

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, Sioceli 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's 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 contracted 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 tutelary 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 farther ceremony.

This chief and his companions being arrived at the Fiji islands, employed themselves in the way suitable to their inclinations; sometimes 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 dissensions 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.

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

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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 Fiji Islands. Owing to the wind he deviated a little from his course, but at length arrived safe at Navihi Levoo, (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 those 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 be seen by and by, but upon that of Mr Mariner, who frequently saw and conversed with some of its natives, as well as with those of the other islands, who were

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 mustaches, 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. We 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 intestine 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 Vavao 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 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.

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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, the 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 a 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, consequently, 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 Ovea, which lies about mid-way between Vavaoo and Hamoa. It has already been remarked that the sandal-wood tree will not transplant to Tonga.

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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 inaccessible. 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 wall of 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 has 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 from time to time they had taken a great number of prisoners.

REASONS FOR VISITING FIJI

[Basil Thomson, *Diversions of 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 intrenchments, 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 chiefs 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.

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 Feejee; 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 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 Totai, who were both of them, with about five hundred of their followers, paying Tancoa a visit at Amba

they were the sons of Tubou Ninha, and nephews of the celebrated Finau. Tubou Total 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.]

p.172

(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 Total 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.

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TONGAN MISSIONARIES IN FIJI : MR LAWRY'S COMMENTS 1847-1850
 [Lawry, Rev Walter: Friendly and Feejee Islands: A Missionary
 Visit to various Stations in the south Seas in the year
 MDCCCXLVII. Edited by Rev Elijah Hoole. London MDCCCL.]

(i) "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 Vea, 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 from 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, with as pure a draught of water as it ever 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 MDCCCL.]

(i) "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.

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

Lakemba; Sunday, August 4th, 1850 there were forty eight persons who speke 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 saw it 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.

(iii) "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.

(iv) "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.

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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 the 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 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 re-proved 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 Tonguese tended to hasten that rapid development of Christian progress in Fiji, which has been the wonder of modern times in connexion with the Missionary enterprises of the church of Christ.

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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.

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 labours, 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 thought good to remove the station to Waikava (Fawn Harbour); 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 La' thala sent to Waininggolo, the Tongan chief, who was then at Vanua Mbalavu, P.

ing 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 being brought down to the beach, for they had yielded themselves up without a fight.

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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".

FREQUENT VISITS BY TONGANS TO FEJEE 1842-1843

[Calvert, 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 (notwithstanding 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 Feejee for Tonga. Some of them had been in Feejee 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 Feejee in search of canoes, sails, earthenware, sandal wood, &c.: and I suppose they did not take less than 400 wooden bowls with them to Tonga. From the immense property which they secured in Feejee - 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 Feejee - and of course makes them worse than they were when they visited Feejee. While they are thus lounging about in Feejee, 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 Feejee - there being no wood for large canoes in the Friendly Islands. - so that there will be no end of the Tonguese visiting Feejee. - 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 Feejeean 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 Feejee. 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.

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 his 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 group, 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 of 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.

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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 he 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 no 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.

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 chiefs are busy here preparing their canoes. The sea-shore presents quite a lively scene. Here some are sail-making, others spinning ropes, others plaiting kafa, or the cocoa fibre sinnet, and others again are employed in scouring or repairing the hulls of the various large sea-going canoes.

January 31st. - 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.

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PROCEEDINGS IN FIJI 1855

[Thomas West, Ten years in South-Central Polynesia: being reminiscences of 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, Lakeba, 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 this 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 the 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 the town where the priests resided, the sail was lowered, and they went towards the 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 Iatuselu, 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 presented whale's 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 its 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 Thakombau'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's 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 the 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 defeating 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.

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... and they instantly submitted without a contest. None of the inhabitants were 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 these, 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 Thakombau, 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.

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.

"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.

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 the 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.

DANGER OF WILDESPREAD 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 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

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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.

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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 SPREAD OF TONGAN INFLUENCE

[113]

MA'AFU GIVEN PRIVILEGES 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-qolo. 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 Nayau. Tui Nayau 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 Balavu, from which to levy pigs and simet. 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.