:—

"All we desire is, that a fair and serious investigation should take place. But this we hardly expect, unless an English ship of war were here. Queen Pomare has requested me to write to you, and to inform you, that considering herself as under the protecting wing of the British government, she hopes you will allow one of the vessels under your command to run down to Tahiti, at the same time that a French or an American ship may leave the coast, and arrange the business. This is the desire of all the English residents on the island. If you are about to return home, I hope you will use your influence with the commander, or superior officer, who may succeed you. I am persuaded that the presence of an English vessel, at the moment of the inquiry, will be of the greatest importance and of the greatest service to the islands."

Mr. Pritchard could not refuse the request of the queen to write to the superior English officer; and this letter to Commodore Mason is a sufficient answer to all the calumny by which the priests and other immoral persons have endeavoured to ruin his reputation.

Pomare wrote, a few days later, to the president of the United States, a letter, in which it is proper to notice the following passages.

“ We have teachers who have resided above forty years among us, and we do not wish to receive any new doctrines. There is another reason why it is not agreeable. We have a law respecting passengers coming here on board ships. I send you that law, that you may know its true character. If it is convenient to me and to the governors, foreigners may remain, but if it is not agreeable to us they cannot remain. We have not the custom of sending foreigners away without just reasons. When we believe their residence will be advantageous to the island, we allow them to reside on it. When we think that their stay may occasion difficulties, they must not remain. I have granted the request of several American merchants, and they are now gone to America to seek merchandise to sell at Tahiti. The American consul has aided and protected these two Frenchmen, so as to hinder their being sent away. He placed them in a small house belonging to him, but which did not belong to the consulate. The two men were excessively obstinate, determined to accomplish their object. The consul supported them in the same spirit. They paid no respect to the laws, nor any attention to the letters that, as queen, I sent to them. The will of the governors, and others in office, was treated with contempt. The day we received the person who is here in the quality of American consul, he engaged to respect all the laws of Tahiti. He now respects them no longer. This is what I desire, that you take away from this man the functions of consul, and that you choose a good American citizen, whom you can send to Tahiti as your representative. We will be kind to him.

“ Peace be with you.

“ POMARE V.”

The government of Tahiti acted, it is evident, under the conviction that such men as Caret and Laval, false, violent, and lawless, could not be suffered to commence their systematic attacks on the religion professed by the whole population, without producing social anarchy and political dangers. This we have seen was also the opinion of Lord Edward Russell. “ If,” said he, in a great meeting of the royal family, the chiefs, the captains of merchant vessels of different nations, and a great number of Tahitians,—“ if the priests had remained in the country, anarchy and confusion, disastrous to the island, would have inevitably ensued.” This solemn and public declaration of the noble British officer must have produced a great effect on all who heard it; and it fully justified the apprehension expressed by Captain Fitzroy in 1835, that “ unless preventive measures were taken in Europe, religious strife and internal warfare would again be caused in the islands.”

The testimony of two French officers, who had visited, with Captain

Dumont d'Urville, the different groups of islands, in which the Romish missionaries were endeavouring to supplant Protestantism, is still more conclusive. Messrs. Vincendon-Dumoulin, and Desgraz, whose writings have been already quoted, done in a work, recently published, have not hesitated to record their opinion of the dangers consequent on the Catholic mission.\*

“The presence of the missionaries from the Gambier islands at Tahiti,” say they, “had occasioned considerable agitation among the population. When they arrived, the ruin of the projects of the Mamaia, and the defeat of their insurrectional movements, was yet recent. The leaven of irritation still worked, and the appearance of the Catholic missionaries revived the fallen hopes of the discontented. Their presence raised two questions, one religious, and the other political. The state of the country was such, that if they had remained, the differences between the two religions would have led to political conflicts; and probably the religious divisions, that so long desolated old Europe, would have been re-produced on that distant scene. It may be considered as a probable fact, that the efforts of the Catholic missionaries at Tahiti would have produced either an immediate separation of the population into two rival parties,—a separation of which it is impossible to estimate the importance,—or a return to the licentious habits of former times. In the first case, the remnant of the Mamaia, the discontented, the ambitious, would have ranged under the banners of the new sect to combat their adversaries; in the second event, the natives, unable to appreciate the different principles of the sects opposed to each other, would have become completely indifferent to either, and have rejected both, to the great detriment of civilization and improvement. Even admitting the speedy triumph of Catholicism, assisted by its pompous ceremonies, which impose on the imagination of savage people, an admission by-the-by altogether gratuitous, the order and tranquillity of the island would not have been the less seriously disturbed; the greatest disorder would probably have accompanied such a revolution, a disorder of which it would, perhaps, require many years to efface the effects. It should, also, be observed, that the triumph of the Catholic missionaries raised the question of foreign politics. From that moment, English influence, which has so long prevailed in that group, may be considered as annihilated; for not only are the Catholic missionaries French priests, but in those countries the Catholic cause is identified with that of France. This invasion, insignificant at first sight, on the territory occupied by English missionaries, would therefore, not only effect a religious and political revolution in that archipelago, but cause a rivalry between the two

\* *Iles Taïti, Esquisse Historique, &c. &c.* p. 832, &c.



“greatest maritime powers in the world, France and England. The discussions that have already taken place, in consequence of these apparently unimportant events, fully justify these provisions.”

But without taking into account that social and political revolutions were the natural, and, as have been proved, in the first pages of this review of what has occurred, the avowed object of the French, the very modes of propagation employed by the Parisian missionaries, must have lead to civil and political agitation.

The following abridged account of the scenes that were witnessed at the Gambier islands, scenes got up by the same priests, who intended to repeat them in Tahiti, will prove that the apprehensions of Pomare, and the opinion of both British and French officers were not groundless or imaginary.

“It was Sunday,” says Captain Dumont d’Urville, “the day I had appointed to attend high mass, performed by the bishop, with the staff and the crews of the two corvettes. At half past nine, I embarked in the great boat, with all the officers of the *Astrolabe* in full uniform, and forty men, twenty of whom, armed with muskets, followed in another boat. The same order was observed by the captain, officers, and men of the *Zélée*. The two corvettes were covered with flags from top to bottom. At length the bishop appeared. The altar was erected in the open air before the chapel, and decorated with flags from the corvettes, which formed a tent of various colours—‘The king,’ says M. Desgraz, ‘was before his house, surrounded by about forty natives armed with lances. The inferior chiefs kept order among the crowd of people, who looked, with gaping mouths on the uniforms and movements of the French. A space, adorned with flags, was set apart for the staff and the king. The two captains were seated on the *right*, and the king on the *left*. As soon as the formalities appointed by the priests were terminated, the bishop rose and began the mass, aided by the two missionaries, Laval and Cyprien. On a given signal, hymns were sung in Manga-revian. At the moment of the adoration of the host, a general discharge of musketry produced a universal fright. The women screamed, the children cried, the men were astonished. A discharge of the guns from the corvettes answered to the volleys on shore. Before we left the shore, the troops made a variety of evolutions. The natives then came nearer; even the women mingled with the crowd. On seeing these exercises, so novel to them, they laughed with pleasure; and they continued to follow us till we embarked. The pomp of this ceremony will, no doubt, leave a deep impression on the minds of the people. Almost the whole population of the Gambier group was present; and this display of the forces of the French will serve, if it were necessary, to consolidate the power of the missionaries.”

“The object of this ceremony,” says another officer, M. Marescot,

“ was both to satisfy the religious feelings which any individuals might have as Christians, and to give the islanders a specimen of what we could do, either in the way of defence or attack. This *military promenade* may also serve to raise France in the opinion of the inhabitants of these islands, and to secure still better the authority and influence of our missionaries.”

It is not difficult to decide what would have been the effect of such priestly and military promenades on the Sabbath-day at Tahiti. Had the queen and governors permitted such demonstrations in the name of religion, their authority must immediately have been supplanted; had they refused to allow the display of French force and Romish power, the cannons and muskets commissioned to give “ a specimen of what could be done in the way of attack,” would have found a very convenient occasion, not merely for terrifying, but for murdering the Protestant natives.—Captain Laplace soon after threatened to lay waste Honolulu and required 20,000 dollars (£4,000) of the king, because the Protestants, by tarnishing the Catholic religion with the name of idolatry, had insulted France and its king.

#### RETURN OF THE FRENCH ROMISH PRIESTS TO TAHITI.

The island of Tahiti had scarcely time to enjoy the tranquillity consequent on the departure of the men who came on purpose “ to overthrow the Protestant heresy, and to establish French influence,” than it was again thrown into confusion by the arrival of an American vessel, direct from Manga-reva, having on board two French Romish priests. After only the repose of a few days, they gave sufficient proof that all their story of sufferings and ill-treatment in the hold of Hamilton’s vessel, were of a piece with the rest of their mendacious statement. M. Caret, accompanied this time by M. L. Maigret, embarked for Tahiti in an American brig, the Colombo, commanded by capt. Henry Williams, who consented to take them, on a written declaration, that they only went to that island in order to get a passage from thence by the first ship bound to Valparaiso. If this written agreement was a real engagement required by the captain, it proves that he knew he should be acting in opposition to the port regulations, were he to attempt to land them; and that he was unwilling to injure his interests by incurring the displeasure of the government. If the paper was simulated, it affords another display of the falseness and popish craft of M. Caret.

The brig anchored on the 26th of January, 1837, and the captain immediately apprised M. Mœrenhout that he had two passengers. “ The American consul came immediately to see us,” says M. Caret; “ and he did not miss a single day while we were at anchor in the port, to come on board. He was constantly our friend.” As soon as the government was informed of the fact, a letter, in English, was sent to

the captain, containing a printed copy of the port regulations, and requesting his attention to the fourth article, relating to passengers. The captain wrote to the queen, requesting permission to land the Frenchmen, and he thus acknowledged the authority of the laws and the right of her majesty. The refusal of the queen was prompt and positive, and was supported by the following reasons:—The return of the same parties to the island from which they had so recently been ejected, was an act of contempt and of defiance of the authorities. Their profession of desiring to disembark only in order to secure a passage to Valparaiso, was believed to be a false pretence, and the real object to get once more installed on shore and produce confusion. The declaration of the parties, when before on the island, that they would by any pretext remain, and their attempt to re-land after they sailed in Hamilton's vessel, justified this belief.—It was in fact known that there was at Gambiers a French vessel, belonging to a French house at Valparaiso, and freighted for that port, in which they might have embarked. It was pretty certain that captain Williams had agreed to take them to Valparaiso, if he could not land them at Tahiti. M. Ringman, the first mate, when the vessel anchored, said, "It was probable she would go to Valparaiso;" and when asked why he thought the ship would go to Valparaiso, and not direct to America, he said, "they had two priests on board, and if they could not land them, they should take them to the above-mentioned port." Captain Williams himself made several contradictory statements. In his letter to the queen, he said, that he was bound to India, and could not therefore allow the priests to remain on board. He declared, on the other hand, to a respectable merchant, that he was going direct to America; on another occasion, he told the same merchant that the passengers were going to Valparaiso; and afterwards he acknowledged that the priests were so much interested for the natives, that they thought it their duty to make another attempt, and to endeavour to remain. The American consul invited these enterprising men to his house, and they were of course very desirous of landing. The captain wrote letter after letter to the queen, no doubt at the dictation of M. Mærenhout, and he at length declared, that if on the 31st, that is, five days after his arrival, permission were not given, he would land them without permission; that if he should be obliged to receive them again on board, he would remain at anchor, but would claim from her majesty an indemnity of fifty dollars a day; and that if he took them to Valparaiso, he would insist on 2,000 dollars for the freight of the vessel. Various other threats were made, with a view of intimidating the queen, the governors, and chiefs, and in their anxiety, they sent the following letter to M. Mærenhout, acting as consul, to request him to interfere, and to prevent the captain, an American citizen, commanding an American ship, from disturbing the peace of the island.

“ *Papaoa, 30th January, 1837.*

“ M. Mœrenhout :—Peace be with you from God. This is what we have to say to you, as representing the American president. You reside here as consul, to attend to the conduct of American citizens, that they may not trouble the government, nor be molested by the Tahitians.

“ You know that difficulties have arisen : the person who has raised these difficulties is the captain of the American brig. This is what we have to say to you. Speak openly to the captain, not to put ashore either the passengers or their effects. We reckon on you to interfere as consul, this captain being an American. Order him not to disturb the peace of this island. If he is obstinate, and acts according to his will, and despises the laws of our country, evil will arise. Peace be with you.

POMARE, Queen,	
POROI, Judge,	TATI, Governor and Judge,
NATA, Chief,	PAOFAI, a Supreme Judge,
AURIAE, Chief,	HITOTI, Governor,
HAPONO, Chief,	MARE, a Supreme Judge.”

The consul replied, that he could not accede to the request of the queen and the authorities, because he approved the conduct of captain Williams, and should take part with him against the government.

The next day, 31st of January, at four P.M., the captain ordered the mate to land the passengers. As the boat approached the beach, several of the natives went into the water, gently pushed the head of the boat, and requested the mate to take the passengers on board the *Colombo*. No violence was done to them, nor the slightest injury to the boat; and captain Williams, who was at the door of the American consulate, where the priests desired to be put ashore, seeing that he could not succeed, ordered his mate to take them back to the ship.

The correspondence, relating to this renewed attempt to force themselves on the government and population, was considerable; but the above forms a clear and correct account of the facts, as given in a letter to the secretary of state of the United States from the queen, and written at her desire by her interpreter, Mr. Pritchard.

Once more on board the brig, captain Williams, who was prepared for the result, put to sea. “The captain,” says the trust-worthy M. Caret, “at the prayer of M. Mœrenhout, had compassion on us, and consented to take us to Valparaiso. After being five days at anchor, the brig set sail.” They arrived safely at their destination; and that their intention was not to touch, but to remain at Tahiti, is evident from a letter written by the missionary Caret from Valparaiso, on the 12th of April, 1837. “We are preparing to return, as we hope, to Otaiti, in spite of all the rage of heresy. We have dedicated this *new mission to our Lady of the Faith*: it shall never be said that error has

“triumphed over truth. The august Mary, whom the church styles the destroyer of all heresy, will know how to annihilate it at Otaïti. I hope to write — from Otaïti; for we shall again land on that island.”

The confidence of M. Caret was evidently great; but events have proved that he reckoned more on the aid of *Venus* than on that of *Mary*. In order to return to Tahiti, he thought proper to go first to Paris, and then as far as Rome.

## LAW OF FRANCE AND TAHITI.

This simple statement of their repeated attempts on Tahiti, supported as it is by authentic documents, establishes peremptorily not only the illegality, but the iniquity of the conduct of the Roman Catholic priests. Resolved to attack, both by moral violence and physical force, the religion professed by the queen personally, by the governors, and the whole native population, they were not satisfied to oppose insolence to the mildness and urbanity of her majesty, but they set at defiance the laws, the authority of the sovereign, the acts of the executive, and placed the officers employed by the government under the necessity of having recourse to means undesired by them, and which certainly they might have justly employed with much greater rigour. The laws they thus braved were not merely the laws of an independent state, but in perfect analogy with those established and respected in their own country. They knew that the queen required nothing from them, that is not required of every foreigner by their own sovereign, and that the authority she exercised towards them, they would have experienced, if, as foreigners, they had landed clandestinely on the coast of France, or obstinately refused to leave its shores. They knew full well, that the gendarmes of their own country, are not the men to wait patiently twenty-four hours at their door.

But if the conduct of these priests is so reprehensible, so unjustifiable, what must be said of that of the French government? We ask the ministers of the king of the French, if they would permit foreigners, of any nation, furtively landing in France, first to elude the laws, then openly to brave them; to constitute themselves the judges of the advantages or evils that would result to the government or to the citizens, from their residence in the country, or of the effect that their audacious contempt of the laws would have on the mind of the people? As to religious toleration, and the rights of conscience, of which in this case the defence has been so plausibly undertaken, we demand again:—If at this time, when the Protestant minority in France is petitioning the Chambers for protection in the exercise of its religious rights, foreign agents were to insist on entering France, for the purpose of supporting the claims of the minority, is it to be credited, that the ministers of the king of the French would manifest their love of reli-

gious toleration by permitting the intruders to establish themselves in the kingdom? Further, if the Catholic religion were not merely "the religion of the majority," but the only religion professed in France, would the ministers of the King of the French allow strangers to enter the country, when and where they pleased, on purpose to denounce that religion as heretical and damnable, and to labour, by disputes, abuse, and violence, to introduce and establish a new religious profession, identified with the policy of the state to which the foreigners belonged? Any reply would be superfluous. In whatever habitation such adventurers, were they English, Swiss, or Germans, might attempt to barricade themselves, it would not afford them even a momentary asylum; and any consul who might attempt to protect them would very soon be informed that he must no longer exercise in France his consular functions. To pretend then to denounce as an act of injustice and to punish as a crime at Tahiti what is the national law, and the constant practice of the government of France, is as absurd as it is iniquitous. Such, however, is the fact; a fact upon which not even the shadow of doubt can rest. But in order to prevent the possibility of ignorance or error, we shall place on record French law and French practice.—The 4th article of the port and police regulations of Tahiti answers to, and may be placed in parallel with, the laws of France relating to passports; and the conduct of the governors and of the officers of queen Pomare, with that of the prefects and officers of the police of his majesty the king of the French.

"Every foreigner, on his arrival in France, in any sea-port or frontier town, must deposit his passport at the prefecture, sub-prefecture, or municipal office, from whence it will be sent immediately to the Minister of the Interior. In exchange for this passport, he will receive a pass, or provisional card of safety."—*Loi du 23 Messidor, an. iii. (11 July, 1795), art. 9.*—*Arrêt du gouvernement du 4 Nivôse, an. v. (25 December, 1796).*—*Instruction du Ministre de la Police, du 20 Aôut, 1816.\**

"Every foreigner travelling in the interior of France, or residing there for an object *recognized* by the French government, or without having acquired the title of citizen, is under the *surveillance* of the government. His passport may be withdrawn, and he may be ordered to leave the kingdom, if his presence shall be likely to disturb public order and tranquillity."—*Loi du 28 Vendémiaire, an. vi. (19 October, 1797) art. 7.†*

Such then is the law.

The following decree further establishes, as law, that the decisions by which the Minister of the Interior orders the expulsion of a foreigner from the French territory, and the decree of the Prefect, by

\* *Nouveau Dictionnaire de Police, par MM. Elouin, Trébuchet, et Labat. Paris, 1835, tome 2, p. 556.*

† *Ibid* 567.

which, in virtue of such order, he causes such foreigner to be arrested and detained provisionally, cannot be referred to or reversed by the council of state.

“ *Decree of the 2nd of August, 1836.* ”

“ Louis Philippe, &c.

“ Having examined the demand of M. C. G. Naundorff, styling himself Charles-Louis, Duke of Normandy, that we would be pleased to revoke and annul all the administrative decisions which have authorized his detention, and immediately to revoke and annul the three decisions of our Minister of the Interior, mentioned in the decree of the Prefect of Police, of the 5th of July, 1836, and to order the liberation of the appellant,

“ Having examined the 7th article of the law of 28 Vendémiaire, an. vi,—

“ Judging that the acts against which the appeal above-mentioned is directed belong to the high police of the kingdom, and cannot therefore be submitted to our council of state for discussion,

“ The request of M. Naundorff is rejected.”\*

This decision of the council of state establishes the authority of the 7th article of the law of the 28th of Vendémiaire, an. vi., by characterizing it as “ relating to the high police, and still in force ;” and such is therefore the state of legislation and jurisprudence, regarding the right of expelling foreigners from France ; that kingdom that boasts of being the most liberal of countries, as to the facility with which it opens its ports and frontiers to the people of foreign nations.

This decree of his majesty, Louis Philippe, let it be further observed, was issued in the same year, and within a few weeks of the same date, as that of the order of her majesty, queen Pomare, for the ejection of the *sieurs* Caret and Laval.

But it is not merely that the laws of Tahiti concerning foreigners are as liberal as those of the most liberal nation of Europe, and that therefore the French priests had no ground for complaint,—no excuse for rebellion. Their guilt was aggravated by their religious character. They acknowledge and claim, as head of their church, which, according to them, is the only true church, a foreign prince, his Holiness the Pope ; and “ the Catholic, apostolical, and *Roman* religion can only be publicly professed and celebrated in France, in virtue of a convention between the French government and his Holiness.† In their own country, as the priests knew perfectly well, *curés* cannot enter on

\* *Recueil des Arrêts du Conseil d'Etat*, par M. Beaucoisin, 1836, pages 379 and 380.

† *Convention échangée le 25 Messidor de l'an. ix.* (15th July. 1801).

their functions, till they have taken the oath prescribed, before the prefect; no foreigner can perform the functions of the ministry without the permission of the government; nor can any religious ceremony be legally celebrated outside of the buildings consecrated to Roman Catholic worship, in towns where there are edifices appropriated to the religious services of other sects." And yet, that which renders their religion dangerous in France,—that faith in, and submission to, the supremacy of the Pope, a foreign prince, that has rendered conventions and concordats indispensable to the peace and security of the "great nation," is to entitle French priests to trample on all law, to defy all authority, to break down all protection at Tahiti! It was, in fact, not only to Paris, but to Rome that M. Caret made his pilgrimage and his appeal, when he could not force himself on the Tahitian government; and it was armed with their two-fold thunder, that he returned to overturn the throne, when he could not profane the altar of Pomare.

#### BISHOP POMPALLIER AT TAHITI.—PROGRESS OF THE ROMISH MISSION.

While the valiant missionary is visiting the Tuilleries and the Vatican, to awaken the thunders of both Prince and Pope, we may follow the movements of his brethren of the congregations of Picpus and of Mary in Polynesia, and notice what occurred at Tahiti.

In the summer of 1837, M. Pompallier, Maryist, bishop of Maronea, and vicar-apostolic of western, as M. Rouchouse, bishop of Nilopolis, is of eastern Oceania, arrived at Valparaiso, with a considerable reinforcement of Romish missionaries. He visited the Gambier islands, and, after a stay of only two days, proceeded to Tahiti, where he arrived, accompanied by Colomban, on the 19th September. Nine months had now passed since the second attempt of Caret; calm had been restored; the bishop and his companions did not pretend to any right to take possession of a residence, nor did they purpose to remain. They doubtless knew all that was preparing in the way of vengeance and aggression; but it was their interest to be peaceable, and the government was satisfied that they meant to proceed to another destination. Under these circumstances, the queen and the governors, though they did not approve the object of the Bishop's voyage, nor allow of any attempts to re-open the discussions commenced by the priests who were ejected, did not fail to manifest both tolerance and hospitality.

The correspondence of his lordship shows with what civility he was treated by the government. In fact, during the interval between the refusal of permission to Messrs. Caret, Laval, and Maignet to reside on the island, and the execution of the order given to the captain of the *Fenus* to avenge that refusal, a French Roman Catholic diocesan, and his clergy, had full liberty to sojourn at Tahiti, as long as they thought proper to make of that island, a sort of *entrepôt* for the popish propaganda.



“ We did not expect to land in this island,” says the bishop, “ on account of the Protestant missionaries, but the queen gave us liberty to sojourn freely in the port where we anchored, as long as our vessel found it necessary to stay for affairs of commerce. M. Mœrenhout, who asked this permission for us, affords us the most kind and benevolent protection. Almost every day we take walks in the island ; the people always look on us with pleasure, and on all sides they manifest to us their desire to have the true missionaries. Yesterday I celebrated holy mass at the American consul’s,—the authorities were not apprized.”

“ I have gained here information of circumstances so very favourable to the mission in the Friendly islands, the Fejees, and New Zealand, that I shall give up our vessel, the *Europe*, and hire at Otaiti a schooner, belonging precisely to M. Mœrenhout, the American consul, who manifests so much kindness to us : I hire it at 400 piastres a month, for an unlimited time, and with liberty to touch at all the islands I shall mention, visiting the Friendly, Navigators, Fejee, and Pounipet groups. My fund will soon be exhausted ; and if, for want of pecuniary means, we cannot traverse in every direction the South Seas, the result of our labours will be restricted ; heresy will gain the groups to which we cannot go ; and many souls will be lost, while idolatry and error triumph.”

The benevolent attention of M. Mœrenhout to the French Roman Catholic priests, his edifying zeal for the propaganda, and his future intimate relations with the agents of Piepus, are partly explained by the letter of the bishop of Maronea. The church of Rome had need of an agent who was not easily disgusted, and whose services she could secure ; she was not delicate as to character, nor severe on the subject of money ; on his side, M. Mœrenhout cared little about the conversion of heretics or idolaters, provided he could make a profit of the mission and obtain influence at Paris. It suited both parties to consolidate their friendship by pecuniary arrangements. The consul found it very advantageous for him, and the priests found it very useful to the *faith*, to charter, for an unlimited time, for the use of the propaganda, the consul’s vessel at 400 piastres, (about £80 a month, nearly £1,000 a year), a little schooner, which might have been worth about from £200 to £300. This contract continued for a long time to favour the fortune of M. Mœrenhout, and still served to enrich him when, a discarded consul of the United States government, he had been adopted in that capacity by the government of his majesty, Louis Philippe. On the 15th of April, 1839, Mr. Baty, missionary of the society of Mary, wrote from Tahiti, that he was about to sail for the Bay of Isles in this same schooner, the *Queen of Peace*. At that time the consul had already received £1,600 for his little vessel. But this was only a part of the compact between the benevolent Belgian and the pro-

paganda. It appears from the official account of the *Voyage of Captain Dumont d'Urville*, that a certain French Captain Maurue, who had for some time traded in pearls between the islands and Valparaiso, and who had been very friendly with, and useful to, the priests at the Gambier islands, came at length to an open rupture with them, for the following reason.—“When he returned,” says M. Desgraz, “about two months since, to the same anchorage for pearls, he found, that, through the influence of the priests, the natives would not fish for him; and the fact appears to be, according to information obtained from a sailor in the service of the Catholic mission, who, by-the-bye, was very reserved on the subject, that the assistance given to the missionaries, Caret and Laval, at Tahiti, by M. Mœrenhout, had laid the basis for a commercial arrangement beyond the circle of religious affairs. M. Mœrenhout is engaged in the pearl fishery, and by preventing as much as possible all competition, the missionaries gave him a considerable advantage. This arrangement suited all parties except the poor pearl fishers, strangers to the compact. M. Mœrenhout gained a precious monopoly, the missionaries a devoted agent; and they escaped the danger arising from the effects of the stay of bad crews. Captain Maurue, however, when he left for the Poumotou islands, spoke strongly against the conduct of the missionaries, declared that they had occasioned him a severe loss, and that, on his return to France, he would complain of them and make his case public.”

This revelation, it should be remembered, comes from the French Catholics themselves; and shows that the priests, who falsely accused the English missionaries “of preventing the residence of their carpentering friend Vincent and themselves, and of detesting the French, from their constant fear that they would supplant them in the commerce of that island,” themselves agreed, by a monopoly of pearl fishing at Gambier, to secure Mœrenhout as a devoted agent for the overthrow of the Protestant religion, and for the establishment of French power at Tahiti. It may be also observed to those who have laid heavy accusations against Mr. Pritchard, of interfering in favour of Protestant missionaries, while acting as consul, he being no longer a missionary, accusations, which need not be answered just now, that M. Mœrenhout, American consul, the patron of the French Romish mission, was from the first interested in it; and even while the French consul was the owner of the ship, freighted by the Romish priests. As for the French captain Maurue, the victim of the address of the Belgian, though he had little chance of redress, either from the superiors of Piepus, or the official protectors of M. Mœrenhout at Paris, M. Du Petit-Thouars made use of him later at Tahiti, where, with the monopolist, M. Mœrenhout, bishop Pompallier prepared, at his case, his measures for a general attack on all the English Protestant missionary stations in western

and eastern Oceania. If, then, the Protestant missionaries had the power, and exercised the despotism attributed to them, it is certain they did not employ either to disturb his lordship, or to interrupt the prosecution of his plans; if, on the other hand, the missionaries were *detested*, as the priests and their avengers have declared, then the queen and governors alone, and not the missionaries, are responsible for the expulsion of Caret and Laval from the island. From this dilemma, jesuitism itself, whether religious or political, cannot escape.

When his lordship had quietly completed his arrangements, he sailed from the port of Papeete, with several priests, for New Zealand. He called at the Friendly Islands, at Routuma, Wallis Island, and Fortuna, leaving Catholic missionaries at the two last. "I hastened," says he, "to occupy these two islands, because I knew that heresy intended to get possession of them very soon. I was happy to be able to be beforehand with it. Unfortunately it has gained already the Friendly, Navigator, and Fejee groups. I have only endeavoured at present to stop its progress, till we shall have acquired the languages of these groups, and be able to attack it before the natives."

M. Servant, one of the priests in the train of the bishop, says:—"Our hearts were sad as we approached Tahiti. The inhabitants groan beneath the yoke of the heretics. Vavao (one of the Friendly islands), near which we were in great danger, is surrounded by a great number of other islands. Alas! all are invaded by the Methodists. From this spot we steered for Wallis. His lordship offered two of our number to the king. He accepted the offer, and received them as friends. Thus, then, the first mission is established in western Oceania. (Thanks to the tolerance of Pomare, and the intrigues carried on in her dominions.) After a short day's sail, we saw Fortuna. In this island his greatness established our second mission."

At length the lord bishop arrived from Tahiti in Mœrenhout's schooner, at New Zealand, and, on the 14th May, 1838, he wrote from the Bay of Islands:—"I found here a French ship of war, the *Heroïne*. I was surprised to hear myself received by a salute of nine guns, and the natives were still more astonished. The *Heroïne* has produced a good effect; her presence alone in these parts has been favourable to the sacred cause of religion. In the three missions commenced, and in general in all the islands of Oceania, the people do not hesitate to prefer the Catholic missionaries to the emissaries and ministers of all the sects. I have no news from the priests, Bataillon and Chanel. I know that my letters are intercepted by the malice of the heretics. The ships of the heretical missionaries plough the seas of Oceania in every direction. The heretical missionaries circulate everywhere books, pamphlets, and journals, filled with their false doctrine, and

“ we have only our voice and our pen to make known the truth. You  
“ would hardly believe the effect produced on our natives by the sight  
“ of devotional pictures. Those of the principal mysteries of the life  
“ of our Lord, of the Holy Virgin, of our Holy Father, are really a  
“ sermon for them, and are extremely useful. They come fifty leagues  
“ to admire a picture, in vile colours, representing the birth of our  
“ Lord. In all the chapels we erect, we shall not fail to place portraits  
“ and pictures.”

Fortunately, we possess some of the news of the priests Bataillon and Chanel, that the lord bishop accused the heretics of intercepting. The former (Bataillon) writes from Wallis, in July, 1838, “ The first intention of our bishop was to go to the Caroline group, but the progress of heresy at Tonga and at Fejee determined him to plant the cross in the neighbourhood of these islands, which are the principal ones of the mission. Wallis island, situated about the centre, appeared to him suitable for the advanced post which he resolved to establish against heresy. His lordship then made choice of me, and informed me that he meant to leave me and brother Joseph in the centre of heresy and heathenism. His lordship had left at Horn island, (Fortuna), forty leagues from Wallis, father Chanel, our pro-vicar apostolic.

“ I have had the consolation to administer, in secret, the sacrament of baptism to two young Oceanians, at the moment of death. They are gone to heaven to swell the number of the protecting angels of Wallis island.”

About ten months later, in May, 1839, this father Bataillon informs us how he managed to make these protecting angels. “ In order,” says he, “ to avoid any difficulty, when I wish to baptize children, even under the eyes of their mother, this is the way I manage:—I have always about me one little phial of scented water, and a second with pure water. I throw, at first, some drops of the scented water on the head of the child, under pretence of giving it ease, and while the pleased mother rubs it gently over with her hand, I change the phial and pour on the regenerating water, without her having any suspicion of what I have done.”

Such are the mountebank, and even more scandalous than mountebank, tricks and cheats by which the islands of the South Seas are to be supplied with hosts of protecting angels, and which the frigates and cannons of France are to accredit, and support. It is not by such means that the Protestant missionaries have gained the confidence and affection of the multitudes who have been converted from idols to serve the living God; or that they have raised the islands from heathen barbarism to Christian civilization.

After reading these disgusting revelations of falsehood and impiety, what reliance will any prudent person place on the reports of the priests, who glory in their shame, either as to the conduct of Protestant mis-

sionaries, or the pretended conversion of idolaters. At the Vatican and the Tuilleries, however, the agency of father Bataillon was too precious not to be rewarded. This man was raised to the dignity of bishop: a new ecclesiastical and geographical district was created for his lordship; the office of vicar-apostolic of central Oceania was conferred upon him; £5,250 were soon after placed at his disposal; and this charlatan, and his little bottles, were honoured, in their turn by salutes of nine guns, from the ships of war of his majesty the king' of the French.

Father Chanel, writing from Horn island about the same time, acknowledges that these clerical tricks were not very successful. "Hitherto," says he, "the fruits are not very abundant; 20 baptisms, of which four are of adults, and the rest children in the article of death, are all the results obtained after eighteen months waiting." A year later, in May, 1840, that is, two years and a half after his installation, this father says, "My first business was to visit the families, to study the language and manners of the country, in order to be able to evangelize. This is what I am not yet able to do! I have baptized some adults and some children;—very few refuse baptism when they are near death. How favourable the moment seems to me, to penetrate in those groups to which we are so near! The Methodists overrun them, and have forestalled us every where."

"—Might it not be said (these are the words of a French author), that the hateful passions of the religious parties of the civilized world had selected, for their battle field, the Southern Seas? Our missionaries make no mystery of the fact; and it is impossible to open their publications, without being convinced of its truth. We cannot but bitterly deplore this religious rivalry, which, without effecting anything advantageous to the cause of civilization, threatens to invade all the islands of Oceania, in which the Protestants have already made numerous converts. In an official circular of the French missions, I read,—'Central Oceania, in which two new French bishops are about to exercise their apostolate, is composed of five principal groups: New Caledonia, New Hebrides, the Feejee, Samoa, and Tonga. To these may be added a considerable number of small islands. Considered in the four respects of population, extent, productions, and future destiny, this part of Oceania is certainly the most important.' Admitted; but these Tonga islands have been many years Protestant; the Samoan group, one of the richest of the Pacific, is completely so; the New Hebrides, and the Feejee islands, are now almost covered with Methodist temples; while, on many others, more important, no missionaries have yet entered. We cannot believe that the invasion with which religious rivalry threatens these islands, can take place without injury to the interests of the people."

We see nevertheless that this systematic invasion has been followed out, and Romish priests are not only placed at Uvea or Wallis Island, where English Protestant Missionaries have been long labouring, but even at Tonga itself. If the consequences of such a contest are dreaded by Frenchmen who are not entirely devoted to the papacy, and who are interested in promoting the cause of civilization, how much more must they be deprecated by Protestant christians, who believe that the gospel provides the surest and the safest means of raising men from the misery of barbarous heathenism, and the only means of preparing them for a blissful immortality. Sad, indeed, would be their feelings, did they not also feel, at the same moment, that the God they serve can now, as he often has done, educe great good from great calamity.

#### FRENCH PRIESTS AND SHIPS OF WAR AT THE MARQUESAS.

While the Popish agents, who had started from Tahiti in their friend Mørenhout's *Queen of Peace*, were thus, under the direction of bishop Pompallier, attacking and preparing to destroy all the English Protestant Missions in western Oceania, what was going on in eastern Oceania, the episcopal jurisdiction of bishop Rouhouse? Why the attack was regularly proceeding in that quarter; and a French frigate, the *Venus*, had conveyed two Romish priests to the Marquesas, as the advanced guard of ten more who were to follow, and preparatory to the taking possession of that group, in the name of the king of the French.

After a variety of burlesque and unworthy proceedings on the part of captain Du Petit-Thouars—proceedings little in harmony with the sanctity and importance of a religious mission, and of which it is unnecessary to give the details—the priests were established at Santa Christina, precisely in the valley in which the English missionary was then labouring.

M. Desvaut, one of the priests, in a letter from Waitoua or Vaitahu, dated the 7th August, 1838, says, “A Frenchman, who has been on the island eight months, and two Irishmen who have resided here four years, came on board. One of the Irishmen is employed by the Protestant minister. This minister is not married. He acknowledged to the captain that he was not very glad to see us, adding, that, nevertheless, he should not attempt to do us any harm. The captain talked with him of the vexations the French had experienced at Tahiti and the Sandwich islands, and, after expressing his indignation, he added, he had resolved to establish everywhere Catholic Missionaries.”

Since 1797, English Protestant Missionaries had been engaged in efforts, both painful and costly, for the conversion of the savage inhabitants of this group of islands. Mr. Crook had braved, during

eighteen months, a thousand dangers, while he endeavoured alone to enlighten and improve them. After a lapse of many years he returned to place among them four converted natives from the Tahitian islands. These zealous teachers were followed from time to time by others, who introduced the gospel into several islands, and were, in their turn, visited by the missionaries from Tahiti. Notwithstanding many discouragements, the mission was not abandoned. In 1834, two missionaries from England, accompanied by Mr. Darling from Tahiti, and several converted Tahitians, recommenced the arduous task of evangelising this ferocious people; and during four years, the faithful M. Stallworthy had been patiently toiling at his station, when, in 1838, a frigate of the king of the French arrived to place two popish agents in the very and the only spot then cultivated by an English Protestant labourer. This was done, too, "in the name, not only of the Romish church, but of France." Mr. Stallworthy did not hastily quit the field; he even received a year later, in 1839, a fellow-labourer from England, and they continued to exert themselves to prepare, for future times, a better generation, and for the existing population, better days; till, at the end of two years, finding it impossible to maintain usefully their ground against the united influence of heathen barbarism, popish craft, French power and French profligacy, they left the Marquesas a short time before these islands were brought under the sovereignty of France. Another group was thus ravished from the Protestant charity, that had so long watched for its salvation. Great results had not in either of these cases signalized the toils and sufferings of the missionaries, but the history of the Christian religion in the Pacific, warrants the belief that though late and perhaps when unexpected, the culture bestowed, and the seed committed to the soil, would have been productive, and the fruit abundant; had not the feet of political and priestly invaders overrun the spots which must ever be dear to the memory of Protestant Christians in England.

Fifteen days after the departure of Captain Du Petit-Thouars from Santa Christina, Captain Dumont D'Urville arrived at the Marquesas with two corvettes, the *Astrolabe* and the *Zélée*. This celebrated circumnavigator, who was soon after made admiral, but perished with his wife and his son in the conflagration of the railway train at Paris, in 1842, was surprised, not to find his brother officer and the Romish missionaries at Nouva-IIika, the principal island. They had preferred to take their station where the seat of the Protestant mission had been long established.

M. Dumont D'Urville came direct from the Gambier islands. On his arrival in that group, on the 1st of August, his first act had been to honour Bishop Rouchouse with a salute of nine guns from each of the corvettes; his last act, on the Sunday before he left, was to get up, in concert with the bishop, the spectacle of a public mass or military

promenade already described.\* At his departure from those islands, he had promised the lord bishop and his clergy that he would go to the Marquesas to see how their missionaries were, and to give them, if necessary, the support of a few broadsides; a demonstration which the Gambier priests thought, would, in any case, awe the islanders into deference for their brethren.

Though the account of the obscenities practised by the French at the Marquesas, and authorised by Captain Dumont D'Urville, the bishop's friend, and the patron of the missionaries, as published by order of the French government, is scarcely fit to be placed beneath the eyes of Englishmen, it is a duty to insert a part of the description in these pages, designed to expose the truth, and to vindicate those who have suffered at Tahiti from French Catholic oppression and calumny. "The offing," says the captain, "was covered by a swarm of nymphs, swimming to the vessel. (The indecent description of them is suppressed.) They were not allowed to go on board till the cannon gave the signal in the evening. The cannon fired, and access to the corvette was allowed to the amorous Nouva-Hikans. On my arrival (it is the captain who writes), I found the deck invaded by the girls, laughing, singing, and dancing about in perfect liberty. Our gallant sailors eagerly got round them, and disputed for their easily granted favours. Every corner of the vessel offered ludicrous scenes and animated groups, worthy the pencil of Callot, but which it would be difficult to paint. At length satiety, fatigue, and especially the cold night air, checked by degrees the ardour of our sailors. About midnight, the women formed a circle, and performed a lascivious dance,† expecting, no doubt, the finest results from the seduction it offered; afterwards all became silent, and the rest of the night passed peaceably. At sunrise, M. Roquemarel, lieutenant, asked me what was to be done with the women. My answer was, let them go ashore in the same way they came; and M. Roquemarel immediately executed my order. The consequence was a morning bath, which was not relished by all our belles; there was, in fact, some hesitation about compliance; but two or three leaped into the sea, and the rest did not long delay to follow them. Most of these girls were between twelve and eighteen years of age; some were much younger, and did not appear to be more than eight or ten." The lieutenant himself, M. Roquemarel, says,— "It is not necessary to recal scenes enveloped by the shades of night. This temporary suspension of all religious and social restraint, this mixture of men and women, \* \* \* \* \* these real saturnalia, did not in any degree disturb the order of the ship. I was at first ashamed to see little

\* See page 35.

† M. Elie Le Guillon, surgeon of the *Zélée*, has given a coloured representation of this lascivious dance, and has added the music of the song.



“ girls—children, taking their part in these games, in this lascivious  
 “ pantomime ; but I learned that they accompanied their sisters in  
 “ their amorous excursions. \* \* \* \* \*  
 “ They figured there in order to begin their education.”

It is painful to be obliged to repeat that these inconceivable indulgences and orgies were given by the commander of the French expedition to his crews only a few days after their appearance in the splendid ceremony of the mission mass at the Gambier islands, and on the eve of his departure to inflict on queen Pomare and the Protestant island of Tahiti the vengeance of French Catholic priests, in the name of “ the august Mary, the destroyer of heresy !”

M. Caret had not threatened and invoked in vain. Already M. Du Petit-Thouars, having installed the Romish missionaries, had left the Marquesas, breathing out threatenings against the English and Tahitian Protestants, and had arrived at Tahiti; so that while the saturnalia were going on at Nouva-Hika, on board the *Astrolabe* and the *Zélée* (26th and 27th of August, 1838), the *Venus* was preparing to ravage the peaceful country, where all the orgies, in which the French delighted, had been long utterly unknown.

#### THE COMMISSION OF CAPTAIN DU PETIT-THOUARS.

Before we accompany this gallant officer on his memorable visit, justice requires, that we should make a distinction between him, and some of his co-victors over a female sovereign and her unprotected people.

Captain Dumont D'Urville was not commissioned to “ menace the queen and the chiefs with exemplary chastisement ;” but when he heard the tales of the bishop and clergy of the Gambier islands, “ he thought the honour of the national flag required his presence on the spot.” M. Du Petit-Thouars, on the contrary, received special orders from Paris, and was therefore under the obligation of obeying, not the order of a superior officer, but the royal authority itself; even though in the execution of his orders, his conduct might be, as it was, in direct opposition to that which he had pursued, under his own personal inspiration, in nearly similar circumstances, at the Sandwich islands, the year before.

A brief reference to the statements published by American officers, and missionaries, will not be found a useless or fatiguing deviation from the course of our narrative.

M. Bachelot, a Frenchman, and Mr. Short, an Englishman, arrived at Honolulu in July, 1827. As soon as this was known to the government, it immediately ordered them on board the vessel in which they came. The master of the vessel refused to receive them, asserting that as their passage was not paid, he would take them no further. They remained, in fact, till December, 1831, when the government fitted out a vessel, and sent them away. The reasons of the government will be

found in *S. I. Gazette* of November, 1838.—“ This is our reason for sending away the Frenchmen.—In the first place, the chiefs never assented to their dwelling at Oahu, and when they turned away some of our people, to stand opposed to us, we said to them—‘return to the country from whence you came.’

“ At seven different times we gave them that order, and again speaking, we said, ‘ Go away, ye Frenchmen ; we allow you three months to get ready.’ They did not go during the three months, but remained eight months, saying, ‘ We have no vessel to return in.’ Therefore, we put them on board our own vessel, to carry them to a place where the service is like their own.

“ Because their doings are different from ours, and because we cannot agree, therefore we send away these men.

“ *Oahu, Dec. 7, 1831.*”

“ KAAHAMANU.

The captain of the government vessel was ordered to “ proceed to California, and to land the passengers safe, where they might subsist ; with every thing belonging to them.”

After an absence of six years, in consequence of orders from Rome, they reappeared. M. Dudoit, a foreigner, from the Isle of France, residing at the Sandwich islands, sent the *Clementine*, a vessel of which he was owner, to fetch them. They arrived on the 17th of April, 1837. No sooner was the government apprised of their landing, than their effects, except their linen, were refused admittance ; and the captain and owner were ordered to re-embark their passengers. This order was disregarded, and the vessel was nearly ready to put to sea again, when a peremptory order was given by the king to put the men on board. They accompanied the officer of the king to the wharf, stepped into the boat, and were put on board the *Clementine*. The owner, however, would not allow the vessel to sail, nor would he supply the means necessary for the voyage ; and the missionaries were still on board, when M. Du Petit-Thouars arrived in the *Venus*, and at the same time H. M. vessel the *Sulphur*, Captain Belcher. After a conference on the subject of the demands of the missionaries, an agreement was entered into between the French captain and the king. The captain “ considered M. Bachelot only as a Frenchman, forced by necessity to call at Honolulu to find an opportunity of going to his own country,”—no small concession. The king (Kamehameha III.) agreed to allow M. Bachelot to reside unmolested at Oahu, till he could find a favorable opportunity to go to Manilla, Lima, Valparaiso, or to some other part of the civilized world. M. Du Petit-Thouars, on his part, engaged himself as follows :—

“ *Honolulu, July 21, 1837.*

“ The undersigned captain, commander of the French frigate, the *Venus*, promises, in the name of M. Bachelot, that he will seize the

“ first favourable opportunity to go either to Manilla, Lima, Valparaiso, or some part of the civilized world ; and in case such an opportunity is not presented, on the arrival of the first French man-of-war which visits these islands, he shall be received on board. In the mean time he shall not preach.” The captain of the *Sulphur* acceded to the same arrangement on behalf of Mr. Short.

This affair being amicably settled, captain Du Petit-Thouars proposed the adoption of a general treaty in which it was stipulated, “ The French shall come and go freely in the states which compose the government of the Sandwich islands. They shall be received and protected, and enjoy the same advantages as the subjects of the most favored nations.”

Not long before the date of these transactions, captain Lord Edward Russell had made a treaty with the king, of a similar nature, by which secure residence in the islands was promised to British subjects, “ so long as they conformed to the laws.” French subjects, who were to be treated only as those of the most favored nation, were of course held, as well as the English, to conform themselves to the laws. Captain Du Petit-Thouars indeed disavowed to Kamehameha “ all intention of interfering with the internal regulations of the country, or of meddling with the delicate question of religion.” In all this there was no pretension to *establish* missionaries by ships of war, on the plan of Messrs. Caret and Mœrenhout; on the contrary, they were to be removed by the first ship of war that might arrive. French adventurers were not to be protected when violating, but only while conforming to the laws. The French officer, the contracting party on the part of France, was therefore now, by order of his government, obliged to punish as illegal at Tahiti, what he and English officers had approved and sanctioned at Honolulu.

The orders given to captain Du Petit-Thouars were not, it is true, dictated by the French ministry, of which M. Guizot is now a member, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, but by that presided by M. Molé, which M. Guizot, by a coalition with M. Thiers, succeeded in overthrowing. The present government has, nevertheless, adopted the orders given to M. Du Petit-Thouars, and the famous measures of the French Protectorate that grew out of them; M. Guizot, moreover, a Protestant, declared at the Tribune, that the foreign policy of France always had been, and, though that religion is no longer the religion of the state, must continue to be Roman Catholic. M. Du Petit-Thouars must not be then unjustly accused of acting without the orders, or in opposition to the spirit and policy of his government.

It is necessary to observe further, that the orders of the French minister were, in fact, the orders of M. Mœrenhout; for it was solely on his misrepresentations and suggestions, that those orders were issued. M. Molé, President of the Council, wrote to his colleague, the Minister of Marines, on the 3rd of May, 1837, as follows,—

“ I communicate the two letters sent by M. Mœrenhout, consul of the United States at Tahiti, to the chargé d'affaires of the king at Chili, together with an authentic protest. You will learn from these documents, the shameful treatment of two missionaries and a carpenter, who left the Gambier islands on board a Tahitian schooner, and the two first mentioned of whom were obliged to put to sea in a small unsound vessel. Though queen Pomare has only yielded to the instigations of the Methodist missionaries, you will, no doubt, be of opinion, that if such acts of violence were to remain unpunished, there would no longer be any security for our ships, that may touch voluntarily or necessarily, at any of the islands of the queen of Tahiti; and that both prudence and dignity point out the urgency of sending a frigate on a special mission to insist on a public and solemn reparation.” Having taken cognizance of the contents of M. Mœrenhout's letters, M. Rosamel, Minister of the Marine, addressed to M. Du Petit-Thouars the following instructions on the 10th of June, 1837:—

“ It appears from the copies inclosed, that the acts of violence to which the three Frenchmen were exposed, were committed by the influence and at the instigation of the English Methodist missionaries established on the island. They are of such a nature, that if they were to remain unpunished, there would be no security for any of our ships that voluntarily or from necessity may touch at Tahiti. You will therefore please to go to Tahiti, and demand from the queen complete reparation for the insult offered to France in the person of three of our fellow-countrymen. It will be proper, on your arrival, to confer first of all with M. Mœrenhout, consul of the United States, who will inform you of all the facts for which you are to require reparation, and who will also furnish you with the means of deciding on the kind of satisfaction you shall demand.”

“ You will understand the importance of making the queen and the inhabitants feel that France is a great and powerful nation, possessing both the power and the will to have its citizens every where respected.”

It would be an endless task to point out the falsehoods and absurdities crowded into this official correspondence, and to animadvert on the deception carefully practiced by the Catholics, and as readily adopted by the French government. One remark will characterize the whole. M. Molé, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, was led to believe that the priests came to Tahiti in one vessel, and were sent away in another. He wrote to the Minister of Marine—“ You will learn from these documents, the shameful treatment of the men who went to Tahiti in a Tahitian schooner, and were obliged to put to sea in (another) a small unsound vessel (*une frêle embarcation*).” The vessel was the same,—sound when she arrived at Tahiti; had she not been so, the captain had had three weeks to make all necessary repairs; and when the priests embarked, the vessel that conveyed them away, had on board the

wife of the captain, who had been a protégé of the queen's, and his wife's sister. This one important proof, of the wicked conduct of the epistolary persecutors of the queen and the missionaries may suffice.

The mission of vengeance, not of enquiry, turned then on the hinge which M. Mœrenhout had forged. He did not delay the execution of his threats to the queen, and the spirit of his correspondence may be compared with that of Mr. Pritchard.

On the 22nd of December, 1836, he wrote to the consul-general of France, to whom he had already written on the 1st, that is twelve days before the departure of the priests :—" In my former I stated that I did not know how far the English missionary would carry his persecutions; but that I thought, as these Frenchmen were in one of my houses, he would not have dared to offer any violence to them. I was mistaken. On the 13th instant, his satellites came in the queen's name to make them depart; and as the two priests who had been threatened with being thrown upon a desert island, would not open the door, the emissaries entered through the roof, and afterwards broke the lock. Then, dragging out these defenceless men, they carried them on their shoulders to the door of the English missionary, Pritchard, and there they threw them into a boat, half filled with water, and conducted them on board the small vessel, which left the port soon afterwards. This cruel and savage act, well worthy the *chief of Vandals*, who caused it to be executed, is better detailed in my letter to the French government. The carpenter, one of the three, who had also been ordered to depart, not being on the spot, escaped.

“ MÆRENHOUT,

“ Consul of the U. S. at Tahiti.”

In another letter, of a week later, he adds :—" Things will be much worse if this act, as well as those in the Sandwich islands, should remain unnoticed; and in this case, I shall consider neither the property nor the person of any Frenchman safe on these islands. The former priests of these islands, Mr. Consul, belonged to the highest aristocracy, and were considered equal to the chiefs and the king; hence the authority and influence of the missionaries who have replaced them; and the latter will believe, that if they can ill-treat *priests* of a nation with impunity, they will never be brought to account for whatever they may do to other persons."

In his letter to the French government, he said,—“ Messrs. Caret and Laval offered to pay the sum *required by the law*, from any foreigner, who wishes to settle upon the island; that the queen, influenced by the presence and the threats of Mr. Pritchard, refused at first to take it, and afterwards received it, with other presents, in spite of Mr. Pritchard; that they were afterwards brought before a public meeting, and there ordered to leave the island; that they were

“assured by many chiefs and natives, who wished them to remain, that this persecution did not emanate from the sovereign; that they protested against the decision of the meeting, as contrary to the law of the island, and to the law of nations; and that the queen and government of Tahiti were answerable to the French government for the treatment received.”

With these official documents, and armed with the authority of his sovereign, M. Du Petit-Thouars sailed from Valparaiso.

#### THE VENUS, CAPTAIN DU PETIT-THOUARS, AT TAHITI.

On the 27th of August, 1838, the *Venus* cast anchor in the bay of Papeete (known to the friends of missions, as Wilks's Harbour); and the first business of its commander was, in obedience to his orders, to confer with the now ex-American consul, Mœrenhout. It was from this person, convicted as we have seen of falsehood and calumny, that he received all the information on which he proceeded, “in the name of the king of the French,” to demand, from a poor and defenceless queen “the prompt reparation due to a great and powerful nation, that had been insulted in a way the most serious and unprovoked, by the injurious and shameful treatment inflicted on several of its citizens (not one of whom is named), and especially in 1836, on Messrs. Laval and Caret, apostolical missionaries.” It was on the evidence of this same individual that he laid an embargo on all vessels in the harbour, and *invited* foreigners to put their persons and property in safety, if they should so desire, under his flag.

None of the members of the royal family, none of the chiefs, or governors, were requested to explain or to disprove the allegations of the enemies of the queen. The person now acting, in the name of the sovereign of England, as her consul, Mr. Pritchard, was not conferred with, nor requested either to disprove, or to admit, the charges heaped on him. As Englishmen and missionaries were officially declared, to be the authors and instigators, of the wrongs and insults endured, might not the French government, first of all, have informed the English government, of the charges brought against them, and have appealed to it, and through it, to the society to which the missionaries belong, to investigate the facts, and to prevent a repetition of conduct, that might involve the two countries in a serious conflict? Nothing of the kind was thought worthy of a great nation; but Pomare was required, first, to write to the king of the French, “to apologize for the violence done to Frenchmen, whose *honourable* conduct had not “merited any punishment.”—Honourable conduct it would then be, to land on the French coast, or to pass the French frontiers, at places where there are no officers to admit strangers, to receive or to furnish passports. It would be honourable, to endeavour to defraud the French revenue, to refuse obedience to laws of the same

nature with those, to which Frenchmen are required, and consent to submit in all European states; to deny solemnly and publicly all knowledge of those laws, though their perfect acquaintance with them, had been proved by their own correspondence! Such conduct was proclaimed, "in the name of the king of the French," to be honourable at Tahiti; would it then be thought dishonourable in France?

Under the pressure of a broadside, the Tahitian queen was obliged to beg pardon of the most Christian king! "I am only," said she, "the sovereign of a little, insignificant island; may knowledge, glory, and power, be with your majesty;—let your anger cease; and pardon me the mistake that I have made."

The queen was required to pay "Laval and Caret 2,000 piastres for the damage they had received." It would have been satisfactory to have learnt further, on what grounds this indemnity was required. It applied solely, to the refusal of residence to those two gentlemen. Vincent had been allowed to remain; M. Laval did not return. M. Maigret accompanied Caret. The sum demanded was 10,000 francs (£400)! Now, the priests, before they left Valparaiso, agreed, as they inform us, to give an American captain, 450 francs (£18) each; for which sum he was to convey them to the Gambier islands, wait there a few days at their disposal, and then, if required, take them on to Tahiti. The whole expense of the passage of Laval and Caret from Valparaiso to Tahiti, going round by the Gambier islands, was £36 or 900 francs. Supposing then, that Hamilton, who carried them in his little vessel from those islands to Tahiti, charged at as high a rate as the American captain, and estimating the Gambier islands as being half-way between Valparaiso and Tahiti, they could not have paid him more than 450 francs, or £18, for the passage of the two to Tahiti; and if Hamilton charged as much for their return, the whole of their passage money to and from Tahiti would amount to £36, or 900 francs. The passage back from Tahiti is all that could be demanded, and even that, the missionaries did not pay to Hamilton, who was obliged to receive them as a punishment for having landed them in contravention of the port regulations.

As to loss of stores or goods, they could have experienced none; for all their property was scrupulously respected, and carefully sent with them in Hamilton's vessel. There remains only their board and lodging, from the 21st of November to the 13th of December, almost the whole of that time having been passed in the house, and under the special protection, of their pious and disinterested friend Mørenhout, who could not surely have required, for his kind accommodation, more than £3, or 75 francs per week, the charge at the best hotel in Papeete. This charge of 223 francs, or £9, added to the £36, brings the amount of expense incurred to £45, or 1125 francs. No damage whatever was done to the hut of the consul, nor was a shilling spent

on the building for repairs ; but even allowing £5, or 125 francs, for re-adjusting the fara leaves on the roof, which the officers had been obliged to lift up, to avoid breaking open the door; this would not raise the indemnity to more than 1250 francs, or £50 sterling. But to err on the safe side, and doubling this, (we believe) very fair calculation, it is only then £100, or 2500 francs, that can be accounted for. The demand of four times that sum of £400 (10,000 francs) seems therefore to have been an act of direct spoliation, of sheer robbery under the name of "indemnity for *voyage obligé* of Laval and Caret." But it was M. Mœrenhout who, by the authority of the French government, fixed the number of dollars, the menacing captain was to demand. Religious compensation was of course out of the question ; for had the "children of the Holy Hearts" been offered any sum whatever as an indemnity for their priestly failure,—their spiritual disappointment, they would, doubtless, have said as the apostle Peter, of whom M. Du Petit-Thouars says, they are the successors, "Thy money perish with thee."

The French despatches, and official histories, which describe the incidents of this great exploit, are as replete with falsehood, as those which defend its origin and justify its character. "The hardest condition dictated by M. Du Petit-Thouars, say they, was undoubtedly the payment of 2,000 dollars. The queen did not possess them, or would not pay them. It is reported that she said to Mr. Pritchard, 'You sent the men away,—it is just that you should pay.' Mr. Pritchard, as agent of the queen, proposed that the captain should be satisfied with the queen's bill for the amount, and when this was refused, he offered to guarantee the signature of the queen ; but this was inadmissible, for he was the author of the vexations for which reparation was demanded." It was because M. Mœrenhout knew that the queen had not the money, that he instigated the demand, in order either to obtain the money from the English, or to occasion the attack on the island. The spoliators would not even leave to the English, the merit of assisting the queen. With the same breath, they avow her inability to pay, and report her refusal to pay, from displeasure with the missionaries. It was quite true the queen, who they knew had not the money, was obliged to pay it within twenty-four hours, and that it was only by the kindness of English Protestants that the island was spared the horrors of massacre and conflagration. But if this object was not gained by M. Mœrenhout and the captain, the other end proposed was secured. "The missionaries of the Church's Missionary Society," says M. Du Petit-Thouars, "were obliged to redress, for the queen, the mischief they had done, by paying for her the expences that we had demanded for Messrs. Caret and Laval, unjustly ill-treated by her government."\* "Mr. Bicknell," say the officers,

\* Vol. iii. p. 171.



“furnished 500 dollars, Mr. Vaughan 1000, and Mr. Pritchard the 500, that completed the sum. The 125 ounces were paid in the council chamber of the *Venus*, in presence of Messrs. Chiron Du Brossay, second in command, and M. Filiux, purser, who received it as a deposit, M. Du Petit-Thouars giving a receipt.”\* This mode of dignifying a robbery with official formalities, might justly have been responded to on the part of the queen, Pomare, by the well known salutation; “Sir Count, I have the honour to tell you that you are a rogue.” The money so paid and received, was, of course, shared between the “children of the Holy Hearts,” and their virtuous agent, Mœrenhout.

The French captain had further to require, “as a reparation due to a great and powerful nation,” that the French flag should be hoisted the day after, at noon, on the little island of Motu-Uta, her territory, and be honoured by the queen, with a salute of twenty-one guns. Had Pomare been required to salute, from her own fort, the French colours, hoisted specially on board the French frigate; this surely would, to all honest and honourable purposes, have been satisfaction enough, for having sent out of her country two Frenchmen, who entered it, and would remain in it illegally; but the placing the tri-coloured flag forcibly on the territory of the queen, could only be an essay,—an indication,—a “specimen,” as M. Dumont D’Urville would say, of that protecting usurpation that was then in embryo, under the fostering care of M. Mœrenhout.

That such was the real character of the transaction is evident from the conduct of Sir G. Gibbs, governor of New South Wales. On the arrival of M. Du Petit-Thouars at Sydney, the governor, who thought it his duty to converse with him on the subject, was assured by him, that by hoisting the French colours on the island, he did not pretend to any sovereignty over Tahiti.† In consequence of this verbal communication, the governor’s secretary apprised the captain by letter, that his excellency had sent to England the letter of the British consul, containing the account of the order of M. Du Petit-Thouars, for the hoisting of the French colours on the island; and also information of the verbal assurance of the captain, that he did not pretend thereby to exercise an act of sovereignty over Tahiti. “It was not,” says M. Du Petit-Thouars, “without some surprise, that I read this despatch; I was especially astonished at the last paragraph, which appeared not a little insidious.” He, however, virtually acknowledges, that the

\* Iles Taiti, p. 851.

† “The island of Tahiti,” says Lieut. Duperry, who arrived there in May, 1824, “has declared itself independent, about two months since. The English flag, which has been used from the time of Wallis, is replaced by a red flag, with a white star in the corner.”

governor's report of the conversation, insidious or not, was true. "I was aware of the character of M. Gibbs, and was informed of his violent hatred of Catholics. He asked me, in a conversation we had, if, as the journals said, we had taken possession of Tahiti in the name of France. I naturally answered, 'No ;' but as he proceeded further to question me on the object of my mission, I observed, that I did not think it my duty to answer questions relating to interests foreign to him. The governor then said, that he should write to me officially." The promised letter of his excellency, produced a long reply from the captain; in which, while he fully admitted the independence of Tahiti, he plentifully calumniated the British consul, who had called attention to the awkward fact of the French flag waving on Motu-Uta. When the correspondence was closed, "H. E." says M. Du Petit-Thouars, "became more and more gracious, and if it had not been for his religious exaltation, which has, no doubt, increased since his arrival in a country, where the zeal of the sectaries is carried to fanaticism; he would have had still more favorable sentiments towards us."\* Whatever might have been the motive for the strange demand, the queen was as short of powder as of dollars; the English Protestants could not help her; and the captain of the *Venus*, the representative of "the justly irritated king of the French," was obliged himself to supply the powder, required to wake the echoes of the mountains, in honor of the tri-colored flag.

M. Du Petit-Thouars was quite alive to the ridiculousness of demanding a salute, from people who had no powder. When the friendly representative of Pomare assured him, that he was informed there was not enough for more than five charges, and that, unless he should be pleased to accept of that number, the tri-coloured flag must remain unhonoured, he paced the deck, and passed his fingers through his hair, in considerable agitation.—"What will they say in France," said the patriotic commander, "when they know that I furnished the powder to salute my own flag? You must get powder." "It is quite impossible; the queen has no more, and there is none to be purchased." The difficulty was great—an expedient was necessary—and the captain hit upon one: "Mr. consul," said he to Mr. Pritchard, "I can give you some powder, and you can do with it what you please." That gentleman might have refused to accept such a gift from such hands; he knew that a use was to be made of it, as insulting as unjust; but the whole affair was an outrage; he stood between the queen, her people, and the guns that were shotted to destroy them; his refusal would have aggravated their misery: he kindly consented to receive the powder, and the salute was given. But the party, who received the honour, felt that the ridiculousness remained. They

\* Du Petit-Thouars, vol. iii. p. 921.

thought, therefore, to efface it by counter-ridicule ; and, being as unscrupulous as ungrateful, they invented and published, of the person who had extricated the commander from his dilemma, a story, which they thought to be mortifying, and knew to be utterly false : “ Mr. Pritchard begged from the French commander the gift of the powder ; he even loaded himself, the bad cannon on the little island, and directed the firing.” The British consul served the queen and her people ; but he did not salute the French flag, hoisted, with as much mean annoyance, as illegal violence, in the country, where he had long resided securely, as in an independent state.

The degradation of the queen and people was not yet complete. When all the articles of the required separation were complied with, the hero of Papeete condescended to visit the humiliated female sovereign, on purpose to introduce M. Mœrenhout as consul “ of the great and powerful nation, and of the justly irritated king of the French.” This functionary, it will be remembered, threatened the queen and the people, “ that he would one day make them know that he was American consul.” The queen had required his removal. “ The day we received the person who is here, in the quality of consul, he promised to respect all the laws of Tahiti. He now respects them no longer. I desire that you take from this man the functions of consul.” The president of the United States at once complied with the wish of Pomare, and the blusterer was dismissed for improper and unlawful behaviour. Captain Du Petit-Thouars was not satisfied with a first visit made to her majesty at her residence, with all his staff ; two days after, he demanded by letter, another audience, to present M. Mœrenhout, “ whom it became indispensable to accredit.”—The queen felt the importance of such an appointment, and replied : “ Do not be too pressing for the conference, dear captain ; let it be to-morrow.” The place of meeting was crowded. Several of the local chiefs, and many of the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts were present. Mœrenhout entered, weak, and suffering from the still bandaged wounds, that a felon had inflicted, but betraying by his countenance, the mingled working of conscious guilt and of triumphant pride. The captain presented him as the consul of France. “ During some time, the queen,” says her oppressor, “ was silent ; but after appearing to reflect, she said, she should prefer the appointment of some other person. M. Du Petit-Thouars replied : ‘ M. Mœrenhout is honourably known in the world, and already accredited to your majesty, as consul, by the United States ; he possesses equally the esteem of the French government ; in fact he is the only person that can be entrusted with such important functions.’” Nothing remained for the queen but submission, and she received as consul, the man who was to be her jailor.

This arbitrary intrusion of a political agent on an independent

sovereign, is itself an unprecedented act of insolence and illegality; but, when the character of the agent so intruded is considered, the conduct of the French commander, presents an example of atrocious violation of honour and decency, of which the most degraded government might be thought incapable. But M. Mærenhout was master of the position: to the colonizing system of French statesmen, and the propagation projects of the Romish congregation, he was alike "then indispensable." The captain had so far revealed the mystery of iniquity,—the ex-American consul was "the only person."

#### M. MÆRENHOUT, FRENCH CONSUL AT TAHITI.

The name of M. Mærenhout has already occurred frequently, but necessarily, in this review of recent events in Polynesia, both as the enemy of English missions, the agent of Picpus, and the counsellor of the cabinet of the Tuilleries. Had he remained in these more occult capacities, or had he continued to be merely the confidential correspondent of the French government, and the officious director of the French commander, it might have been possible to dispense with any further notice of such an individual: but now that he is made the representative of the king of France at Tahiti, it is imperative, to give further publicity to the conduct of so important an official.

Had he withheld from the press, his own narrative of personal failures and successes, interwoven with calumny of others, in a work to be noticed hereafter; had he hesitated to mix up the history of his fortunes, with that of the christianization of Polynesia; had he not voluntarily presented himself to Europe, as "the accuser of the brethren," we might have been permitted to observe in silence, the dark surface, without disturbing the filthy stream, of his unworthy life. But it is a duty to enter on some of the disgusting details, of the career of a being, who has not only attracted much attention, but has effected much mischief; and has, succeeded in becoming for a time, the sovereign of Tahiti, and almost, the arbiter of peace or war, between England and France.

Before he was seen at Tahiti, Mærenhout, a Belgian by birth, had been clerk to the Dutch Consul, Mr. Dousther, at Valparaiso, and had succeeded in getting himself made supercargo of a vessel sent from that port, by that gentleman, Mr. Green, and others, to trade in the islands of the Pacific. On his arrival, equally with all foreigners, apparently respectable, he met with kind treatment from the English missionary families, and such services as their knowledge of the language, and their long residence in the country qualified them to afford. Mr. Pritchard, who had been stationed at Papeete from the period of his entering on the mission, was on the eve of departure for the Marquesas; he however gave him the information he desired, and he was

admitted as a guest in the house of Mr. Bicknell, a merchant, and son of the late missionary of that name. This hospitality, he requited by flagrant immorality; he was detected in an attempt to scale a partition, such as has been described, for a guilty purpose, and offered, as his only excuse, a plea of intoxication. This excuse was not deemed by his host sufficient to justify a prolonged residence under his roof, and he was required to find another habitation.

After this specimen of his private habits much honour in his mercantile speculations is not to be expected. These he commenced at once. Bitter complaints soon followed, of the disappointing improbity of the natives; not one of whom, as he said, out of one hundred and twenty, paid him what they owed. The truth of this case appears to be, that the new trader gave out at once, and contrary to the custom, his clothes and other articles of barter; expecting, by paying thus beforehand, to get an advantage in the extra quantity of arrow root to be made. The people probably found, that under the appearance of unusual confidence, he had driven an unusually hard bargain; at all events, immediately on the return of Mr. Pritchard, three months later, M. Mœrenhout appealed to that gentleman. The honour of the natives and of religion were interested: Mr. Pritchard advised the natives, at any rate to settle the business; they set to work, completed their task, and M. Mœrenhout acknowledged to Mr. Pritchard, that in consequence of his kindness, he had received, within a pound or two all the arrow root he could pretend to claim.

From the first, this adventurer turned his attention to the use that might be made of spirituous liquors. He was indeed, in this respect, one of the principal causes of the demoralization, of which he complained when it answered his purpose, or when his interests suffered, instead of being promoted, by the effects of his gin and rum.—At an early period of his residence he entered into commercial relations with Tati, chief of Papara, a large landowner, and a man of considerable influence, both on account of his talents, his energy, and his political career. M. Mœrenhout soon found, that it was important to attach this man to his speculations; and though he pretends that Tati offered to give him land, and to build him a house, it was he that set on foot a sugar plantation, and engaged the chief in the enterprise, in the hope, that through him, he should “obtain labour at a lower remuneration.” Tati was also employed by him to get a large quantity of wood, for which he had received orders from Chili, cut and conveyed to the port; he was occupying the natives, at the same time, in making large quantities of arrow root.

Unscrupulous in the means by which his ends could be secured, he favoured vices of every kind, if, by their indulgence, he could bribe individuals to his interests, or gain influence in the island. He had need, indeed, of every resource; for, according to his statements, he

was eminently unsuccessful. In five years, he complains, that he lost four vessels, of which he was sole or in part owner, and in his sugar plantation, 10,000 francs. "I did wrong," he says, "when I gave the chief Tati an interest in the business. I always found, that, though well meaning and ready to render me service, he took care to oblige and favour the people, in order to secure friends (whereas M. Mörenhout engaged him, on purpose to be favored himself). This he did often and unscrupulously at my expence, giving something extra to the natives, even when their work was not half done; and making use freely of my merchandize, and regaling all who visited him, and getting nobly drunk, with his family, with my rum, gin, and brandy; this he did so liberally that, at the end of three years of costly but fruitless efforts, I was obliged to give up the establishment with the loss of about 10,000 francs." In other words, the adventurer hoped, by the extraordinary temptation of liquor, to get more work done and cheaper, than by any other sort of payment; and he found, to his cost, that it was easier to make people drunk, than to render them industrious.

In an inflated representation of his commercial importance, he admits the great part he took in reviving the use of spirits, and in corrupting the native population. "I had given an impulse to commerce, by building a schooner, and fitting out a whaler; by employing a great number of hands on my plantation, in making arrow root, cutting wood, and shipping it. The small vessels, with divers, that I sent pearl fishing to the Pomotou islands, and others that I sent to get tortoise shells; those that I sent backwards and forwards between the islands and Chili; my business with all the principal inhabitants of Tahiti, and with the numerous ships that came to the island; all this gave an importance to the spot, that attracted foreigners of all classes, especially smiths, carpenters, coopers, sailors, and still more vagabonds, deserters, worthless fellows driven from their ships, and who might all have lived well enough if they would have worked; but they did much harm; for they were all drunkards, brawlers, examples of depravity, and of a way of life horrible even among the natives. It was deplorable to see the love of liquor, and the increase of drunkenness which had been so fatal to the country. The grog shops multiplied, and they all prospered."

There is no end to the sad descriptions of this philanthropist; but not a word is said of the money he made, or endeavoured to make, by the importation and sale of gin, and rum, and brandy;—not a word of the grog shops he started or supplied; of the bargains he made in exchange for spirits, or the treats he gave in order to corrupt and debauch the population. It has been mentioned that, at Mr. Bicknell's, he gave early proof of his familiarity with the two principal vices, that have inflicted misery on Tahiti; but he is quite silent on this subject;

nor, among all the details of his Tahitian life, does he give any of the instances of similar misconduct, that might be mentioned.

The adventures of M. Mærenhout, took him to several of the groups of the Pacific, and also to the Spanish coast, from whence, on one occasion, he returned to Tahiti, married to a Spaniard. He had ordered a house to be constructed at Papeete, for his own residence; but when he arrived, the building was not ready, and it was so difficult for him to lodge his bride, that Mr. Pritchard hospitably permitted them to reside during six weeks under his roof, without requiring or receiving any compensation. Madame Mærenhout was a Roman Catholic, and wore a cross suspended from her neck; she was, however, always present at family worship, as well as her husband; who, though irreligious and heathenish in his habits, pretended to prefer the simplicity and verity of Protestantism, to Roman Catholic tricks and ceremonies. Thus, on his second, as on his first arrival at Tahiti, he was particularly indebted to the kindness of English Protestants, for such measure of European accommodation and comfort, as they alone could afford him.

M. Mærenhout resolved at length to visit Europe; but on leaving Tahiti, he seemed doomed to increase his obligations to the missionaries he was about to traduce. Unfaithful in his own conjugal relations, he sought to place his wife under a wholesome measure of restraint; and at his request she was received, with her daughter, as inmates, by the family of the excellent missionary, Mr. Osmond, whose station was distant from Papeete.—Unable to pay for goods, that he wished to take to Europe, and knowing that their proprietor owed Mr. J. Williams £80, which Mr. Pritchard was charged to recover; M. Mærenhout promised, that on his arrival in France, he would remit that sum, to Mr. Williams in England. On this engagement, Mr. Pritchard allowed Mr. Williams's debtor to ship the goods, and Mærenhout thus obtained, by two missionaries, both the merchandise and credit.

He took a passage by way of the United States. By flattering accounts of his enterprises, and of his local influence, he secured his appointment to the office of American consul at Tahiti. But his visit to that country will be remembered by at least one merchant. At Boston, by exhibiting a valuable bottle of pearls, he obtained from Mr. Baker a loan of 500 dollars, which he engaged to repay immediately; and when, long after his return to Tahiti, letters from the lender were addressed to English missionaries, enquiring for the consul, and requesting application to be made for the amount of the debt, it was evident, that he had taken care to forget that engagement, equally with the one that he made to the representative of Mr. Williams. It was in such affluent circumstances, and with such honourable intentions, that the new made consul of Tahiti arrived at Paris.

In that great capital he was not inactive. Indeed he had to push his fortune, at the same time, in various directions. The title of American

consul, and especially the *usurped* title of consul-general, might be used, in so administrative and centralizing a country as France, to great advantage. It might procure him access, to the offices of the government, and open the way for a transfer of his services. With merchants and manufacturers, his consular dignity might procure him credit; with men of science, his publication of the botanical researches of an accomplished traveller, who was shipwrecked among the islands of the Pacific, would obtain for him attention, introductions, and consideration. Nor was religion to be neglected, as a means of advancement. He might protect Romish missionary enterprise in Oceania, and advise and assist the agents of the society of Picpus; but this need not prevent his earnest correspondence with Mr. Williams, then in London, in order to obtain if possible the advantage of conveying him, his family, and the large number of Protestant missionaries who were expected to accompany him, on his return to the South Seas, in the vessel he was about to charter.

Certainly this was much, for an obscure trader, from the little cocoa-nut isle, to attempt,—nor was he unsuccessful. His American consulship, enabled him to serve the French cabinet, and he is now royal French commissary at Tahiti. He obtained, on credit, a cargo of merchandize for the Polynesian market. His work, is quoted by French writers, official and unofficial, as an authority, for falsehood and calumny. His relations with Picpus, became both profitable and honorific, and were of immense importance to the propagation of the faith; and if he did not succeed, in providing Taliti with Protestant missionaries, as well as Romish priests, he was at least fortunate enough to keep Mr. Williams, the great protestant Polynesian apostle, out of his eighty pounds. Of course, no more was said in the council chamber of the Rue Picpus, of his correspondence with the Author of missionary enterprises than of the projects of the “children of the Holy Hearts,” in the letters, pressing for freights of Protestant ministers, despatched to Mr. Williams.—Covered with glory, and full of hope, M. Mørenhout left France in the summer of 1835, and, in due time, he found himself once more in the bay of Papeete; but on board a French brig, laden with goods, of which he could absolutely dispose, whether he should ever find it convenient to pay those, who entrusted them to his care or not. He began to make, at least, some show of remittances. As his fishers had procured him shells, he selected the good, and sent them in the brig to France; he effected also some sales, but the dollars were, as usual, scarce with him. Once again, then, he had recourse to the benevolent feelings, and good offices of Mr. Pritchard. He urged strongly the necessity of making further remittances to Europe; and as he knew the missionaries drew on the Society, he requested that their bills might be payable to his order; promising solemnly, that the amount should be paid by him, from time to time, as the missionaries



might wish to receive it. Mr. Pritchard, was only too kind; unwilling to discredit the American consul, he acted as he desired: he not only ventured on his own account, but, living himself on the same spot with the consul, he became security to another of his brethren also. This, now abused, friend in need, was never repaid; but was finally obliged to take from the trader's store, such articles as he could obtain. In the mean time, Mr. Baker being rather peremptory, M. Moerenhout actually shipped off to Boston, the refuse shells, that had been thrown on the beach, as too bad to send to France, and of little or no value.

He had done, however, great things in the United States, and in Europe, and he was about to do still greater things in Oceania. He had left behind him, that which would wonderfully advance his future projects,—a book full of ungrateful and base calumnies, both of the queen and the people of Tahiti, and of the Protestant missionaries.\*

It is hardly necessary to observe, that had it not been for the long, painful, and successful labours of the English missionaries, this sordid speculator would never have had an opportunity of patching his ragged purse at Tahiti, or of unscrupulously taxing their patience and disinterestedness. His work is full of incongruities, and it bears on its title page, the impress of his roguery;—for he there figures as “Consul-general of the United States of the Oceanian islands;” whereas, his appointment was simply to the consulship of Tahiti; so that, though it possesses no authority whatever, it contains, in some parts, avowals and revelations, which tend to neutralize the effect of his assertions and descriptions, in others. Thus, he admits, to a certain degree, the advantages he had derived from the missionaries, of whom he was the implacable foe. “Most of them,” he says, “are amiable men, who have nothing sombre about them, and whose reserve is not put on.” He speaks of M. Nott as “one of the most cheerful of men;” of Mr. Wilson, as “one of the best and mildest persons he had ever met with;” of Mr. Pritchard, Mr. Simpson, and Mr. Osmond as “particularly well-behaved and good company;” of Mr. Davies as “possessed of considerable information, acquired by his love of study and his assiduity;” of Mr. Henry, as “just and upright, and though rather rigid, incapable of injuring any one;” of Mr. Darling, “as very agreeable in his happy moments,—hospitable, frank, and cordial.” Mr. Davies, he acknowledges, “paid him great attention;” and the liberality, and the absence of selfishness in the conduct of “Mr. Pritchard merits,” he says, “special praise.” He even gives a long passage to the talents and success of Mr. Williams, and acknowledges the service he rendered him;—but Mr. Pritchard was then still holder of Mr. Williams's claim, and the author, then in Paris, was plying Mr. Williams at London, with solicitations for passengers, for the French brig he was about to charter.

\* Voyages aux îles du Grand Ocean, par J. A. Moerenhout, &c., &c.

Much of his work, is of a tone too lubricous for republication in English; but it is necessary, to a just appreciation of what has occurred at Tahiti, and of the conduct of the French government, in the appointment of its consul, to place here, several extracts from the statements he propagated in France, to the disadvantage of the people, by whom he was endeavouring to raise his fallen fortunes; insulting to the sovereign, under whose protection he had securely carried on his speculations; and defamatory of the Protestant mission, to which he owed his consulship, and which was ever labouring, to counteract or mitigate the evils, caused to the island by such immoral beings as himself.

He thus describes a domestic scene and family worship in a house where he had been hospitably received on a tour, preparatory to one of his trading voyages. "Some time after supper, a light was placed in the centre of the house, and the old man began the evening prayer. According to the custom of the sect of Methodists, to which all the English missionaries belong, the prayers are not uniform, but extempore, and dictated by circumstances. I have already mentioned the facility with which these people speak in public. I had now a fresh opportunity of observing this fact, by the prayer of the old man. Let the reader imagine a man, of the lowest class in their society, extemporizing a long and fine prayer, in which foreigners, who are exposed to danger in long voyages by sea, were not forgotten, and in which he prayed with fervour, that he who holds our destiny in his hands, would afford me his protection in the voyage I was about to undertake. Singular state of things! in which we see every vice united with the appearance of real devotion, and in which it must of necessity be true, either that they think the licentiousness of their habits quite innocent, or that they are the most shameful hypocrites."

M. Mærenhout then presents to his French readers, a picture of the indecencies and obscenities, that followed on the close of this fine prayer, which the English language will not allow the pen to copy. Thus he recompensed the poor but generous people, whose integrity and hospitality he had just experienced.

Let Captain Fitzroy, of H. M. S. the *Beagle* (a very different sort of a traveller from M. Mærenhout), reply to this calumnious description of a family scene in Tahiti. "Many persons have said, that the natives only conformed outwardly to the doctrines of the missionaries among them, and only because the eyes of the missionaries were upon them, but that, when they were no longer under their observation, they acted in a very different manner. I have been with the natives at the tops of the mountains, where no eye was upon them, except that of a stranger, whom they might never see again, and the conduct of the natives of Otahcite was just as correct; they were as sincere in their morning and evening prayers; and in the manner in

“ which they spoke of the exertions of the missionaries as in the low  
“ country near the sea, where the missionaries resided.” \*

“ Mr. Stokes passed some nights in their cottages. He told me, the  
“ natives, both men and women, are extremely fond of their children,  
“ and are very kind to them. Not content with amusing and nursing  
“ them, they cram them with bananas and other nutritious food. At  
“ each end of the houses he visited, there was a small fire, one for the  
“ elder and the other for the younger folks; this was the evening, at  
“ their last meal. Grace was said (a duty never omitted), and a clean  
“ comfortable meal enjoyed by the whole party. Afterwards the fires  
“ were put out, and a little wooden pipe passed round. Before sleeping,  
“ the oldest man said prayers; one of the young men read a short  
“ portion of the New Testament, and then a hymn was sung by the  
“ whole family. A lamp was burning all night.” †

His descriptions of their public worship, are of the same unprincipled character.—“The service,” he says, “commenced by the singing of  
“ a hymn. They sing well, and very well. I remarked several women  
“ whose voices were soft and agreeable. After the hymn, came prayers,  
“ sermon, &c.; but there was neither attention, silence, nor modesty.  
“ The women gossiped, or ogled and laughed with the foreigners.  
“ The children and young people ran about, and were continually  
“ moving from one side of the church to another. The only persons  
“ in the assembly who were quiet were the sleepers, and they were  
“ not few in number. A few moments sufficed to enable me to judge  
“ of the state of religion in these islands.” To this infamous mis-  
representation, it is hardly necessary to oppose the testimony, given at  
different periods, of the Hon. Captain Waldegrave, of Captain Gambier,  
of M. Hyde de Neuville, of M. Guizot, of Lieutenant Duperry,  
and of Captain Dumont d’Urville himself. It may not, however, be  
inappropriate to quote a few lines from the last-mentioned officer, as  
published by M. Rienzi.

“ Curious to witness divine service, I embarked with Messrs. Bennett  
“ and Tyerman, the missionaries, and several of our officers. When  
“ we arrived at Papaua, I saw men and women marching, in good order  
“ and in profound silence, towards the church. The immense building,  
“ 700 feet long, was almost full; and yet, notwithstanding their num-  
“ bers, so perfect was the silence, that the voice of the missionary could  
“ be heard in every part of the chapel. The service commenced with  
“ a hymn, which was sung in parts by the people. After the reading  
“ of some pages of the Acts of the Apostles, Mr. Barff made a long  
“ address on one of the prophecies of Isaiah. His expressive manner

\* “Brief Statement of the Aggression of the French,” &c. By the Directors of the London Missionary Society. p. 44.

† “Narrative of the Voyages of the *Adventure* and *Beagle*,” &c. Vol. ii. p. 552.

“and his appropriate emphasis, appeared to produce the deepest impression on his auditory. Some of the members of the congregation endeavoured to write down on paper, passages of the sermon; the rest listened to the priests in the most fervent and respectful attitude.”

The public assemblies of the Tahitians, with their queen and governors, are exhibited by M. Mærenhout in the same odious light.

“The queen arrived, he says, on the 15th, and at the same time most of the chiefs. There was that day a great feast, for since dances are interdicted, they think of nothing but eating. But what a difference from the ancient custom! No more ceremonies, no more pomp,—all is gloomy and monotonous. Things have not even their former cheerfulness. The greater part of the guests ate like wolves. I was obliged to contribute my portion. In the evening they came to ask me for rum; first for the queen, and then for Tati (his friend and partner), and when I had given at least three gallons (he had a good provision), I only avoided their importunity, by refusing to open my door.

“The assembly commenced. The first question was now no longer, whether the use of rum should be abolished, but how the monopoly of that liquor should be secured to the queen, who alone should have a right to sell it.\*) Even the missionaries were not to be allowed to procure the spirits which they might need, except from her; and every body—captains, sailors, and others, were not to be allowed to drink any, that they did not purchase from her majesty. This measure originated in the jealousy of the natives, of some of the English, who had realised large sums by the sale of spirituous liquors.”

This is a malicious misrepresentation of “the striking fact,” to use the words of Captain Fitzroy, “of the people of a whole country who have solemnly refrained from drinking spirits,—an act which entitles them to great respect.” The queen had desired no exemption from the law which prohibited the importation, manufacture, or sale of spirituous liquors. The chiefs destroyed the stock they possessed. Every house was searched—those of the missionaries as well as others. A bottle, containing a small quantity, kept for medicinal purposes, was overlooked in Mr. Pritchard’s house. When the searchers had left the house, he called them back and showed the bottle. Some said, “keep it for that purpose.” Others said, “no, destroy it—no distinction—have we not other medicines of which the use is not so baneful?” The milder opinion, however, prevailed, and the brandy would have been preserved, had not Mr. Pritchard poured it out before them, that no one might abuse the example of the missionary.†

“In the course of the solemnity, her majesty shewed me certain

\* M. Mærenhout dealt largely in fire water.

† “Narrative of the Voyages of the *Adventure* and *Beagle*,” &c. Vol. ii. p. 550.

“ attentions, with which I was more pleased than the missionaries, for  
 “ they do not like her to deviate from the cold and fatiguing decorum  
 “ of our assemblies in Europe. Soon after my arrival at the place of  
 “ meeting, she called me from the seat I had taken near the mission-  
 “ aries, and placed me in a seat by her side. I remained there all the  
 “ time of the meeting, and she seemed to enjoy putting my gallantry  
 “ to the test. She used as a fan, a large leaf of the bread-fruit tree ;  
 “ not for want of others, but because this best answered her views.  
 “ Every moment she managed to let it fall, without making the  
 “ slightest movement which indicated her intention to pick it up ;  
 “ reckoning, as it appeared, fully on me to do that for her. She  
 “ received it, it is true, quite as a sovereign, though sometimes  
 “ she rewarded me by a smile. Indeed, this woman is gentle and  
 “ kind ; at that time she was pretty. I had no reason to complain of  
 “ my situation, nor did I find the service at all long.

Not satisfied with these insulting descriptions of the conduct of the queen on state occasions, he represents, in a most degrading manner, her private habits.

“ The assembly has been finished several days. As I passed the  
 “ house occupied by her majesty, and her women and servants, I saw  
 “ several large pieces of wood, on which were hanging a great many  
 “ wild bananas. I asked for what use they were preserved, and was  
 “ informed they were destined to fatten the queen and her women.  
 “ According to the ancient fancy of these islanders, one of the greatest  
 “ points of female beauty, is to be plump and dimpled. In order to  
 “ procure this embellishment, they live on bananas and mashed bread  
 “ fruit, mixed with water, and taken almost in a liquid state. In the  
 “ mean time they are not allowed to walk, except to the river to wash  
 “ themselves ; and before they reappear publicly, they are \* \* \*  
 “ \* \* \* \* \* I will not say, that things  
 “ are now managed with the same minuteness as formerly ; but I believe  
 “ that the practices are gone through much the same.\*

“ The queen often came to see me, but she was always asking from  
 “ me, for vile creatures, of both sexes, by whom she was attended, diffe-  
 “ rent things, and especially brandy.—Only the ladies who accompany  
 “ her, or the women engaged to amuse her, came into the house. It  
 “ often happened that she made them sing and dance in my presence.†  
 “ These were not the brilliant fêtes of the days of Obeera,‡ nor the  
 “ graceful dances of the bayaderes of that glorious epoch. The instru-

\* Mr. J. Williams had commenced, while on his last voyage, a refutation of the work of M. Mærenhout, in which the ignorance, errors, and falsehoods of the author would have been fully exposed.

† If this statement were worthy of belief, it was at the request of M. Mærenhout, and as the price of his brandy.

‡ Queen of Tahiti in 1767.

“ments were simply Jew’s-harps, to the sound of which they performed  
 “dances more lascivious than attractive, and that were only interesting  
 “from the singing.”

If the sovereign was not spared, it is not to be supposed that her people would be.

“Whenever their interest is concerned, they are positively dishonest;  
 “and the judges and the chiefs are seldom favourable to Europeans.  
 “They had engaged to cut all the sugar canes on my plantation; but  
 “they have never once fulfilled their engagements.

“A long residence in other parts of the island has enabled me to  
 “know, that, whatever the missionaries may have told me to the con-  
 “trary, the licentious habits of the people were no better there than in  
 “Papeete or places where ships anchor.—Even the house of the chief,  
 “with whom I was, was thus profaned; either he shut his eyes, or it  
 “was without his knowledge. And what can be done? Such has ever  
 “been the custom in these islands; it cannot be altered, and it was very  
 “wrong to make laws to prevent it. What in fact has been the result?  
 “By exhibiting as crimes, acts which are not such in their eyes, and by  
 “degrading those who commit them, by punishments which they believe  
 “to be undeserved, they have been completely estranged from the  
 “missionaries, and have been made for ever their enemies.

“I have lately had a visit from the American missionaries, who came  
 “here to see Mr. Davies. I do not know the state of religion and  
 “morals in the Sandwich Islands, but I believe it is not much better  
 “than that of this island. What must these gentlemen think, on finding  
 “the sovereign of Tahiti lodged in the same house with a number of  
 “men and women. They must have found this very different from the  
 “picture lately drawn by their colleague, M. Stewart. What in-  
 “fatuation! When a few hours on shore, when a perambulation for one  
 “day, in one district, so evidently prove that the morality of this people  
 “is in no respect changed; when the natives, in spite of the bonnets of  
 “the women, and the shirts of the men, are less cleanly, less decent  
 “than they were formerly; when any one may see, at one glance, that  
 “their habitations are less graceful, less adorned, more dilapidated, in  
 “every respect inferior to what they were in their ancient state; when  
 “a population less handsome, and more subject to infirmities, every  
 “where meets the eye; when, in fact, at every step, the certain signs  
 “of a state of decadence and degradation present themselves to the  
 “sight; when all this is there before him, is it possible that any one  
 “can so far deceive himself, as to paint delightful pictures, not of the  
 “country,—always fine, always heavenly,—but of a people suffering,  
 “vegetating, the prey of vice, licentiousness, and anarchy; of a people  
 “sinking under diseases, which, prevalent in every family, threaten,  
 “if not the total ruin, at least the complete wretchedness of the  
 “country! To paint, I say, a flattering picture of morality and happi-

“ness altogether imaginary, and of which there does not exist the slightest indication, is almost an outrage on humanity.”

And it was to the author of these apologies for vice, of these libels, of statements, even if true, so injurious and insulting to the sovereign, the chiefs, and the whole population;—to the man who had feloniously forged and used a title to an office, that of consul-general, to which he had no appointment, in order at once to accredit his ribaldry, and to procure a cargo;—it was to this man alone, that the French commander applied for information and advice;—still worse, this publisher of gross abuse of the government and of the person of Pomare, was selected to be the representative of the king of the French, and forced upon the independent but defenceless queen of Tahiti! Would the government of Louis Philippe accept, as the consul of any sovereign, a man who had published similar abuse of His Majesty and of his people? The recklessness of such a choice can only be equalled by its wickedness.—Nor must M. Du Petit-Thouars be held entirely responsible, for this monstrous act of oppression. What could he do? M. Molé, and the French minister of Marine, had unbounded confidence in the “worthy merchant.” To him the captain was exclusively referred, not merely for information, but as to a counsellor and a judge, who was to weigh in one hand, the honour of France, and with the other, mete out the exact measure of punishment to be inflicted on Tahiti. It had been decided at Paris, that the long contemplated colonization of the Pacific should be commenced under the auspices of M. Mærenhout. How could M. Du Petit-Thouars do otherwise, than defer implicitly, to the instructions of his government?

It is true, the ministers of the “irritated king of the French” had bestowed less attention on the pretensions and character of this diplomatic agent, than they are in the habit of giving, to the merits and certificates of their own valets. With even the slightest attention—with merely the most superficial examination of his despatches, and a reference to only a few pages of his book—they might have found sufficient proof of immorality, passion, and inconsistency, to have suggested caution and enquiry. By a cursory glance, they might have seen, that the correspondent who alarmed them by the statement, that “the English missionaries inherited the glory and authority of the ancient priests, who were equal to the chiefs and to the king; that they therefore did as they pleased—had arbitrarily sent the French Romish agents out of the island, and deprived all Frenchmen of security either for property or life; was the same person, who had represented them, in his ‘Voyages,’ as detested by the people, who were their enemies; as without authority; as unable even to secure to themselves the privilege, of purchasing a single bottle of brandy, except from the stores of the queen.”

But alas! statesmen are too enlightened, too superb, to exercise, on what concerns the happiness of states, and the destinies of nations,

the common sense, that they habitually employ in their own private and personal affairs. What a lesson does the Tahitian consulship furnish, on modes and instruments of government; what an example of the culpable negligence, or something worse, of those who live to monopolize power, as the friend of Caret lived to monopolize shells!

M. Du Petit-Thouars had been taught his catechism, as the Mangarevians had been taught theirs by M. Laval.\* “This is the chain:—  
“ Pomare submits to the commander of the *Venus*; the commander  
“ submits to the minister of marine; the minister of marine to the  
“ president of the council; the president of council to M. Mœrenhout.”

The captain felt indeed that a mark of deference, confidence, and gratitude so distinguishing, was disgraceful to those who conferred it: this dilemma, was more dangerous than that, from which he had escaped, when he required salutes without powder: he must attempt to justify the appointment; and he did it, by an act, even more infamous than the appointment itself: it was by accrediting a charge of the intended assassination of M. Mœrenhout, and the murder of his wife by the English missionaries; above all by Mr. Pritchard.

M. Louis Reybaud lays the accusation in form, and in connexion, with charges against the British consul. “M. Mœrenhout,” says he, “instead of being able to protect the two priests, only succeeded in getting himself dismissed from the American consulship, by the government of the United States, which reproached him with having acted in opposition to the interests of the Lutheran faith. Another kind of vengeance, more mysterious and more cruel, awaited this worthy merchant. Some time after, his house was attacked in the night; he awoke out of his sleep, and he found before him a man, who knocked him down with a hatchet, and with another blow killed his wife. The assassin was an *Englishman*, who had fled from justice elsewhere, and who, by assassinating M. Mœrenhout, thought he should serve the hatred of his fellow Protestants. So many services rendered to French citizens, and so cruelly expiated, merited some return on the part of our government: M. Mœrenhout was accredited by France to the authorities of Tahiti.”

In the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, the same faithful historian repeated the accusation more briefly, but more positively, “The consul of the United States endeavoured to prevent this arbitrary act; he was attacked in the night in his dwelling, struck by an assassin, and left for dead.”

An agent of the government, whose letter was published by the *Journal des Debats*, and has since gone the round of every French journal, in a sort of justification of the consul's subsequent elevation to the dignity of the royal commissioner, says, “M. Mœrenhout only just



“ escaped assassination ; at whose instigation ? I dare not tell you  
 “ who is suspected here. \* \* \* \* \*

Captain Dumont d'Urville, does not go quite so far ; but he says,  
 “ The English missionaries, had to reproach themselves with an in-  
 “ direct participation in this crime, by the indecent declamations in  
 “ which they indulged, against M. Mærenhout.”

Captain du Petit-Thouars is less reserved : “ Perhaps,” says the  
 commander of the *Venus*, “ after the attempt at assassination of which  
 “ he was the object, for reasons which were generally thought to be  
 “ rather political than personal (the known culprit not having been  
 “ punished), it became a sacred duty, to give him a moral protection,  
 “ that might prevent him from being the victim of an act of humanity  
 “ so honourable to him, and of the generous impulse, that had led  
 “ him to assist our unfortunate fellow citizens.”

To reproduce these charges, adduced as the pretext for a violation of  
 all the laws and rights of nations, by the appointment of a consul, in  
 spite of the refusal of the sovereign to whom he was to be accredited ;  
 to reproduce such charges, is to refute them, and to cover with disgrace  
 those who employed them. It would, however, be an injustice to the  
 accused to suppress the facts.

A letter from Tahiti says :—

“ The dwelling of M. Mærenhout, American consul, was invaded by  
 “ one or two villains, who went to commit robbery. Alarmed by the  
 “ noise, M. Mærenhout jumped out of bed, when a man gave him  
 “ several blows on the head and other parts of the body. Madame  
 “ Mærenhout came to the assistance of her husband, and in endeavour-  
 “ ing to defend him, received some blows on the head, by which her  
 “ skull was fractured. After having suffered five or six months, she  
 “ sunk under the injuries she had received. Two persons were accused  
 “ of the murder. One was a negro from South America, and the other  
 “ an Englishman. The negro was tried, condemned, and executed last  
 “ January. The Englishman was acquitted, as there was no evidence  
 “ on which to convict him. It appears, that the negro had already  
 “ been condemned for murder, on the coast of South America, and that  
 “ the captain of an American whaler had ransomed him.”

Another letter from a merchant at Tahiti says, “ The papists are  
 “ disliked by the natives and the foreign residents, on account of the  
 “ exaction made by the *Venus*, and because the murderer of Madame  
 “ Mærenhout was a Roman Catholic.” This testimony is valuable  
 though incomplete.

M. Mærenhout was believed or known to have received some dollars ;  
 and in the dead of the night the shutter of his house was pierced, and  
 a negro entered, armed with a Spanish knife and a small hatchet. On  
 being disturbed, M. Mærenhout took a light and left his chamber : the  
 light was immediately dashed from his hand, and a blow from the robber

brought him to the ground. His wife ran to learn the cause of this disturbance, and a scuffle ensued. M. Mærenhout received a dangerous wound on his head, and fifteen more in different parts of his body : his wife had her head laid open to the brain, by the axe ; and on her body, she had also seven wounds. The light in the first instance, and afterwards the noise, excited the attention of the neighbours ; and Mr. Pritchard, who was fast asleep, was roused by knocks at his door and the cries of the people. Though since M. Mærenhout's conduct in the business of the priests, he had hardly spoken to him, he hastened to the spot :—he found the man and his wife insensible, weltering in their blood ; he raised them, placed them on their beds ; sent for a surgeon, who was at that time on the island ; himself washed their wounds, cut their hair, prepared the necessary bandages, and assisted the surgeon throughout his operations. It was the sabbath ; but so entirely was Mr. Pritchard occupied, that no service could be performed at the chapel. Like the good Samaritan, he was employed in binding up the wounds of his enemy, and in showing that mercy, which is better than sacrifice.

In the evening he had retired to his home to seek repose, when he was again sent for by M. Mærenhout.—The wounded man was become so weak, from loss of blood, and was so ill, that he thought he could not survive ;—he wished to confide to the “chief of Vandals” all his affairs. Mr. Pritchard counselled him to dictate his will ; he was not able to do this, but he requested Mr. Pritchard—the cruel, the infamous Mr. Pritchard—to take charge of all he possessed, and to arrange his concerns ; in the presence of two gentlemen, foreigners, sent for to act as witnesses ; for the sufferer could not even write his name ; he conferred on Mr. Pritchard, all the necessary powers for the protection and appropriation of his property. Immediately, all that he had most precious, including a box of pearls of considerable value, was placed under the care and the seal of Mr. Pritchard.—From the first hour that the supercargo appeared at Papeete, to this, apparently last moment of his life, that respectable and respected Protestant Christian, Mr. Pritchard, had been kind, patient, forgiving ; and now, when in the article of death, or at least in imminent danger, the really friendless stranger, appealed to the same kindness, the same charity, the same integrity that he had so long experienced and so often abused. That will be indeed a dark page, in the history of human nature, which shall record the ingratitude of Mærenhout, and the injustice of Romish priests and French officers, to so eminently good and benevolent a man. To accuse on light grounds, an innocent individual, of such a crime as assassination, or privy to murder, is to become deeply guilty ; but deliberately to charge on a benefactor and a saviour, the wounds that he had healed, and the life he had preserved, was to lose completely the character of man, in that of demon.

The negro was discovered and seized; for months he was confined, and submitted, not to trial, but to repeated examinations, that time and circumstances might assist, in obtaining all the truth. The prisoner accused an Englishman, first, with having assisted him in the act, then with having planned the robbery; but no evidence, beyond the declaration of the murderer, could be found. The Englishman accused, was known to be a worthless fellow, and every effort was therefore made to fix upon him, his share, if share he had, in the horrid crime; but in vain. The negro was at length publicly tried; M. Mærenhout was present; he was convinced, as well as French officers, and others who had seen the prisoner, that "neither political nor Protestant" motives could have had access to his mind. They were convinced, that all had been done, that could be done; that the zeal and energy of Mr. Pritchard had been exemplary throughout, and were sustained to the last. Madame Mærenhout died of her wounds, and her murderer was hanged;—the man against whom no evidence could be found, was of course acquitted.

Such is the episode in the melancholy story of French catholic, and French political aggressions in the South Seas. Had any other "reasons," than such as suggest themselves to a housebreaker, been required to account for the catastrophe, it is more than probable, they would have been found to have been "personal, rather than political."—It has been hinted, that M. Mærenhout was reputedly unfaithful to his conjugal engagements. This may be well conceived, by those who have read his defence of the ancient licentiousness of the Tahitians, and will find full credit, when they are informed, that in a public assembly, he, by an interpreter, openly pleaded for indulgences of the same nature, and assimilated such sensual gratifications to the natural appetite for daily food. The profligacy of his sentiments, and of his conduct, does not excuse, but it may account in some degree, for that of his wife. During his absence in Europe, Madame. Mærenhout became again a mother, and of a child that was owned and provided for, by the proper father. On his return, the American consul resented so strongly the conduct of his wife, as to refuse to receive or to see her. At length, his anger being in some measure appeased, he procured for her, a small habitation at some distance from his own dwelling, which he permitted her to visit in the day, in order to render him household services. It is this same hut, that has since become so celebrated, as the residence of the Romish martyrs, Caret and Laval. Finally, M. Mærenhout, when *ill*, and needing particular attendance, allowed his wife to return to her former position in his family. It was while they were thus cohabiting, that the murder occurred. Since that period, M. Mærenhout has so far braved both the laws and decency, as to send an agent, in the night, to effect the absconding of a woman, from the side of her husband. The agent was provided with a sailor's dress; in that disguise, while the husband slept, the wife left her home, and ran towards the house of her

paramour. The husband awaking and missing his partner, suspected the truth; he followed on her steps, and just as she reached the door of M. Mœrenhout, who was waiting to receive her, the incensed husband laid his hand on the jacket that disguised her; but at the instant, the consul rushed forward, aimed a blow with his sword, and when the husband started back to avoid a wound, the woman sprang forward, and the door was closed. She has continued ever since, to live with M. Mœrenhout; a child, the fruit of their intercourse, is on the spot; and the public scandal is complete.

M. Du Petit-Thouars might therefore, naturally have associated the attack on M. Mœrenhout, or the murder of his wife, with "reasons *personal*, rather than political;" and thus have avoided "the sacred duty of throwing a moral protection over the (pretended) victim of a generous impulse." The negro robber, who came, from a country, where, "the people live in the most profound ignorance, but preserve the Romish faith they received from the Spaniards," was a guilty wretch, and he was hanged. Will M. Du Petit-Thouars decide on the appropriate punishment, due to the moral assassin, who, though high in rank, should deliberately aim his blow at the good name of the honourable and benevolent?—The circumstances of the crime and of the trial, have been fully and clearly narrated; they were of public notoriety; and yet officers of the *Astrolabe* have had the hardihood to become, by a more recent statement, the accomplices of the captain of the *Venus*, and even to surpass him in audacity and falsehood. "During the stay of the *Astrolabe*," say they, "M. Mœrenhout was fast recovering, whereas his wife was in a desperate condition. The murderers of Madame Mœrenhout were condemned to death; but only one of the malefactors was executed; for the second succeeded in concealing himself from the police, or perhaps his evasion was facilitated on purpose to avoid inflicting punishment on a white man. It is even confidently asserted, that the escape of this Englishman was the work of Mr. Pritchard. M. Mœrenhout was dismissed, for his honourable conduct, from the American consulship; but he was henceforth under the protection of the French flag, whose interests were in future, to be confided to his care."

\* M. Du Petit-Thouars has published, in his own letter to Sir G. Gibbs, another base calumny. "I might," says he, "have demanded of Mr. Pritchard, an account of the property that Captain Bureau, murdered at the Feejees, in 1834, had committed to his care. The accounts were not satisfactory; but, I did not institute an inquiry. I received what was given me, and deplored the fate of the unfortunate family." (†) M. Mœrenhout, M. Du Petit-Thouars's generous friend, declared himself the partner of M. Bureau, and took possession of all that belonged to him.—Mr. Pritchard, had absolutely nothing whatever to do with the effects, or heritage of the murdered captain.

(†) "Voyage Du *Venus*, &c." Vol. iii.

Though "the honour" of the tri-coloured flag in the Pacific was thus publicly given in charge to the consul, M. Du Petit-Thouars himself undertook the cause of a drunken, dissolute Frenchman; the same carpenter, who had served as spy and informer, to Caret, Laval, and Mœrenhout, when, the two former were lodged in his hut. On the refusal of the captain to take this disorderly man from the island, though the queen earnestly requested his removal; she wrote to the king of the French, soliciting as a favour, what she might have claimed as a right,—the application of the laws of her country, for the protection of her own subjects. In the official volumes of M. Du Petit-Thouars, which published the letter of Pomare, we find no mention of any answer from his majesty Louis Philippe.\*

Notwithstanding the inexorableness of the commander of the *Venus*, in exacting from Pomare compliance with all the articles of reparation, in imposing on her a hostile consul, and in refusing to remove a profligate and mischievous Frenchman, he still pretended to a deep interest in "the young queen Pomare. His opinion of the English missionaries was so unfavourable, that he could not but pity her, when he saw her really destitute of friends and advice, abandoned to the will of an ambitious and rapacious Society, which dictated its orders without any consideration for her feelings, and, by threats, laid all the islands of her dominions under contribution to its interests. The Society had condescended to leave her some; but had altogether withdrawn Raiatea, Bora-bora, the Poumoutou group, Huahine, &c., from her sovereignty."

With this petty, despoiled, and pitiable monarch, his majesty, Louis Philippe I., king of the French, by his representative, the commander of the *Venus*, deigned, however, to make a convention; in virtue of which "Frenchmen, of whatever profession, were to be at liberty to come and go; to establish themselves, and to trade in all the islands subject to the government of Tahiti, and to be protected as the most favoured foreigners." This convention was "signed in the Palace of the queen of Tahiti, on the 4th of September, 1838, and its sole object was, to establish the right of French subjects, to stay in the territories of the Tahitian sovereign." It must not be forgotten, that this treaty, equally with the French consularship, was dictated by M. Mœrenhout's frigate; and that the queen and governors had no liberty to refuse the honour done them.—But this was not the real question between France and Tahiti; for Frenchmen, as such, had never been refused residence, or been treated unkindly. The question still remained—were Frenchmen to be held independent of the laws? and were persons

\* The salutation of the letter to Louis Philippe, might satisfy even the *Journal des Debats*, that the name of Jesus Christ is not unknown in Tahiti. "Dear friend, Peace be with your Majesty, from Jehovah and Jesus Christ—the Messiah, the Prince of Peace."

dangerous to the government and to the peace of the islands, to be protected, merely because they were natives 'of the gay regions of France?' The truth is evident; Tahiti was to become a French possession; and all the measures adopted, whether more violent or more plausible, were taken, simply and solely, to prepare the way for that consummation.

The armed negotiator takes care, indeed, to declare that "he had given no encouragement to the chiefs and parties that divided the government, and that, in that respect, he had acted differently from English officers. The population," he says, "was indifferent to what occurred; all difficulties had been removed; the greatest tranquillity prevailed in the island, and indeed it was not in a condition to oppose any resistance."

#### CAPTAIN DUMONT D'URVILLE AT TAHITI.

Affairs were thus advanced, when Captain Dumont d'Urville arrived at Tahiti, with the *Astrolabe* and the *Zélée*, fresh from the grand mass at Gambiers, and the saturnalia of the Marquesas. The narrative of M. Dumont d'Urville himself, and the work on Polynesia, of M. Louis Reybaud, who was in fact the author of the "Voyage Round the World," published in the name of M. Dumont d'Urville, supply considerable information of the sayings and doings of that officer, during his stay at the island.

It is evident, that the captain entered the bay of Matavia, full of plans of meditated and promised vengeance, formed on receiving the false accounts of the priests at the Gambier Islands. At a dinner party, given by the lord bishop Ronchouse to the officers of the corvettes, and a roving trader in pearls, and when "all were gay and cheerful," the captain was enlightened, as to the true character of the English heretical missionaries. He learned, that they were "the oppressors of the poor Tahitians; in short, vampires, whose cruelties and inquisitorial tortures were as atrocious, as their hypocrisy was disgusting;" he learned, that "they forced the two priests, Laval and Caret, to embark on board a miserable little vessel (Hamilton's), in the hope, no doubt, that they would perish at sea;" he learned also, "with indignation, that all their effects had been plundered, and that they had lost, including their passage back, as much as 10,000 francs!" In fact, before he left the jovial board, his indignation rose so high, that "he felt the honour of his flag required, that he should go to the island, collect positive information, write to his government, and menace Pomare and the chiefs with exemplary punishment, for the outrage committed on French citizens.—The captain once resolved, "the bishop was in a ravishment of delight, and assured the gallant commander, that prompt and energetic measures were necessary, to humble the insolence of the Protestant missionaries."

When captain Dumont d'Urville anchored in Matavai bay, he found that the little island, was sufficiently capacious, to shelter, in another of its bays, a French frigate. Great was his surprise to learn, from Mr. Rodgeron, an English missionary, that the *Venus* was in the port of Papeete, that summary vengeance had been taken on Pomare, and that his menace was already accomplished.

The captain, informs us, it is true; that "as he was the senior commander, the missionaries had some hope that he would investigate the whole affair, and revoke the acts of the warlike captain of the *Venus*; that Mr. Rodgeron had observed, that it would not be equitable to make all the society responsible for the faults of one man; and that on his way to Papeete, on purpose to put an end to any such absurd expectations, his boat met one, in which was Mr. Pritchard, on his way to Matavai, probably with the design of remonstrating against the conduct of M. Du Petit-Thouars." But if all this were the case, as M. Dumont d'Urville pretends, they soon found that he adopted and approved, all that had been done by his brother officer. How, indeed, could he do otherwise, when, in addition to the veridical Bishop Rouchouse, he had for his informants Messrs. Du Petit-Thouars, Mœrenhout, and others interested in their decisions.

He arrived on the 9th of September, (the submission of the queen had been made on the 31st of August,) and on the 10th, he accompanied the triumphant Captain Du Petit-Thouars, on a visit to the queen. M. Mœrenhout was, of course, of the party. "Since late events, she had left her pretty summer residence in the isle of Motu-Uta, and lived at a miserable habitation near the shore. She was surrounded by the members of her family, and held in her arms her infant, a few months old. The senior officer informed her majesty, that he had come out of his course on purpose to inquire into the affairs of the Catholic missionaries; and when the queen's speaker, a grave and good-looking person, assured him, that the peace of the country required the steps she had taken for their removal, as there were persons ready for rebellion, who had already attempted to disturb the country, he replied—*No doubt, the queen is free in her states: and nobody, not even the king of the French, can require her to change her religion. She would therefore have acted rightly, had she been satisfied, with prohibiting the French missionaries from exercising, in any way, public worship*; but it was impossible, not to demand satisfaction, for her ill-treatment of two French citizens.—I added, says the commander, that the queen, Pomare-Valhine, might think herself very fortunate to get so easily out of the very dangerous position, in which she had placed herself in regard to France. These rather severe words, were faithfully translated; for I perceived that Pomare was deeply affected, and that the tears began to fall from her eyes, as she threw them on me with an evident expression of anger. At the same

“moment I also perceived, that Captain Du Petit-Thouars endeavoured to diminish the effect of my words, by some little liberties that he was taking with the queen; such as pulling gently her hair, and patting her cheeks; he even added, that she was foolish to be so much affected.—I then terminated our conference, which had been carried far enough to answer the end I proposed.”—That end was to support M. Du Petit-Thouars, to gratify M. Mœrenhout, and to intimidate the queen. “This woman,” says the captain, in his report to the minister of Marine, “seemed to understand the lesson she received; but she is entirely under the yoke of the English missionaries;—especially of Mr. Pritchard. It is to be feared that Pomare-Vahine, entirely abandoned to the suggestions of that man, will one day forget the salutary impression made by the visit of the *Venus*, and will be tempted to begin again.

When he was on the point of leaving the queen, M. Dumont d'Urville saw a quantity of fruits, fowls, and hogs, and he was informed by a chief, “that he was ordered to offer them as a present; but on M. Du Petit-Thouars saying, that he had refused similar offers, because the queen refused to visit the frigate, M. Dumont d'Urville replied; that he would accept them, on condition that Pomare would come on board the *Venus*; till then, he should not believe that she was really reconciled with the French.—Pomare ordered her chief to answer, that she was friendly with the French; but—as she had to suckle her infant, who required all her time and all her attention, she could not visit the frigate. That was evidently an evasion. But not being disposed to torment the poor woman any longer, the commander pretended to be satisfied, and went away.”

It was, doubtless, thought to be both dignified and delicate, on the part of the officers of the French navy, the representatives of their king, to annoy and insult a poor, unprotected female, under pretence of avenging the honour of their country. But, is it surprising, that she should prefer the English missionaries, and officers, who had always treated her with respect and kindness, or that her preference, should produce the following acrimonious avowal? “Pomare, feeble, obstinate, but without sustained energy, appeared to submit again to the English ascendant. She owed a grudge to the French, for the fright they had caused her; and when the officers of the *Venus*, the *Astrolabe*, and the *Zélée*, visited her in her habitation, where she was accessible to all, she looked at them with displeasure, and even affected to turn her back on them.”

In proportion to the measure of vexation and humiliation dealt out to Pomare was the degree of glorification insured to M. Mœrenhout. That “worthy merchant” was indeed destined to receive the highest satisfaction. He was not only morally protected by his new consulship,



but he was privileged to witness the insults offered, according to the French account, not only to the queen, and to the English missionaries, but to Mr. Consul Pritchard, the representative of queen Victoria. M. Louis Reybaud, after stating that "Mr. Pritchard himself had to fire off the cannon that rendered homage to the French flag, planted on the little island of Motu-Ula, adds; 'the reverend was not to be quit for so little,—The commandant d'Urville called on him, in company with M. Mœrenhout, and on entering his house, he said, 'Mr. Pritchard, you are consul, appointed as such by England, and it is to the English consul that I make my visit. As for Mr. Pritchard, Protestant minister, if he had no other title, I should have had him taken by force on board my ship, where he would have remained in irons, till our arrival in France.'—The reverend, did not answer a word." The commandant, has not described this scene in his official account;—but he has avowed enough.

"On leaving the dwelling of Pomare-Vahine," says that account, "he was conducted by M. Mœrenhout to the house of Mr. Pritchard. The English consul, looking thin and bilious, with an appearance of pride, and the cold dignity so natural to the English, met him with every mark of civility; but the moment he had entered, he stopped short, and, among other things, said, 'In my former voyages, I have been the friend of English missionaries, and I should have been happy, had I learnt that you had always combined the performance of your duties as a Christian, with those imposed by humanity. I hope that hereafter you will understand better your duties as an English citizen, and that you will protect, even at the risk of your own life, all French subjects who may be exposed to similar injuries to those that have taken place.' Mr. Pritchard replied, that no doubt he had been calumniated to Captain d'Urville, but that henceforth he should be ready to protect the subjects of all nations."

It is pretty clear, that neither of these versions is correct; except in what respects the perfect silence of Mr. Pritchard. He, certainly, did not condescend to notice, by word or gesture, the remarks of the commander, on affairs foreign to his attributions, and which had occurred before Mr. Pritchard was consul.

If the account of M. Reybaud be the classic version, it shows clearly to what humiliations the friends of Protestant missions, and the representative of the British sovereign have been long subjected; and that in his "violent outrage" on Mr. Pritchard, M. d'Aubigny was only following the traditions furnished by his honourable colleague, M. Mœrenhout, French royal commissary at Tahiti. But, even on the version of M. Dumont d'Urville, the question arises,—What right or pretension, had a French naval officer, to lecture and accuse a British consul, in his own consulate, and in the presence of the consul of France? Are Englishmen called to submit to such acts of misconduct?

and ought the English government to tolerate them? The publication, in either case, of such statements, whether true or false, by official writers and agents, demonstrates the spirit of the church and of the state in France, and the degree of pleasure which they thought their abuse of the English missionaries, would afford the French people.

The avowed objects of the French government having been thus easily obtained, the three ships of war sailed from Tahiti, on the 15th and 16th of September, 1838, leaving M. Mcerenhout to prepare the way for the attainment of such ulterior objects, as the king of the French and the society of Piepus might think proper, at a later period, to secure and to acknowledge.

#### TAHITI, UNDER THE FRENCH CONSULATE.

The French consul, was perfectly competent to the business confided to him, and he was in a situation favourable to success. Daring and unprincipled, he had already raised the elements of discord, and produced a degree of disorganization, that would facilitate his efforts to accomplish a complete revolution, in the social and political condition of Tahiti.

“The population was agitated, and several of the chiefs were disposed to seize an opportunity of rallying as a party. M. Mcerenhout was considered as the principal mover in all that had occurred. It was not less to his communications, than to the complaints of the priests, that was attributed the promptitude with which the offences committed had been so severely punished. He was in fact at the *head of a party*, which, successively, a *political party* and a *Catholic party*, had now become a *French party*. A scission had been effected in the government. A great difference of opinion prevailed among the chiefs.” Thus much is advanced, or rather announced by the French officers. That it was only what might be expected, must be evident to every person who has followed the course of events, as it has been retraced in these pages.

It has been seen, that M. Mcerenhout, had early associated the pecuniary interests of one of these chiefs, Tati, with his own. This man is the grandson of Amo, formerly chief of the island, and the son of Temare, the late powerful chief of Papara (or Orpora), and the humbled adversary of Pomare.—Tati is also the brother of Upufara, the successor of Temare, as chief of Papara. It was Upufara who attacked Pomare II, the father of the present queen, on that memorable day when victory declared for the Christians, idolatry was overthrown, and Pomare resumed the sovereign authority over all the Tahitian dominions.—Tati fought on that occasion against Pomare II; but when Upufara was slain, the cause of the rebellious idolaters lost, and the victors showed themselves merciful and forgiving, he embraced Christianity, became

submissive to Pomare, who left him the chieftainship of Papara, and soon after, distinguished himself, by his zeal in promoting the moral and social improvements, commenced by that sovereign.

It was only natural that there should remain in his heart, some germs of jealousy and ambition, which a designing man might cherish and fructify. As late as 1832, Tati had been at the head of a powerful and armed opposition to the queen; and he had long held important posts, in the administration of the affairs of the country.

M. Mœrenhout, has revealed the train of thought, with which he took pains to occupy the memory and mind of Tati. "Tati," he says, "might easily have seized the power; he did well not to do so; especially since the accession of the present queen; but it is to be regretted, that he did not take the government when Pomare II, on his death-bed, offered it to him.—His disinterestedness, and the false views of the English missionaries, who prevented him from putting himself at the head of affairs after the king's death, have occasioned the ruin of the country, the degradation of the people, and even the fruitlessness of the labours and sacrifices of the missionaries." It is easy to understand, how the feigned regrets of Mœrenhout, and his pretended desire of serving the interests of a man, so capable of governing, and so undeservedly placed below his proper station, might infiltrate themselves into the heart of Tati; especially when aided by the stimulus of commercial speculations, and spirituous liquors. Nor must it be forgotten, that it is of this same chief that he had said, "to oblige and favour the people, in order to secure friends, he often and unscrupulously overpaid them at my expence; making free use of my merchandize; regaling all who visited him, and getting nobly drunk, he and his family, with my rum, gin, and brandy."

Paofai, chief of a district on the eastern side of the island, had also been a leader in the celebrated conflicts by which Pomare, for a time, lost his supremacy. He was the brother of Hitoti, another principal chief of the eastern districts.

Utami, is chief of Atehuru, the scene of the tremendous struggles between its inhabitants and the party of Pomare II, for the possession of the idol Oro. These three chiefs, had with Tati, taken arms, in 1832, against the queen. They were all familiar with the sanguinary wars, and licentious practices of former times; not acquainted with them by tradition or report; but were themselves actors in those scenes of pollution and carnage, and had borne a prominent part in the conflicts connected with the settlement of the dynasty, and the change of religion.

M. Mœrenhout, was no longer a needy and a desperate trader; the inefficient protector of French priests. He was now the friend of naval commanders; the official representative of the king of the French; the public awarder of honours and fortune; and with all these elements

of influence, he addressed to the chiefs, just mentioned, the full force of his seductions and his threats.

But neither the governors, nor the queen, were as yet prepared to throw themselves into the arms of the nation, of whose morals and mercies they had received so memorable a specimen.

Two measures, adopted by the government clearly demonstrate the general aversion for French religion, and French rule, and a prevailing sentiment of impending danger.

One, was the despatch of a letter by a British armed vessel, the *Fly*, on the 8th of November, 1838, to the queen of England, to implore, "the shelter of her wing, the defence of her lion, and the protection of her flag. Threatened as we are," say they, "in what we have dearest to our hearts, the Protestant faith, and our nationality, we have nobody to assist us in our helpless situation, except you, who implanted in our hearts, through your people, the love of Jehovah, of order, and industry."\* It is necessary to observe, what the French accounts have suppressed, that this letter, approved by the chiefs and representatives, was signed by the four chiefs just mentioned. Either then, their principles were not yet broken down, by the seductions and threats of the French consul; or they felt, that they must dissimulate with a nation, determinately opposed to any political or religious connexion, with the country of Caret, Laval, and Thouars.

Another measure, was the passing of a law by the legislative body, prohibiting "the propagation of any religious doctrines, or the celebration of any religious worship, opposed to that true gospel, of old propagated in Tahiti, by the missionaries from Britain; that is, these forty years past." The violation of the law by foreigners, of any nation, expose them to forfeiture of right of residence;—by Tahitians, of whatever rank, (the sect of the Mamoia being particularly mentioned,) to labour on the public roads."

This legislative act, apparently in disaccord with the principles of religious liberty, so dear to Englishmen, and with the tolerant sentiments, so eminently characteristic of their missionary operations, has been charged as a crime on the missionaries at Tahiti, with as little reason as justice. The missionaries, as a body, and probably as individuals, disapproved, on various grounds, of the act of the legislative assembly, and therefore could not have prepared the project; nor, had they desired its adoption, did they possess the means of procuring its enactment. The guns of three ships of war, though no longer levelled at their habitations, had left the people in a degree of terror, which would have prevented them from listening to the missionaries, had they proposed the adoption of any measure, that seemed likely to expose

\* This interesting letter, has been published in the meagre correspondence, relative to the proceedings of the French at Tahiti, presented to the House of Commons.

them to a fresh infliction, on the part of 'the irritable king of the French.' Mr. Pritchard, had not been able to avert one of the evils, included in the articles of reparation. The missionaries had been friends, but not saviours.

The law had no precedent in the long history of missionary labours and difficulties. The missionaries had never provoked any prohibitory statutes against obstinate idolaters, or heathen recusants. That they had not suggested the employment of such means, during the recent troubles occasioned by the Mamoia, is evident from this very enactment. They had even disapproved the coercive means decreed, to enforce the religious observance of the Sabbath, by attendance on public worship. To charge on the missionaries this act, with the sense attached to it by their judges, is still further to injure men, on whom the hand of affliction has pressed most heavily.

The law, too, created no privileged order, guaranteed no honours or emoluments to any particular class of persons, or to a certain profession of religion; it was not aggressive, but purely defensive; and whether efficient or inefficient, was the result of the peculiar state of the country, and especially of the declarations of the two French commanders. It seemed, to the legislative assembly, to present the only expedient, for preserving the nation from internal anarchy, and external aggression.

When Pomare assured the arrogant commanders, "that rebels had lately attempted to change the established order of things, and that the peace of her states required the measures taken with the priests," captains Dumont d'Urville and Du Petit-Thouars replied, "That she would have done well, had she prohibited all exterior signs, and all public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion; for that even the king of the French could not require her to change the religion professed in Tahiti!"\*

This declaration did not indeed accord with the past threat of the captain of the *Venus*, that he would place French Romish priests in all the islands; nor, to those who knew the French priests and officers, did it offer any guarantee for the future; but it presented to the queen the only solution of the present difficulty. The king of the French would not allow the queen's government to exercise its right of refusing permission of residence to French subjects. It mattered not, however mischievous their presence might be; even though its sole end should be, to establish a system of religious propagation, that must inevitably produce political conflict. But at the same time that the French commanders compelled the queen to allow residence to all, they authorized and advised the interdiction of that propagation, which was the real cause of the danger that menaced her states. Nothing therefore appeared to remain to the oppressed Tahitians, but to enact

\* Dumont d'Urville, vol. iv.

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a special law ; to exercise, in fact, the only authority left to the government, and to prohibit, as the wily commanders had recommended, all religious exercises, and the propagation of all religious doctrines, differing from those professed generally by the inhabitants. But in order to avoid unnecessary offence to a foreign power, and also to meet the extent of the evil, the enactment contained a distinct mention of the citizens of the country, and a particular allusion to the sect lately in open rebellion.

It is a peculiar feature of this case, that no special law had as yet been made against the Mamoia ; nor had any general prohibitory act been hitherto passed, in consequence of the existence of that dangerous and turbulent sect, which had caused so much trouble in Tahiti, and in the other islands. Indeed, in a great public assembly, held about that time (1834), the Mamoia were reproached with having endeavoured, for political ends, *without the sanction of the majority*, to change the received forms, and establish new doctrines and ceremonies.

From the whole of the circumstances, it is evident, that the new law was not dictated by a design to unite the church and the state ; for a church, properly speaking, did not exist ; nor to proclaim, as a principle, the exclusion of all doctrines, irrespective of their political character. The letter to the queen of England contained the preamble of the law,—“ fear of losing at once, what was most dear to their hearts, “ the Protestant religion, and their nationality.”

The French priests declared, that they were sent by the propaganda to extirpate Protestantism ; and they were conveyed to their destination, and maintained in the islands, by the French royal marine, and by threats of subverting the national government.

Since the adoption of Christianity, the Tahitians had been visited by many hundreds of vessels, and some disputes had of course occurred ; but they had not been hitherto molested or disturbed by foreigners, on any questions of a religious nature. They knew of but two causes of religious quarrels ; and both were identified with political disorder—Romanism and Mamoianism. These were now about to unite their interests for the overthrow of Protestantism, and of the national independence. The rebels could only succeed by the aid of foreigners, and, they were disposed, it was said, rather to sacrifice the independence of their country, than to forego their opposition to the government. The foreigners depended on the political divisions they might foment, for the intrusion of their Popish and national supremacy. But because political, anti-social, or rebel parties, may mix up certain religious opinions and practices with their views and projects, is this to ensure for them, not only toleration, but exemption from all legislative or administrative control ? He must be an expert casuist, who can, in such cases, distinguish the point where the rights of conscience begin, and

the claims of social and political security terminate, and can trace an exact line, through all the confused involutions of doctrinal tenets and political pretensions. Preach sermon for sermon, with priests saluted by foreign artillery; return psalm for psalm, to choirs composed of the bands of naval expeditions; oppose prayer to prayer, with armed native Mamoia, or foreign celebrators of military mass;—all this may be beautifully romantic to certain perceptions; but it must be absurd, and impossible in the view of serious and reflecting Christians. Martyrdom for evangelical truth or religious liberty does not consist in dying beneath the clubs of rebels, or before the guns of invaders.

A prohibition, without a penal sanction, would be a mockery; and the legislators at Papeete, therefore, attached to disobedience forfeiture of permission to reside. To fine or imprison a Frenchman was not admissible; but to recur to expulsion, was to fall into the ancient error; and to bring down, not a frigate, but a fleet, to take vengeance on the relapsed. After all, the Tahitian law, of November, 1838, may be considered impolitic, inefficient, dangerous; but that it was intended to sanction national religious establishments, or to destroy religious liberty, cannot be maintained. It would be not only unjust, but cruel, to visit on the Tahitians any seeming deviation from our own received or still disputed opinions, in circumstances to which civilized and polished countries, either in America or Europe, can offer no parallel. Indeed, since the introduction of Christianity, its history furnishes no example of difficulties and persecutions, similar to those endured by the Protestant Christians of Tahiti.

Besides the measures already noticed, a law, with which the missionaries had nothing to do, was also made, to regulate the acquisition of land by foreigners. It appears to have been dictated by the same spirit of apprehension of French encroachments. We have seen, that Colomban suggested the plan of purchasing land, in order to establish right of residence, independently of the queen and the governors. The success of this plan would have given the French considerable advantage, in the prosecution of their designs on Tahiti. M. Mœrenhout having acted in opposition to the new law, was prevented by the government from occupying a certain portion of land. He was under this interdiction, when the French corvette, the *Héroïne*, arrived at Tahiti, on the 27th November, 1838.

As soon as captain Cécille had anchored, that officer pretends, that “several chiefs came on board, and that Paofai, who had “always shown himself the friend of the French, pressed him to “move his ship into the bay of Papeete.” In that position he would certainly be better placed for intimidating the queen; and the consul had need of his threats. The first business of that agent was, to represent the hinderance he had personally experienced, and to demand assistance. The captain was prepared for the job, on which

Mœrenhout was about to employ him. He had heard all the story of the heretics, and the generous American consul, from bishop Pompallier, whom he met at the Bay of Islands, and whom he honored, on his arrival in Mœrenhout's schooner, with a salute of nine guns. On what ground, or by what regulations of the naval service, these captains justify their salutes of priests, or of bishops, *in partibus*, we are not informed; but we know that such bishops have no royal institution, that the Catholic religion, is not the religion of the state, and that French Protestant ministers never receive such noisy homage. The bishop was not the less delighted, and he wrote to his friends in France, that the "*Héroïne*" had produced a good effect, and that her presence in those parts, had "been very serviceable to the sacred cause of religion."

Captain Cécille found Mœrenhout no longer American, but French consul; and following in the wake of the three ships, that had lately left the island, he at once entered into the intimidation plan. Before the day fixed for a visit to the queen, the consul was to insist on possession of the land, and if he should not succeed, M. Cécille promised to run out his guns, and to make her majesty feel, that her laws were not made for Frenchmen; that they had a right, not only to residence, but territory; and that she was to have no will of her own. The demand was of course successful. "The presence of the ship of war promptly decided the question, and the governor replied, that M. Mœrenhout might dispose of the land as he thought proper."

After having thus bullied the queen, they paid her a visit together, in official ceremony; and when they had lectured her on the danger of supposing that France was not a powerful nation, capable of protecting its citizens in every part of the world, she was invited to visit the *Héroïne*. "This invitation, say they, evidently disconcerted her very much; and she hesitated a long time before she replied,—she feared that she would be made prisoner, and be carried to France" (as had befallen a Zealand chief). She at length consented; but before the time appointed, "Tati had been several times to Mœrenhout, to enquire if there was not danger of captivity and exile for the queen and himself, if they went on board. Deputations also arrived from different parts of the island, to entreat Pomare not to trust herself, in the French ship." Such was the love, and the confidence, with which French popery and policy had inspired the Protestants of Tahiti. The consul made vows, in order to allay the fears of Tati; the captain made great preparations, to entice and encourage the people; and as there was only a choice of evils, the queen ventured on board: she was honored with salutes, as the bishop had been before her, and all passed off without further consequences. The accounts sent to France of these scenes, is of course insulting to Pomare, and degrading to her tormentors; but they were soon followed up by further developements, of the colonization system.



## THE ARTEMISE, CAPTAIN LAPLACE, AT TAHITI.

Captain Laplace, who had been circumnavigating, in a direction opposite to that pursued by captain Du Petit-Thouars, received instructions at Sydney, which obliged him to proceed to Tahiti. The "essential object of his mission, was to obtain satisfaction from the "Lutheran evangelists, who had forced themselves on a simple and "docile people." When the frigate he commanded, the *Artémise*, was off the coast, on the 22nd of April, 1839, she struck on a coral reef; and though the crew succeeded in getting the vessel off, the sea entered to a degree, that rendered the pumps useless. Night was coming on, and the greatest horror took possession of all on board. At this critical juncture, the frigate was seen by the light thrown on her from a vessel leaving the island; and with much difficulty she was towed into the hospitable harbour of Papeete. The queen being then in a distant part of the island, the French consul wrote to her in the name of M. Laplace, to request her presence at Papeete, in order to serve his convenience. Pomare replied by a letter, in her own hand, declining compliance, and announcing that orders had been sent to the regent, to render all requisite assistance to the commander.

It was found necessary to discharge the ship, and to throw her down; and as there were neither docks nor machines, the natives were employed, in considerable numbers, at the pumps, and in other daily toils, during nearly two months. The officers and crew were lodged on shore, and this intercourse became the occasion for the repetition of scenes in the island, similar to those which another commander had authorised, on board French ships of war, at the Marquesas.—M. Reybaud, has given them a sort of official publicity, that prevents any doubt as to the facts; and though in any ordinary circumstances, a reproduction of the details might be dispensed with, and even be properly suppressed, in this instance, it is important that the clearest evidence should prove the disgusting immorality, and the brutal violence, of those who were charged to propagate, establish, and avenge the Roman catholic religion.

"From the first, the most perfect harmony prevailed between the "ship's company and the natives. Each of the latter chose his *tayo*, "that is another self, among the sailors. Between *tayos* every thing "is common; at night, the *tayos*, French and Tahitian, went together "to the common hut. Every sailor had thus a house, a wife, a complete "domestic establishment. Jealousy is a passion unknown to these "islanders; it may be imagined what resources and pleasures such an "arrangement offered to our crew. They had lodging, food, and wash- "ing, for next to nothing. The natives were delighted with the "character of our people; they had never met with such gaiety, "expansiveness, and kindness in any other foreigners. The beach

“ presented the aspect of a continued holiday, to the great scandal of the missionaries. After the frigate was thrown down, the whole ship’s company, officers, and men, were either lodged with the natives, or in a temporary encampment. The initiation of this French colony, to a Tahitian life, was the most easy and agreeable. We have seen how the men managed, and what friends they found. The officers were not less fortunate. The island that Bougainville called the *New Cytherea*, did not belie its name. The whole of Papeete was one seraglio, without its restraint. When the evening set in, every tree along the coast shaded an impassioned pair; and the waters of the river offered an asylum to a swarm of copper-coloured nymphs, who came to enjoy themselves with the young midshipmen. The sojourn at Tahiti was a long series of sensual and fickle attachments. What a number of strange bargains, to which fathers, brothers, and husbands were the parties, and on which the missionaries raised a sort of tythe, in the shape of punishment.

“ Thus identified with the manner of living, our people were able to understand it completely, and to observe it in all its shades. None of the qualities of this excellent population escaped their remark; and they were satisfied, that their vices were not very dangerous.—These women, so volatile in appearance, showed themselves capable of profound emotions; these men, who resigned themselves to such concessions, manifested on several occasions that they had a noble heart. The missionaries might have done much with such a people, if they had understood them; they missed their object by pursuing it too far; they were obliged to tax vice, because they could not suppress it. Hypocrisy sits heavily on these cheerful people; they cannot breathe in the compressed atmosphere by which they are surrounded; they are stifled,—they expire. All was formerly in harmony with their organization; every thing,—their nakedness, their listlessness, perhaps even their licentiousness,—and all was taken from them at once! The religion that professed to save the soul, killed the body.—The sailors and officers of the frigate passed their life most happily. By a sort of instinct, the natives sought in them protection from the oppression of their sombre missionaries. The freedom of their former habits re-appeared. The young Tahitian girls came in swarms to the huts where the French were lodged. Wherever you walked, you might hear their *oui! oui! oui!* the word that all the women have learnt, with marvellous facility; and it is the only one. It would have been far more difficult to have taught them to say, *non!*”

Let it not be supposed, however, that this dissolute and voluptuous revelry was less compatible with a deep interest in the triumph of the august Mary, zeal for the success of the Romish propaganda, and the highest sentiments of French honour, than the orgies on board

the ships at the Marquesas were with "the strict order of the service." "In the midst of these delightful relations with the natives, the officers of the *Artémise* did not for a moment lose sight of the essential object of their mission. The condition of the frigate did not allow them to speak out at first; they waited till the repairs were completed." The captain then went to the place where the queen was residing, to insist on her presence at Papeete, at a conference, in which he proposed to alter the convention made with M. Du Petit-Thouars, and Dumont d'Urville. The queen, of course, consented to his demand, and the chiefs were summoned to meet her on the 19th of June. "At the news of the proposed conference, a general terror spread through the island; it was thought the queen would resist; that she would not obey; but Tati, the real king of this group, without whose advice nothing is done, guaranteed her attendance. He is the tayo of M. Mœrenhout, and during the sojourn of the frigate, he had learnt to appreciate the dispositions, the bravery, and the generosity of our officers, and felt for them a real friendship. French influence was, therefore, sure to predominate in the discussion.

"Since the departure of the *Venus*, a sort of crusade had been preached up against the French; there had been no cessation of the hostile manifestations against France, and the most abominable manoeuvres had been employed to excite the hatred of the population. (A population amongst which, the French crew, to the number of several hundreds, had been living, almost for nothing, as *tayos*; on which, for months they had subsisted, and which was delighted with the French, as it had never met with such gaiety, expansiveness, and kindness in any other foreigners!) "M. Laplace was determined to put an end to such a state of things. He was accompanied to the meeting by all his staff. A prodigious crowd surrounded the Protestant temple." (The only building sufficiently capacious to contain the assembly). "The commander advanced with M. Mœrenhout, and captain Henry, his interpreter, to the centre. He began, by enumerating all the wrongs of which the French had to complain; he then observed, how shameful and even dangerous it was, to violate the faith of treaties, and how unjust and barbarous was intolerance; he concluded by demanding,—that the Roman Catholic religion should be celebrated in Tahiti, and in all the possessions of the queen; that French Catholics should possess every privilege allowed to Protestants; that land should be appropriated for the erection of a Catholic church, and the French priests have full liberty to exercise their ministry."

Those who have read the narrative of the voyages of this circumnavigator, might expect extravagance and intemperance from a man, whose anglophobian and anti-abolition absurdities are proverbial; but it could hardly be imagined, that any naval officer of rank would have the hardihood and the bad faith to denounce, as a crime and a violation

of a treaty, the very law, suggested and recommended by his predecessors, to the very same parties, only a few months before. Messrs. du Petit-Thonars and Dumont d'Urville, had said to the queen, "Use your right, prohibit all public exercise, all propagation of the Catholic religion, since you say it would endanger the peace of your states. Such a measure we approve." The queen follows their advice, acts on their authority; and another representative of the great and powerful nation, treats as a flagrant act of treachery and hostility, and threatens with punishment, her literal fulfilment of this solemn convention! Such, however, is the fact; when faithlessness and oppression seem to have exhausted their resources, some fresh infamy springs forth, to confound the calculations of all honest minds, and to add blacker shades to the descriptions of French proceedings in Oceania.

The rest must have been foreseen by the reader. "In spite of the intrigues of the missionaries, the chiefs, the next day, declared unanimously, that they accepted the conditions imposed;" and the queen was conducted, with insulting ceremony, on board the frigate, to sign this new and contradictory act of submission. "Thus terminated this affair, say the successful parties, of which the *Artémise* had all the honor. Henceforth our missionaries will be *respected* on these shores." How could they be otherwise than respected, introduced as they were by fraud, fêted by debauchery, and inducted by ships of war?

But that the affair was far from being terminated, the boasters knew full well, and were ready thus to acknowledge,—“The frigates have obtained reparation for the ill-treatment of our missionaries by their rivals in religion. They entered into treaties with the natives, who, under the reign of terror, subscribed to all the conditions that were presented. But it is evident, that these were mere fugitive concessions, the result of necessity; engagements contracted under the volleys of the cannon of our frigates, and that would be violated as soon as they had left the coast. The French government understands this; and this consideration has had its influence, in leading to the occupation of the Marquesas, as a centre of action, and a permanent rallying-point for Catholicism, throughout the Pacific Ocean.—This result, it is added, in a note, is principally due to the solicitations of the society of Picpus, and the generous support it received from the Queen. Our missionaries reap the fruit of their past devotedness; and henceforth, in those distant islands, the disinterested devotedness of our priests, will be seen combating the sordid spirit of the Lutheran priests.”

That there was no reasonable or plausible ground for the armed violation of the convention, by commander Laplace, is evident from the following letter, to which we have already referred, from Mr. Baty and his brethren, Maryist missionaries. It was written at Tahiti only about a week before the arrival of the *Artémise*. “You will have

“learnt the energetic conduct of the commander of the *Venus*; since that time, three other ships of war have been to the island,—the French name is now respected here. Things are completely changed. We have full liberty to go about the island, without asking permission. On the other hand, the Tahitians can no longer have an excellent opinion of the veracity of the Methodist missionaries. They had assured them, that the French marine was composed of only a few small vessels. Religious opinions have formed two parties; but it is evident, that of the Catholics would go on increasing every day, if it was supported by a number of priests. We found here nine or ten whale ships; the people talk with them about religion; they enquire into everything; and if there should arrive several captains, like the two we saw at the French consul’s, the Methodists would not long hold up their heads.

“We have been most kindly received by M. Mœrenhout, now French consul. We sail to-morrow, 16 Août., for the Bay of Islands; I have made an arrangement with M. Maigret, pro-vicar of my lord Rouhouse, which appears to me advantageous. My lord Pompallier, will have a right to half the services of the *Queen of Peace*, in which we sail, for 2,000 piastres (10,000 francs, or £400). She is provisioned, and our passage is comprised. Each of our bishops may dispose of the vessel at pleasure, during six months.”

Thus Tahiti was still, as it had been long before the arrival of the *Venus*, the entrepôt for the Romish mission; its agents were undisturbed, its party projects were carried out; only the government endeavoured to prevent the seditious movements it was intended to excite. The law of November, 1838, was not even referred to by Mr. Baty; it furnished no arms from which he had suffered; he articulates no complaints; on the contrary, he found the French name respected, the English missionaries discredited, a Catholic party formed, and only needing more aid from priests, of the freedom of whose operations, he expressed no doubts.

The state of the island, and the conduct of the French, during a residence of two months, has been presented in so graphic a manner by M. Casimir Henricy, who accompanied the *Artémise* throughout her circumnavigatory voyage, that his narration ought not to be withheld: its avowals and revelations, even its falsehoods, calumnies, and absurdities, throw additional light both on the system and the agents.—

“It is impossible to describe the enthusiasm with which the Tahitians speak of their queen; with what respect they pronounce her name. From the child that is beginning to talk, to the decrepid old man, no one speaks of Pomare Vahine, without placing his hand upon his heart. They no sooner knew that their beloved sovereign was about to return to Papeete, than their gaiety was redoubled, and they began

“ to prepare a number of extraordinary delicacies to celebrate the day of her arrival.

“ But if the queen is loved, the missionaries, on the contrary, are singularly detested by the population. Their insatiable cupidity, carried to the most shameful excess under the protection of religious despotism, has made them objects of horror. Ferocious oppressors, shameless monopolizers, trafficking in the Word of God, they have procured for themselves a concert of curses; and if there is one thing above all others, that the natives demand of heaven with fervour, it is the annihilation of their authority. Nobody has had greater opportunity of observing this hatred than myself, and no one has contributed more to its increase. Knowing pretty well the idiom of the country, and having little else to do, but to mingle with the natives day and night I was in their huts hearing them deery the English missionaries, and complain of their odious yoke. I do not deny, that I joined them in the expression of their indignation; others of the ship’s company were pleased with this crusade; and these pious tyrants would soon have received severe tokens of our presence in the island, if the sudden departure of the *Artémise*, had not too soon put a stop to all. We found indeed, towards the close of our stay, that they had done all they could to injure us in the opinion of the people, and especially to destroy the harmony that existed between us and the females; but their efforts were useless. Our tayos did not abandon us, and the women, encouraged by our presence, mocked at the missionaries. Our intimate connexion with them easily silenced their calumnies. The people now know us, and they have no longer any faith in a religion, whose ministers are found to be vile impostors. In fact, their vexatious proceedings and their machinations, have so damaged them, that there is every reason to believe that Catholicism will soon supplant them.”—After very minute and libertine descriptions of the female population, he adds, “ The men are of the finest form, and of admirable proportions. Such men, the finest of all Polynesia, would be unconquerable if they had the energy of Europeans. We slim-limbed Frenchman, low in stature, irregular in feature, and freckled in complexion, appeared as children by the side of them. Fifteen of them would do, with ease, far more work at the pumps, than twenty-five of our sailors could accomplish with difficulty.”—(This is the degenerate, diseased, perishing race, that the religion of the missionaries has prepared!)

“ It has been said that the people are thieves. That they were I will not deny, it is even probable; but to say that they are thieves now, is to calumniate them. Everybody belonging to the *Artémise* can affirm, that during our long residence among them, they did not furnish a single instance of the violation of the right of property. This right is now held as sacred among them as among us. Indeed

“ They are the most gentle, confiding, and hospitable people that a navigator can visit. The greater part of their defects they owe (not to the missionaries?) to their contact with civilized nations; and scarcely a ship arrives, that does not make them acquainted with some vice before unknown. I will prove my assertion by an example.

“ The second master of our vessel, an ignorant and immoral man, only clever in doing evil, and capable of duping others with the greatest coolness, was base enough, to whiten some English penny pieces with quicksilver, and then to pass them among the natives, for half-dollars. Either the police of the ship did not know the fact, or would not notice it; and the latter is the most probable. At all events, our rogue passed off all his false money with impunity, and the consequences were deplorable. The secret, when it got wind, was not likely to give the Tahitians a very good opinion of the French. Those of them who are not well principled and instructed, followed the example; they had been deceived, and they thought they had a right to deceive in their turn; they passed also false money, and our crew suffered. Serious disputes arose; every one was afraid of being a victim, and instead of money being circulated with confidence as before, the most cautious measures were taken, not to be defrauded. This is what the Tahitians gain by the visits of people, calling themselves civilized.

“ Though they have still preserved some of their primitive virtues, they are no longer the happy savages, whose simplicity and amiableness charmed Bougainville and Cook. The religion that oppresses them, and beneath which they sink, is not that of their ancestors. The climate, the soil, the productions are the same; but they have vices, necessities, and diseases, they had not formerly. The following scene, will powerfully contribute to perpetuate the remembrance of the *Artémise*, at Tahiti.

“ During the repairs, M. Laplace, who wanted a great deal of wood, used to go with the master carpenter, to select the trees in the neighbourhood, which he meant to have cut down. He usually bargained with the proprietor, when he was willing to sell; the price offered was always extremely low; when the contrary was the case, the captain would take no excuse; the tree pleased him, he wanted it, and down it fell; only they gave the owner a piastre more than ordinary. In this way, the worthy islanders were deprived of the finest, and most useful trees that adorned their native sites. One of the richest, and most luxuriant in fruit and foliage, that was marked for the axe, overshadowed the cabin of a poor old woman, who would not consent to the sacrifice. The tree had covered her at her birth; against its trunk, she had supported herself when she first began to walk; and beneath its shade, her childhood had become youth. In fact, her whole life was identified with it, and now she

“thought to lay her grey head down, and to die at its foot. It was her only faithful companion; all her family had disappeared; even her hut, that it had protected, had been repaired and renewed several times; and yet her tree remained to her, the same, vigorous and verdant. She begged, in mercy to herself and respect for her tree, that it might not be felled. She stood at her door, motionless with alarm, when she saw the workmen approach. She prayed, that her tree might be spared; but no attention was paid to her; she was scarcely even noticed. She thought her presence, her tears, would protect her precious property; but the destroying steel glittered in the foliage: she still thought it impossible, that what she saw could be real, when the sound of the axe, and the echo of the blow fell on her ear: it was the voice of her friend calling to her for help, and she threw herself between the instruments of destruction and the venerated trunk. Her cries, and her despair, astonished the workmen, and for a moment they hesitated; but they soon recovered from their surprise, tore the old female from the tree she had embraced, dragged her, almost lifeless, to a distance, and the tree was soon prostrate beside the hut. A few days after, a grave was dug, not far from the stump: it was for the aged proprietor of the tree that had so long and so lately flourished there. She had marked the spot for her last home; but the shade she hoped would cover her, was gone. A few stones around the stump will remind her neighbours of their aged friend, and her beautiful tree.—The reader will agree with me, that this was a singular way, to attach to us the people of Polynesia.”

The description of the reception of the queen on board the *Artémise*, where she was obliged to appear (for it was in the ship of war, that she was required to sign the treaty), is worthy of the rest. The anxious looks, and constrained manner of Pomare, even her fear of treachery and violence, are admitted; and the methods by which she was plied with champaign and brandy having been detailed, M. Henry adds:—“When the spirits of the party were sufficiently elevated to find every thing good, and while the hands were yet sufficiently steady, not to let the pen drop, the treaty was produced as the crowning act of the festivity. It was signed by both parties with cheerfulness. M. Laplace thought he had gained a great victory over Polynesian diplomacy; and certainly, never was a political horizon more bright in flowers and bottles.—As I have already said, I do not doubt that Catholicism will triumph over all the difficulties that have been contrived to impede its progress, and that it will produce the most advantageous results; but it can only be by the aid of another treaty; this is of no value.

“The day after the visit of Pomare-Vahine, and two months after our disaster, on the 22nd of June, while all was still in confusion on



“ board, we were astonished by the order for immediate departure. “ We only left six deserters (the *Artémise* left a few every where); “ but I learnt in the course of the day, that our little travelling France, “ was on the point of being depopulated. Two parties, numbering “ together thirty-five men, had resolved to escape the following night, “ by fraud or by force. This explains, no doubt, the precipitancy “ of our adieux. The *Artémise* ran for the Sandwich group, to enforce “ the conditions of another treaty.”

#### THE ARTEMISE AT THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

Having, as he thought, secured for the present, liberty for the Romish priests, to pursue their seditious projects, and for the consul and his underlings, to import ardent spirits, and to push the sale of French brandy; Captain Laplace sailed for the Sandwich Islands, in virtue of his instructions, on a similar errand.—He arrived at Oahu, on the 9th of July, and the importance of what had been effected at Tahiti, may be appreciated by the use he made of the precedent.—The example of Papeete, was presented at Honolulu, as the model for all Oceania.—In a manifesto, immediately published, the commander said —

“ Misled by perfidious counsellors, the principal chiefs of the Sand-  
“ wick Islands are ignorant, that there is not in the whole world, a power  
“ capable of preventing France from punishing her enemies, or they  
“ would have endeavoured to merit her favour, instead of violating  
“ treaties, as soon as the fears, occasioned by French ships of war, had  
“ disappeared.—They must now comprehend, that to tarnish the Catho-  
“ lic religion with the name of idolatry, and to expel the French, under  
“ that pretext, was to offer an insult to France and to its sovereign.  
“ Among all civilized nations, there is not one, that does not permit,  
“ in its territory, the free toleration of all religions.—I consequently de-  
“ mand.—That the Catholic worship be declared free, throughout all the  
“ dominions of the king.—That a site at Honolulu, for a Catholic church,  
“ be given by the government.—That the king place in the hands of the  
“ captain of the *Artémise*, 20,000 dollars (£4,000), as a guarantee of  
“ his future conduct towards France; to be restored, when it shall con-  
“ sider that the accompanying treaty will be faithfully complied with.  
“ —That the treaty, and the money, be brought on board the frigate  
“ by a principal chief; and that the French flag be saluted by twenty-  
“ one guns.—At the price of these equitable conditions, friendship shall  
“ be preserved. I hope the king will hasten to subscribe them, and  
“ thus imitate the laudable example of the queen of Tahiti, who has  
“ permitted the free toleration of the Catholic religion in all her domi-  
“ nions. If, contrary to expectation, and led on by bad counsellors,  
“ the king and the chiefs refuse to sign the treaty I present, war will

“immediately commence; all the devastations, and calamities which may result, will be imputed to them, and they must also pay the losses, which foreigners will have a right to reclaim.”

Official letters were published, and sent to the British and American consuls, offering an asylum to the citizens of their countries, in case of war, but with the following atrocious exception.—“I do not include the individuals who, although born, it is said, in the United States, make a part of the Protestant clergy of the chief of this group, direct his counsels, influence his conduct, and are the true authors of the insults offered to France. For me, they compose a part of the native population; and must undergo the consequences of a war, which they will have brought on this country.”

The treaty, called a treaty of commerce, contained, among other stringent clauses, the following:—“French merchandize, or articles known to be French produce, and particularly wines and brandies, cannot be prohibited, nor shall they pay a higher import duty, than five per cent., *ad valorem*.”

The king being at the island of Maui, dispatches were sent to request his presence; and his secretary, Haalilio, remained on board the frigate, as a hostage. But as he could not arrive, by the time specified for the commencement of hostilities, the governor, in his name, paid the money on board the *Artémise*, and signed all that was demanded. The French flag was saluted by the fort from the land. In return for this submission, the Romish priests, who were on board, and ready for action, left the frigate, to bless Oahu with the crucifix and the brandy bottle. The next morning, his majesty Tamehaneha III. arrived, and immediately after, a grand military mass was celebrated by M. Walsh, like Columban of Irish descent, in a straw-house belonging to the king. Captain Laplace, was escorted by one hundred and fifty men, with bayonets fixed; and a military band, after playing various religious airs, finished with the *Te Deum*.

It would be difficult to conceive, of such an outrageous proceeding, by an officer of the government of a polished nation, and of a people pretending to the respect of enlightened states, had not the scenes at Tahiti already shown, of what the Popish and naval agents of France in the Pacific, were capable. The treaty, said to be violated by the Sandwich islanders, has been given in these pages; it contained no stipulation whatever, for the permission of Romish worship, or of the residence of French priests. On the contrary, M. Du Petit-Thouars, had engaged, that the priests should leave; and in the mean time should not officiate. The refusal of permission to M. Maigret in November, 1837, was rather in accordance with the treaty, than a violation of it.—The king of the French could not be insulted, by the Romish religion being called idolatry; for as king, he has no religion. Romish priests, Protestant pastors, and Jewish rabbins, are nominated by him,

and are all paid by the state; he would, therefore, be as much insulted by Protestants being called heretics, as by Roman Catholics being called idolators.—The compulsory admission of brandy, and the arbitrary fixation of duty, were as illegal and more inglorious, than smuggling.—The caption of £4,000, (to be restored, when the holders should think proper;) was pure brigandage;—and to crown all, the expatriation and the declaring *hors la loi*, of forty American citizens, was a super-jacobinical extravagance; and an official assassination. The whole of this affair, is a parallel passage in the history of Oceania, with that of the Georgian Islands. If any doubt could rest, on the character of the proceedings of the French at Tahiti, those at Oahu offer an explanation; and if it were difficult to comprehend the doings at Honolulu, it is only necessary to turn to the page, Papeete.

The deprivation of forty respectable Americans, (protected by passports under the seal of the United States, and holding a large amount of property, belonging to three chartered corporations in their own country,) of their citizenship; and their exposure, with their families, to the terrors of fire and sword, as natives of a country, in which they were foreigners, is an unexampled act of wickedness, that merits unqualified reprobation. Had these persons, been, all of them, guilty of some proveable crime, they had at least a right to a trial, before competent and honourable judges: but their conduct, as far as the facts and the truth have been made public, does not appear to justify even incrimination with the chiefs of the Sandwich islands, in their pretended offences against France, much less punishment; and above all, punishment so unheard of, and so horrible.

The following remarkable, and spontaneous testimony, to the character of the American Protestant missionaries, forms a striking contrast to the bravo threats, and the unsupported charges of the French captain.

“We, the undersigned officers of the United States squadron, having  
 “on our arrival at this place, heard various rumours, in relation and  
 “derogatory to the American mission in these islands, feel it to be due,  
 “not only to the missionaries themselves, but to the cause of truth and  
 “justice, that the most unqualified testimony should be given in the  
 “case; and do, therefore, order one thousand copies of the annexed  
 “article and correspondence, to be printed for gratuitous distribution,  
 “as being the most effectual mode of settling this agitated question,  
 “in the minds of an intelligent and liberal public.\*

“Being most decidedly of opinion, that the persons composing the  
 “Protestant mission of these islands, are American citizens, and as  
 “such, entitled to the protection which our government has never

\* The article alluded to in the circular of the officers is, “An account of the Transactions connected with the visit of the *Artémise*, published in the *Hawaiian Spectator*, of October, 1839.

“withheld; and with unwavering confidence in the justice which has ever characterized it, we rest assured, that any insult offered to this unoffending class will be promptly redressed.

“It is readily admitted, that there may be in the operations of this, as in all other systems in which fallible man has any agency, some objectionable peculiarities; still, as a system, it is deemed comparatively unexceptionable, and believed to have been pursued in strict accordance with the professed principles of the society which it represents; and it would seem, that the salutary influence exerted by the mission on the native population, ought to commend it to the confidence and kind feelings of all interested in the dissemination of good principles.”

This interesting document was signed by no less than *sixteen* officers of the American navy.

The testimony of the king, to the honourable conduct of the missionaries, is not less positive. M. Brinsmade, United States consul, having represented to his majesty, the charges brought against the missionaries; and having requested to be informed explicitly, whether those gentlemen had any thing to do with the passing of laws affecting the interests of foreigners, and particularly, for the prevention of the introduction of the Catholic religion,—whether they had, directly or indirectly, recommended the course pursued by his government, to suppress the public exercise of that religion by his own subjects,—whether they had, in any of these respects, controlled the action of the government, and if so, in what manner and to what extent; his majesty replied, in a full communication, of which the following is an extract:—

“From the time the missionaries first arrived, they have asked liberty to dwell in these islands. Communicating instruction in letters, and delivering the word of God, has been their business. They were hesitatingly permitted to remain, by the chiefs of that time. We exercised, however, forbearance, and protected all the missionaries; as they frequently arrived, we permitted them to remain, because they asked it; and when we saw the excellence of their labours, then some of the chiefs and people turned to them to be instructed.

“When the priests of the Romish religion landed at these islands, they did not first make known to us their desire to dwell in the islands, and also their business. There was no clear understanding with this company of priests, as there was with the missionaries; because they landed in our country secretly, without Kaahumanu hearing any thing of their remaining here.

“Certain captains of whale ships told Kaahamanu of the evil of this way; of a great destruction in Britain, and that their ancestors died in the slaughter. That was the company who informed us of the

“evil of the Romish religion; and also a certain French man-of-war, and a certain British man-of-war, approved of what we did.

“I have inquired of my chiefs, and they say no, in the same manner as I now say no, to you. Some of them, however, have told me of having known certain things, done by certain missionaries.”

The king then mentions remonstrances, said by the chiefs to have been made, by Messrs. Bingham, Clark, Judd, and Richards, to Kinau, Kaahumanu, Kekauluohi, and Kekuanaoa, against the punishment of the natives on account of their having worshipped according to the Romish religion; and he confirms the testimony, by stating what some of them had said to him, against such punishments. Indeed several weeks before the arrival of M. Laplace, in consequence of their remonstrances, all those punishments had ceased.—“Should it be said,” he continues, “that they are the authors of the law respecting the sale of rum, &c., I would say, a number of captains of whale ships commenced that thing; thousands of my own people supported them; and when my chiefs saw it was good, they requested me to do according to the petition; and when I saw it was an excellent thing, then I chose that it should be a rule of my kingdom.

“But that thing which you speak to me of, that they act with us, or over-rule our acts, we deny it, it is not so. We think that these are, perhaps, their real crimes:—

“Their teaching us knowledge; their living with us, and sometimes translating between us and foreigners; their not taking the sword into their hand, and their saying to us with power, stop, punish not the worshippers in the Romish religion.

“But to stand at variance with, and to confine that company, they have never spoken like that, since the time of Kaahumanu I., down to the time that the Romish priest was confined on board the Europa. Thus I have written you with respect.

“KAMEHAMEHA III.”

The missionaries themselves have declared, “With regard to sending away the French priests, that individually or collectively, they never gave any advice at all on the subject, either for or against the measures. Most likely,” say they, “all would have doubted the good policy of the measures, as the government is so impotent. But were it ever so powerful, some would have doubted the moral right, unless the instructions of the foreigners, led to seditious practices; in which case, all good citizens and friends of order must have agreed, that the step was proper. Probably, none of them would have doubted the civil right to be agreeable to the usages of nations. But we wish it to be understood, that they claim the right to think, speak, and write their opinions freely, amenable only to the laws for the abuse of that right. They are in favour of full toleration,

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161.

“ every where, and in all matters of conscience ; they are decided  
 “ enemies to persecution ; as applied to the natives, they have never  
 “ sanctioned it in any manner. It was known to have the decided  
 “ disapprobation of all, and they made it the subject of earnest  
 “ remonstrance, if by any means any fact reached their ear. They do  
 “ deprecate the entrance of Catholicism, because they believe it to be  
 “ a deadly error ; but they believe the only proper weapon with which  
 “ to fight error, is the word of God,—the sword of the spirit.

“ Whether the government of the Sandwich islands, by their refusal  
 “ to allow French priests to reside in its territories, or by the measures  
 “ taken to prevent it, did any thing which an independent sovereignty  
 “ might not of right do, or any thing which might justly give  
 “ umbrage to France, we leave to others to judge. We have always  
 “ supposed, however, that the legitimate executive of a nation possesses  
 “ the right to say, whether any, or what foreigners may settle in its  
 “ territories. This political and national right of independent nations,  
 “ with respect to foreigners, has been acknowledged in theory, and  
 “ adopted in practice, from time immemorial.

“ The American Board of Foreign Missions have, by their practice,  
 “ acknowledged this right in all their operations ; as will be seen by the  
 “ following extract from the *Missionary Herald*, vol. xxxix. p. 279.  
 “ There is no doubt a distinction to be observed, between the rights of  
 “ an individual as a citizen, and his rights as a foreigner. As a citizen  
 “ he might claim as a right, what as a foreigner he must ask as a  
 “ favour. A citizen of the United States, who is a minister of the  
 “ gospel, has a right, which no man can gainsay, to preach the gospel  
 “ in any part of our republic ; and a native preacher in the Sandwich  
 “ Islands, would have a similar right in his own country,—and still, it  
 “ may be true, that the government of the Sandwich Islands may law-  
 “ fully refuse permission to the American minister, to settle, or preach  
 “ or labour in any manner at the Sandwich Islands.—At any rate, we  
 “ have asked permission to reside, from the government of the Sand-  
 “ wich Islands, for each successive company of missionaries, which the  
 “ Board has sent to those islands, and with the expectation of abiding by  
 “ the decision. So we have always done by the Indian tribes of our own  
 “ country, however uncivilized. So we have done in Africa. Such too  
 “ has been our usage in India ; and for a course of years, we sent no  
 “ more missionaries to Ceylon, merely because it was forbidden by the  
 “ government of the islands.”

Notwithstanding this clear and satisfactory proof of the honourable  
 views and meritorious conduct of the American Protestants, they have  
 been included in one common accusation with the English Protestants ;  
 the same system of persecution has been pursued in both cases ; the  
 same obloquy has been thrown on them by the officers, agents and  
 ministers of the king of the French. It has been thought, therefore

necessary, to enter on the justification of the mission at Oahu, and to expose the meanness and despotism of the captain of the *Artémise*; who having compelled queen Pomare to sign a treaty, presented her conduct, as a laudable example to the king of the Sandwich Islands, on whom he forced, by similar violence, Romanism and French brandy.

It is also useful to observe, how intimately the Protestant missionaries and Societies, of countries in some respects rivals, harmonize in sentiment, and in the principles by which all efforts for the evangelization of the world should be distinguished. The declarations of the Americans of Oahu and New York, are, though unconcerted, exactly similar to those of the English at Tahiti, and of the Directors of the Missionary Society in London.

M. Rienzi, the favourite authority of the *Journal des Debats*, has published the following declaration of Mr. J. Williams. "It has been stated, that the missionaries have used the civil power in the propagation of the gospel. Now, such is not the case. I deny the fact. They have used the influence of the example of the chiefs, and nothing else. There is not a single article in any of the codes of laws, that have been provided for the people, that goes so far as to recognize the Christian religion, as the religion of the island. The only thing respecting religion, is the enforcement of the outward cessation of labour on the Sabbath-day. The chiefs have commended the gospel to other chiefs, and to the people, and one of them dying, extended his withered arms, and, to recommend that gospel to those from whom he was to be separated, exclaimed, 'But, who shall separate us from the love of Christ?'"

The observations of the Directors of the London Missionary Society, published in their *Chronicle* of July, 1840, are in perfect accordance with those of the board and missionaries, of the United States.

#### PROGRESS OF THE PROPAGANDA.—M. CARET AT TAHITI.

The operations of the propaganda were vigorously continued, both in Europe and in Oceania. M. François-d'Assise Caret, was as successful at Rome, as in Paris. "He received a most hearty welcome from the different members of the sacred college; and was treated with peculiar kindness by the holy father."—Gregory XVI., confided to the missionary, for the king of the Gambier Islands, his own portrait, that of St. Gregory, a gilt statue of "the august Mary, the destroyer of heresy," and splendid costumes for his majesty himself, for his royal consort, and for the ex-high priest. These presents completed the collection sent, at the same time, from the king and queen of the French, in order to encourage the zeal of the society of Piepus, and to prove to the Polynesians, that potentates and princes, spiritual and temporal, were united in "extirpating heresy, and establishing the faith."\*

\* "Evangelical Magazine, April, 1843."

M. Caret, having already transmitted his orders, through the minister of Marine, to the commanders of the *Venus* and the *Artémise*, embarked for the Pacific, in May, 1838; and arrived, with all his treasures, at Manga-rea, in December; just two years after his return to that island, from Tahiti in Hamilton's vessel. From the Gambier Islands he went to the Marquesas, with bishop Rouchouse, and the superior, father Garcia, to organize definitively the Romish mission in that group, "destined by the government to become the centre and the "ralling-point of the Catholic religion."

Tahiti, was in the mean time, a convenient entrepôt; it was also under preparation by M. Mœrenhout, and was visited occasionally by the French Royal Navy.

A brig of war, the *Pylade*, had been ordered to visit all the stations, and in July, 1840, captain Bernard arrived at Papeete. No priests were on the island; there was no pretext for violence; nor could the captain find at the consulate, the treaty of M. Du Petit-Thouars, on which he probably wished to ground some new vexation. If the absence of this document were designed, it does not furnish an example of the good faith, of which the armed negociators had said so much;—if it were unintentional, it betrays that demi-civilization, that want of administrative order, which the French have made a crime in the Tahitians, and the pretext for the protectorate.

The circumstance that particularly displeased M. Bernard, was the creation of what he calls, "a troop of royal guards. The avenues of "the royal residence were lined by ranks of these miserable soldiers in "pasteboard caps and paper ornaments." Still, the queen received both consul and captain with politeness; her speaker returned their compliments; and she accepted the officer's invitation to visit the brig. But that there was a prevailing sentiment of danger, from French kindness, was too evident. The captain complains, that "Pomare was no longer "pleased, except she was in the midst of bayonets; and that she came "to the quay with drum and fife, standards, and guards."\* This intimation that she meant to maintain her independence, was rather too distinct. In spite of the amusements offered to her, "she preserved an "immoveable gravity,—it appeared that the business of her life was to "walk with a slow step."

The French visitors, found things at this time so very bad, and requiring so clearly foreign government as a remedy, "that if France "had not *the intention to oppose the occupation of the island by "the English*, she would rather, that it should take place at once; "any thing being better, than the unseizable administration of

\* The queen was advised by her friends to have, as other sovereigns, a guard for her person. French officers, could not reasonably complain of this arrangement. Her Majesty found the establishment too expensive, and it was dissolved.



“Pritchard, with his blind hatred, of all that is not English and Protestant.”\* In other words, Mr. Pritchard, kept an eye on the manœuvres of M. Mœrenhout to bring about the occupation of Tahiti, by the French and Romish propaganda, and the captain could find nothing of which to accuse him.

“The French and English parties became more and more marked; the subjects of the two nations vaunted their national colours. (When the *Artémise* was at Tahiti, and insisted on the erection of a church, ‘only one Frenchman lived on the island; a youth, named Louis, whose life was a series of adventures.’) But it was an immense point gained, that the Tahitians should already put the power of the two nations almost on a level! At the same time, and notwithstanding the amicable relations of the queen, with the French commanders, the government was not freed from the malevolent influence, that exposed the French to various vexations, from which the English were exempt.”

All these pretended vexations, did not prevent the quiet departure of the *Pylade*, or the peaceable settlement of a company of Romish priests in the “country of the demon.”

Matters, ecclesiastical and political, being settled at the Marquesas, preparatory to the intended military seizure, M. Caret proceeded to accomplish his vow, of returning to Tahiti. He now landed there openly, and accompanied by his coadjutors. They had liberty to reside, as required by M. Du Petit-Thouars; and, according to the conditions imposed by M. Laplace, they hired land, and prepared to build.

Difficulties, however, arose as to the title of the party, who had let the land, to dispose of it at all, or for certain uses. From the review that has been taken of their proceedings, it is easy to understand, that to procure ground, the priests had pursued, as usual, a tortuous course. Many proprietors would not have any thing to do with them; and with those persons who consented to treat, they had the example of M. Laplace to justify their own unscrupulousness, as to terms and tenure. The case was examined, and it was decided, that they could not justly continue their occupation.

There can be no question, on which side were honour and equity, when the gentlemen, habituated to move about the world clandestinely, and in disguise, and Tahitian judges, are the parties. All persons, acquainted with the island, admit, the reverence of the population for the administration of justice. Even their arch-accuser, M. Mœrenhout, has borne testimony to their high feeling in this respect. After one of his terrible descriptions of the depravity and disorder, prevailing at Tahiti, as though he felt, that such passages, however they might

\* “*Annales Maritimes*, 1841,”—All that is English and Protestant, was the object of hatred and attack by the French Romish propaganda.

please the friends at Picpus, would not encourage manufacturers or merchants to ship goods on his credit, he adds :—

“ I must, however, put the reader on his guard, lest in taking these remarks too rigorously, and in generalizing too much my descriptions, he should draw most sad inferences as to the social state of these islands. This would be a great mistake. In fact, order and tranquillity did not cease to prevail ; business went on regularly ; the ships obtained easily the provisions they required, and every thing they needed ; property was perfectly safe ; and partial excesses were rarely unpunished ; so true is this, that a chief, generally beloved, and speaker of the queen, was for a very long time, suspended from his functions, for having made a little noise in my house one day when he was in liquor.” In another part of his book, he thus closes his account of the trial of the rebels (a procedure in which he had no personal interest), in 1832. “ This assembly would have done honour to a people, the most advanced in civilization.”—The fact of the priests having been restrained, from unjustly or illegally appropriating certain land, has nevertheless been made use of to authorize coercion, and to justify the French protectorate : at all events, the judicial restraint was reversed, as will be seen, by the order and by the artillery of the captain of the *Aube*.

#### FIRST DEMAND, FOR THE FRENCH PROTECTORATE.

But, in the mean time, a curious attempt was made to spirit away the sovereignty of the island itself, to the new French dynasty.

It was evident, that the success of the Romish priests did not at all answer to the hopes and expectations, of the French consul. Corruption, profligacy, and intoxication, had been profusely employed ; but they did nothing more than degrade, certain portions of the population. The political changes, to which the consul was pledged, must, therefore, be effected by other means ; and till open violence should be found indispensable, its means be adequate, and its exercise be convenient ; political intrigues, and official stratagems must be in full activity, and every circumstance be put under contribution.

In July, 1841, an American vessel touched at Tahiti, having on board several persons ill with the small pox. The infection was soon communicated to the natives on the coast. This calamity might be turned to account, by the dexterous and maleficent management of a Mœrenhout. The inhabitants, much alarmed, severely censured the American consul, for having permitted the vessel to come to anchor in the bay, when he knew, that the crew was attacked by so dangerous a malady. Other differences had already arisen, between the government and the same functionary. He had protected and favoured the escape of some disorderly American sailors, who were amenable to the

laws of the country. This man, who had succeeded M. Mœrenhout, was not much better than his predecessor. He also speculated in the misery of the people ; and, in defiance of the laws, imitated the French consul in selling and promoting the consumption of ardent spirits.

The exasperation was considerable ; the queen was absent in the other islands ; and the British consul was in England.—All the circumstances were favourable. M. Mœrenhout, first envenomed the quarrel, then took an active part against his successor, and finally he persuaded certain chiefs, that the government was unequal to the exigencies of the case, and inveigled them into an act, of which they did not fully understand the importance. He assured them, that if they were to request the interference of the French government, they would have all the assistance necessary to maintain peace and order. He succeeded so far, as to obtain their signatures to a formal demand,—and then represented their conduct, as spontaneous, and as being suggested by their own necessities and convictions.—They were either traitors or dupes, but—thus was produced, what is pompously called, the “ First demand, for the protectorate of France.”

“ Anarchy prevailed ; the chiefs were divided,—and the sentiment of “ nationality did not exist on either side ; all these chiefs admitted that “ Tahiti could not preserve its independence, maintain order, and “ make the constitution respected on its present basis, while the contact “ with Europeans, was constantly increasing. The chiefs, favourable to “ France, were the most powerful. Among them were, Hitoti, Paraita, “ Tairapa, and even Tati ; Paofai, seemed to have abandoned the “ cause, for which he had shown such lively sympathy ; but he could “ not hinder his colleagues from taking an important resolution, about “ September, 1841. Whether the government feared the consequences “ of the ill-treatment of French citizens ; or that the absence of Mr. “ Pritchard left them free from his importunities, or that they saw the “ letter sent to England, in November, 1838, was without effect ; what- “ ever decided them, they resolved to have recourse to France. Their “ demand, and the necessary acts, were all prepared, when some “ English residents, being informed of the project, and hoping for “ some result from the solicitations of Mr. Pritchard in England ; “ set to work, to prevent the departure of the documents. They “ sent a schooner to Eimeo, to the queen, and requested her to refuse “ her approbation of the conduct of the chiefs.” \*

The whole of this statement, and it is to be observed, that the French government and its writers, have said very little about this nefarious abortion, is, at best, the work of a clumsy rogue. If the government had ill-treated French citizens, these chiefs were active members of the government ; Paraita was governor ; and “ Tati, we have been told, was, in fact, king of Tahiti”—If the French were treated ill, it must

\* Esquisse Historique, p. 940.

then have been by these very men.—The queen had been absent during several months, and the terrible Pritchard, to whom they have not yet ascribed omnipresence, was long since in Europe.—Whether the government was afraid of England, or hoped for her protection, it would hardly brave the anger, or renounce the favour of its old, and, as it thought far more powerful friend, before it had news of the British consul. None of the chiefs were *favourable* to France, in the sense in which that word is used, as a controlling, sovereign authority; the statement both acknowledges, that one of the most influential chiefs had opposed the plan, and admits, that the demand was to be sent to France, without the signature or knowledge of the queen. There are eight or ten governors and principal chiefs, and about two hundred influential chiefs. There are besides, superior judges, and two inferior judges to each district. None of these parties were consulted; no assembly of the legislative body, or of the representatives, was convened; but M. Mœrenhout, the protector of the lawless priests, whose invasion had been a cause of ceaseless trouble, obtained secretly, the signature of a few chiefs, to a paper, of the contents of which, they declared they were ignorant; but which was an act, to dissolve the government, destroy the nationality of Tahiti, and make their country dependant on a foreign and hostile nation.

It is not surprising, that as soon as the conspiracy was discovered, the other chiefs, and the people, should have been deeply alarmed, or that the queen should have been indignant. The chief, who had refused to sign the treasonable letter, knew well the real purpose of the French consul; and when once the object was revealed, the other chiefs were anxious to exculpate themselves. One of them, in the name of the rest, wrote to the acting British consul the following letter.

“ Tahiti, 21st August, 1841.

Dear Friend Cunningham,—This is what we have to say to you, “ respecting the letter, that M. Mœrenhout has made us sign. We “ declare to you, that we did not well know the nature of the contents “ of the letter: it was by ignorance, that we signed it. Let that letter “ be altogether destroyed; let no use be made of the letter written “ by M. Mœrenhout. This is what we have to say to you.

“ PARAITA, Governor of Tahiti.”

No sooner had Pomare arrived at Eimeo (this island is about twelve miles from Tahiti), and learned what had occurred, than she required, that the signers of the letter, should be tried for high treason; she wrote also to the English and American governments, to declare, that the chiefs had been deceived by the French consul, and that she had taken no part in the transaction. She did more; she wrote to Louis Philippe I., king of the French:—

“Peace be with you. I make you a communication; it is this:—  
 “During my absence from my country, a few of my people, entirely  
 “without my knowledge or authority, wrote a letter to you, soliciting  
 “your assistance. I disavow any knowledge of that document. Peace  
 “to you. POMARE.”

The contrivers of this swindling scheme, endeavour, as usual, to throw on the English, all the blame, or credit, of its failure. As Mr. Pritchard was not at hand, English residents were made responsible; but their crime was small compared with the conduct of captain Jones, of her majesty's ship of war, the *Curaçoa*. “He seconded the efforts of the English. After he had attended a meeting of the chiefs of Tahiti, “he visited the queen at Eimeo; his advice prevailed, and he succeeded “in having the resolution that had been taken, annulled.”

The British residents, and the commander acted honorably. They assured the queen, that the nation, she had so long respected, had no share in the traitorous subtraction of her territorial rights and sovereignty. Had the captain attended a meeting of chiefs, he would only have exercised a right, which he held equally with the French, and he would not have been exposed to the same humiliation, as the captain of the *Aube* experienced soon after. As the queen was so near, he was able to give her the consolation and satisfaction of his presence; and there is reason to believe, that he also assured her, what he, no doubt, believed would prove true, that the sovereign of Great Britain, would never allow, either rebels or foreigners, to deprive her of her independence, by fraud or force.

Whatever communications that officer may have made to the ministers of Victoria, whether by letter or in person, they do not appear, any more than the letter from Pomare, in the parliamentary papers; they would probably, with those of captain Elliott, and of other naval officers, have assisted the senate, and the people of Great Britain, to appreciate, earlier and more correctly, the importance and the malevolence of the Romish and Anti-English propaganda so determinately pursued, in the reign of Louis Philippe. They might also have furnished that prince, with useful information of the doings of his agents in the Pacific.

Not that he was either uninformed, or mistaken, as to the real character of their transactions. The letters of Pomare alone, especially the last, might have awakened in his breast feelings of interest and sentiments of justice; but, from various other sources, he had been supplied with light to guide him in an affair, affecting the honor of his crown and that of his country.

When the news of the conduct of M. Du Petit-Thouars arrived in France, as early as the spring of 1839, a letter, was placed under his eye, addressed to him, from Mr. L. E. Threlkeld, a gentleman

residing at Sydney, of whom Mr. J. Williams says, "a man of more inflexible integrity and honorable principle is rarely to be met with."

"The flag of your majesty," said the writer, "has received no insult. The civil and military subjects of your majesty have neither suffered personal injury, nor loss of property. There exists no national prejudice in the island, against the French. Mr. Tessier, lived many years at Tahiti, without molestation, and died there in peace. In consequence of the influence exercised on the mind of king Pomare, by an American captain, Mr. Gyles, an Englishman, was forbidden to reside in the island, and was obliged to return to England, though he had been sent from that country on purpose to be useful to the king. His Majesty, exercised lawfully his right; and Great Britain, offered no obstacle, nor thought of such an interference. If Mr. Gyles had resisted the order of the king, to quit Tahiti, and the government had been obliged to employ force, to make him withdraw, no judge, human or divine, would see in his expulsion any thing more, than the just consequence of his own temerity."

Unhappily, his French majesty, who is not thought to be inattentive to the movements of either his diplomatic or military servants, had approved generally the propaganda in the Pacific: no exception had been made in his mind, in favour of Protestant countries or English missionary stations in that ocean, especially of Tahiti. On the contrary, he had expressed, in reply to personal observations on the subject, an intention to support Romish efforts, in opposition even to Protestant communities.

#### THE AUBE, CAPTAIN DU BOUZET, AT TAHITI.

The course of events had proceeded thus far, when another corvette, the *Aube*, commanded by M. Du Bouzet, "an officer of high distinction," arrived at Tahiti, on the 4th of May, 1842. "Complaints, we are told, poured in immediately from a *multitude* of Frenchmen." Who they could be it is difficult to conceive; unless they were a multiplication of the six deserters from the *Artémise*. Whoever they were, M. Du Bouzet devoted himself to their interests; "and examined and verified all the facts."

Among the complaints preferred, and the wrongs to be redressed, no mention is made of one that was so great, as to have rendered necessary an appeal to Paris and to Piepus. It appears, that under pretence of obtaining the signature of Pomare, to a deed of grant for land, on which to erect a Roman Catholic church, the French consul had presented to her deeds, securing the land to himself. In vain the priests reclaimed the land from M. Mœrenhout, and in vain they exposed the deception to the queen. She had made the grant, as obliged by the French commander, and she would do no more. The consul, complained to

the French government, of the queen's refusal to give land to the priests. The priests laid also their complaint; for though the queen had given, they had not received. Murphy did not stop here;—indignant at being duped by the consul, to whom the society of Picpus had made promises, for his former services, and being no longer disguised as a carpenter, but advanced to some importance in the hierarchy; he wrote to the superior at Paris, to denounce his friend, as a foe, to expose the conduct of the sharper, and to request the withholding of the reward. The letter was despatched to Valparaiso on the 23rd of November 1841, by a vessel, hired expressly for the purpose. The owner of the vessel has himself stated the fact, in a letter published in the "Times." Of the verification of this case, by the captain of the *Aube*, we are not informed; but we learn, "that he demanded, the punishment of the agents of the government, who were guilty of striking and wounding inoffensive French citizens,—the dissolution of the police of the port (*moutoi*), worthless and immoral fellows; and the signature of the local authorities to a formal recognition of the possession of land," by Messrs. Caret and Company.

A meeting of chiefs was convened, to which the captain was invited. He attended of course; and after portraying all the miseries and wrongs, inflicted on his virtuous fellow-countrymen, of both clergy and laity, he endeavoured, after the example of his predecessors, to "make the meeting feel, the dangers to which they would be exposed, should they tolerate the horrors of which the island was the theatre. The chiefs were all attention," when an incident occurred, that deranged the dramatic course of the oration, and quite discomfited the valiant threatener. "A little chief, or raatira, known for his fanaticism (read, patriotism), interrupted the French commander, and asked him, 'If he was come to change the laws?' M. Du Bouzet had been apprized, that some evil-inspired persons ('slaves of the demon') would perhaps adopt a tactic, which consisted in overwhelming the speaker with questions, placing him in some sort in the situation of a culprit before an assize court, and endeavouring to make him contradict himself. The commander would not submit to this sort of inquisition. He expressed his displeasure by some severe threats, which made a great impression on the assembly, and he dissolved the meeting by retiring himself."

The 'distinguished officer' would have done much better, had he replied, "I respect your laws, and I only require, that you should respect them yourselves." But he was, what he seemed to be, a culprit, come to make havoc of their laws and rights, as he would have done of their persons, families, and property, had they resisted his orders. The people had done nothing illegal, or unjust; and he knew the fact. The short question, settled the matter morally; it was a sort of prophetic revelation, before which the commander was

confounded ; but the guns were there ; and “ the reclamations of “ M. Du Bouzet, were admitted by the Tahitian government. Before “ he left Papeete, the police was disbanded ; the offenders were con- “ demned to banishment ; the priests were reinstalled in the land” (to which they had no claim), “ from whence they only went twice, “ on occasion of two funerals ; the one of a captain of a whaler, and “ the other of an officer of the *Aube*. These were the only occasions, “ on which the Catholic priests displayed publicly, the pomp of their “ ceremonies ;” a circumstance that is to be attributed to the absence of Roman Catholics, but which admits, at the same time, their full liberty of action. The captain was more than satisfied ; he appeared even grateful. He wrote to the queen a letter, of which more will be said hereafter, on purpose to thank her for the politeness with which he had been treated, and to assure her, that her conduct was perfectly satisfactory.

#### THE SEIZURE OF THE MARQUESAS.

While Tahiti was the theatre of these religious and political cabals, more important and decided measures had occupied the mighty minds of cabinets, and conclaves, in France and Italy.

The captains, who had punished and conventionized the queen and legislative body of the Georgian Islands, had made their reports in person, to their sovereign in Paris, and to the ministers of state, who had indicted their instructions. Honours, and titles, were awarded to the successful officers, and on their showing, it was resolved, that the Marquesas should first be taken possession of, in the name of the king of the French, and that subsequently Tahiti, without which the Marquesas are untenable, should be made, by force or by jugglery, an entrepôt for naval, as it was already for priestly depredators. These plans were not only laid, but were in the course of execution, when the captain of the *Aube* was confounded by the small question, “ Are “ you come to change our laws ?”

In the same month, May, 1842, when M. Du Bouzet was dissolving the police, and inducting the agents of Picpus at Papeete, a sadly different fate awaited one of his predecessors in the work of coercion. Captain—then admiral Dumont d'Urville perished, with his wife and his son, and many other victims, in the dreadful railway catastrophe at the gates of Paris. At the same moment, his more fortunate companion, captain—now admiral Du Petit-Thouars, who had returned from Paris commander-in-chief of the stations of the South Seas, was ceremoniously—or rather unceremoniously—transferring the propriety of all the islands of the Marquesan group, to the French government.

“ The conduct of the admiral on this occasion, we are told (with a “ hardihood, and a perversion of language, which seem to be the “ special attributes, or prerogatives, of French official authors), shows



“ the extent of respect, with which France treats the independence of nations, however miserable may be their condition. Everything was settled, in virtue of stipulations, freely discussed and consented to, by the native proprietors of the soil.” All this is courageously asserted, when a squadron, provided with troops, artillery, implements, and everything required for the erection of forts, and the establishment of a garrison, and commanded by the same officer who placed the first Romish missionaries in the group, had anchored at Nouka-Hiva, on purpose to seize the islands. “ The history of the Catholic mission,” says Father Garcia, “ will form, we hope, one and the same event with the French colonization which has been effected by the admiral in these islands, where he conveyed the first missionaries.” To pretend that any choice was left to the chiefs of these islands, is to offer an insult to the most simple understanding. It is unnecessary to refer to the scenes of carnage, that afterwards occurred.

But the possession of the Marquesas alone, could not have been dreamt of; and it is necessary to hold this truth in mind, as the key to the whole mystery of iniquity at Tahiti. The compact between the Tuilleries and Picpus, and the joint occupation of the Society and Marquesan group, were necessities of the South Sea speculation, to which French politicians had committed their country.

“ The squadron that took possession of the unimportant Marquesas, and threw the national flag over the rich Tahiti, proved, that the government had a defined system of colonization, capable of giving France the preponderance, in the Indian seas, and in the Pacific Ocean, due to one of the great maritime powers of the world. The Society Islands, of which Tahiti is the richest and the largest, the Marquesas, and the Gambiers, form a vast triangle; and the French possessions in Oceania, must comprise the whole of the Marquesan, the Pomotouan, and the Tahitian groups. The Tahitian group is placed almost in the centre of the vast Pacific; and France, established in these islands, must rapidly make the influence of her commerce felt in the Samoan, the Tongan, and the Fejeean islands, in New Britain, and in New Guinea. A few years hence all these people will need our clothes to cover them, our tools to build their houses, and a thousand other articles of our manufacture. Tahiti placed, so to speak, between Europe and these groups, will become the entrepôt of all Oceania, and our merchandize will be carried throughout the ocean by our colonists. To secure this end, the government must not limit itself to a simple protectorate, without any other guarantee than that of the flag of France waving by the side of the banner of the queen of Tahiti; a more glorious mission is reserved to it. France, must organize the government of Tahiti, and at the same time place the government under her dependance, in such a manner, that it cannot escape. The first thing must be force,

“ to command obedience. France must be always mistress, to direct  
“ at her will the native prince charged to hold the reins of the state.  
“ As to money ; a few thousand francs, to aid the queen, will ensure to  
“ France one of the finest colonies, and firmest allies, in case of war  
“ in the South Seas. By able measures, she can easily secure the  
“ power, and make the sovereign and the principal chiefs her pen-  
“ sioners, on any terms she may choose to dictate. With such means,  
“ a police well organized, and a military post, Tahiti will become for  
“ ever, French ground, and a powerful colony. To preserve the friend-  
“ ship of the inhabitants, it will suffice to present French authority, as  
“ mediating between the native authority and the people ; and so to  
“ manage, by an adroit policy, that all the acts of the local government,  
“ that are favourably received by the people, shall appear to emanate  
“ from French influence. France, must have a number of representa-  
“ tives in the native council, an absolute controul over all the legislative  
“ acts, and reserve entirely, all that regards foreign policy, and the  
“ passage or residence of foreigners in the country.

“ The Marquesas are important, as a military colony, on account of  
“ their position in those seas, and their easy defence. But they have  
“ few and but small ports ; wood there is scarce, and unfit for ships,—  
“ the plains are of small extent, and the population is unfavourable to  
“ civilization. The Tahitian islands, have none of these inconveniences ;  
“ —the ports are spacious and numerous ; the forests furnish wood in  
“ abundance ; the plains are vast and fertile ; the population is broken  
“ in to acknowledge authority. Tahiti, by its size, the richness of the  
“ soil, the beauty of its ports and population, is fit for the seat of  
“ government. Papeete, offers the best port ; and the town, which has  
“ risen as by enchantment on its shores, contains, already, nearly four  
“ hundred Europeans. It is the seat of the government of the queen.  
“ It is at Papeete that the French flag must command ; but the coasts  
“ are extensive, and assailable. The Marquesas then are the more  
“ necessary, as an important military port.”\*

These extracts, are not made with any design, either to ridicule the views, or to combat the assertions they present. They are given, to place the protectorate in its true position, and to expose fairly, “ French ideas.” They put an end at once, and for ever, to all sickening affectation of unpremeditated compliance, on the part of the French, and of spontaneousness and eager desire, on the part of the Tahitians.—That the power to dispose of the resources of that fertile island, was a sheer necessity for “ the great and powerful nation,” must, on these declarations and provings of French officers, who have visited all the premises, and who are said to have written with the privity of certain ministers, be fully admitted.—As fully, as would be admitted the needfulness of the robber, who should plead his want of money, as

\* *Considerationes Générales sur la Colonisation Française dans l’Océanie, &c.*

an excuse for his demand of your purse or your life. But in either case, we have a right to ask the desperado, how he became reduced to this dire extremity; from which, neither the sacrifice of his own honesty, nor the plunder of another's property, can finally extricate him. In both cases, inquiry would prove, that the necessity itself, was the result of guilt.—The necessity thus admitted and established, it is but just to add, that it would have been less disgraceful, to have acted out the robber's part; to have proclaimed the necessity, and to have demanded boldly the coveted Tahiti. When M. Du Petit-Thouars left France, he knew what was expected of him; and he was willing, of course, to nail his reputation to the flagstaff of his sovereign, planted on the islet of Motu-Uta.

The state of Tahiti, has been carefully reviewed, and it is evident, that there was nothing—absolutely nothing—to justify the hostile visit of the admiral. If he had wanted, as he did, refreshments and provisions for his crew, he might have obtained, as a friend, or as a commissary, the supplies that merchants or the government were disposed to furnish. “It was necessary for the admiral to go to Tahiti, to replace there, as far as possible, the provisions that he had been obliged to leave at Nouka-Hiva. All the vessels of the division were in the same situation, and must go there for the same object,—to revictual. Already, measures had been taken, to secure some of the articles that were required.” Beyond that, he had nothing to do—nothing to demand at Tahiti. By successive visits and vexations, the country had been both insulted and oppressed. The *Aube* was at Papeete, when the *Reine Blanche* was at Nouka-Hiva. Captain Du Bouzet, had demanded all he thought proper to ask, and had received all he had demanded. What could have occurred, since his departure, to require such extreme measures, as those that preceded and obtained the protectorate? If any serious misunderstanding, had rendered necessary the presence of the commander-in-chief, he was at hand. He had been near Tahiti ever since the beginning of May, and might have been promptly summoned. M. Dumont d'Urville was at the Marquesas, on the 27th of August, 1838, or later, and he was in Matavia Bay on the 9th of September.\* So that in thirteen days, at most, the admiral might have succoured his fellow-countrymen at Tahiti, and have avenged their wrongs. He remained, however, at that short distance, during four whole months, and did not conduct his squadron to Papeete, till the end of the month of August; nor is his absence surprising. In the mean time, the captain of the *Aube*, had received from his commodore, a letter for queen Pomare, in which her majesty was assured “that the French

\* The minister of marine, in his speech on the vote of money for the French possessions, said “The fertility of the Society Islands, at only *three days* distance from the Marquesas,” &c. His excellency either betrayed great ignorance, or meant to describe the extreme proximity of the groups.

“government, had no intention to impose its protectorate; that it was satisfied, and had no further claims to urge.” This letter was sent to Pomare, enclosed in that from M. Du Bouzet, that has been mentioned, and the commander of the *Aube* took the pains to add, “I beg distinctly to assure your majesty, that I consider your late conduct perfectly satisfactory; and I am authorised to say, that France does not intend to impose its protectorate.” These assurances were made with allusion to the famous first demand of 1841.—But alas! little did the queen understand French negociators. “The commander-in-chief, had terminated the first measures for the occupation of the Marquesas, when he was informed of the steps taken by the commander of the *Aube*. This alone, would have decided the admiral to go to Tahiti, in order to be assured of the execution of the promises given by the government!” It has been shown, that the admiral must have been perfectly assured, and that he had prepared, by his correspondence, for the provisionment of his ships. His object, was not to be assured of the past, but to provide for the future.

#### IMPOSITION OF THE FRENCH PROTECTORATE, ON TAHITI.

Under these circumstances, the approach of the French man-of-war produced no alarm. The natives had been bowed down, by concession after concession; the queen had been reassured, by the letters of the French officers, and was at Eimeo (or Moorea), expecting daily to be the mother of her fourth child.

When the *Reine Blanche* made the land, she kept under sail in the roads; and before she came to anchor in the bay, the French consul went off, and passed the night on board the frigate. These worthy colleagues, had thus time to reciprocate hopes, fears, and counsels, and to arrange all preparatory measures.

The French confederates, felt that the forcible seizure of Tahiti could not be allowed by England, and it was therefore necessary to gain possession by stratagem. “That the first effect of the occupation of the Marquesas, would be, to give a greater efficacy to the protection of the flag and interests of France, was evident; but the movement it would produce at Tahiti, was not foreseen. The choice of the Marquesas indicated, that it was not *possible* to establish the French authority in the Tahitian group, more suitable in every respect, but entirely given up to a hostile influence, and where it could not be supposed that the population was so favourable to the domination of France as it proved to be.” If the population had been as favourable, and the government as well disposed, as this hypocritical sentence was framed to maintain, what need could there be of these nocturnal councils, of the long and terrible manifesto issued eight days after the arrival of the ships, and not before?—Time was required to obtain provisions; to adjust differences between the consul and the priests; to negociate with

such chiefs and others, as might be gained by bribery, or duped by promises ; all suspicions, on the part of the people, must be lulled, and then sudden violence, would have, on such a population, a more tragic and complete effect. From this document, which has been published, and is included in the papers presented to the House of Commons, the admiral, after expatiating on the kindness and benevolence of the king of the French, accuses the queen of Tahiti, her government, and her agents, of all the anti-social crimes that can well be committed or enumerated—violation of domicile, pillage, seizure of property, brutal violence, false imprisonment, the pillory, without form of trial, and murder ; but instead of proposing to institute an investigation of all or any of these charges, he acts on them all, as fully proven, and as established facts.

It is not a little difficult, to deal with charges, thrown up in heaps, on purpose, that they may not be distinguished, and disproved ; it is, indeed, only possible to reply to the manifesto of M. Du Petit-Thouars, and to the letters of M. Guizot, the French minister, who adopted it, by heaping together denials as positive, and more weighty than the charges. An attempt is made, to give appearance of fact to falsehood, by the mention of one case, of terrible import ; intended, to set aside all the satisfaction already given to France, and acknowledged by M. Du Bouzet.

“ Notwithstanding the promise given to the commander of the *Aube*,” says the manifesto, “ the murderer, (*assassin*) of a Frenchman, the “ infamous Moïa, whom the queen sentenced to exile, is still here ; “ and it is by impunity to a criminal, that the proofs of benevolence of “ the king of the French, are acknowledged.”

Had the admiral given to the world, the name of the murdered victim (who, for the consolation of the reader, is alive, and prosperous), as well as that of the assassin, an old acquaintance would have been recognized, in the same captain Mauruc, who was so indignant at the conduct of the Romish priests at Manga-reva, in procuring a monopoly of shelling for M. Mœrenhout, that he declared, he would complain of them, and make his case known to the French public, when he should arrive in France.\* It was very naturally thought expedient, to placate and silence the injured and incensed M. Mauruc : he was accordingly taken into special favour by M. Du Petit-Thouars, when captain of the *Venus*, and employed by him, to furnish notes and reports, highly spiced with anti-English and anti-Protestant abuse, as documents, to be appended to the official account of his voyages. Not a line, however, is found to be among all those furnished by Mauruc, on the conduct of the priests or the monopoly of the consul. It was further expedient, to admit this dangerous captain into the cabal, and even to

\* See page 44.

make him a martyr. This was very easy to those, who had made of Mr. Pritchard, a murderer.

Fortunately, a dog-fight occurred on the beach; an animal belonging to a servant of the queen was one of the combatants. A squabble naturally ensued, and Moïa, the superintendent of police, was called to interfere. On entering the crowd, he spread his hands and stretched his arms on either side, to separate and disperse the quarrelsome groups; it was thus, that his arm came in contact with M. Mauruc; not by design, nor with violence, but simply by accident. The captain, who had just left his lodging, to witness the canine conflict, had still the key of his door in his grasp; and turning suddenly round, he struck Moïa with such force, that he fell, bleeding from a wound in his head, from which he afterward suffered considerably. This scene offered an occasion to the French consul, to get rid of Moïa, seal the lips of Mauruc on past wrongs, and embroil France and Tahiti. By threats and violence he obtained an order from a judge, who dared not resist him, against the chief of police; he was declared to be guilty of high-treason, and exiled! To appease the consul, the judge first fined the accused, eight dollars; but this unjust punishment and satisfaction, was contemptuously and furiously refused. Exile was insisted upon, and it was inflicted. When the queen returned, sometime after, and understood the extreme injustice done to Moïa, she exercised her sovereign prerogative, and mitigated the penalty; instead of being banished to a village, about twenty or twenty-five miles from Papeete, the policeman was allowed to reside at another village, only four miles distant. Such is the truth in this matter.—To pretend, that no policeman in Tahiti ever exceeded his commission, erred in judgment, or acted under the influence of passion, would be to claim, for the corps at Papeete, a reputation to which those of Paris or London do not presume to prefer a title. It is even possible, that French sailors, presuming on the protection of the brandy-selling consul, were more troublesome than others, and required more positive measures; but the charge of assassination, against the wounded inspector, though infinitely more ridiculous, is precisely of the same infamous nature with that of murder, against the saviour of the wounded consul himself. It is annoying to pen details, so petty and disgusting; such, however, is the indispensable task of those, who may have to notice, the mean and odious conduct of the agents of the Romish and French confederacy, through the whole of its progress.

It was in virtue of such valid accusations, that the admiral demanded the immediate payment of ten thousand dollars (£2,000). “Judging it necessary, to require a similar guarantee from the queen, to that demanded by M. Laplace, from the king of the Sandwich islands.” The laudable example of Pomare, it will be remembered, was produced at Honolulu, by M. Laplace, and now the example of Tamehancha, was

followed in return at Tahiti. These iniquities, were designed to justify and assist each other, only with this difference; at the Sandwich Islands, the twenty thousand dollars, procured, at an enormous interest, were paid by the king, and were lately in the coffers of France. At Tahiti, the condition of the thousand dollars was known to be unexecutable, and was thus in fact, no condition at all. The admiral, for that very reason, required, in case of nonpayment, that the island should be immediately occupied by French troops, till the condition should be fulfilled. But this military occupation, was only another condition of the same nature as the former; it was one, to which the Tahitians and English could not submit; and which it would not answer the purpose of the admiral to accept. His occupation would have given him no legal power over the island, or over foreigners; and would only have rendered more hateful, the French name. He, therefore, finally invited the Tahitian government, and this was his real and only object, to propose the protectorate. Of course, his only motive in making the proposition, for a proposal, was tender concern for Tahiti. "In order," says the kind-hearted seaman, "to prove how pained I shall be, to adopt rigorous measures, I invite the queen and chiefs to submit to me, during the first twenty hours, of the forty-eight allowed, a proposal, capable of satisfying the just resentment of my nation, so sensibly excited against them, and which may lead to the sincere reconciliation of two people, between whom there is so great a sympathy of character." Thus was prepared, and with the same fraud as the first, the Second demand, for the French protectorate!

"On the reception of this message, say the French reporters, a meeting of the chiefs was convoked; the meeting acknowledged the validity of the claims of the French admiral: some of the speakers retraced the history of the feebleness of the government, and of its evident incapacity to maintain itself, when it could not possibly direct public affairs. Their voice found an echo in the assembly, which almost unanimously resolved to *renew the proposal, that was quashed in 1841*, to place the islands under the protection of the French government. This resolution was communicated to the admiral, who could not but approve it, subject to the approbation of his sovereign. Immediately Paraita, the governor and regent, and the principal authorities of the island, prepared the conditions on which the protectorate should be established. No opposition was manifested to this decision of the government; but on the contrary it met with general approbation. The only obstacle that could have arisen, in the personal enmity of Mr. Pritchard, was avoided; he was still in England.

"Messages were immediately sent to Eimeo (Moorea), where the queen had gone for her confinement, to inform her of the decision of the government. Though her pregnancy was far advanced, she suffered none of the inconveniences that have since been imagined, to

“ make it believed, that her consent was wrung from her under the pains of childbirth. On the contrary, when the act was presented for her signature, she was in the full vigour of her robust constitution. She was seen walking gaily on the beach, making visits, and manifesting publicly, the satisfaction she experienced at the important decision. If it had excited any repugnance, on the part of the population, Pomare must have been informed; if it had not her approbation, she was not forced to adopt it. But the queen was eager to embrace the proposal of the chiefs; she signed the act freely and voluntarily; and charged Taraipa, chief of Eimeo, to transmit the document to the admiral.” With the knowledge now possessed, of all that has since occurred, there is no alternative for an historian; he must lay aside this report, with an endorsement,—“ so many words, so many falsehoods.” It is only to compare this unparalleled account, with the extracts just cited, with the letters of M. Guizot, and the speech of the minister of marine, to see, that however multiplied the falsehoods, they cannot conceal the fatal truth—the necessity of French policy required the possession of Tahiti.\*

At the stage to which the confederacy had now advanced, its acts could not fail to occupy, not only the cabinets, but the senates and the press of both France and England. Subsequent events have therefore been more generally known, and more justly appreciated. Still, it may not be inexpedient to oppose to the perfidious reports of the French authorities some of the information that, through various channels, has been already communicated to the public.

M. Reybaud, attributes to M. Mœrenhout, the honour of “ calling the admiral to Tahiti.” If he really merit this distinguished honour, he merits equally the honour of having prepared, the first demand for the protectorate in 1841, to which he obtained the signatures of four Tahitian chiefs. The document still existed in his consulate; the same chiefs were at hand; the necessity was more urgent, and success more sure: the Marquesas were now garrisoned by French troops, and the guns of the commander-in-chief, were more numerous, than those of the captain of the *Aube*. M. Mœrenhout could, therefore, have called the admiral, only on purpose to revive the suspended project. Nor could he have so acted, without the concert and authority of M. Caret, “ the representative of the august Mary, the destroyer of heresy.” In the conferences of the admiral and the consul, the interests

\* “ Our dominion, if confined to the Marquesas alone, might have created a fear of the insufficiency of their local resources, and the difficulty of procuring a great many indispensable articles. The fertility of the Society Islands, at only three days’ distance, removes every apprehension. At Tahiti, tropical productions are abundant, and the land, cultivated by proper hands, will afford ample food for all the Europeans in our two establishments.”—*Discourse of the Minister of Marine, &c.*



of the Romish mission were fully canvassed. "The Catholic missionaries complained, more than ever, of the persecutions they experienced;" and their claim to bullets, and broadsides, was fully admitted. Notwithstanding so many "just causes for immediate vengeance," the great naval and civil agents of the French government, suppressed or concealed so well their displeasure, that a whole week was past in festivities and sensual pleasures, designed to gratify the crews, afflict the English Protestant missionaries, and delude the people.

It has, from the first, been ordained by Providence, that these French naval aggressors on the Protestant stations in the Pacific, should march to triumph under the joint escort of Popery and profligacy. Examples have every where thrust themselves on public observation. Here, again, before the military mass and the *Te Deum*, for the signature of a female sovereign, wrung from her, when in the agonies of parturition, days and nights were spent, under the admiral's flag, and on board his ship, in hideous scenes of debauchery, which were not only narrated by the parties themselves, with unblushing satisfaction, but published in the journals of France, as proofs of victory over religious and moral restraints, as well as of contempt for the laws of the country, about to be protected by the French government. That no doubt may remain of the lamentable fact, it is proper to give an extract from the letter of an officer of the *Reine Blanche*, written at sea, on the 10th of October, 1842.

"The severity of the English missionaries is sometimes very inopportune, and they were certainly the cause of our receiving the visits of the women. The admiral would not have allowed us to receive them on board, if the missionaries had not ridiculously opposed it. The officers who landed the *day after* our arrival, had brought back with them, three or four women, to show them the vessel and gratify them with music. In the evening, the officers invited them to dinner; and only sent them back, when they expressed a wish to that purpose, which was at a late hour. The missionaries having learnt this, wished to impose a fine upon the women, for having gone to see the ship.\* On the news of this, there were great rumours on board

\* The missionaries have always endeavoured to influence the government, to prevent the frequentation of ships by native females. A law prohibited such conduct, under the penalty of fine. This is all the missionaries have to do, with an important, useful, and almost essential regulation. "Are the committee to understand, that the same outrages and licentiousness are not practised by the crews of vessels at Tahiti as in New Zealand? Certainly not.—Is that a regulation of the native government? It is their own regulation, in consequence of the influence of the missionaries.—They do not allow any of their women to be sent on board? No, not one.—The government has been able to enforce such regulations, and maintain the public order, and external decency of the ports visited by European merchant-

“ the frigate. The circumstances were reported to the admiral, who  
 “ ordered the native women to be allowed to come on board, whenever  
 “ they pleased. In the evening, more than a hundred women came  
 “ on board. They were in the officers’ room, in the chamber of the  
 “ midshipmen,—they were every where. From that day, a crowd of these  
 “ belles, came every afternoon, about three o’clock, to hear the music.  
 “ At dinner time, the officers and midshipmen invited them gallantly  
 “ to their table ; and the repasts, which were very gay, were prolonged  
 “ sufficiently late at night, so that fear might keep on board, those  
 “ of the women who were afraid to sail home by the doubtful light  
 “ of the stars.”\*

It was to the admiral, commanding in chief in the Pacific, who not only authorized these most scandalous orgies, so degrading to his own nation, but openly and purposely trampled on the laws of Tahiti, laws essential to its safety, and having no political character ; it was to this officer, that the Romish priests looked, for the support of their religion ; at the very moment too, that he sanctioned and shared, the most appalling vice, on purpose to spite, and insult English Protestants ! This “ grand officer of the Legion of Honour,” was come to Tahiti to avenge the wrongs of France, and to establish order, honour, the reign of the laws, and the faith of treaties !

It is not surprising, that the cabinet of the Tuilleries, should shrink, not from the immorality, but from the disgrace, and the indiscipline connected with such proceedings, on the part of the united propaganda. Three days after the letter had appeared in the *Journal des Debats*, and in various other journals, the *Moniteur*, attempted to destroy the impression it had produced, by an act which inflicted another wound on public morals ; by offering an official denial, of known and certain facts.

“ Several journals,” it says, “ have published an article on the  
 “ stay of the *Reine Blanche* at Tahiti, in August last. (It was in  
 “ September. The official scribe, charged to deny the facts, was not  
 “ even informed of their date.) It contains a passage that ought to be  
 “ contradicted, because it is inexact. (The letter is not then un-  
 “ authentic, but the passage is inexact.) It attributes to the crew,  
 “ officers and commanders, conduct and expressions with which French  
 “ sailors have never been reproached. The urbanity, and the politeness,  
 “ which are unanimously ascribed to their officers, and which result

“ men ? Yes.”—*Evidence of Captain R. Fitzroy, before a committee of the House of Lords.* (Brief statement, &c., by the Directors of the London Missionary Society.)

\* The last few lines, were suppressed by the *Journal des Debats*, but given in the *National* and other journals. The suppressions prove the authenticity of the account.

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“ from the habits and examples to which they are accustomed in their families, have never diminished the good order and the discipline they observe in all parts of the world. It may then be affirmed, that the *orgie* (not singular, but plural, *orgies*), said to have taken place, in August last, at Tahiti, is only an invention, which might be treated as calumnious, if it were not one of those censurable levities, too common now-a-days, in certain journals, little jealous of the national honour. It is utterly false, that a frigate has been the theatre of corruption, in any country whatever. Honour, in every acceptation of the term, has been constantly respected; and French mothers may continue to congratulate themselves, that their sons serve in the navy of their country.”

Every body would have applauded the government, had it severely censured the commander and the officers; but by a denial, as absurd as false, it only degraded itself to a level with the agents, and the acts themselves. The government was aware, that the testimony of such men as Du Petit-Thouars, on the question of the protectorate, could never gain credit; that the conduct of such a commander, towards the queen and people of Tahiti, could not be considered either just or honourable; and it therefore sought to persuade the world, that what was not convenient, was untrue. But, how could the official writer know, that the orgies did not take place? Had he any facts, to oppose to the statement? Had official despatches, anticipated the passage of the letter, and warned the admiralty that such a passage had been written, but was false? Had the official correspondence, given any counter-statement, or any journal of events, that would disprove the corruption avowed? Then, these communications ought to have been, and would have been published. But they did not exist; nor, indeed, any other opposing testimony. And in order, to avert from the perpetrators of these lawless outrages, the odium their conduct excited, it was thrown on thoughtless or calumniating journalists at home. A double act of injustice; for the journal that gave it currency, was its own favourite organ, the *Debats*; which never inserted the denial of the *Moniteur*; and far from acting thoughtlessly, that journal had carefully suppressed such passages as those underlined in the quotation.

Other journals, had faithfully printed the whole after the original.

The official denial, rests then entirely, on the pretended known purity and dignity, of the French naval service; but Providence, had already prepared the official answer to the official falsehood. The account of the voyages of the *Astrolabe* and the *Zélee*, published by royal authority, records similar orgies and nocturnal scenes, authorized by the unfortunate commander Dumont d'Urville.\* M. Louis Reybaud,

\* See pages 50 and 51.

“that distinguished writer,” had published, from notes furnished by officers of the *Artémise*, a description of orgies of the same kind, but reduced to system, at Papeete.—The contradiction of the *Moniteur*, far from extenuating, aggravates the evil; and it has received the more particular attention, that it may be, once for all, understood and established, that the government at Paris, merited no more credit than its agents in the Pacific; and, that instead of “reposing the fullest confidence,” in its statements, professions, and promises, it is utterly unworthy of belief.\*

If, on the perusal of such recitals, contained in only a few lines, the spirit feels lacerated and oppressed, what must have been the slow agonies of the moral martyrdom, by which the English Protestant missionaries have been maliciously tortured. Through long years of voluntary exile, amidst savage society, in dangers, great and imminent, often in hunger, and almost in nakedness, they had toiled and watched for the salvation of the souls of the idolatrous heathen. God had, at length, given multitudes to their prayers; and all the hopeful evidences of Christian instruction, discipline, fellowship, charity, and zeal, gave promise of future and abundant blessings, not only to Tahiti, but to all the islands in the wide Pacific. Their flocks, though feeble, did not relapse into idolatry; no abatement was visible in their personal affection and respect; and yet a destructive darkness rose, and spread itself over the horizon of their prospect; vices, the most pestilential, were gradually pressed upon the natives, by every art, and every influence, to which their geographical position, and their social state, rendered them exposed. At length, the favoured subjects, and the naval agents of a pretended Christian, and friendly state, armed with the authority of the sovereign, go from island to island, to debauch their people, to overthrow their churches, to invest profligacy with the prerogatives of right, to parade the foul alliance of sensuality and superstition, and to destroy the political existence of a country, raised by the gospel from barbarism, in order, by the destruction of its independence, to sweep away the moral and religious barriers, the gospel opposed to priestcraft and corruption. To the labours of the devoted English missionaries, these Frenchmen owed every thing they possessed in the Pacific, and the means of acquiring more; to them they owed the very re-victualment of their hostile and polluted ships, the herds

\* Another attempt has been made to efface this indelible stain on the French protectorate. The authors of “Hes Tahiti”, say, “After the signing of the treaty, a great dinner was given by the admiral. The officers also received a great many persons, and it is to those receptions, that it has been attempted to give the character of licentiousness and disorder. The official contradiction, has done justice to these accusations.” It has been attempted, but by whom? By an officer of the *Reine Blanche*, who wrote on board, and was full of enthusiasm at all the admiral had achieved.—The foul spot remains.

that furnished their daily food, and the provisions that were to sustain the predatory bands, they had left as garrisons in the Marquesan islands. But their hatred of the moral, and restraining authority, of the religious example of the men, they felt to be their benefactors, perverted all the honourable feelings of humanity. Their religious mission was preceded, by calumny, and malignant threats; it had been accompanied, by every act of provocation, and injustice they had power to commit; it was consummated, by endeavours to annihilate every germ of good, every hope, that the missionaries continued to cherish. Even after their triumph, the character and presence of the missionaries, disquieted them: they have pursued the degradation of the one, and sought deliverance from the other. The French government will, one day, have a terrible account to give, for all these agonies. The blood of martyrs, we are told, cries to heaven from the ground that drinks it in; but, as the soul is infinitely more precious than the body, the anguish inflicted on the heart of the humblest of the disciples of Jesus Christ, must be felt far more poignantly by Him, who has said, "He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of my eye;—inasmuch as you have done unto the least of these, ye have done it unto me," than any tortures or indignities that may affect the body. The protectors and coadjutors of the Romish priests, revelled in the sufferings of the Protestant missionaries; whose sighs gave zest to the songs, and to the impure pleasures of their oppressors.

The scenes that have reluctantly been referred to, occurred, as in the case of the *Artémise*, before the natives were apprized of the hostile projects of the admiral. He carried out these false appearances still further; and so little was it supposed "that from the moment of his arrival he had been convinced that the government had failed of its engagements; that the representations of the consul had been treated with contempt; that from every side complaints were received; and that vengeance was at hand;"—that they received with unsuspecting confidence an invitation, sent on the 5th, to the queen and chiefs, to come to Papeete, that he might pay them his respects. But instead of this expected visit, certain chiefs were invited to dine with the admiral, on the 8th, on board his ship; and on the same day, the first intimation was given of a public meeting to be held between the chiefs and the French. This meeting never took place; for in the evening, the American consul and the British vice-consul were apprized, "that differences existed, which might lead to hostilities;" and early the next morning, the 9th, it was known, from the chief speaker of the queen, Mure, that a secret meeting had been held during the night, between the French and a few of the chiefs. The result of this treasonable cabal, was an application to the admiral, from four of the chiefs, to be taken under French protection;—in other words, "the proposal quashed in 1841," was revived.

The measures that followed, are before the public, and it is unnecessary to reproduce them at length.\* The document was simply sent to the queen, the legitimate, hereditary sovereign, for her signature. The only alternative, was dethronement or protection. Pomare preferred the former; but her friends representing to her, that her submission would be only temporary, as Great Britain would certainly redress her wrongs, she was prevented from taking this decision. "The night was  
" was passed in sobs and tears. Towards morning, her sufferings  
" increased, and at length she signed the fatal document; then, bursting  
" into a flood of tears, she took her eldest son, aged six years, in her  
" arms, and exclaimed, 'My child, I have signed away thy birthright.'  
" After another hour of indescribable pangs, she was delivered of her  
" fourth child."† In fact, by protection, she was dethroned. Though the French left her an empty title of queen of the interior, Mœrenhout, the royal commissioner of Louis Philippe, was king of Tahiti. "Some  
" days after, a proclamation was also laid before her Majesty, which at  
" last her majesty also signed, through the menacing threats of the  
" consul of France."‡

When all the iniquity was thus accomplished, festivities and rejoicings were decreed. "The treaty was received with enthusiasm; the people  
" proved superabundantly that it was considered as a real benefit, and  
" that constraint had no share whatever in the decisions of the govern-  
" ment. The natives pressed round the French, for whom they had  
" long had a lively sympathy, to testify their joy, by public rejoicings,  
" and they were welcomed everywhere with unequivocal demonstrations  
" of friendship. There was but one cry throughout the island—  
" 'Maïhai franisse!'—the French are good.'"—The battle of Mahena, and the dying groans and imprecations, of hundreds of murdered natives, will best reply to these falsehoods, published with such unparalleled audacity.

As at the Gambier Islands, before the obscene indulgencies on board the *Astrolabe* and *Zelée*, and as at Tahiti, after the debauchery of the officers and crew of the *Artémise*, so now, religion, was made to mingle with and to sanction the dissoluteness. A Romish chapel was opened on the Sunday. M. Caret, vicar-general, officiated, and the band from the *Reine Blanche* accompanied the high mass. Yes, the same band to which crowds of lost women, enticed on board the ship of war, to insult the Protestant missionaries, had listened day after day, they saw ranged before the high altar, and its music they heard blending with the chants and prayers of Romish priests! The confederacy was in its

\* Various authentic details have been published by the Directors of the London Missionary Society, in the Missionary Magazines of April and September, 1843, and subsequently.

† See also Foreign Quarterly Review, October, 1844.

‡ Letter of Commodore Nicolas, to Admiral Du Petit-Thomas.

glory—the joyous notes with which it celebrated the triumph of wrong, and the installation of the agents of Picpus, were to them the requiem of Protestant heresy and British influence at Tahiti.

And now, after all, who were the parties to this unnatural desire for servitude? Had the people, its representatives, or its legislature, any share in this suicidal transfer of national property and power? Four, and only four, from among hundreds of chiefs and magistrates, subscribed, without their queen, and without her knowledge of its existence, an act, for having signed which, fifteen months before, she had declared them traitors, and had denounced them as such to England, America, and France; an act, for having subscribed which formerly, they had made a written apology, charging on the French consul the fabrication of the act, and their own deception. These same men, determined by threats, and by promises of pecuniary reward, after having been feasted, and in all probability besotted, on board the admiral's ship, signed anew, in the night, in the French consul's house, the act that ceded to the French, what they immediately called *our* possession. One of the four, Paraita, is the man, who wrote in the name of the other chiefs, to charge on the French consul, the guilt of their signatures to the first demand. Another, Tati, is “the tayo of the French consul,” who has described him as his drunken, immoral, dishonest friend. A third, Hitoti, is a discontented chief; and he assured the missionaries, that he was only desirous of getting the money promised by the French consul. Of the fourth, Utami, the same may also be said. Paofai, the brother of Hitoti, did not sign the demand; nor did he adhere to the treaty till a week later, and when all was terminated.

These are the only parties of whom the admiral demanded, or from whom he received, the second demand for the protectorate; and yet the French government, the government of the “sovereign people,” of the barricades, affects to vaunt the purity, justice, and legality of its title to the new possession!—The queen signed, it is true, the document prepared by the French consul; but without any previous consultation with, or communication from, the admiral, the consul, or the chiefs.

Providence, that permitted the success of this crime of the French officers and ecclesiastics, again provided for its detection. Why did not the chiefs first obtain the signature of their sovereign? No person or party had any right or authority to negotiate with foreign powers, on questions affecting her personal and royal interests, and those of the whole nation. Had they pursued the natural order of affairs, they might have offered some plausible excuse for their conduct; but their perversion of all order, and of all honourable obligation, gives the lie to every asseveration, and reveals at once a conspiracy, and the conspirators.

But what say these, the only parties themselves? The queen has protested, in public and in private, by words, by acts, and by repeated and pressing appeals to foreign states, “that she was betrayed,

“coerced, and that the only alternative that remained, was the slaughter of her people, of many foreigners, and the desolation of her country.” M Guizot, has contemptuously called this protest, ‘caprice;’ but others will regard it, as the wise performance of an imperative duty, to herself, to her country, and to truth.

The wretched men themselves, who were suborned to sign away their sovereign’s crown, her childrens’ heritage, their nation’s independence, and their religious teachers’ liberty and peace, have since declared, as on oath, that they were bribed and basely induced, in nocturnal conjurations, to put their names to a document, written by the French consul, and not even in the proper language, or idiom, or with the proper forms of their country; and this they declared, not in a night scene, and in the corner of a smuggler’s habitation, but before the sun, and in the midst of the council of the nation, and of 5000 of their fellow-countrymen. The French minister of foreign affairs, says, ‘they were induced; they yielded to the suggestions of foreigners; they appeared to wish to retract; they were insincere;’ but base, unworthy as they may be, they are the only persons the minister can produce, as the authorities for his conduct in accepting, in the name of Louis Philippe, the protectorate of Tahiti; and these authorities have not only, as the French minister said, “appeared, to wish to retract from their agreement,”—they have retracted; and they have denounced the agents of the French king, who inveigled and entrapped them. They have signed another document,—“That all men “may know that we, who have signed our names hereunto, clearly and “solemnly make known and declare, as upon oath, that the French “consul did wholly dictate and write the letter, said to be written by the “queen Pomare and her governors, requesting protection of the king “of the French. Through fear, we signed it. It was in his own house, “and in the night time, that the document was signed by us. And we “signed it also, because he said, ‘If you will sign your names to this, “I will give you one thousand dollars each, when the French admiral’s “ship returns to Tahiti.’

“We also declare clearly, that Pomare had not signed her name, “when we signed our names. The queen’s name was signed at “Moorca, and it was because she was frightened that she signed it.

“This is the truth; and we also made known those words to the “captain of the English ship-of-war, and to the English consul, in the “presence of many people.

“We also fully made known those words to Pomare, after the late “great meeting; and what is here written is the truth, to which we “have signed our names.

“TATI,

“UTAMI.”

Such is the history of French influence, and of the French protectorate.



The effect produced in France, by these transactions, was remarkable; for the country felt, that it had entered on a new period of its history. The propagation of the Romish faith, is to be its future policy. Different political parties sought in the facts, occasions to censure or to applaud, the ministers of the day, who, except one, M. Martin du Nord, minister of justice and worship, were not in office, when the instructions were given to M. Du Petit-Thouars. The measures pursued, were variously appreciated; but, though their policy and prudence were generally impugned, save by a few honest and Christian voices, the protectorate was not stigmatized as iniquitous in principle, and, therefore, dangerous in its results. The government, on the contrary, loudly proclaimed, by the lips of the Minister for foreign affairs, that, "every thing that had occurred was *perfectly regular in form, as it was just and legal in principle*. We have sent "a force," said he, "necessary to ensure the execution of the protectorate. We shall maintain this state of things, (must the words be "added?) to which the English government has declared again and "again, it has no objection." The chambers voted the six millions of francs required; and though the Protestants of France in general expressed, distinctly, and promptly their grief and alarm, their money was of course employed to promote the success of the Romish propaganda, and to maintain a cause which they considered as hostile to the Protestant religion abroad, and as menacing its interests at home.\*

It is not possible to omit an expression of regret, that the French minister for foreign affairs, should have supported, in the senate, accusations against the English missionaries, by such men as Mœrenhout and Du Petit-Thouars; and especially, that he should have opposed to their pretended misconduct, the friendliness manifested by the British government. Because he is himself a Protestant, he could not be required to justify the misdeeds of Protestant missionaries; but neither, on the other hand, because he is a Protestant, ought he to have taken advantage of his position, to deliver them up, unheard, to the prejudices and passions of his Roman Catholic supporters. If he were ignorant, he should have been silent; if he were properly informed, he ought not to have suppressed,—at all events, he ought not to have perverted facts. He should have remembered that, from however lofty a height, misrepresentation may be cast, it cannot destroy the truth, against which it will be shattered; but that the fragments, in their rebound, will wound and mark indelibly the power, by which the false accusation has been thrown.

The English missionaries have been hypocritically accused by their French persecutors, with meddling with trade and secular affairs, and

\* See a valuable work, "Otaïti, Histoire et Esquëte," by M. Henri Lutteroth.

with requiring the interference of the civil authority, they being religious teachers. If the English missionaries lay no claim to lineal succession from the apostles, they profess to follow them, at a humble distance, as they followed Christ. And it is precisely because they desire that things should be done decently and in order, that they have in these respects imitated, in their measure, Paul, the great model missionary. His craft was tent-making, and with his lay companions, Aquila and Priscilla, he 'wrought with his hands to minister to his own necessities, and to them who were with him; showing how, that so labouring, we ought to support the weak.' Paul and his associates, lived by the produce of their skill and labour; but they could not apparently eat the tents they made—they must have procured the unwrought materials, and have disposed of them, when wrought, to obtain food, raiment, and such other articles as their "necessities" required. This is just what the English missionaries at Tahiti have professed, and have often been obliged to do; "showing," in their turn and degree, how men ought to labour; and endeavouring, by their example, to promote among the natives the love of industry, independence, and order.\*

Their attention to their civil interests, and their appeal to civil authorities, though much misrepresented, was a duty, clearly expounded and exemplified by the same missionary model. They were men and Britons, before they were Protestants and missionaries, as Paul was a Jew and a Roman, before he was a Christian and an apostle. And though he declared that what was gain, he counted loss for Christ, among the "all things of which he had suffered loss," he did not include his citizenship, his birthright. It was on his appeal, as a free-born citizen, that he was at Rome, when he sent that noble declaration 'to the saints at

\* Mr. Pritchard has been recently charged, with having put in circulation at Tahiti, copper coin, to the amount of £2,500, in order to get all the silver coin into his own hands. "This speculation," say his calumniators, "was an evident robbery. The provisional government opposed it with all its power. The queen, however, unable to throw off the yoke that oppressed her, authorised the circulation; and he announced, in the church at Papeete, that he had merchandize for sale, and would take the medals in payment; which he afterward refused to do." (†)

The want of small currency had been long felt at Tahiti, and Mr. Pritchard resolved to make an attempt at improvement, by having just £20 worth of small copper coin from Birmingham. When it appeared, because the convenience was of English origin, the French Mœrenhout protectorate (which was only to be for the exterior) took every measure possible to prevent its adoption, and to represent it as illegal. The queen, therefore, authorized it; and Mr. Pritchard, by public notice, engaged to exchange the copper, on demand, for silver coin. The story of the notice in the chapel, is as utterly false as the rest. When Mr. Prichard, at the request of several officers, was appointed consul, in 1837, he was specially authorized to engage in commerce; and the presence of a Christian merchant at Tahiti was eminently useful.

Philippi.' In fact, at Philippi, he made the civil power, the magistrates tremble, by apprizing them that he was a Roman; he even obliged them to come suppliant to their prisoner, and respectfully conduct him to honourable liberty. At Jerusalem, where, he had told his weeping friends, he was ready, not only to be bound, but to suffer death, for the name of the Lord Jesus; he demanded, as a citizen of no mean city, from the military chief, protection, while he announced the nature of his conversion to Christianity, and the authority of his mission to the Gentiles; and when the chief captain commanded him to be scourged, he arrested the blow, dissolved his own bonds, and made the hardy soldier, who was a Roman only by purchase, quail, before the free-born missionary. He afterwards sent a centurion, and his own nephew to Lysias, the same captain, to secure military protection from a lay and clerical conspiracy against his life. At Cesarea, he said to Festus and to Agrippa, "I appeal to Cæsar." In the great seats of government, in Asia and in Europe, assailed by Jews and Pagans, the first Christian missionary stood firm, and by his holy example taught all Christian missionaries and men, to maintain their civil rights, to the latest moment that God should preserve their life.

The Protestant missionaries, in the far-off islands of the Pacific, had not been slow to learn; they had also a glorious birthright confided to them, by Him who has made of one blood all nations of men, and has determined the bounds of their habitation. They had wives, and children, and homes, and property, and sanctuaries, and rights, and liberties, and country, given with their being, or acquired by residence; and none of these great blessings were they called, because they were Christians, to sacrifice to the lust and caprice of any foreign power, even though it might be French. They had not learned, that the counsel of the apostle,—abide in the state wherein thou art called,—applied to slavery alone.

All that has followed the French protectorate; the acts of dethronement and of assumption of the islands, and their disavowal, when too late; the tyranny of the commissioner and governors; the forced retirement of the queen on board a British ketch, the *Basilisk*; the expulsion of the British consul; the insulting conduct of d'Aubigny and Bruat, towards the commander of her majesty's ship, the *Cormorant*; the bombardings, conflagrations, and slaughters, ordered and effected; the dispersion of the English missionaries; the ill-treatment of several captains of British merchant vessels; the outrage on lieutenant Hunt,—all these facts, of which the history and the sequel are yet to come, are so many inevitable consequences of the long laid plans, of Romish and French confederate policy, for the possession of Tahiti, and for the extirpation of heresy from Oceania. That confederacy, its origin, character, progress, and success, it was the design of this review of events to expose.

Whatever may have been thought or said in France, of this success, the news from the Pacific has given a blow to the moral power of the government of that country, under which it still staggers, and from which, instead of recovering with the lapse of time, it is doomed to sink lower and more feeble, till reparation shall have been publicly and honourably made. No jubilations, no excuses, no denials; not even the apologies or collusiveness of other governments, can stifle or divert the public conscience, every where enlightened and decided. In the midst of festivities and ovations however apparently cordial, and however splendid, a hand writing throws a lurid light; and the words TAHITI and PROTECTION, unspoken, but not unseen, give the hue of moral death to the brilliant show.

Till reparation shall have been made!—But what reparation can be made? What has France, or its sovereign, rich as he is in this world's wealth, to offer, in compensation for the evil it has achieved, the social misery it has inflicted on an unoffending people? What to the English missionaries, and to the Christian society which sent them to Tahiti, and sustained them during fifty years, by its sacrifices and its prayers? What to the natives, for their loss of religious peace, moral dignity, domestic comfort, national prosperity and independence? What to the royal family, and to the sovereign, for insult, deprivation, expulsion from the throne and the home of her fathers and of her children; for the success of treason, the murder of many of her people, and the inoculation of her states with the corrosive virus of deadly and infectious vices? What to the world, for the perverting example of political profligacy; of irreligious, anti-social, contemptuous violation of the principles, that all states, and that human nature ought to respect and maintain? France has nothing to offer, that can compensate to any of these, for any portion of the evil it has produced. Refuse, indeed, the sovereignty of Tahiti, but keep the protectorate,—and that, because the same iniquitous power may be exercised under a more convenient form!—Is this to give compensation for the past?—Even were France to give back to Pomare her full, and rightful, and unforfeited independence; to withdraw, at once and for ever, from her soil, the wretched agents who have polluted it, a debt would remain for past aggressions and contamination, that the nation, “great and powerful” as it is, were it repentant and sincere, could never discharge. It only remains for it to do, and for others to require, what can be done; when that has been done, or, at least, when an honest desire to attempt so much, has been displayed, then, and not till then, can France expect to be received to the fellowship of truly civilized, virtuous, and honourable society.

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