

SECTION 5. TONGAN COLONIZATION IN FIJI.

Colonies of Tongans settled in Fiji from very early times. The evidence seems to suggest that this 'colonization' took place for a number of different reasons.

In the first instance it seems that colonies of Tongans established themselves in Fiji for economic reasons. Tonga lacked timber necessary for boat building, and timber for this purpose was to be found in abundance in Fiji. Fiji also produced sandalwood, a 'cosmetic' coveted by Tongans for the preparation of scented oils. The evidence seems to suggest that Tongan visits to Fiji, and the setting up of colonies of Tongans in Fiji, were motivated by the desire to obtain sandalwood and to build large sailing canoes.

By the 1830's however, another powerful motive for Tongan interest in Fiji emerged. The 1830's in Tonga saw what has been called a great religious 'Revival'. This revival swept the land and stimulated a missionary fervour that led many Tongan converts to offer to take the gospel to other Pacific territories, notably Samoa and Fiji. So it was that missionaries, Tongan missionaries, were sent out to Fiji. Of these Tongan missionaries, Sioeli Pulu, stands out above all others. His 'Autobiography', translated and published in 1871 by one of the English missionaries, is an important source on information on this aspect of the contact between Tonga and Fiji.

Economic and Religious factors had played their part in drawing Tongans to Fiji. It was a political factor however that was undoubtedly the most significant stimulus to colonization. By the 1840's the large Tongan population in Fiji was causing concern to some sectors of the Fiji community. English missionaries for example complained in their annual reports about the presence and behaviour of so many of the Tongans there, and prayed that something could be done. The response from Tonga was to send a Tongan Chief to be the 'Governor' of the Tongans living in Fiji. Thus it was that Henele Ma'afu, claimant to the Tongan throne, became head of the Tongan community in Fiji. Ma'afu gained considerable influence in Fiji and a number of Fijian Chiefs came to pay tribute to him and to give to him the rights to various islands. Ma'afu's land policy, which was to prohibit sale and to allow lease only, brought him into conflict with Europeans who hoped to gain freehold title to large areas of Fijian land. Ma'afu individually, and as a representative of the Tonga Government, frequently found himself in conflict with European residents and with their Consular representatives in Fiji. Discontented Europeans encouraged Fijian Chiefs who were becoming alarmed at the spread of Tongan power in Fiji, and disputes arose, particularly over the title to land. Apart from these worries, the Tongan Government was becoming increasingly concerned over the expensive accounts, payable by the Tongan Government, that Ma'afu was building up. The Tongan Government decided, in 1869, to sever all official connections with Ma'afu. He thereafter ceased to be a representative of the Tongan Government and simply assumed the role of an independent chief in Fijian affairs. When Britain annexed Fiji in 1874. Ma'afu's influence was finally curbed.

Tongan influence in Fiji had been extensive. The American Vice Consul Dr I.M. Brower, felt that if it had not been for official American interference, King George of Tonga would have become King of Fiji as well. As it happened, European influence prevailed and Fiji became a colony of Britain.

A. EARLY CONTACTS WITH FIJI

[95] TU'I HALA FATAI'S EXPEDITION TO FIJI 1790c

[John Martin, Account of the natives of the Tonga Islands, in the South Pacific Ocean. Edinburgh, 1827. Vol. 1. pp.78-79]

None of the oldest natives could give any account of their first discovery of the Fiji islands, but say they went to those islands before the Fiji people came to them; perhaps their canoes were drifted there by strong easterly winds. - Since Captain Cook's time, certain chief at the island of Tonga, where all the principal chiefs at that time resided, and whose name was Tooi Hala Fatai, having by former visits contacted the warlike habits of the Fiji islanders, became tired of the peaceful and idle life he led at home, and was therefore determined to repair again to those islands, in company with a number of young men of the same unquiet disposition. They were pleased with the Fiji maxim, that war and strife were the noble employments of men, and ease and pleasure worthy to be courted only by the weak and effeminate. Tooi. Hala Fatai accordingly set sail with his followers, about 250 in number, in three large canoes, for the island of Laemba; not to make an attack upon the place, but to join one party or the other, and rob, plunder, procure canoes, kill the natives, and in short to do any thing that was, according to their notions, active, noble, and glorious. To give an instance of the spirit of these young men, while yet at the island of Tonga, they on one occasion, during the night, undermined a storehouse of yams, cloth, mats, &c. and working their way up into the place, emptied it of every thing it contained; not that they wanted these things, for they were all independent chiefs, but thus they acted solely for their amusement. They had previously taken an oath, by their respective tutelar gods and their fathers, not to betray one another under penalty of death; and if on these occasions they met with a stranger, who would not readily enter into their views, they put it out of his power to discover them, by despatching him without further ceremony.

This chief and his companions being arrived at the Fiji islands, employed themselves in the way suitable to their inclinations; some times joining one party, sometimes another, as caprice, or the hopes of plunder, led them; and as many of these islands were not only at war with each other, but also had civil dissentions among themselves, two or three garrisons on one island being in a state of warfare, the new comers found a choice of employment already prepared for them.

They remained here about two years and a half, towards the end of which period they were not contented with joining the wars of others, but entered into one of their own, for the greater acquirement of plunder; and their superior bravery rendered them very successful. Tired at length with their long absence from home, they returned to Tonga; leaving their own canoes behind them, and coming away in the better formed ones of the Fiji islands.

[96] **KAU MOALA'S VISIT TO FIJI 1806c** [

[John Martin, Account of the natives of the Tonga Islands, in the South Pacific Ocean. Edinburgh, 1827. Vol.1, p.255ff.]

Another month now elapsed without any important circumstance occurring, when there arrived from the Fiji Islands four canoes, bringing a Tonga mataboole, named Cow Mooala and his retinue, who had been absent from Tonga many years; But a narrative of this person's adventures in foreign islands will best form a chapter of itself.

Cow Mooala went out to the Fiji Islands with a number of young men, for the sake of an excursion, and to mingle in the wars of those people; sometimes at one island, sometimes at another, from the same motives probably as actuated Tooi Hala Fatai: After having been absent about two years, he set sail on his return home, and having arrived within sight of Vavaoo, the wind became unfavourable to land, and the sea running very high, he was obliged to change his course, and make for Hamoa, (the Navigator's Islands); but the wind soon increasing to a heavy gale, drifted him to the Island of Fotoona¹, situated to the north-west of Hamoa. As soon as the natives of this place observed his approach, a number of small canoes (for they were not in possession of sailing canoes) came from the shore to meet him; and, consistent with the laws and customs of the island, took possession of his canoe, and all his property. It forms an important part of the religion of this island to consider every thing that arrives there, whether of great or little value, as the property of their gods; no matter whether it be a large canoe, or a log of wood. It is first offered to the gods by the priest, with an appropriate address, and is afterwards shared out among the chiefs. This spoliation is believed to be necessary for the welfare of the country; lest the gods should send a sickness among them, and cut them off, for infringing upon the great doctrine of their religion. This seems a very arbitrary law, and likely to have been invented for the purpose of plundering strangers, under the mask of religion. But although they strip all strangers, without distinction, that come within their power, in return they fit them out with other canoes, (entirely at the expense of the chiefs who shared the plunder; and supply them with so much of the produce of the island as may be necessary to support them in their way home; together with presents of their gnatoo, mats, tortoise-shell, &c.; and withal behave very kindly: but not one single article that has been taken from them, however small the value, is again returned, even with the most earnest entreaty. Cow Mooala's canoe was laden with sandal-wood, esteemed a very rich commodity at Tonga, but not one splinter of it was ever returned to him; although the natives of Fotoona could make no use of it, not having adopted the practice of oiling themselves.

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Mr Mariner does not know how long Cow Mooala remained at Fotoona, but it must have been at least a twelve month, to have afforded him time to build another large canoe fit for his voyage; which having at length accomplished, he again set sail with his presents, and a sufficient quantity of provisions for his voyage, and directed his course for the Fiji Islands, for the purpose of laying another cargo of sandal wood. He had now on board thirty-five of his own people including fourteen or fifteen Tonga women, besides whom he had four male

¹ Futuna?

natives of Fotoona, who begged to go with him that they might visit distant countries. In his way he touched at the island of Fotooma¹ (about a day's sail from Fotoona), a place noted for the peaceable disposition of the inhabitants, and where he received with an uncommon degree of respect.

Cow Mooala shortly took his departure from Fotooma, with three of the native women on board, in addition to his other followers, and sailed for the Islands. Owing to the wind he deviated a little from his course, but at length arrived safe at Navihi Levoo², (as the natives call it, meaning Large Fiji - the word Navihi is corrupted by the Tonga people to Fiji), one of the Fiji Islands to the north-west. Here Cow Mooala took up his residence with the chief of the island, where he remained a considerable length of time, assisting in the war with other islands. The inhabitants of Navihi Levoo are much more ferocious than of most of the other Fiji Islands. This however, is not stated merely upon the authority of Cow Mooala, who occasionally was apt to exaggerate a little, as will by and by be seen, but upon that of Mr Mariner, who frequently saw and converse with some of its natives, as well as with those of the other islands, who were at Tonga in his time; besides which he has since been at Pau, one of the Fiji Islands, and consequently is able to form some judgment. The inhabitants of Navihi Levoo are not only more ferocious, but they are much better skilled in war than those of the other islands, and are therefore much dreaded by them. They bore a hole through the soft part of the septum of the nose, through which, in time of war, they stick a couple of feathers, nine or twelve inches long, which spread over each side of the face, like immense moustaches, giving them a very formidable appearance. The worst feature of their barbarism is the horrible practice of eating human flesh, which they carry to a greater extent than any of the other Fiji people. The chief of the island was reported to have a remarkable appetite in this way. He must not take him however as a sample. He was not in the habit of sacrificing his prisoners immediately, (finding them perhaps too tough for his delicate stomach), but of actually ordering them to be operated on, and put in such a state as to get both fat and tender, afterwards to be killed as he might want them. The hands and feet, particularly the latter, are considered the choicest parts.

It may here be remarked, that cannibalism is more or less practised on all the Fiji Islands, and has its origin, no doubt, in the constant wars in which the people are engaged. Not that war among savage nations universally gives occasion to so horrid a custom, (for indeed we have many instances to the contrary); but in those uncultivated nations, where a spirit of national hatred and thirst of revenge, on some extraordinary occasions, run very high, it appears to be an instinct of uncultivated nature, to crown the catastrophe by a feast at which civilized humanity revolts, particularly where a scarcity of provisions exists at the same time. At the Fiji Islands war and devastation are much more frequent than at Tonga, consequently scarcity is more frequent, and cannibalism more practised. The island of Navihi Levoo is more troubled by incessant war than the other Fiji Islands, and the people are greater cannibals. At the Tonga Islands in particular, it may be remarked, that the island of Tonga (properly so called) is constantly in a state of war, and scarcity consequently is much more common there than at Vavaoo and the Haapai Islands, and cannibalism, therefore, much less shuddered at. At the island of Tonga, indeed, this inhuman habit is by no means so general as at the Fiji Islands; but then it has not been the scene of warfare for

¹ Rotuma?

² Viti Levu

more than about twenty years, whereas the latter nation has been familiar, more or less, with this scourge of the human race, from time immemorial.

Cow Mooala, after remaining a considerable time in Navihi Levoo, sailed with his people for Tacownove, which is a district on the western side of Pau, largest of the Fiji Islands. Pau is much resorted to by American vessels, and vessels from Port Jackson, for sandal-wood, which grows to perfection only at certain part of the island, called Vooia. The principal market for this article is China; and the demand for it is so great, in proportion to the smallness of the place which produces it, that it is now growing scarce, and, consequent dearer. Formerly they would give a considerable quantity for a few nails, but now they demand axes and chisels, and those too of the best quality, for they have gradually become judges of such things: whales' teeth are also given in exchange for it. The chiefs of the Fiji Islands very seldom oil themselves, and, consequently, require very little of this wood, the principal use of it being to scent the oil. The natives of the Tonga islands, however, who use a considerable quantity of it, complain heavily of its scarcity; and what renders the matter still worse, is, that the Fiji people, demanding a greater number of axes and chisels, for a given quantity of the wood, these implements are growing very scarce at the Tonga Islands, and plentiful at Fiji. Before the Tonga people acquired iron implements, they usually gave whales' teeth, gnatoo, mats for sails, and platt; but whales' teeth are exceedingly scarce, and the other articles are too bulky for ready exportation. The sting of the fish called stingray was also occasionally given, but these stings, which they use for the points of spears, are by no means plentiful. This fish is found in the greatest quantity at an island called Opea¹ which lies about mid-way between Vavaoo and Hamoa. It has already been remarked that the sandal-wood tree will not transplant to Tonga.

Close to Pau lies a very small island, called Chichia, which is in itself a fortress almost impregnable. The nearest part is not more than a hundred yards from Pau, and, at low water, joins it by a ridge of sand. At this place there is a high rock, almost perforated by nature, and which art has rendered completely so. The rock is converted into a strong fortress, commanding the whole island, which, indeed, is rendered inaccessible in every part, by a heavy surf and dangerous rocks except just to the left of the large rock, and that part is defended by a high fencing. On this island several natives of Tonga resided, for the chief was partial to them, his wife being a native of that place; and he readily admitted Cow Mooala and his men to come also and reside among them. Cow Mooala took an active part with the chief of Chichia in his war against the people of Pau. This war had been kept up for a long time, the people of Chichia constantly committing depredations on the people of Pau, without these being at all able to retaliate; and the time to time they had taken a great number of prisoners.

¹ Apia?

[97] REASONS TOR VISITING FIJI

[Basil Thomson, Diversions or a Prime Minister, Edinburgh 1894.
Reprinted by Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1968. pp. 318; 320-321.]

At the time of Cook's visit increasing and regular intercourse with Fiji was rapidly changing the Tongans for the worse. Ethnologically, between Fiji and Tonga there is a great gulf fixed. The former belong to the great family of Melanesians; the latter to the pure stock of the light-skinned race, which, for want of a better name, are called the Malayo-Polynesians. The Fijians knew no higher form of society than that of the family or clan, shut up within its own entrenchments, at perpetual war with its neighbours; no nobler occupation than the devising of treachery against their enemies. But generations of peace had dulled the warlike instincts of the Tongans, and allowed their institutions to take a firm root. Timber for sea-going canoes was scarce in Tonga, and it was not until the eighteenth century that any but the principal chiefs could fit out expeditions for distant voyages. A little before 1750 several canoes had run down the wind to Lakemba, and their crews, after joining one or other of the local chief's in war, and gaining him the victory by their superior daring, had taken their share of the spoil, exchanged their small canoes for larger craft, built of vesi from Kambara, and returned to their own country laden with exotic plunder, and boasting of their foreign experiences. Thenceforth an expedition to Fiji became the keystone of a Tongan chief's education, just as in Europe at the same period the "grand tour" was considered essential to the training of an English gentleman; and as our travellers brought back outlandish habits and strange wares, which were admired because they were foreign, so Cook found that the Tongans spoke of their neighbours as their superiors in war and in the useful arts. The cold-blooded treachery that will betray a brother to gratify the thirst for blood; the brutal ferocity that spares neither sex nor age; the depraved lust that is gratified in outrage on the dead; the foul appetite of revenge that will eat the body of a slain enemy, - all these seemed to the young Tongan the badges of a manliness worthy of imitation. He regarded the comparative refinement of his own people as effeminacy, and vied with his fellows in imitating the accomplishments of his more travelled countrymen. It would surprise the Tongan of today to hear that his fathers looked up to the Fijians as his superiors. A contempt born of familiarity has taught him to estimate the characteristics of his neighbours at something less than their proper value. The taste for licence engendered by intercourse with Fiji could not but have its effect upon the political situation of Tonga. The young chiefs chafed at their enforced inaction, for there was no scope for personal ambition in a state controlled by so firm a central Government.

[98] CONTACT AT THE TIME OF CAPTAIN WILKES 1840

[Wilkes, Charles, U.S.N. Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the years 1838,1839,1840,1842. 5 Volumes. Philadelphia. 1844. Volume 3.]

(i) *"at Lakemba we found many of them residing"*

p.40. The intercourse between the Feejee and Tonga Islanders, has been of late years frequent; the latter are more inclined to leave their homes than the former, and when a Tongese has once visited the Feejee Group and returns safely, he is looked upon as a traveller. In Tonga they consider and look up to the Feejee Islanders as more polished, and

their opinions are viewed with much respect; this, one not only observes in their conversation, but they show it in adopting their manners and customs, and the attention and deference they pay to the opinions of those who have visited or belong to that group; from them they obtain their canoes, and have learned the art of sailing and navigating them; and from the situation of their islands, being more exposed to a rough ocean, they are probably now better and more adventurous navigators. This intercourse is kept up more particularly with the eastern islands of the Feejees; at Lakemba we found many of them residing. When Cook visited this group, little was known of the Feejees. Thirty years afterwards, during the time Mariner resided on the Tonga Islands, the intercourse and information had become greater and more accurate; and at the period of our visit, we heard of many things that is were passing in that group as familiar topics; and we found among them many Tongese who were enjoying the hospitality of their western neighbours. The prevailing winds are in favour of the intercourse on the side of the Tongese, which may in some measure account for it; and the favour with which they have always been received, and the flattering accounts those who returned have given of their reception, may in some measure account for the desire they always evince to pay the Feejee Group a visit. In a very few years, through the intercourse that will be brought about by the missionaries, there will be as much passing to and fro between them, as there is now among the several islands of either group, which will have a great tendency to advance the civilization of both.

(ii) "employed building canoes"

p.55. Shortly afterwards a large double canoe arrived, entirely manned by Tonga people, under their two chiefs, Lajika and Tubou Totalai, who were both them, with about five hundred of their followers, paying Tanoa a visit at Ambau; they were the sons of Tubou Ninha, and nephews of the celebrated Finau. Tubou Totalai told me that he and his brothers had been residing several years in the Feejees; that they were employed building canoes on some of the eastern islands, and that it generally took them seven years from the time they left Tonga, to finish them and return.

(iii) "building canoes"

p.167 This island (Lakemba) is one of those on which fine timber grows, and is, therefore, resorted to by the Vavao and Friendly Islanders for building canoes. Three of these were seen in the process of construction, under a long shed, one of which, on measurement, was found to be one hundred and two feet long, seven feet wide, and five feet deep, of a beautiful model; the other two were somewhat smaller. The builders said that they were constructing them for a Vavao chief, called Salomon, for the Tonga war. The work was performed under a contract, and the price agreed on was to be paid in whales' teeth, axes, guns, &c. Salomon was at the village, and went off with Lieutenant-Commandant Ringgold to the brig, for the purpose of accompanying him to the other islands. He was a remarkably handsome man, and resembled the Tonga chiefs more than the other Feejees.

B. TONGAN EVANGELISM IN FIJI.

[99] WILKES COMMENTS ON TONGAN MISSIONARY ACTIVITY 1840

[Wilkes, Charles, U.S.N. Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the years 1838,1839,1840,1842. 5 Volumes. Philadelphia, 1844. Volume 3.]

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(i) *"Heathenism is fast passing away"*

On the 28th, Mr Totten and Dr Holmes were despatched on shore, to ascend Kendi-kendi, the highest peak of the island of Lakemba, for the purpose of making observations and getting its height by sympiesometer. The altitude was thus found to be seven hundred and fourteen feet. The ascent was not difficult, for a regular path led to the highest point. The ruins of a town were found on it, called Tumboa, from which the Tonga chiefs of the family of Tubou Totai are supposed to have derived their name, as has been before mentioned. This town was occupied for the purpose of defence against their enemies, both Tongese and Feejees.

Mr Calvert and his lady received them most kindly at the mission, as they had already done the other officers. The house and out buildings are comfortable, and the church, which stands near the mission-house, is a good building, eighty feet long by thirty-two wide, and twenty-five feet high. The latter is convenient and appropriate to its purpose, and its floor is covered with mats. At 4 p.m. the hollow log drum was beaten for prayers, which the officers attended with Mr Calvert. There were only fifteen persons present. A Tonga man officiated, as Mr Calvert was fatigued with his morning jaunt; and the services consisted of singing and prayer. There are about fifty resident Christians, nearly all of whom are Tongese, of whom about one-third of the population is composed; and they have literally taken possession of the island, for they never work, but subsist on the labour of the Feejee population, who hold them in much awe. The difference between the two races was as striking here as at Ovalau. Heathenism is fast passing away at Lakemba, and its absurd rites are held in ridicule by most of those who are still considered as heathens. The influence of the priest is diminished, and the temple or mbure has fallen into decay.

[100] TONGAN MISSIONARIES IN FIJI : MR LAWRY'S COMMENTS 1847-1853

[Lawry, Rev Walter: Friendly and Feejee Islands: Missionary Visit to various Stations in the South Seas in the year MDCCCXLII. Edited by Rev Elijah Hoole, London MDCCCL.]

(1.) *"Our excellent teacher at Nakorotumba"* p:58

I received the following letter in the Tonga language from our excellent Teacher at Nakorotumba. He came from Tonga a long time since, and is useful in Feejee: "Mr Lawry, I, Paul Ve'a, I like to make known that I very much like your face. I rejoice exceedingly to hear that you have come to this land, and I desire to come and see you; but I am very much engaged in the work. Love to you my heart and mouth. The love of truth to thee, Mr Lawry, my father in the Gospel. Come thou, that I may look upon thee, and also the lotu people

here. This is the end. - Oct. 1st, 1847.

(ii) "come here to teach the way to the Kingdom of God" p.85.

On arriving at the mouth of Nandi-bay, we anchored in fourteen fathoms, in the open sea, and on a lee shore; nothing else was open to us. The Teacher, with some of the lotu people, soon boarded us. This man, whose name is Joel, is the very person whose encounter with the shark has just been narrated, of which the marks and seams appear deep on his arm. He is an excellent man, and has come here to teach the way to the kingdom of God.

(iii) "serving Christ, and spreading his truth" p.95

At eleven o'clock we entered into the house of Paul, who was a boy when I was at Tonga, and is now here as one of our Teachers. Paul married Lydia; and they are both serving Christ, and spreading his truth. At a short distance from his own dwelling, Paul had erected a small summer-house, of fine white cane and bamboo, covered with sugar-cane leaves, and floored with a mat, but open in the direction to receive the trade-wind. Its dimensions were about nine feet by seven. To this lovely little clean room, surrounded by evergreens and lofty trees, we retired between the services; for Mr Hunt was soon to preach. In a few minutes after we had taken possession, one brought me a very antique and odd looking elbow chair, which had been made by Methuselah in his younger days. Then came a small table, covered with a nice white native cloth. A boiled fowl was set before us, with plates, and knives and forks. Yams, taro, and native salt completed the frugal, but wholesome, board. A vessel, as pure a draught of water as it over fell to my lot to drink, was brought to us from the purling brook close by. When we had finished our meal, a bowl of the same clear water was handed to us, that we might wash after dinner, vakaviti, or Feejee fashion.

Now, these two persons, who could place matters so tastefully before Englishmen, so clean, so well dressed, and exceedingly good, are the fruit of our Missions, who, when I first visited them and their country, were grossly ignorant of all such things, and withal deeply depraved.

I take this to be a very hopeful earnest of good things to come, as the fruit of the Gospel in these seas. May it please the Lord of the vineyard to preserve this field, now every way so promising, from the Roman "boar out of the wood," and from every evil worker, both foreign and domestic!

[Lawry, Rev Walter. A Second Missionary visit to the Friendly and Feejee Islands in the year MDCCCL. Edited by Elijah Hoole. London MDCCCLI.]

(iv) "Chaplain to the King" p.145

This morning I measured one of our Local Preachers, who is Chaplain to the King; and he measures six feet five inches and a half, without shoes. He is a man of a fine spirit, and is called Jeremiah," He is of Tonga parents, but born in Feejee; where God has found work for him to do, nor does he withhold His servants' reward.

(v) "we thought the work of the Lord in Fiji was difficult" p.155

Lakemba, Sunday, August 4th, 1850 there were forty eight persons who spoke of the goodness of God to their souls

Joel Mafileo, a Tongan Chief:- "I see the work of the Lord. We thought the work of the Lord in Feejee was difficult; but I now see it. I first say in Oneata, and now I see it in Lakemba. I see the power of God; the people believe in the Lord. Feejee wants labourers. I give myself to the Lord to be my guide, that I may be where He pleases: this is my mind. I do not choose for myself. I see that God is at work in Feejee.

(vi) "to do the Lords work in Feejee" p.157

Adelaide Mafi, a Tongan Class-Leader:- I make known not my goodness but the Lord's love. I know the Lord works in my heart, and I rejoice on account of the kingdom of Jesus within. Great was my trouble; but I found peace and life in Him. I do not wish to go to Tonga, but to do the Lord's work in Feejee.

(vii) "to proclaim Christ as his salvation" p.166

Mathew (a Teacher)

The Missionary told me I must go to Feejee; and when I made up my mind to do so, the Holy Spirit filled me with peace and joy. I came to Feejee, only: to proclaim Christ and His salvation to the people here. This is all I came for; my mind is to do the will of Christ only. I give myself to Him unto the end of my life.

[101] TUPOU'S WARRIORS SPREAD THE GOSPEL 1845

[West, Thomas. Ten years in South-Central Polynesia: Being Reminiscences of a Personal Mission to the Friendly Islands and their dependencies. London. 1865 pp.403-404.]

After King George had visited Rawa and Kandavu, in company with Thakombau, he prepared to return to his own land: and, as a recognition of services he had rendered, Thakombau presented his majesty with an American built schooner of eighty-six tons.

With Ovalau itself, where the first attack had been made upon his fleet, King George did not meddle. He could not have adopted any measures against the Ovalauans without becoming embroiled in war with the white residents. Two of those who had fired upon the canoe were children of white men, and two were Fijians. The whites-determined that none of them should be given up. They were therefore put Levuka into an excellent state of defence, with about twenty or thirty cannon and abundance of ammunition. They were very anxious that the Tonguese should attack them; and they amused themselves by foolishly thinking that King George would go and take his canoes into a favourable position to be shot at. They evidently did not know the character of the man they had to deal with. He wrote to the white residents, stating most distinctly his friendship toward them, and his intention to protect them and theirs in every town in which they might reside. He also requested the giving up of those who had fired, promising that they should be safely returned to their friends without injury, after he had reproved them. Even this the whites refused to do; and the king did not feel himself at liberty to complicate matters, by pressing his claim by force of arms.

The immediate results of the course pursued by the Tonguese in Fiji were valuable in a

political point of view to Thakombau; but they were still more memorable, on account of the vast impetus given to the spread of religious knowledge, and influence, among the Fijians at large. It was impossible that such a large body of Christian men, hundreds of whom were really converted and pious, could move amongst the Fijians without exhibiting such evidences of the power of religion as would carry conviction to many a heart, that the idols of Fiji were vanity and lies, and that its debasing cannibalism, and other heathen enormities, were unworthy the practice of rational beings. There can be no doubt that the religious example of the Tongue se tended to hasten that rapid development of Christian progress in Fiji, which has been the wonder of modern times in its connexion with the Missionary enterprises of the church of Christ.

[102] TEACHERS FROM TONGA 1856

[Friendly Islands District Minute Book. Haapai Circuit Report 1856.
Archives of the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, Nuku'alofa.]

Another particular which marks the progressive state of the work of God is, a readiness on the part of our Local Preachers to offer themselves for what we may term the Foreign work. At our last Quarterly Meeting, we appealed to them in behalf of Feejee and Samoa, when we obtained in a short time no less than fourteen candidates. Some of them we cannot spare, as they already occupy important positions in their own Circuit; and should they leave, our work would inevitably suffer. Three promising young men left us for Feejee by the "Wesley", and there are others who are ready to go to Samoa when opportunity shall offer.

[103] EXTRACTS FROM A TONGAN MISSIONARY'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

[Joel Bulu: The Autobiography of a Native Minister in the South Seas.
Translated by a Missionary. London, 1871. --pp.59-60.]

My next appointment was to the Thakaundrove kingdom, Aaron Fotofili being sent with me. We lived at Wairiki, where we saw much fruit of our labour for many turned from heathenism. The women and the children were especially zealous in the schools, learning to read with great quickness; while not a few of the young men gave themselves to us as our sons in the gospel; and these we were careful to teach, and train as helpers in the work. Nor, in spite of all the evil that befell us afterwards, was this labour of ours altogether in vain; for some of these youths are workers together with us at this very day, among whom is Ratu William Vutikalulu, the native missionary who is now stationed at Tokatoka.

Ratu Ngolea (he who is now Tui Thakau) was a heathen; but nevertheless he was very friendly towards us, helping us in many ways, so that we were cheered in our work, and went joyfully on from day to day, hoping for still better things. Then two missionaries were appointed to the station, even Mr Waterhouse and Mr Carey; and after living for some time at Wairiki in great discomfort and with feeble health (for it is a place of much ruin and of burning heat), it was then good to remove the station to Waikava (Fawn Barbour); and

thither I also went, having the Training Institution given into my hands. I went, but my wife went not with me; for she died at Wairiki, and there I buried her.

Some time afterwards the chief Ritova sent whales' teeth to Ngolea - whales' teeth of war - praying him to go down to help him in his fighting at Mathuata. Five times came the messenger, and five times he went back with a refusal; but at length Ngolea consented, and two of his men were sent for me that I might go with the war-party. I was away from home at the time holding missionary meetings; but when I came back the matter was talked over, and it was deemed prudent that we should keep ourselves altogether apart from such affairs, cleaving to our right and proper work of preaching the gospel, and teaching from house to house. So it was decided that I should not go. The lotu people also refused to join in this war. "Why should we kill those who have done us no harm?" they asked. "Let the chief go, since it is his mind to go. As for us, we will stay at home, and attend to our plantations." "It is well," said Ngolea. "Stay and look after your gardens, I shall go and attack that folk; and when I have done with them, I will make a raid upon you."

These words sank down into the hearts of our people; and they of Lauthala sent to Wainiggolo, the Tongan chief, who was then at Vanua Mbalavu, praying for help. Now it has been said that it was I who brought this chief down to fight against Ngolea; but indeed it was not so, for I had no hand in it, nor did I even know of the message sent by the Lauthala folk.

The warriors went away in many canoes; and it was not long before we heard of burnings and slaughters, as town after town was taken, none being able to stand against them. Then the missionaries, being assembled at Levuka for their yearly meeting, spoke to the British Consul; beseeching him to use his influence to stop the war, which had already caused such awful woe; and he sent a messenger to Ngolea, with a request that I should go with him.

"Let us go first to Tui Thakau," said I. "It were well for us to tell him of our errand, and to ask for one of his messengers to go with us in the path"

So we went to the king and laid our request before him.

"Sleep to-night," said he, "and in the morning we will hold a council." But when the council were over, we found that no help was to be given us. "Go you two," said the king. "Go to Ngolea, and tell him the Consul's words. As for us, we will sit waiting here until you return."

So we went on our way; and when our canoe drew near to the shore where the army was, we saw a great cloud of smoke rolling up from a burning town, which the chief had taken on that very day. Going ashore, we found that he had climbed up into the mountains to attack yet another town belonging to the hill-folk; and as we also went up on the following morning, we met a great number of prisoners as being brought down to the beach, for they had yielded themselves up without a fight.

[104] RESISTENCE TO THE LOTU

[The Report of the Australasian Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society for the year ending April 1867. Sydney 1867. Fiji District. Report of the Lakemba Circuit, p.37]

The Muala Section requires a very close inspection, which can only be obtained by a more lengthy visit than your Missionary was able to bestow upon it during the year on account of the boat, in which he made the visit, not being under his direction. The King of Muala, who has for a long time, steadily resisted the influence of the "lotu", is now no more. Just before he died, he said, "This thing from Papalangi, and Tonga, and Lakemba, which they call the "lotu" is a lie, therefore black and paint my face, as is our custom, as soon as I am dead".

[105] FREQUENT VISITS BY TONGANS TO FIJI 1842-1843

[Calvort, Rev J. Letters from Feejee, 1842-1843. Volume 3. Lakemba, November 14th, 1842. Mitchell Library Sydney. . A28/0.]

. . . . I would call your attention to a vastly important matter connected with our work in these seas. Perhaps you have already been written to on the subject by our late beloved General Superintendent and Mr Turner - but, as we in this circuit are most closely and painfully connected with the subject, I deem it right to urge you to do what you can to rescue the people of these seas from their degradation (not withstanding their Christianity) - by introducing civilization and some useful arts and manufactories. - If something direct is not done for the Tonguese - and bye and bye for the Feejeeans - in this respect, their Christianity will not be permanent! How should it? Intellect is given them - but nothing on which to employ it or properly and sufficiently employ it. Many of the Tonguese, if they are - what they call themselves - Christians - are idle, covetous, impudent, roaming Christians. Not many months ago 15 large canoes, with perhaps 1000 Tonguese on board, left for Tonga. Some of them had been in Fejee two years, or more - and others several months. During their stay, they were principally dependent upon the Feejeeans for food, none of which they purchased - but have had given, begged, and in some instances stolen. They came to Fejee in search of canoes, sails, earthenware, sandal wood, &c.: and I suppose they did not take less than 400 wooden bowls with them to the Tonga. From the immense property which they secured in Fejee - and for the awful quantity of food they ate - they bought very little property. Their living idle and very poor in these lands for a long time has a bad effect on Fejee - and of course it makes them worse than they were when they visited Fejee. While they are thus lounging about in Fejee, some branches of their families are in Tonga in want, or are dependant upon others. - There are now 10 large canoes at the outer islands of the group waiting for a favourable wind to Tonga. - Tonga is greatly dependant upon Fejee - there being no wood for large canoes in the Friendly Islands, - so that there will be no end of the Tonguese visiting Fejee. - The injury they receive and do by these visits would be greatly lessened if they had comfortable homes, and some profitable employment in their own land - as they would not then so readily speedily. And, when here, they would labour for their food - and buy Feejean property with articles of their own manufactures. It would be well if what Mr Jackson (no doubt from reports which he believed to be correct) on the 235th of the eighth thousand of The Centenary was true - "Civilization there [South

Seas] walks hand in hand with Christianity. Persons of all ranks are successfully learning the useful, arts." If that were true, it would be an inconceivable blessing to Fejee. As it is not, our work is greatly injured by the Tonguese who are constantly coming here. We have endeavoured to do something - but our time is awfully occupied with other matters. . . .

[106] MAAFU INSTALLED AS "GOVERNOR" 1848

[Basil Thomson, Diversions of a Prime Minister, Edinburgh 1874.
Reprinted by Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1968. pp.360-362.]

Relieved of his anxieties at home, King George has now the leisure to consider is long-cherished scheme of travelling abroad. More than once in his youth he had almost yielded to a temptation to ship before the mast in one of the passing whalers that made Tonga their annual port of call. Had he done so, the history of his country would have been different, but he was reserved for higher things. His mind naturally turned to Fiji, where a new kingdom had been unexpectedly won for him. The number of Tongans settled in Fiji had grown into a standing menace to the peace of Tonga. Any disaffected chief might recruit an army of free-lances there, well trained in arms, and return to Tonga as an invader. The only safeguard against this was to set a chief over them who would find an outlet for their restless energy in Fiji itself. Fiji would be, moreover, a vent for the disaffection of a number of his own subjects, who would be glad enough to become exiles with the brilliant prospect of conquest and booty before them. The man lay ready to hand. Maafu, the son of his predecessor, had all the qualities for a leader of such an expedition. He had, besides, a strong claim to the succession, and would be made the figurehead of any rebellion that might be launched against the throne by the heathen party. An expedition was soon fitted out, and early in 1848 Maafu, at the head of a strong and numerous following, set sail for Lakemba. During the next five years he fought his way into the supremacy of the whole of the Lau groups, wresting the power from the hands of Tui Nayau, and vesting the lands in his principal followers. Maafu, accustomed to the Tongan system of land tenure, did for Fiji what the British Government has never had the courage to do. He cut the Gordian knot of boundary disputes by dividing out the communal lands into small individual holdings, and securing them to the grantees with a strong hand. He did not, moreover, allow his Fijian subjects to alienate an inch of land to Europeans except on lease. He was a student of history. Asked by what right he divided the lands of the Fijians, he replied sardonically, "I am King William - William the Conqueror!" Having established settled government upon the Tongan model, he turned his eyes westward, and threatened the powerful chieftaincies of Bau, Thakaundrove, and Mathuata. The cession of Fiji to England reduced him from the position of an independent viceroy to that of a pensioner of the British Government. Deprived of all stimulus to activity, he became demoralised, took to drink, and died in 1880.

Affairs stood thus when, in 1853, King George embarked for Sydney in the mission brig John Wesley. The ship dropped anchor at Bau, and King George met Thakombau and formed the alliance that ultimately brought about the annexation the group by England. The Fijian chief promised him the canoe Ra Marama, the largest craft afloat, if the king would visit him to bring her away. His power was already waning, and he hoped that his alliance with the Tongan king, whose name was become a terror throughout the group, would cow his enemy

Ratu Mara.

.....

On his return to Tonga he wrote to Thakombau the letter that induced him to accept the missionaries' teachings which he had so long rejected, and how then made his preparations for the visit he had promised. His fleet consisted of thirty sail of double canoes, manned by many hundreds of warriors. He had to intention of joining in any of the local wars, but he knew the necessity of being independent of the protection of his host, whose power, he knew, was not undisputed. From Moturiki he despatched a canoe to Ovalau, commanded by Tavake, one of his own relations. Before the canoe could reach the shore it was fired upon by the natives, who were at the time in alliance with Ratu Mara. Thakombau's revolted brother. Tavake was killed, and the canoe hastened back to the king with the news. The murderer could not be captured without a general attack upon Ovalau and a war with the whites, who sided with Mara, and would not surrender the murderer to any ally of Thakombau. King George therefore resolved to join Thakombau in an attack upon the fortress of Kamba on the mainland, where the enemy were massed in force. Thakombau's fortunes were now at the lowest ebb. If he failed in reducing Kamba, his fate was sealed. His enemies had hemmed him in; his vassals had revolted; even his own town filled with his own relations was against him, and in open communication with the enemy. His conversion to Christianity had alienated many of those who still clung to him, and his only hope lay in his Tongan allies.

[107] MISSIONARY ADVICE TO KING GEORGE ON THE VISIT TO FIJI 1855

[West. Ten Years in South Central Polynesia: being reminiscences of a Personal Mission to the Friendly Islands and their Dependencies, London 1865. pp. 391-398]

January 14th. - To-day I had an interview, and held a long conversation, with the king, in reference to his approaching visit to the Fiji Islands. He intends to sail thither, with about thirty canoes, in a few weeks hence. The promise of this friendly visit to Thakombau, was made when the king saw that chief in Fiji, in November, 1853, while on a voyage in our Mission ship to New South Wales. But, although purely a visit of state and friendship, such is the unsettled and dangerous condition of political parties in the Fiji Islands, at the present moment, that we look with considerable anxiety upon the king's departure thither. There can be no doubt that His Majesty has sufficient and cogent reasons for going. It is not one of mere friendship for Thakombau. The relations existing between the Fijian people and the Tonguese settlers in Lakemba, and other islands, are by no means satisfactory. The bold, enterprising, and overbearing conduct of the latter has often led to serious disputes; and King George feels that it is but right that his people there should be placed under some responsible control. At the same time, it is an indisputable fact that the presence of the Tonguese in Fiji has, on the whole, materially contributed to the spread of religion, to the safety of the Missionaries, and, especially to the safety of the numerous native agents employed in various districts.

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January 15th. - The king sailed for Vavau, to make arrangements for his visit to Fiji. All the chief's are busy here preparing their canoes. The sea-shore presents quite a lively scene. Here some are sail-raking, others spinning ropes, others plaiting kafa, or the cocoa fibra sinnet, and others again are employed in scouring or repairing the hulls of the various large sea-going canoes.

January 31.st. - The Haabai portion of the king's Fijian fleet sailed for Tonga to-day. They have been waiting impatiently for several days for those that are coming from Vavau. The departure of so many large kalias was an imposing sight. Many tears, however, were shed by the friends of those who have gone; it being very probable that numbers of these voyagers will never return.

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Intelligence having been carried to Fiji that the king intended going there with a large retinue, I received a communication from the Rev. James Calvert, requesting me to wait upon the king, and persuade him, if possible, to reduce the number of his fleet to eight or ten canoes, lest any alarm might be created, in the then distracted state of Fijian parties. With this communication I waited upon the king. During the course of conversation he distinctly declared that his intended visit was solely one of friendship and peace. He expressed also the pleasure it would have given him to go with a fewer number of canoes and people "but" he said, "we know what Fiji is. I feel bound to make good my promised visit to Thakombau; but it would not be safe for me or mine to go with only a few canoes. In the present state of Fiji, a weak appearance would be a signal for our destruction. I take a large number of canoes, not as a demonstration against Fiji, nor with the design of taking part in their quarrels, but for the safety of myself and people." These were the king's words to myself in reply to the suggestion that he should go to Fiji with not more than ten canoes. That the answer he gave, and the course he took, were prudent and wise, the sequel of the history will show.

[108] PROCEEDINGS IN FIJI 1855

[Thomas West, Ten years in South-Central Polynesia: being reminiscences of a Personal Mission to the Friendly Islands and their Dependencies. London 1865. pp.398-404.]

Let us now pursue our narrative of King George's proceedings. The fleet sailed from Tonga at the close of February; and after touching at Mote, Lakemba, Kabala, Totea, Moala, and Gau, the Tonguese arrived at the island of Moturiki, twenty miles from Bau, on March 21st, 1855. Here King George was desired to remain till Monday, the 26th, so that the Bau chiefs and people might make due preparation for his reception; but a melancholy event led to the sudden and unexpected arrival of the Tonguese fleet at Bau on Saturday, the 24th.

On Friday, the 23rd, the king sent a small canoe from Moturiki to Ovalau to pay his respects to the Chief of Levuka on that island, and to carry certain letters to the Romish priests from their friends in Tonga. In prospect of visit to Fiji, the French Governor of Tahiti, M. Du Bouzet, had requested the king to pay any attention and courtesy he could to the French

priests there, which king promised to do. These were the only reasons why the small, canoe, manned by about twenty men, was sent on to Ovalau. When these messengers drew near town where the priests resided, the sail was lowered, and they went towards shore. They were about to anchor; but in the mean time, a great number of Ovalauans had assembled on the beach. The Ovalauans had heard of the Tongan fleet at Moturiki, and there was great excitement. Suddenly, four muskets were discharged, and the chief in charge of the canoe, Tavaki, the brother of Benjamin Latuselu, was mortally wounded, while another of the crew was slightly injured. The Tongans, at first, wished to return the fire, and revenge the fall of their chief; but Simon Salo, who was captain of the canoe, would not allow it. The Chief of Levuka had also arrived on the spot, and drove the Ovalau natives away. Then the canoe set sail, and returned to Moturiki, where Tavaki expired. This calamity led King George to order the immediate advance of his fleet to Bau, where he arrived, as stated, on the 24th of March.

Near to Bau is Kamba, a Bau town which had been at enmity with Bau for a length of time. They had lately destroyed, in a revolting manner, about forty persons belonging to another town near to Bau. Mara, the rebel chief, was now residing at Kamba. He had, ever since the peace between Rewa and Bau, been exerting himself to oppose peace, and to fight against Bau. He was now recognised as the leader of the rebellion. When, therefore, King George arrived in Bau, and represented to Thakombau what had happened at Ovalau in the attack made upon his canoe, it was soon discovered that the same Chief, Mara, had present whales' teeth to many of the chiefs of the Windward Islands, including Ovalau, for the purpose of inducing them to join in a war against the Tonguese of Lakemba. He had also made a special request to the people of Ovalau, that they would fire upon, and destroy, if possible, any Tonguese canoe of King George's fleet that might happen to touch at that island. This was undoubtedly the origin of the murderous attack upon the King's messengers at Levuka.

On Monday the 26th, King George ordered the chiefs of Tonga, Haabai; and Vavau, to meet separately, and consider what course they were disposed to follow in reference to Tavaki's death. When they had finished their separate consultation, he called them all together, and received the expression of their opinion. They were unanimous in requesting the king to demand an explanation, and reparation, from Mara, who had instigated the attack at Ovalau. This course being decided upon, the king formally declared to Thakombau the mind of his chiefs; upon which Thakombau said: "The murder that has been perpetrated cannot be justified. Your fleet came with peaceful intentions, but now it is right that we should fight together."

King George then sent a special peace messenger to Mara, requesting him to cease hostility toward his brother Thakombau; but this Mara positively refused to do. He defied the Tongans; said there was no ground near on which they would be able to stand; but that they might possibly maintain their position if they built a fence on an island near.

Another town also, nearer to Bau than Kamba, became very bold, and people were eager to commence a conflict with the Tonguese. They inquired why the Tonguese delayed, and said that the firewood they had cut for cooking them was getting rotten.

Before taking any further steps, King George waited upon the Missionaries for their advice, in reference to joining his forces with those of Thakombau. They told him that they could not take upon themselves the responsibility of tendering any advice; and that he and his chiefs, with Thakombau, must act on their own judgment and responsibility. - King George then decided to become Thakomau's ally.

Accordingly the Fijian and Tonguese fleets, and fighting men, assembled at a place called Kiuva, and from thence advanced upon Kamba, on Saturday, the 7th of April. Although met by a brisk fire from Mara and his men, the forces of the combined fleet effected a landing. This accomplished, King George headed a large party of his own people, who went to cut down trees for the construction of stockades round the enemy's town and fortifications. While he was absent on this work some of the remaining Tonguese went towards the enemy's works, and were shot. The Fijians managed to club two or three of them, and dragged their bodies into the town to be cooked. This infuriated the Tonguese, who, notwithstanding the king absence, rushed upon the place and took it by storm. The first intimation King George had of the fact, was from the smoke of the burning town. The Tonguese took many prisoners, and protected all they could; but the Fijians acted very differently. They destroyed not less than one hundred and fifty persons, including men women, and even children. The attack and conquest of the place occupied about three hours. It was one of the strongest fortifications in Fiji, and was defended by a great number of the best warriors of the country. They were, however, no match for the Tonguese. According to the practice of Fijian warfare, most of prisoners remaining at the close of the fight would have been butchered, and many of them cooked and eaten; but, by the interposition of King George and the Tonguese, such a terrible calamity was averted; not one was injured.

On the 13th of the same month, a fleet of one hundred and forty-three canoes sailed for Kumi, another town whose people had combined with Mara in defying the Tonguese and the Bau chief. But when they saw the vast fleet, and the strength of the Tonguese and Fijian hosts arrayed against them, their hearts failed them, and they instantly submitted without a contest. None of the inhabitants injured in person, but the town itself was burnt to the ground. After this, overtures of peace came from numerous Fijian towns that had been in arms against Thakombau. Among these were Leva, Buretu, Nakelo, Vutia, Toga, and Naitajili. Not less than fifty towns signified their submission to Bau; and, from many of them, earnest requests came for Christian instructors.

Nineteen of the Tonguese were slain in the attack upon Kamba, and four others died during an epidemic which broke out about the same time. Mara, the ringleader of the rebels, made his escape from Kaba to Buretu. He fled again from thence to Nakelo, and then to Kumi. When Kumi was taken, he fled again, and found refuge in Ovalau, where he remained for several months, and where the writer of these pages met with him in the month of September following.

After King George had visited Rawa and Kandave, in company with Takombau, he prepared to return to his own land: and, as a recognition of the services he had rendered, Thakombau presented his majesty with an American-built Schooner of eighty-six tons.

[109] KING GEORGE RETURNS FROM THE WAR 1856

[Friendly Islands District Minute Book. Haabai Circuit Report 1856.
Archives of the Free Wesleyan Church, Nuku'alofa.]

When assembled at our District meeting last year, king George and his principal chiefs, with two thousand of his people, were in Feejee; but "prayer was made without ceasing of the church for them;" and at the close of 1855, most of the Tonguese returned to their own land again to enjoy domestic and national quiet. His Majesty arrived at Haabai early on Christmas morning, in the large double canoe presented him by the king of Feejee; and as usual he was first at public worship. In the afternoon of that day we held a lovefeast; and it was most affecting to hear him relate, with Christian simplicity and unfeigned humility, the wonderful dealings of the Lord with him and his people during the war; we could not but remark surely no warrior ever returned from the battle field less affected by the evils of war than King George.

But we cannot speak thus of his people. It has given us great pain to witness the lukewarmness and backsliding of many who formerly walked worthy of their high vocation, and the desire exhibited by others to return to their heathen games and practices.

We are aware that the religion of Christ is pre-eminently one of peace: its Captain is the Prince of peace; on his banner is inscribed peace and good will toward men; and his legacy to His timid disciples was, "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you". We are not therefore surprised, that the effects of war have been so prejudicial to the interests of his kingdom. Many who were members of society when they left their own land, soon threw off the restraints of Christianity, and gave themselves up to walk after the flesh in the lust of uncleanness; and though they were separated from the fold of Christ, yet they were counted as members until their return from Feejee. This will account in part for the large decrease in our Circuit this year.

[110] TEACHERS AND PEOPLE MIXED UP WITH WAR AND CONFUSION

[Friendly Islands District Minute Book. Vavau Circuit Report 1856.
Archives of the Free Wesleyan Church, Nuku'alofa.]

The year 55 closed, and 56 commenced under circumstances which could but excite our alarm and apprehension. Great numbers of our teachers and people were and had been for months, away in Feejee, mixed up with war and confusion and deprived of all those means of grace to which they had been accustomed. Under these circumstances we could but anticipate with anxiety, the time of their return, expecting to have to mourn over great numbers who had made shipwreck of their faith and a good conscience. Upon their return, however, in the month of January, we were truly thankful that our fears had exceeded to actual evil. Upon a careful and serious examination of the teachers, there was only one upon whom we were called to exercise discipline, and that not for an offence immediately arising from his connection with the war, but for excessive Kava drinking to which he was previously addicted. Upon many of our members however we have been pained by observing these circumstances have exercised a most injurious influence. Many who did run

well have been hindered, and others turned out of the way. We think however, that the scenes they have been called to witness in Feejee have not been only evil; many have been led to reflection, and we have since heard frequent expressions of gratitude for the mercy and grace which hath made them to differ from degraded and cannibal Feejee.

[111] DANGER OF WIDESPREAD TONGAN INTERFERENCE 1863

[The Report of the Australasian Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society for the year ending April 1863. Sydney 1863. Feje District Report. pp.43-44.]

The past year has been one of unusual excitement and trial. The native Chiefs had anticipated the acceptance of the Government of Fiji by the British Crown - those of them who have ceased to delight in war were hoping to see the land at rest under the influence of a powerful sway. The conveyance to them of the decision of Her Majesty's Government not to take possession, has induced disappointment and confusion. Restless heathen Chiefs, who have been holding back from war lest it should involve them with the new Government, have combined together to attack towns and villages that had been formerly obnoxious to them. The agents of the Church of Rome have taken advantage of this state of things to promote their ends. They have endeavoured to attract these Chiefs to their Church by intimating that, if they placed themselves under the Pastoral charge of the Priests of France, French vessels of war would partonize them and render them effectual assistance in their aggressive designs. This doctrine was repudiated and by one of the superior priests, but it has had its effect in inducing some heathen Chiefs to join the Church of Rome, and, in combination with other Chiefs they have attacked those who had placed themselves under the charge of your Missionaries. On the Mathuata Coast war has been raging, and for some weeks the Mission premises at Fawn Harbour were imperilled. This war threatened to involve the whole of Fiji. Several Tongans were killed, the leading Tongan Chief was absent and the report was conveyed to Tonga, that a leading Chief and several of his people had been slain. King George sent Maafu, who is his Representative in Fiji, to enquire into the affair; but forbade his engaging in hostilities, promising that, if it were proved to be necessary, he would come himself with a sufficient force, examine and judge the case, and demand reparation. Maafu was treated with defiance and he sent requesting King George would come with one thousand soldiers. A report was industriously circulated, that the King was only making use of this circumstance to come in force and conquer the whole of Fiji; and intense excitement was created. Influential Europeans sent letters to the King urging him not to involve Fiji in a general war. Very recent intelligence has arrived that there is every prospect of an amicable arrangement. Maafu, the Tongan Chief, and three or four of the most powerful Chiefs in Fiji have met together, and when the news was forwarded, they had agreed to enter into an alliance to preserve the peace of Fiji, and Maafu had sent off to request the King not to come in force. By the same mail, letters were received from the Friendly Islands, stating that the king and a majority of the leading Chiefs had concluded, that, with their present information, there was not a sufficient warrant to take so important a step as to go in force to Fiji, so that the troops were not sent; but two or three of the most influential Chiefs were to go and make further enquiry. Your Committee trust that the prayers of the Church will be offered, that the efforts made to secure a permanent peace may be successful.

[112] KING GEORGE'S COMMISSIONERS AND AN ATTEMPT AT PEACE

[The Report of the Australasian Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society for the year ending April 1865. Sydney 1865. p.44. Fiji District. Thakaudrovy Circuit Report.]

It was with feelings of a peculiar nature that we entered upon our duties in June of 1863, as the war which had long been raging in these parts had, like a terrific tempest, swept with desolating fury over this land, and had blighted and withered to an alarming extent portions of this once flourishing vineyard of the Lord. But as actual hostilities had ceased, and preparations were being made for a consultation of the Chiefs of this kingdom with the Tonguese, with whom they were at variance, we began to cherish a hope that the enemies would be reconciled, and peace again sway her benign sceptre.

In September last the Commissioners of King George of Tonga, visited Wairiki - the principal town in this kingdom - in order to effect peace; but, refusing to go on shore, Tuithakau and all his principal chiefs felt themselves grossly insulted by a want of confidence in them on the part of the Tongan Chiefs, and forthwith issued a proclamation that all their people were to embrace Popery on pain of punishment; and such is the fear which enthral the Fijian that, with the exception of our teachers, their families, and one private member - the wife of a Chief - all our members in the Taveune Branch either actually or nominally embraced Popery, and still continue steadfast to their new profession.

When we heard this startling, unexpected, and painful intelligence, we went, without delay, to expostulate with the King and his Chiefs, and tried to show them the reasonableness of allowing their people to worship GOD according to the dictates of their consciences, and entreated the Chiefs not to compel them to become Papists, simply because they were grieved with the Tonguese; but all our efforts to save our people from their tyrannising hands were in vain.

D. MA'AFU AND THE SPRED OF TONGAN INFLUENCE

[113] MA'AFU GIVEN PRIVELEGES OVER LANDS 1850c

[Evidence by Ma'afu before the Land Claims Commission 1880.
Reference LCC R930. National Archives of Fiji.]

I remember the death of Wai-ni-qolo¹. Before the Moala war Vanua Balavu had been given to me by Tui Kilakila the father of Ratu Golea, late Tui Cakau. Tui Kilakila went to Lakeba to get a vessel from Tui Nayan. Tui Nayou had no vessel. Tui Kilakila then said "Whose vessel is that?" pointing to mine. I was then a young chief and had just come down from Tonga. Tui Kilakila said. "Send for him", and when I came he asked me for my vessel. I said "Very good; if you want the vessel she is yours." We came to Loma Loma together and Tui Kilo granted me the island of Vanua Balavyu, from which to levy pigs and sinnet. Afterwards at Laucala Tui Kilakila repeated this and said that if we were short of food at Lakeba, we could levy pigs etc as far as Laucala. The grant was to include all the islands up to Laucala. This gift was afterwards confirmed by Raivalita, Tui Kilakila's successor, and again by Ratu Golea, Tui Cakau. Tui Cakau never resumed the sovereignty over that part. While I was at Waikava, some of the people remained under me and some went to Tui Cakau. We had a conversation about Tui Cakau's sales of these islands to white men when I went over to him at Wairiki. He said it was owing to drink given him by the whites. Do not remember any enquiry being held by Capt. Stanly into the Tongan title to these islands. Cannot remember whether any such enquiry was made by anyone, about the gift from Tui Kilakila.

Maafu.

[114] CRITICAL COMMENTS FROM THE MISSIONARIES IN FIJI.

(i) *"Constant presence and great influence of Tonguese residents and visitors"*

[The Report of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society for the year ending April 1860, Sydney 1860, Lakemba Circuit Report, p. xxvii]

In the Lakemba Branch of the Circuit the congregations are good, but the number of Church Members does not increase; many lose their position by excessive drinking of yagona. The want of energy in the leading Chief; the constant presence and great influence of Tonguese residents and visitors, have had an injurious effect on Lakemba itself. Several traders have lately settled in this and adjoining islands, and we regard with some misgiving this new element for good or evil.

¹ Vainikolo?

(ii) *"Oil for the payment of an English Vessel for the use of the Tonguese Chief"*

[The Report of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society for the year ending April 1864. Sydney 1864. Lakemba Circuit Report, p.41]

Our Missionary meetings, where held, have been as successful on the whole as last year; but we fear that in some of the Branches there may be a slight decrease, as the natives there have to make oil, at the instance of the Tonguese, for the payment of an English vessel for the use of the Tonguese Chief here. On one island, where 1085 gallons of oil were given last year, only 850 have been given this, as the result of the above.

[115] AN ATTEMPT TO RESTRAIN TONGAN ACTIVITY: KING GEORGE'S UNDERTAKING. 1862.

[Signed statement by King George, witnessed by Will T. Pritchard H.B.M's Consul. 5th May 1862. Typescript copy from the original hold by the National Archives of Fiji, Suva.]

I, George Tubou, King of all Tonga, write thus:

- I. The two men, Wainiqolo end Vatanitawaki, shall be removed from Fiji to Tonga.
- II. No Tongue se shall wrongfully or by force, take away anything whatever from any Fijian. It is good that they shall freely trade as they desire among themselves.
- III. No Tonguese shall interfere between Fijians and Foreigners in any trading operations.
- IV. No Tonguese shall in any manner interfere between Foreigners and Fijians in the purchase or sale of Land; the Fijians doing as they desire, selling their lands or not.
- V. I and my Chiefs shall, in our Parliament to be held this month, take measures to check the arrogance and bad conduct of the Tonguese in Fiji: and any Tonguese who will not comply with those measures, or with-the measures contained in this document, shall be punished by the Chief we shall send to control them; and any Tonguese who shall still continue to disobey shall thenceforth be considered Fijians, and shall be liable to be punished according to the Laws of Fiji, at the suit of the Consul of Her Majesty, Queen Victoria.
- VI. A Chief, whom we shall appoint, after the rising of our Parliament, shall be entrusted to proceed to Fiji with the measures decided upon.
- VII. No war shall again be made by Tonguese against Fijians, pending the decision of Her Majesty, Victoria, Queen of Britain, whether she will hold Fiji or not.

I have made this writing, this 5th day of May, 1862, at Nukualofa.

I am,
(SGD:) GEORGE TUBOU.

This is further measure:

That the Tonguese shall buy and sell in Fiji, with the same privileges as the people of other Countries who are there.

We have made this writing this 5th day of May, 1862.

(SGD.) GEORGE TUBOU.

I approve this.

(SGD.) WILL, T, PRITCHIRD

H.B.M. Consul.

(116) QUESTIONS ABOUT THE ANNEXATION OF FIJI

- (i) [U.S. Consul Brower to H.B.M. Consul Pritchard. 28th July 1862.
From the original letter, National Archives of Fiji, Suva.]

United States Consulate

28th July 1862.

Sir,

I beg to enquire of you if the matter of the Cession of Fiji to Her Britanic Majesty's Government, has been definitely decided upon, and with what result.

I have the honour to be sir

Your Obedient Servant,

I.M. Brower.

- (ii) [H.B.M. Consul Pritchard to U.S. Consul Brower, 28th July 1862.
From the original in the National Archives of Fiji, Suva.]

British Consulate.

28th July 1862.

Sir,

In reply to your communication of this date, I have to state that the rejection of the Cession of Fiji to Her Majesty the Queen has been officially and formally announced to Cakobau by Captain Jenkins, Senior Officer, and commanding H.M.S. "Miranda", now in this port.

I have the honour to be

Sir,

Your obedient Servant.

Will, T. Pritchard.

[117] LAND DISPUTES WITH THE FIJIANS, BRITISH, AND AMERICANS

- (i) [H. Moore to H.B.M. Consul William Owen, Bau, 25th August 1863, 12 o'clock.
From the original in the National Archives of Fiji, Suva.]

Dear Sir,

I received your papers connected with Tongan matters, and sent them on to Rewa at once that Rev Jas Waterhouse might see them. He came this morning and we have had a conversation. The Tongans have made some objections and so I thought it best that some paper such as they would sign should be drawn up and sent on to you, and to save time I have lent my boat. If you think fit you might come in and see the Chief at the same time.

The Tongans make several objections - with Mr Waterhouse.

1. The Tongans say that they came to enquire, of you, concerning lands in dispute between Foreigners and Tongans and not any dispute about lands with the Fijians.
2. Mr. Waterhouse objects to sign the minutes of the meeting as they were not signed at the time after being read, and if he¹ had known at the time he would have taken notes himself⁶ and compared etc. I have had the document drawn up in Fijian and send you a translation of the Fijian. In haste.

I am, Dear Sir,

Yours' Respe'ly.

H. MOORE.

Wim, Owen Esq.,
H.B.M. Consul,
OVALAU

- (ii) [Agreement between William Tugi and Mr William Owen H.B.M. Consul, Fiji.
Translation in English of a document drawn up in Fijian. National Archives of Fiji, Suva.]

Whereas certain lands in Fiji are disputed, British subjects saying they are theirs! we two hereby agree that it shall be made clear as to the true ownership of these parcels of land, that disputes respecting these lands may hereby cease. Therefore we two ordain:

1. There shall be a conference of the Whites, Tonguese, who Fijians have any interest in the parcels of disputed lands. This Assembly shall meet at Levuka, Ovalau, 1 Feb. 1864.
2. The Consuls of Great Britain and America shall preside over the Assembly.
3. By this Assembly some shall be appointed to investigate, take evidence, judge, and decide as to who is the present owner of the disputed parcel of land. They shall commit their decision to writing that they be an end of the dispute.
4. British subjects who claim any portion of the disputed land shall appoint as their arbitrator, the British Consul, one British subject, one Tonguese and one Fijian.
5. United States citizens who claim any portion of the disputed lands, shall appoint as their arbitrator the U.S. Consul, one white man, one Tonguese, and one Fijian.
6. The Tongans, through Tubou, or through those whom Tubou may send on his behalf, shall appoint as their arbitrators, one White man, two Tonguese and two Fijians.

¹ cannot be clearly distinguished in the original letter.

[118] JUDGEMENT IN FAVOUR OF MA'AFU 1865

[Report of a Court of Arbitration, 1st and 2nd February 1865.
Register No. 381. Reference F4/Temp 1, Vol.1. National Archives of Fiji.]

Report of Proceedings
in Re
Vanua Balavu
Ma'afu versus Henry

Proceedings of a Court of Arbitration held at Lomaloma during the first and second days of February 1865, to investigate a Claim preferred by Ma'afu a Tongan Chief against George Matthew Henry a British Subject for the possession of the Island of Vanua Balavu now held by George Matthew Henry a British Subject.

President
Henry M. Jones
(Her Britannic Majesty's Consul in Fiji and Tonga)

Petitioners
Henry Maafu
David Jebson Moss (Tubou Haabai)

Respondents
Golea Vanua (Tui Cakau)
George Matthew Henry.

Charles Wise is duly sworn as
Interpreter to the Court.

The Petitioner appears in Court and advances the following plea which is read in Fijian before the Court.

Petitioners Plea sheweth.

That in the year 1849 he was residing at Lalemba and that Tui Cakau (Tui Kilakila) arriving there on a visit Maafu formed an acquaintance with him and afterwards presented to him the "Talike" a large canoe. Tui Kilakila asked Maafu to visit him at Lomaloma, Maafu went with him at once in the if "Talike". On the journey Tui Kilakila said to Maafu "I here give you all the Islands between Lakemba and Taveuni".

After residing a year and a half at Lomaloma, Maafu returned to Lakemba and during the succeeding years he used to come to Vanua Balavu and lay the country under contribution for sinnet, yams, etc.

In 1855 - a war having broke out, between Lomaloma and Yarra or the Christian and

Heathen Inhabitants of Vanua Balavu. Mafoa a chief of Lomaloma was sent by the Chiefs of the Christian party to ask assistance from Tui Neiau of Lakemba the said assistance having been refused, Mafoa went to Maafu who came with the large canoes to Susui, whither the Lomalomans had fled Maafu brought them to Lomaloma and commenced building a fence for the protection of the town. While so engaged the heathen attacked Maafu and some of his party having fired on them when going out to bathe and thus commencing hostilities. Maafu and his party sailed next day but one to Mua Levu, he having previously received reinforcement of about one hundred Tonga-men who came in two canoes from Lakemba. After two days fighting the Yarra Chief owned themselves vanquished and brought whales teeth and baskets of earth to Maafu expressly stating that they gave themselves their district, and during the same week the chiefs of the Lomaloma district did the same for the second time they having presented earth to Maafu on his first arrival.

After these events had occurred namely in the same month Maafu sent Sa Mate and Tataro Lavaki to Loma Loma to inform the then Tui Cakau (Raivalita) that he (Maafu) had been called upon by the Lomaloma district to assist them against the Yarra people and that he had conquered them, and that both parties had given themselves over to him and also their land - Tui Cakau answered "It is good what need to tell me of it as my father gave the land to him and I am pleased with the arrangement."

Since the foregoing Period the principal chiefs of Vanua Balavu have on two occasions signed documents setting forth that Vanua Balavu and its Islands belong to Tonga and have supplied Maafu from time to time with contributions of oil provisions &c.

1st Evidence

Sa Mate being duly sworn states - I was staying at Lakemba, this Land (Vanua Balavu) was at war, they sent for Maafu I came with him - his canoe went to Mua Levu. The one I was in to Thikombea. I went and waited for Maafu at Mua Levu. Afterwards sent message to Mua Levu by a Cakaudrovi man to come. The people came from Mua Levu to beg pardon they brought earth tapa sinnet whales teeth to Maafu, not to me. Maafu sent and told them, it was wrong to come to him direct: told them to go with him to Susui. Maafu then told Sa Mate to get Pigs from Kanathea at night. Sa Mate told Maafu "I wish to go to Cakaudrovi". Maafu said, "Tell Tui Cakau about the Earth Cloth &c. given to me. Tell him we had war. They have submitted to me. They have given me the Land." I Sa Mate told Raivalita. He said, "all right we could not have interfered being ourselves at war on Vanua Levu."

Question by

Maafu.

Did not Raivalita say to you "My Father gave the Land to Maafu"

No Answer.

By the

President

Who does the Land belong to now?

Answer

We think it belongs to Maafu.

2nd Evidence.

Tavaki being duly sworn states We went to Raivalita and told him that Maafu had the Land he said "very good, then if ever I want to go there I will ask Maafu."

3rd Evidence. David Chief of the Lomo Lomo district being duly sworn is questioned by the Court.

Question. Do you recollect the war with Mua Levu?

Answer Yes.

Question. Do you recollect the gift of the land?

Answer Yes.

Question. Did Maafu accept it?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Did you hear that Tui Kilakila had previously given the Land to Maaf'u?

Answer. I heard of it.

Question. Was it the general opinion?

Answer. We thought so.

Question. Was there any gift like that before in Fiji?

Answer. It was our mind.

Question. After such a gift how would you conduct yourselves. Would you pay tribute to Maafu or Tui Cakau?

Answer. We thought we had only to do what Maafu told us.

Question. If the Canoes of Tui Cakau came and took away your property to whom would you complain?

Answer. To Maafu.

Question. Since 1855 have you paid any taxes to Cakaudrove?

Answer. When Tui Cakau came we gave him things.

Question. Did he ever come here?

Answer. He did come and we gave him Presents in friendship.

Question. Was Maafu independent of Cakaudrove or not?

Answer. I do not know.

Question. What are you Chief of?

Answer. Loma Loma district.

Question. Can you sell Land?

Answer. I can not, Maafu can.

Question. Can the Head Chief sell all Lands?

Answer. The Head Chief could do it.

Question. Did Tui Cakau transfer such power to Maafu?

Answer. I do not know.

Question. Did the Island ever go back to Cakaudrove since its possession Maafu?

Answer. Never.

Question. And from that time have you considered yourselves subjects of Maafu? When some months ago Tui Cakau came and stripped the Land, why did you not apply to Maafu?

Answer. Because we were religious (resigned?)

To Maafu. Why did you not interfere?

Answer. Because Tui Cakau asked my permission to come.

* * * * *

To Maafu. What effect had the gift?

Answer. We paid tribute to Maafu.

Question. Do you consider yourselves to be under Maafu?

Answer. Yes, we are Tongan subjects.

Question. Which is your head Chief?
Answer. Maafu.
Question. Whom do you wish for Chief?
Answer. Maafu, we wish for Maafu.

* * * * *

6th Evidence. Tui Mafana being duly sworn is questioned.

* * * * *

Question. Have you ever paid tribute to Maafu?
Answer. Yes, as a friendly offering.
By Maafu. Did you not give earth to me?
Answer. I did it through friendship.
By the Consul. Is it usual to do so in Fiji in order to save life? Is giving up the land the price of life?
Answer. No.

* * * * *

To Maafu. How did they present you with the Land?
Answer. The Baskets of earth for the land, the whales teeth for their lives.
To Tui Mafana. Do you recollect the gift of earth?
Answer. Yes. I know of it and cloth and teeth.

* * * * *

7th Evidence. A Chief from Mua Levu is sworn and questioned.

* * * * *

Question. Do you recollect the submission of the Yarra People?
Answer. Yes.
Question. Was it a gift of the Land to Maafu?
Answer. No it was a request for our lives.
Question. Is not the offer of earth a surrender of the Land?
Answer. I do not know.

* * * * *

The deed of Sale of the Island of Vanua Balavu by Tui Cakau to George Matthew Henry is read in Fijian before the Court.

Tui Cakau being duly sworn is questioned by the President.

Question. Do you recollect signing this deed?
Answer. Yes.
Question. This Evidence is desired to state his version of the circumstances attending his sale of the Land.
Statement. "I knew it belonged to Maafu and was ruled by him. I sold it because I was vexed with him."
Question. How much of the Land belonged to Maafu?
Answer. All Vanua Balavu.

* * * * *

Question. When you signed the deed of sale did you tell Henry it was to spite Maafu?
Answer. No, but I told Charles Connor the Interpreter.
Question. Did you persuade Henry that you had a right to sell the Land?
Answer. I spoke through Connor.
Question. What right has Maafu to the ownership?
Answer. The gift of Tui Kilakile. I heard it from the old men.

* * * * *

To Defendant (Henry) Did it not strike you that the price was very small.

Answer. No, I thought that he was afraid of Maafu and wished the Tongan away.

* * * * *

Question. Did you let Henry know that it was simply a form of a sale (pretended)?

Answer. When he asked me to sell it I said "Yes".

Question. Was the grant by Tui Kilakila to Maafu or to the Tongan Government?

Answer. I don't know.

Question. Was it to Maafu and the Tongans?

Answer. Ask Maafu.

To Maafu. When I first came here I lived at Lakemba, but when we got laws printed I put the Lands under Tongan law.

* * * * *

Judgment.

Statement I Henry Michael Jones Her Britannic Majesty's Consul for Fiji and Tonga having well and truly weighed and considered the Evidence advanced by the Plaintiff in the foregoing case together with what the Defendant has urged in reply, am of opinion that -

The Island of Vanua Balavu and the other Islands enclosed in the Reef surrounding it that is to say Munia, Avia, Susui, Malata, and - Chicumbia were granted by the Chief of Thakaudrovi their lawful owner to Henry Maafu in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty five (1855). That their grant was accepted and ratified by the inhabitants themselves and that the Chiefs of Thakaudrovi have hitherto recognized these Islands as the property of the said Henry Maafu Furthermore.

The Vendor of the Land to Defendant and whose name appears on the Deed of sale (Tui Cakau), having on oath stated that he had no right to sell or transfer the said land, as it never formed Part of his Possessions. -

Henry Maafu appears to be the lawful owner of the said Islands, to wit Vanua Balavu and the Islands contained within the reef surrounding it that is to say Munia Avia Susui Malata and Chicumbia excepting such Lands therein as he by Deed of Sale or otherwise may have alienated.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Consulate this third day of February one thousand eight hundred and sixty five.

(Signed) Henry M. Jones
H.M. Consul in Fiji and Tonga .

[119] AMERICAN INTERFERENCE PREVENTS TONGAN CONTROL OF FIJI 1867

[Evidence presented by the American Vice-Consul Dr I.W. Brower to The Land Claims Commission 1880. General evidence in relation to Lau.
Reference LCC R930. National Archives of Fiji.]

Isaac Willis Brower (sworn).

In 1867 was U.S. Vice Consul in Fiji. The "Tuscarora" arrived in Lavuka on the 9th June 1867 - Within a few days proceeded in her to Bau. On the 12th June a Convention was entered into with the Govt. of Cakobau.

Maafu was not represented.

In relation to certain matters in dispute between natives of the U.S. and natives in Fiji and with the chiefs thereof. (Mr Abbdy objects to the admission of this document and evidence therefrom on the ground that at the time stated the British Govt. had distinctly refused to recognize Cakobau as King of Fiji - a refusal in which the Imperial Govt. of H.M. has persisted up to the present time. Consequently such a convention cannot be held as having been binding upon Maafu.) This convention had special reference to the American debt of \$9,000. A protection was thereby assured to Cakobau from the U.S. Govt. for 4 years as against the Tongans, of which Maafu was the chief representative in Fiji. Cakobau complained of the assumption of chieftainships by Maafu and of the constant menaces of Maafu and of the constant oppressions which he was exercising over the Fijians in Lau. He further complained that he would be unable to comply with the terms of the convention unless he had the protection of the U.S. against Maafu, whom he me of a feared was preparing - as in fact he was - to make war upon him.

Cakobau further informed Captain Stanley that Tui Cakau was the true chief of Lau and that he owed allegiance to him; and who, but for the intimidation exercised over him by Maafu, would be true to that allegiance. He further added that sales by Tui Cakau in Lau would be good and valid and that he would recogize them as such and repudiates the validity of Maafu's sales regarding him as an alien - as mush as the whites. A letter was written by Captain Stanly to Tui Cakau at the request of Çakobau asking him to meet the "Tuscarora" at Loma Loma - He did not meet us. (letter 18th June 1867 Capt. Stanly to Tui Cakau put in). On arrival at Loma Loma Capt. Stanly informed Maafu of the object of his visit and invited him to come on board. Mr Swanston his Secretary was also invited to accompany him. Maafu came alone - Swanston declined - David Whippy was on board also acting as sworn interpreter.

.....

Other claims were also brought before Maafu at the visit of the "Tuscarora".

They were

1st. By J.B. Nacumber for damage done to his plantation - for yams and pigs eaten - by Wai ni kolo and his Tongans when warring against Tui Cakau at Wairiki. Captain Stanly would not entertain any claim for damage, saying that it had occurred in the course of the war - but thought they ought to pay for the yams and the pigs which they had eaten (amounting to \$150.00) - to this Maafu assented.

Captain Stanly did not insist upon these claims but pointed out to Maafu that they were just claims and left it to his own good feeling whether or not to satisfy them.

2nd By D. Whippy for lumber ordered by and delivered to Maafu. \$445.

3rd By Capt. Dunn for \$40 for four ----- ----- pots taken and destroyed by Maafu's

people at Waimate.

4th By Capt. Dunn as agent for West and Co. for goods sold and delivered to Maafu.

Maafu acknowledged all these claims and did not protest against any of them and gave me a draft upon Tupou - King of Toga. W. Hennings endorsed the order. No steps were taken to enforce these claims by seizing the cutter "Louisa". She was never seized at all. I did not officially make any claims for myself personally before Capt. Stanly not to the extent of one farthing. I was willing to have submitted my affairs to arbitration but there never was any. Any conversation I had with Maafu was not official but purely as a matter of business I first saw Maafu at Loma Loma in 1857. He seemed to be exercising the authority a chief - having vessels built for him which he said were - for Toga. I had previously met and conversed with the then Tui Cakau. He came on board my vessel at Loma Loma and there told me that that he claimed to be the chief of the Lau Islands. He spoke of Maafu as a friend of his who had the privilege of having oil made and work done by the natives. Maafu had previously been to Levuka and spoken to Consul Williams. He had spoken to Williams about the American indemnity and made overtures by which he engaged to obtain the payment of that indemnity provided the U.S. Govt would recognize him as King of Fiji. I have had this from Williams own lips. There is no doubt that at that time Maafu was very ambitious to become King of Fiji. Tui Bua was by his mother half a Togan and acted throughout as Maafu's staunch ally. Tui Cakau's leanings both by kindred and hereditary tradition were towards Bau. Cakobau's father - directly or indirectly received tribute from every chief in Fiji except perhaps the mountaineers. Tui Cakau was also very friendly to Maafu but he was the great bar to the spread of Maafu's influence.

Maafu never himself made war on Tui Cakau. When he went to Toga he left Wai ni kolo in charge - who asserted that in making war on Tui Cakau he had Maafu's full assent. He made this statement to Nacumber who repeated it to me.

.....

I was told in Toga that when passing through Toga on his way to assume the consulship in Fiji Capt. Jones had promised to do all he could to make Maafu King of Fiji - and soon after his arrival in Fiji he made a formal proposal to me to join in so doing - I declined, as being attached to Cakobau. I also told him I would do all in my power to prevent it - as with the Fijians it was possible for white men to make progress and obtain lands for settlement whereas this would be impossible if the Tongans were supreme and that the Fijians would be enslaved and then would be no possible settlement of this country by the white race.

In 1867 King George himself told me at Toga that, had it not been for my official interference, he would have that day been King of Fiji and Maafu his viceroy. He spoke of Maafu as his agent in Fiji and that all property held by Maafu in that group belonged to Toga, and Maafu was a Togan and owed allegiance to Toga. It was nothing but the action of the U.S. that was the bar of Fiji becoming Toga, the practical outcome of which has been the annexation to Great Britain.

[120] OBJECTIONS TO THE AMERICAN CLAIMS

(i) *King George's objections 1863*

[King George Tupou I to Dr Brower. The Palace, Nuku'alofa. May 6th, 1863.
Archives of the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, Nuku'alofa.
English translation by Nigel Statham.]

Dear Mr Brower,

I sent you a note by Mr Malcomb's boat saying that if a boat should go your way I would send a reply to the letter you wrote me; so this is the reply to your letter which I have sent by this boat. You referred in your letter to Thakombau's debt to America and the action you are preparing to take in connection with it. It is a good thing that you have made clear your reasons for taking those actions, but are you not misled?

As for Tonga's ambition towards Fiji, the purpose of Tonga's involvement in Fiji was never to bring the whole of Fiji into subjection to Tonga. For if that had been so would we have failed to do so? Indeed, would it have been unjust? For Fiji has caused Tonga much trouble and irritation in the past. No, Tonga's ambition towards Fiji has been only to judge actions of the Fijians towards the Tongans and if as a consequence finding the Fijians at fault and considering it just to make war, then to make war forthwith; for if we had ever pardoned them and forborne their actions as those of an ignorant and stupid people would they not have wiped out the Tongans to a man?

Speaking again of Tonga's ambitions towards Fiji, we certainly never expected to find the Fijians getting support from the Europeans, living in Fiji –and this despite the many signs of ill feeling on the part of Europeans towards Tongans - On a voyage of one of our vessels a Tongan chief was shot by a European and perished. We have not heard of justice being done about this murder but have taken no action.

The purpose of Tonga's presence in Fiji has never been to meddle in your affairs - your land-buying, your possessions and your livestock, these things are still with you but look at the way some Europeans have been supplying powder, arms and ammunition to the Fijians to kill Tongans in the furthering of their ambitions. Is this a sign of their good will? And now they are making gifts to hoodwink the Fijians into handing over their country to them.

So then, it is going to be made to look to the world as if Fiji has not become part of Tonga because of your letter. Whether the debt is ever paid or not we have come to suspect the whole business.

As for your rebukes, I regard it as an insult. Such words are not worthy of a Consul for a Consul is a representative of a Government and a letter such as yours is not a credit to a government but a discredit and a dishonouring of that government. If your letter were sent to Europe what Government do you think would tolerate it? You say in your letter, "Your arrogance and acts of aggrandisement are growing increasingly greater." Can you tell me of one piece of land I have taken without good reason?

If you are referring to various places in Fiji don't you see that they simply involved the Tongan's doing to the Fijians exactly what the Fijian did to the Tongans? Is that not the reason why the Tongan people have lands in Fiji? Have you then one single shred of evidence that the Tongan people have taken by force and without good reason one piece of land in Fiji? Then what justification is there for your rebuke of me? Your letter is contrary to international amity. We will send out your letter that the whole world may know your insulting behaviour in those waters.

I am. George Tupou.

(ii) *British objections 1867c.*

[Document initiated N.S.T. 4.12.80. Land Claims Commission Documents. LCC 930. National Archives of Fiji.]

Having read the remarks of Dr Brower to the effect that Consul Jones had formally proposed to him (Brower) to make Maafu King of Fiji - I have no hesitation in saying that Dr B. is drawing upon his imagination. Those who knew Consul Jones must know such a thing was simply impossible.

Jones made the Tongans pull down their flag on Moala, Totoya, and also on Vanua Balavi.

.....

Consul Jones warmly supported every Fijian Chief from Cakobau downwards in maintaining his right and position and was the last man in the world to indulge in petty native intrigues with Brower or anyone else.

[121] TONGAN LIND POLICY IN FIJI 1867-1870

[Evidence of Robert Sterson Swanston. Land Claims Commission, 1880. Reference LCC R.930. National archives of Fiji.]

I was Secretary for Lau from early in 1867 till 1870. The Laws of Lau were first promulgated, I think, in 1869. They were drawn up under the authority of Maafu and the chiefs of Lau. I was secretary at the time. Meetings were held to discuss and pass them after they were drawn up. They continued in force until the old Fijian Government was established in 1871. Maafu joined that government at once, and then these laws became null. In law XV on leases, the words "public lands" were understood to mean all lands not actually in the occupation of natives. The system of "mataqalis" was being abolished for the express purpose of bringing into cultivation lands which were suffered to lie uncultivated. The idea of leasing these lands was not to raise revenue, but simply to introduce white capital and energy into the country.

The money derived from these leases was not to pay the people but went into the public purse from which the expenses of the Government were defrayed. Maafu was his own treasurer, chancellor of the exchequer, auditor, and everything else. There was a record kept of all moneys received but I do not know whether it still exists. As to disbursements the merchants know more about than I do. Maafu never consulted me in such matters. I do

not know whether Maafu paid his magistrates. It was the theory that he should do so.

.....

As Secretary for Lau it was my duty to draw up the leases, and receive the rents.

Men wishing to lease land, could apply each for 500 acres. Maafu's wish was to restrict himself to this limit. It was utterly impossible for him to tell whether for instance in Cicia or Moala, or other outlying Islands, he would be able to grant the acreage desired by the applicant, as he was tied down by law to grant only unoccupied lands. He was thoroughly determined not to deprive natives of lands that were in any way turned to account by them. He was equally determined not to allow large tracts of land to be waste and idle, when there were men ready and anxious to occupy and improve them.

.....

I imagine that the decision as to what were and what were not, waste lands, would rest with Maafu himself. No disputes ever arose on this subject, in my time. Maafu was an absolute chief. No one ever disputed his word. It is difficult for anyone who has not lived in those days, to understand the position held by him.

.....

The reason why the leases were made for such a long period as 99 years, was to induce whites to come here. The Chiefs to leeward were selling lands largely to white men who came to the group. Maafu absolutely refused to sell, and it was only after pointing out to him the benefit that would accrue to him and to the land from whites coming here, that he eventually agreed to lease lands upon such terms as would induce whites to settle in Lau.

I remember the portioning out of lands among the natives in Vanua Balavu. The surplus that remained was "waste" or public land. Maafu appointed Mari and other men to go out and apportion the lands to the different towns, leaving it to them to sub-divide among themselves. This was in 1869 or 1870. The surplus land was then looked upon as available for leasing.

[122] MAHAFU UNDERTAKES NOT TO INTERFERE FURTHER IN FIJIAN DISPUTES 1867

[Ma'afu to H.B.M. Consul Lomaloma, September, 15th, 1867.

Document in Fijian with English translation from the National Archives of Fiji, Suva.]

LOMLOMA

September 15th, 1867.

To Her Britannic Majesty's Consul,

OVALAU.

Sir.

Because of the continued outcry raised against me by many of the foreigners resident in Fiji, that I am the root of all evil in Fiji; and because the Lau Chief's have decided to abandon the Confederation, and because Tui Cakau is wavering in his adhesion - the originators of the Confederation were Bua and Cakaudrove, the object of the Confederation being good, not evil; order, not disturbance; - and because that in my opinion quarrels and disputes among

the different Chieftoms in Fiji are imminent, I write to tell you that I intend never again to meddle in the management of the territory of any Chieftain west of my Chieftom; I intend never again to aid or to advise any Chieftain to the westward in any matter connected with his sovereignty. Should at any future time disturbances arise in any of the Chieftoms alluded to I shall not interfere to arrest or question them.

What I have done in times passed in the political troubles of Fiji has been with the desire to aid the Chieftains in preserving order in their territories, and I feel well assured that I can without difficulty prove to the world the honesty and uprightness of my actions.

(SGD.) MAAFU.

[123] TONGA'S INTERESTS IN LAU: MAAFU AN AGENT OF GOOD IN FIJIAN AFFAIRS 1867

(1) [Translation of a Declaration by Edward Tui Nayau, Lote Longanimoce, John Wesley, to Henry Maafu, 28th May 1867.

Document in Fijian with English translation, National Archives of Fiji, Suva.]

TRANSLATION.

28th May, 1867.

Henry Maafu, we are met here at Vatuvaqa, we have read the document brought by you and Mr Swanston, it is beyond our powers; we cannot confederate because we are a weak people and cannot confederate with powerful Chiefs; we wish to stand alone and serve and worship God. We beg that you will not be annoyed, we do not separate ourselves from you, we cannot be of the Confederation.

(SGD.) EDWARD TUL NAYAU

" LOTE LOGANIMOCE

" JOHN WESLEY

Immediately on the receipt of this letter I endorsed the following memorandum thereon:

"This is the result of Mr Fison's interference, the consequence will be that the Confederation falls to the ground, and Lau and Bua will hoist the Tongan flag"

(SGD.) R.S. SWANSTON.

1st June, 1867.

(ii) [Robert S. Swanston to H.B.M. Consul, Levuka, Ovalau. Lomaloma, 25th September 1867. National Archives of Fiji, Suva.]

LOMALOMA.
25th September, 1867.

To Her Britannic Majesty's Consul,
Levuka, OVALAU,

Sir,

The Confederation into which the Chief's of Bua, Cakaudrove, Lau and Maria Balavu entered early this year has broken up. Lau, under date 28th May ulto' notified Maafu that she had withdrawn; and Maafu, though annoyed, would not act in the matter save in conjunction with her.

This description has of course rendered null the official position I held in connection with the Chiefs of the late Confederation, and to notify this to you is the object of this letter.

On the day when I met the Lau Chiefs at Lakeba the one difficulty I had was to satisfy Tui Nayau that his joining the Confederation would not interfere with any friendly relations Lau might have with Toga; the Chief reiterated many times, Lau is Togan; we are one with Maafu and Tubou, and I will do nothing that will separate Lau from Tonga; and it was only upon my as repeatedly assuring him that his political independence would be ensured, but that his ties of friendship and alliance with Toga would in no way be interfered with, that he consented to become a party to the Confederation, and that he signed the Constitution.

The withdrawal of Tui Nayau, a copy of the letter notifying which to Maafu I enclose, has led, in part, to what it was one of the objects of the Confederation to thwart, viz. the direct political connection of Lau and Bua with Toga. Lau has hoisted the Togan flag, and Bua will assuredly demand to the same by Maafu's letter to you dated the 8th instant you will learn that such an application from Bua, if made, will be unsuccessful.

I regret what has occurred inasmuch as, that Maafu as one of a confederation of Fijian Chieftains, a Confederation which Toga would have acknowledged under a flag of their own, could have acted more in accordance with his own views, which are far in advance of those generally held by Togan Chiefs; at the same time Maafu's influence is such and his ideas as to what will be for the weal of Fiji so correct, that I shall continue to work with him, but only in private capacity.

To the extension of Togan political powers in Fiji I am so utterly opposed that I cannot act officially with a man who, however much I may value him as an agent for good in Fiji, from the force of circumstances must now represent Togan interests solely.

I remain,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(SGD.) ROBERT S SWANSTON.

[124] PUT US IN THE MIDDLE AND LET US WORK TOGETHER 1868

[Robert S. Swanston to H.B.M. Acting Consul, Levuka. Toma.loma, 29th February 1868. From the original in the National Archives of Fiji, Suva]

LOMALOMA.
29th February, 1868.

H.B.M.Ag. Consul,
LEVUKA.

My dear Sir,

Maafu has related some matters that occurred during his late trip to Ra, and as they may interest you I note them for your perusal.

He met the Chief of Bau at Moturiki, who, in detailing his sorrows remarked, "I was a fool to abandon you and Tubou, everything has gone wrong with me. The whites were going to do great things for me, and see where they have placed me. I lately received a letter from them stating they would have nothing more to do with me, and the Secretary had left. I cannot pay the American claim".

Maafu replied, "It is the result of your own folly. We had agreed before Mr Williams died that, after the Vugale way, which we had resolved on, should arrange with Tubou to help us and we should have jointly and easily paid the claim, but you listened to Mr Pritchard, and where are you to-day?"

While at Rewa the Chiefs met and sent for Maafu and desired that he would give them the benefit of his advice and opinion on certain matters, he declined to speak on any subject, saying, "I have written to the British Consult to say that for the future I intermeddle not in your Fijian matters. To my own business and to Togan affairs in Fiji I confine myself".

Maafu remarked to me, "You whites never will be able to do anything with the Fijians, they cannot understand you and you cannot understand them, and there never will be any confidence between you; towards us they lean ("vaka raravi"); we can manage them, put us in the middle and let us work together and Fiji will be at rest; try and handle these people yourselves and you will have endless trouble."

Maafu looks upon the future sovereignty of the Friendly Islands as undoubtedly open to him; Lau he will in no case give up, and he would, I think, decide at once on the Togan throne with Lau annexed did he not believe in the probability of extended power in Fiji!

His policy now apparently is to take no decisive action but to keep himself free of all complications, that he may be unshackled in his movements in the future, and be ready to adopt that course which time shall approve as most judicious.

I remain,
Dear Sir,
Yours faithfully,
(SGD.) ROBERT S, SWANSTON.

[125] **MAAFU IS NO MYTH IN THE FIELD OF LOCAL POLITICS 1868**

[Swanston to U.S. Consul Pritchette. Levuka. Lomaloma, 13th April 1868.
National Archives of Fiji, Suva.]

LOMALOMA.
13th April, 1868.

To K. Pritchette Esquire,
U.S. Consul,
LEVUKA.

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 12th March ult'o, and also of the note from my old friend Lamont, for which I thank you. I need hardly say that my services are at your command at any time; It will be long I am afraid before I shall have the pleasure of calling on you in Levuka.

From a paragraph in your letter I notice that the endeavour to secure official acceptance of the sensation cry of Togan aggression has been, to a certain extent, successful.

Men there are who, while unhesitatingly asserting that the only possible way to drive through the tangle of Fijian politics, save with the sword, is to upon the deal with causes existent, matters as they are, so soon as Maafu is in question, give their support to and would recklessly entrap their country into an endorsement of claims based on rights that may be mere ages agone; rights that, however, are but matters of tradition.

'Tis this futile attempt to argue against the inexorable logic of facts, to ignore the living Christian present, and override it with the carrion cannibal past that is at the root of the Fijian perplexities.

The broad principle of "the man in power is the man to be recognized" is the only maxim that, at all times, will fit the ever shifting phases of savage rule.

Maafu is no myth in the field of local politics, and the byegone history of Fiji for the last twenty years will avouch this. He is an incontestable fact, and must be handled as such; to pooh pooh him is but to expose one's ignorance and folly. He is a political necessity; and no mere local interest no national jealousy, no caucus scheming can long make head against a needs be of the times.

That Maafu means Toga is a catchpenny cry, and to those not acquainted with the subtleties of native politics, appear to hear truth on the face of it.

Maafu is Toga so far as we choose to allow it; and Maafu is not Toga where we choose to object.

Maafu's personal influence aided by the weight of his position as a Togan, it is that has placed him and held him where he is, in the face of all the difficulties, with which he has had

to contend; and this influence can be to immense advantage, for Fiji at large and for our own race: it is a power which no other Tongan can ever expect to wield, which is hopelessly beyond farthest ken of the most insanely ambitious Fijian, and which any endeavour on the part of the whites to overthrow I view as a suicidal mistake.

If put to a wise purpose Maafu may be made to stand between foreigners and much trouble; if not so used face to face, are we, self placed, with this imbruted impracticable race, face to face with all the annoyances, dangers and responsibilities, to say nothing of the eventual cost attendant on such a position.

I forward you a copy of a letter addressed by me to the British Consul and dated 24th February ult'o, and I will add that Tui Bua and Tui Cakau each lately made a special application to Maafu that he would act with them in the internal affairs of their respective Chiefdoms, and they both met with a refusal upon the same grounds as assigned to the Rewa Chieftains. Tui Bua came personally to Wairiki to see Maafu on this account alone.

I enclose a census extract shewing the population of the Vanua Balavu district and the proportion of the Tongans in this their head-quarters; what number of these people there may be all told in the group I have no means of ascertaining, but I should imagine that an approximately correct estimate might be formed by allowing as many more as are resident here to be scattered throughout the different parts of Fiji.

There is in the British Consulate a letter from Mr Henry to me in reference to this island, and attached to it my reply.

There is also in that office a rather lengthy epistle from me giving a detail of what transpired here during the visit of the Tuscarora last June-July, and containing as full and defined a sketch of matters connected with Maafu's sojourn in Fiji, up to that time as the limits of such a letter would admit.

These documents I think you will find worth perusing, and they may throw more light on subjects new to you, the truth connected with which you may possibly not learn in Levuka.

As regards Maafu undertaking to pay off the American claim, I have, ere writing to you, casually introduced the subject to the Chief, and his reply was, "I once offered to help Thakombau, and he would not avail of the offer; I would pay it easily, but I am afraid of being dragged into trouble." I said no more, but, I think, if the Chiefs of Bau and Rewa should ever be disposed to beet Maafu's views he would relieve the Fijians of all responsibilities, take the claim in hand, and pay it.

(SGD.) ROBERT S. SWANSTON.

[126] TONGAN GOVERNMENT CUTS OFFICIAL TIES WITH MAAFU 1868

[Swanston to H.B.M. Acting Consul, Levuka, Lomaloma 8th August, 1868.
National Archives of Fiji, Suva.]

LOMAIOMI.
8th August, 1868.

H.B.M. Acting Consul,
LEVUKA.

Sir,

Herewith I hand you, in accordance with a request from the Secretary to the Togan Government at Toga, -

- A. Copy of resolutions relating to Fiji passed in the Tongan Parliament, June 1868 (ultimo).
- B. Copy of 4th Clause of Law relating to Governors passed in the same parliament.

I am,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(SGD.) ROBERT S. SWANSTON.

RESOLUTIONS RELATING FIJI PASSED BY THE TOGAN GENERAL PARLIAMENT, JUNE. 1868

- I. The Government agrees to pay the sum of \$6,000 (six: thousand dollars), \$2,000 in Toga, \$2,000 in Haapai and \$2,000 in Vavau, to complete the purchase of the schooner "Caroline". And it is: further agreed that the payment of this sum shall be completed before the end of July, 1869.
- II. The Togan flag which was hoisted at Lakemba without permission from this Government to be hoisted down immediately on the arrival of Maafu in Fiji.
- III. The cession of their lands and people which the chief's of Bua desired to make to this Government, and also their request to be allowed to hoist the Togan flag in their territories is declined by this Government.
- IV. Further, it is the desire of this Assembly and their command to Maafu that he shall not involve this Government in Fijian affairs; but should Maafu desire to enter into treaty with any of the ruling chiefs of Fiji for the purpose of their forming in conjunction with him a distinct Confederation, then, providing he first send to the Government of Toga the written particulars of the Treaty into which they have entered, and the Constitution which they have agreed upon as the basis of their Union, and also the name of the Chief whom they have selected to act as head of the said Confederation, then should it appear from such documents that the Union contemplated will be for the benefit of the people dwelling in the Togan possessions in Fiji, and for the benefit of the Chiefs and people of the lands proposing to Confederates, the Togan Government will recognize the same, and will give over the Togan lands and people in Fiji to become part of the possessions of the said Confederation.

- V. And it is lawful for Maafu to set and establish any laws and regulations which he may know to be for the good of the Fijian possessions of Toga, even though such laws may not agree in all things with the laws of the Government of Toga.
- VI. Should there be portions of land in the Fijian possessions of the Tongan Government which the people are not able to cultivate, Maafu is at liberty to sell premises from the same to any foreigners wishing to obtain such from the Government.
But in the case of an entire island, or a large district, he shall first report such intended sale of land to this Government for their approval.

I hereby certify that the within is a true copy of the Resolutions passed at this parliament and that I have truly translated the same from a copy of the document handed to Maafu and signed by His Majesty King George.

(SGD.) TUBOU HAABAI
Secretary, Togan Government.

Toga.
28th June, 1868.

True Copy.
(SGD) ROBERT S, SWANSTON.

LAW RELATING TO GOVERNORS
CLAUSE 4.

And it shall not be lawful for any Governor - nor any other Chief, holding office under the Government of Toga, to contract debts on account of the said Government unless permission be first obtained from the King and Government.

And should any party act contrary to this clause, it shall be with him and the people over whom he rules to pay the said debt, but in no case will this Government interfere or pay any portion of the said debt.

Passed in Togan Parliament, 24th June, 1868.

(SGD.) TUBOU HAABAI,
Secretary.

True Copy.
(SGD.) ROBERT S. SWANSTON.

[127] FURTHER QUARRELS OVER LAND 1868-69.

- (i) [Ratu Epenisa Cakobau to Henry Maafu. Levuka, 25th August, 1868.
Translation of the original Document from the National Archives of Fiji, Suva.]

TRANSLATION.

LEVUKA.
25th August, 1868.

To Enere Maafu,

I, the Vunivalu, write to you about the land of Beqa which I have given to the Europeans as payment by the people of Rewa. We have all given land in payment of our debt. After I have given Beqa the Rewa people said it is your property. I now write to say that if Beqa is really yours, give it to me so that I may give it to the Europeans. I send you my regard.

I am, etc,
(SGD.) RATU EPENISA CAKOBAU.

- (ii) [Emose Tui Beqa to the U.S. Consul, Beqa 16th November, 1868.
Translation of the original document from the National Archives of Fiji, Suva.]

TRANSLATION.

BEQA.
16th November, 1860

To the Consul (presumably American)

Sir,

I write to you, Consul, with regard to my land Beqa as I have heard that the Vunivalu of Bau has given it away as a payment of some trouble which he had with you American Chiefs.

I am very distressed about the matter because it was done without my knowledge nor was I present.

I do not wish my land given away.

I still have it. I do not know what I have done to be robbed of my land. Such is my desire which I want you to know, Consul.

There is only one thing I know, that is that. I have told Maafu a Tongan Chief to be my friend and to be my partner in my land so that we could work together for the benefit of the Church.

This is my desire which I now communicate to you.

Let whatever is just be done.

I am, etc.,
EMOSI TUI BEQA.

- (iii) [Cakobau to H.B.M. Consul. Government House, Bau, 11 th June, 1869.
Translation of the original document from the National Archives of Fiji, Suva.]

TRANSLATION.

Government House,
BAU,
11th June, 1869.

To the British Consul,

I hear that you have a letter for me from Maafu. Are you and all the Europeans aware of this?

I have told him that he is often there; he obtains his food and wood from there. I said he was not to go there because I have given it to the people from Melbourne. I did not tell him it was his. It would be another thing if the land was in Tonga, then it could be his. But this is Fiji, and Beqa is the land of Tui Dreketi and myself; we have given it to the people from Melbourne to be their property.

I am, etc.,
CAKOBAU X

- (iv) [Maafu to H.B.M. Consul. Nasave, 20th November, 1869.
Translation of the original document from National Archives of Fiji, Suva.]

TRANSLATION.

NASAVU.
20th November, 1869.

To

The British Consul.

I wish to tell you that Beqa Island is my property. The Beqa people gave it to me ten years ago. I returned it to Roko Tui Dreketi but he gave back to me to be my property. I have held it ever since and I have the document. I want this fact be made public as I have heard that Cakobau has given it to some Britishers.

I am, etc.;
(SGD.) MAAFU.

[128] CAKOBAN'S REQUEST FOR HELP AND KING GEORGE'S RESPONSE

- (i) Ebenisa Cakobou to King George Tubou. Bau,. 26th August, 1868. Translation dated 22/10/1964, by Sione Latukefu. From the National Archives of Fiji, Suva.]

Rec'd Jany 29, 1869.

Bau,
26th August, 1868

Dear King George Tubou,

I write this letter in order that you may know my mind. We have nor been estranged for quite a while, and I know it has been caused by the letters brought to you by the Taimalavi; this was not my idea at all, but that of another person. You will, of course, be quite justified if you are displeased with me. (However), I ask you Tubou to be gracious and restore our friendship. Please, let whatever causes your displeasure be forgotten, I beg you, for it is my sincere desire that our friendship be restored. Do you think I have forgotten the favour afforded me when you came to my assistance? If it pleases you to accept this letter, I beg you to allow Tevita Uga to come to me at once, and (please) don't send anyone else. This is the end of my letter.

Kind regards to you Tubou,
Ebenisa Takobau,
Vunivalu of Bau.

I touch this letter with my own hand. X

- (ii) [Tupou Haapai (Secretary to King George Tubou) to Epenisa Cakobau. Toga. 4th February, 1869. National Archives of Fiji, Suva.]

To this letter the undersigned, by King George's orders, returned for any that Unga was usefully employed at Vavau, and that as Tonga had ceded all her possessions in Fiji to Maafu, the King did not desire to mix himself in any way in Fijian politics, and therefore Cakobau had better apply to his friends in Fiji for assistance, and wishing him to trust in true Religion and thereby be prosperous.

(SGD) TUBOU HAABAI,
Secretary.

Toga, 4th February, 1869.

E. TONGAN WITHDRAWAL FROM FIJIAN AFFAIRS

[129] CUTTING OFFICIAL CONNECTIONS WITH TONGAIN INTERESTS IN FIJI 1869

(i) *The Cancellation of a Treaty*

[Tupou Haapai to Acting British Consul. Nuku'alofa. Tonga, February 4th 1869.
From the original in the National Archives of Fiji, Suva]

Dear Sir,

We beg to address you with reference to a Treaty entered into by Maafu and Tupou Haabai as the representatives of the Tongan Government, with George Tui Bua, on the part of the Bua dominions which said transaction took place on the third (3) day of January 1865. -

We beg to inform you we have given notice to Tui Bua that it is our wish that said Treaty terminates on the first day of March ensuing.

And therefore as the above named document was Registered in your office on the 17th day of January 1865 being numbered 371. Folio 620, we beg to request you to Register the cancelling of Same when the first of March 1869 shall arrive.

The usual fees you will charge to this office -

By H.M. King George's orders
Tupou Haabai
Secy. Tongan Govt.

(ii) *In reference to a Deed of Cession of all Tongan Dominions in Fiji*

[Tupou Haabai to J.B. Thurston Esq. H.B.M. Acting Consul. Nukualofa, Tonga.
February 4th 1869. From the original in the National Archives of Fiji, Suva.]

Dear Sir,

I am directed to inform you for your own information and for the information of all whom it may concern that yesterday the 3 inst, a Deed of Cession of all Tongan Dominions Authority etc. in Fiji was signed by H.M. King George (the island of Rabi only being excepted) and that said Cession was made in favour of the former Tongan Governor Henry Maafu, and as the excepted Island is at present being offered for sale in Sydney this Government has no longer any territorial interest in Fiji. Consequently we have given notice of our wish to terminate on first day of March ensuing, two Treaties Registered in your office in the year 1865, one with Bua and the other with Lakeba, and we beg to forward you herewith the requisite notice that you may in behalf of the Tongan Government cancel said documents in your Records.

The step now taken by the Tongan Government has been done in the hopes that it may be

for the mutual good of both Toga and Fiji. - for Toga as it will serve to show the baselessness of the insensate clamour raised by some parties in Fiji about Togan Aggressions etc. and also to keep this Government clear of Fijian Political embarrassments of Fiji and for Fiji as it will enable the chiefs who are so disposed to form a Government free from any foreign element, and though the money value of the Lands Ceded is considerable, yet the greatest difficulty with the King and Chiefs of Toga was the giving up of Maafu himself - the thought of making him an alien was the only serious difficulty here - you will perceive that all King George's Power over his subjects in Fiji has passed to Maafu, so that in case of any Togan whether in Windward or Leewards Islands doing any wrong to Europeans Maafu as his sovereign is the person of whom to demand redress.

Would you have the kindness to make facts communicated in this letter known to the U.S. Consul

and oblige Dear Sir

Your most obedient servant

By H.M.'s Commands

Tupou Haabai

Secy. Tongan Govt.

[130] KING GEORGE DISCLAIMS RESPONSIBILITY FOR MUFU'S ACTIONS 1869

Tupou Haabai to J.B, Thurston Esq, Acting British Consul, Nuku alofa, Tonga. April 2nd 1869. From the original in the National Archives of Fiji, Suva.]

Dear Sir,

I have to inform you that on the third day of February now past a Deed was signed by H.M. King George Tupou whereby he on behalf of himself and the Tongan Government ceded to Henry Maafu (for the sole benefit of himself and his heirs) the whole of the Lands hitherto known as the Tongan Possessions in Fiji (excepting the Island of Ramby which was at the time and still is under offer for sale in Sydney), and by the said Deed H.M. also assigned to the said Henry Maafu and his successors all rights sovereign and territorial which on the day of Succession might be, or were vested in H.M. King George and the Tongan Govt. and over the said Lands and the people thereof.

I am therefore instructed to inform you that this Government will no longer be responsible for the acts of the said Henry Maafu and after the return the vessel bearing his letter, you will please look upon all Tongans residing in Fiji as the subjects of Henry Maafu as any Tongan who may be dissatisfied with this transfer of their allegiance will have the opportunity of returning in the Cutter "Prince".

Trusting that in case the Deed of Cession has not yet been registered in your office, you will make known to the Europeans now resident in Fiji the facts herein stated.

I am Dear Sir your obedient servant.

Tupou Haabai, Secy.

**[131] THE COST OF COLONIZATION: TONGA'S REASONS TOR WITHDRAWING FROM FIJI
1869**

[David Jebson Moss to Sir J.B. Thurston, Secretary's office. Tonga. April 2nd 1869.
This document is marked (non official) and is signed Moss. From the original in the
National Archives of Fiji, Suva.]

Dear Sir,

I have written as you will perceive to notify you of the Cession of Tongan Lands in Fiji to Maafu find his heirs for their sole use and I now wish to state to you, ex officio, though not as a Secret by any means, some of the reasons for this act of Cession. - In: the first place Maafu having resided so long in Fiji, he as we believe takes a sincere interest in Fiji and that too for Fiji's good - and then like other powers which are great while we are insignificant, we begin to find it a very expensive thing to keep Colonies, more especially as the results have hitherto been one-sided, this Govt. having paid on a/c of their possessions in Fiji, something like \$12,000 since my taking office, with no prospect of such payments getting less as the last transaction was one in which Maafu as Tongan Governor - Signed Bills to Hemmings for \$6,000 without any permission from the King to do so, this amount we promised to pay before a session was thought upon, and we have paid part and the rest will be paid when due, but we are naturally very anxious to pay no more, as all that we have received here, during the last four years, has been a very few mats, 5 or 6 rolls Sailcloth, 2 or 3 rolls of Sinnet and perhaps a dozen pieces of Sandalwood all of which I presume could be got in Ovalau for less than \$100. - and now that a forest of Sandalwood has been found in Western Australia an apparently small but in reality a very great difficulty has been removed, to our giving up our Fijian Lands, it being the right of Chiefs and of them only in former days, to have Sandalwood in their scented oil, and though there is a law now on the subject, still the custom of former days prevails to a very great extent, though I need not tell you that H.M. notably, and some few of the young chiefs, are, and have long been, superior to this prejudice in fact H.H. often uses Salad Oil; but the mass of our representative chiefs are old, and stubbornly attached to what they look upon as their great prerogative, and you say conceive how irritating it has been to me formerly, to see votes withheld on such ridiculous grounds. I am happy to say the King's policy for a long time has been to replace these veterans by younger men.

Then in the next place we have more land in this group than people to cultivate it, hence for some years past we have leased land to anyone applying for same - .

And lastly the King is really a good and liberal minded man.

Well I know that you yourself personally will believe most of these statements, but the mass of the whites in Fiji, will still refuse to believe in the good will of the Tongan Govt. towards Fiji and then they cannot deny the fact of the Cession, they will want to know how things will be in future. I say Tongan policy is "non-intervention".

I am Dear Sir, Yours truly,

David J. Moss,

(See Postscript)

– Private –

P.S, April 2 1869.

The abominable statements made in the Sydney papers by Fijian residents are a source of great irritation to myself personally, and I should be glad if the parties writing such letters would sign their names to same, in which case, H.M. would probably take proceedings against such parties, not in revenge, but that he might vindicate himself, and this Govt. before the world.

I have however obtained one piece of information from the period of these scurrilous letters, namely that the whites (or most of them) residing in Fiji have decided that on the death of H.M. King George, Maafu will be the King of these Islands, I can only say that we residing here are by no means certain of this, nay I may go so far as to say the Tongan Govt, knows not of this - there are several other parties who are eligible for the position, - in fact the best hint I can give you is that 4 years ago the King gave the choice of a Successor into the hands of the General Parliament consisting of every chief of note in these Islands, but after deliberating for some days, they finding there was no prospect of their agreeing, gave back the power into the hands of the King and all took a solemn oath to support anyone the King might appoint, and this oath has been taken by every person holding office here, and by the 400 Soldiers of the Friendly Islands, this is how the matter stands at present and this is the true state of the case. I may say more on the subject hereafter.

Please remember me kindly to Mrs Thurston, my wife has been (and still is) in Sydney since December and has lately buried our second son, the eldest is here with me -

I am just recovering from an attack of Fever and Augue so please excuse mistakes and trembling hand.

Yours truly,
David Jebson Moss.

[132] THE DESIRE TO CEASE ALL, INTERFERENCE 1869

[Robert S. Swanston, Secretary of Lau, Lomaloma. 5th June 1869, to H.B.M. Consul, Levuka. From the original in the National Archives of Fiji, Suva.]

Loma Loma.
5th June, 1869.

H.B.M. Consul,
LEVUKA.

Sir

At the general Parliament held in Toga in June of last year (1868) Maafu, Tui Bua, of Bua, Joni Wesele and Loga ni Moce of Lakeba being present, Togan connexions with Fiji was introduced. The unanimous opinion of the assembled Chiefs, without one dissentient voice, was that the Togan Government should withdraw from Fiji altogether, that all Tongan

possessions in Fiji should be sold and that Maafu should remain in Toga. This decision the Fijian chieftains present vainly opposed, and, in deference to their urgent entreaty that, if Toga withdrew from Fiji, Maafu should be permitted to continue in his position as a Fijian Chieftain, the Parliament ruled that Maafu should return to Fiji, and bring back to Toga documentary evidence of the truth of the assertions made by the Fijian Chieftains, then present, as to the Confederation that had been entered into Maafu by Bua, Cakaudrove, and Lakeba, and of the desire of the rulers of these parts that this union should continue.

Maafu returned to Fiji and the Chiefs of Lakeba, Wairiki, Hacuata, and Bua all signed documents expressing their strong desire that Maafu should remain in Fiji, and aid in advancing peace and order.

With these documents Maafu went to Toga in January of this year (1869) and with the exception of the document from Macuata to which no faith may be attached, the evidence in support of what had been stated by the Fijian Chieftains present in the Parliament of 1868, was so conclusive that Toga at once acted as she had promised. A deed ceding all her rights sovereign, territorial and other that to Maafu and his heirs was presented to him, - a translation of which was forwarded to your office under date the 25th February ult - the Togan flag was withdrawn from him and from Fiji, and Maafu re-entered Fiji as an independent Chieftain without a flag.

On his arrival at Lakeba the Lakeba Chieftains met and at once formed a political union with Maafu, naming the joint Chiefdom Lau, and Maafu was installed (Buli) the Tui Lau and head of the Chiefdom of Lau, and a flag was selected.

In May last the Chiefs of the Tovata met at Lomaloma, and held their second assembly, at which Maafu was recognised as the Tui Lau, and acknowledged to be, and received as, a fellow Chieftain of Fiji, by the Assembly. The Cession from Toga to Maafu was approved and accepted and the united Chiefdom of Lau was recognised as one of the Tovata, and Maafu was elected to be head of the Confederation according to the tenor of the Constitution, a copy of which as it was approved of in the first meeting of the Confederating Chieftains in February 1867 was forwarded to your office in March of that year and of which document with the alteration that it had been deemed advisable to introduce at the present time, I again forward to you, herewith, a copy, as also the Acts of the assembly of this year and a list of the Chieftains who took part in the proceedings.

I remain,
Sir,
Your obt, servant,
(SGD.) ROBERT S. SWANSTON,
Secretary for Lau.