

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.

- (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.

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 held by the National Archives of Fiji, Suva.]

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

- I. The two men, Wainiqolo and Vatanitawaki, shall be removed from Fiji to Tonga.
- II. No Tonguese 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. PRITCHARD

H.B.M. Consul.

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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 Britannic 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.

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 he had known at the time he* would have taken notes himself* 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.

Wm. Owen Esq.,

H.B.M. Consul,

OVALU.

* cannot be clearly distinguished in the original letter.

- (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 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 who 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.

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A 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 Lakemba 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 "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 Maafua 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, Maafua went to Maafu who came with two 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 a reinforcement of about one hundred Tonga-men who came in two canoes from Lakemba. After two days fighting the Yarra Chiefs owned themselves vanquished and brought whales teeth and baskets of earth to Maafu expressly stating that they gave themselves and 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 Tatare Lavaki to Eoma 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 went 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."

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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 Maafu?
- 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 by 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 Maafua. 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.

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

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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.

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

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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 Kilakila. I heard it from the old men.

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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 Tongans away.

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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 law printed I put the Lands under Tongan law.

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Judgment.

Judgment. 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 Palintiff 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 allienated.

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.

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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 Levuka 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 Abbday 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 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 recognize them as such and repudiates the validity of Maafu's sales regarding him as an alien - as much as the whites. A letter was written by Captain Stanley to Tui Cakau at the request of Cakobau asking him to meet the "Tuscarora" at Loma Loma - He did not meet us. (letter 18th June 1867 Capt. Stanley to Tui Cakau put in). On arrival at Loma Loma Capt. Stanley 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.

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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 Stanley 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 Stanley 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.

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

By Capt. Dunn for \$40 for four ----- ----- pots taken and destroyed

Maafu's people at Waimate.

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 Lomo Loma in 1857. He seemed to be exercising the authority of 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 Lomo 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 all 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 impossi-

ble if the Tongans were supreme and that the Fijians would be enslaved and there 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 Tonga, 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.

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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 for we Tongans have no quarrel with 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.

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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 Tongans 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 these 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 Balavu.

.....
 Consul Jones warmly supported every Fijian Chief from Cakobau downwards in main-

taining 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 LAND 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 rent

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 what 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.

.

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 Mafi 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]

MA'AFU 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.]

LOMALOMA.

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 Chiefs 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 Chiefdoms 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 Chiefdom; 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 Chiefdoms 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

- (i) [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 Vatuaga, 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 TUI 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.

4) [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 Chiefs of Bua, Cakaudrove, Lau and Yanua 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 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 do 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 Tongan 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. Lomaloma, 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, I 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 Consul 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 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 ago; 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 bygone history of Fiji for the last twenty years will avouch this. He is an incontestible 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 Tongan, it is that has placed him and held him where he is, in the face of difficulties, with which he has had to contend; and this influence can be used 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 the 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 foreign and much trouble; if not so used face to face, are we, selfplaced, with the embruted impracticable race, face to face with all the annoyances, dangers and responsibilities, to say nothing of the eventual cost attendant on such a course.

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 Cakalabua lately made a special application to Maafu that he would act with them in the internal affairs of their respective Chieftoms, and they both met with

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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 meet Maafu's views he would relieve the Fijians of all responsibilities; take the claim in hand, and pay it.

(SGD.) ROBERT S. SWANSTON.

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.]

LOMALOMA.

8th August, 1868.

H.B.M. Acting Consul,

LEVUKA.

Sir,

Herewith I hand you, in accordance with a request from the Secretary to the Tongan 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 TONGAN 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 chiefs 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 confederate, 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 Togan 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 or 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 HAMBAL,
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, 1868

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 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. 11th 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.,

CAKOBAN X

(iv) [Maafu to H.B.M. Consul. Nasavu, 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 it back to me to by 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 Cakobau 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 now been estranged for quite a while, and I know it has been caused by the letter 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 answer that Uga 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.

Tonga, 4th February, 1869.

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E. TONGAN WITHDRAWAL FROM FIJIAN AFFAIRS

[129]

CUTTING OFFICIAL CONNECTIONS WITH TONGAN 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 Haapai 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 Haapai

Secy. Tongan Govt.

- (ii) In reference to a Deed of Cession of all Tongan Dominions in Fiji
 [Tupou Haapai 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 MAAFU'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 Cession might be, or were vested in H.M. King George and the Tongan Govt. in 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 of 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 FOR 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 and 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.M. 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 may 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 realy 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 though 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 perusal 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 eligable 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 burried 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.

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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 Tonga 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 with 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, Macuata, 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 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 and 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.

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