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THE LIFE AND TIMES OF CAKOBAU:

THE BAUAN STATE TO 1855.

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in the University
of Otago, New Zealand.

By

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ABSTRACT

The Life and Times of Cakobau: the Bauan State to 1855.

This thesis is divided into eleven chapters. The first of these, Sa Cadra Na Matanisiga: the acculturation of a Tui Kaba Chief, traces the major rites of passage which transformed Cakobau from a child to a Tui Kaba chief, in line to the title Vunivalu.

The Second Chapter, The Origins of the Vunivalu: from Bulu to Ulunivuaka, is an investigation of the Bauan state from its mythical beginnings until the shift to Bau islet. It attempts to place Cakobau in the context of the Bauan historical experience. The Bauan Confederacy, it is argued, was built on the successful marriage of interests between the agriculturalist and the seafarer.

The Third Chapter, The Epidemics: assault on the fertility cult, investigates the impact of two devastating epidemics. The writer believes that these diseases were a serious blow to Fijian perceptions of the reciprocal relationship of man and nature from which fertility flowed.

Chapter Four, Inside the Confederacy: the pursuit of legitimacy, concentrates on internal Bauan politics, the difficulties encountered by any leadership to maintain a consensus, and the need to engineer and survive the most complex political manoeuvres.

Chapter Five, Legitimacy attained, further pursues Cakobau's rise to power within the confederacy and his attainment of the title Vunivalu. He had become 'legitimate' leader by ruthless methods and now had a position to secure.

Chapters Six and Seven are confined to Bau's relations with the confederacies of Cakaudrove, Rewa and Verata, and the patterns of marriage and war evident to 1854.

Chapter Eight, The Tongans: Bau's mercenaries and Cakobau's nemesis, traces the careers of the Tongan brothers, Lasike and Tupou Toutai, loyal mercenaries of the Vunivalu. Their stance is compared with the more ambiguous role of their natural enemies, the Tongan King Taufa'ahau, and his supporters.

Chapter Nine, The Foreigners: the observation and pursuit of Technology, contrasts the activities of the traders with those of the British and American navies, and the Bauan reaction to them. Cakobau's exposure to foreign naval technology created a desire for these same tools and techniques in an attempt to consolidate and increase his power.

Chapter Ten, The Lotu: new answers to old questions, focuses on the eventual decision of Cakobau to embrace Christianity, a decision which, after years of deliberation, constituted a major religious, social and political event. As duly installed Vunivalu he was in a position to redefine the moral order, a redefinition with ramifications that touched all aspects of Bauan culture.

Chapter Eleven, 1855, draws together the themes developed in the preceding chapters. With Cakaudrove and Rewa neutralised as threats and with Cakobau's influence within the Bauan domain more extensive than it had ever been, his new authority apparently sanctioned by King George Taufa'ahau of Tonga and by Britain in the person of a naval captain, the Christian Vunivalu and Bau had, by September 1855, never seemed in a more powerful position. Ironically, the Americans

accepted this position and in so doing posed a mortal threat to the
Vunivalu and to the confederacy he represented.

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FIGURE 1



Cakobau, Vunivalu of Bau, 1855. [Glen Wilson, Mitchell Library.]

ORTHOGRAPHY.

The spelling conventions adopted by the missionary philologists are used in this thesis rather than the phonetic spelling used in some texts.

b	is pronounced	<u>mb</u>	as in	<u>member</u>	(<u>Bau</u>)
c		<u>th</u>	as in	<u>though</u>	(<u>Cakobau</u>)
d		<u>nd</u>	as in	<u>finder</u>	(<u>Drua</u>)
g		<u>ng</u>	as in	<u>singer</u>	(<u>Gau</u>)
q		<u>ngg</u>	as in	<u>finger</u>	(<u>Qaraniqio</u>)

GLOSSARY

<u>bati</u>	warriors, 'the teeth of the land'.
<u>baka</u>	the banyan tree, <u>Ficus Obliqua</u> , <u>Moroceae</u> , a parasitic tree that kills its supports, 'haunt of spirits'.
<u>balawa</u>	pandanus tree, <u>Adoratissimus</u> , <u>Pandanus</u> , source of the common mats.
<u>bete</u>	generic name for male priests.
<u>bokola</u>	the corpse of an enemy for human consumption.
<u>buli yaca</u>	the naming ceremony for blooded warriors.
<u>bure</u>	thatched house, official residence.
<u>burua bula</u>	feast on the birth of a child.
<u>Cagawalu</u>	the Tui Kaba war-god, <u>Komainayavu</u> , <u>cecere</u> , <u>Kubunavavu</u> .
<u>camakau</u>	generic term for outrigger- canoe.
<u>cibi</u>	male cannibal dance at the arrival of enemy corpses.
<u>cokadra</u>	dysentery.
<u>damanu</u>	straight and tall tree for canoes, <u>Calophyllum Vitiense</u> , <u>Guttiferae</u> .
<u>draunikau</u>	herbal magic and sorcery.
<u>drua (waca tabu)</u>	the largest outrigger canoe with enormous outrigger rivalling the hull in size, some capable of transporting 300 men.
<u>dugua</u>	the power to contaminate.
<u>gone</u>	the child, younger line.
<u>kai Loma ni koro</u>	the insider.
<u>kai Tani</u>	the outsider.
<u>kai Wai</u>	of the sea.
<u>kalou Vu</u>	ancestor gods of legendary times.
<u>kalou Yalo</u>	ancestor spirits of mythical times.
<u>ka ni bula</u>	feast of thanksgiving at saving of canoe-wrecked sailors.

<u>kawa</u>	offspring.
<u>lebo</u>	the prohibition on the eating of root crops.
<u>liga ni magiti</u>	provider of the feast.
<u>liga ni wau</u>	provider of the club.
<u>lila</u>	the wasting sickness.
<u>loloku ni mate</u>	ritual strangulations and mutilation at the death of a chief.
<u>lotu</u>	renunciation of cannibalism and consequent adherence, nominal or otherwise, to the Christian God, Christian worship.
<u>lovo</u>	earth oven.
<u>luweniwai</u>	cult of the children of the water.
<u>malosivo</u>	debased lines.
<u>mana</u>	power, charisma.
<u>mara</u>	prohibition on the killing of pigs.
<u>marawa</u>	food wealth.
<u>mataisau</u>	carpenters.
<u>matanitu</u>	highly volatile confederacy of aligned interest groups acknowledging a paramount chief.
<u>matanivanua</u>	speaking chief.
<u>rara</u>	open space in village used on various ceremonial occasions.
<u>Ratumaibulu</u>	the Vusaratu fertility god, 'Lord from the afterworld'.
<u>sala</u>	chiefly tapa cloth head decoration.
<u>a i sevu</u>	first fruits.
<u>sevu malumu</u>	blooding of the club.
<u>solevu</u>	ceremonial exchange of goods.
<u>soro</u>	atonement in prescribed form depending on the nature of the offense.
<u>tabilai</u>	outrigger canoe with two truncated ends.
<u>tabu</u>	proscribed behaviour, sacred persons, temporary or permanent, depending on context.
<u>tabua</u>	ceremonial gift, usually a whale's tooth.

<u>takia</u>	small outrigger without decking.
<u>taqa</u>	ceremonial boasting before allies prior to warfare.
<u>tarawau</u>	tree reputed to be planted by the dead, <u>Dracontomelol Vitiense</u> , <u>Anacardiaceae</u> .
<u>taukei</u>	insiders, landowners.
<u>Tukutuku raraba</u>	migration narratives, accounts of tribal movements.
<u>ulumatua</u>	the first born.
<u>a i vakacavacava</u>	produce presented to the fertility chieftain.
<u>vakarorogo</u>	to adhere to.
<u>vanua bati</u>	supplier of warriors.
<u>vanua kaisi</u>	supplier of slaves.
<u>vanua qali</u>	supplier of dependent people.
<u>vasu</u>	privilege in one's mother's village, especially with mother's brother (<u>momo</u>), a potentially predatory nephew.
<u>a i Vava</u>	female priests.
<u>veibuli</u>	the installation ceremony.
<u>Veinita</u>	male wizards.
<u>vere</u>	plotting, subterfuge.
<u>vesi</u>	hardwood tree, <u>Intsia bijuga</u> , <u>Leguminosae</u> .
<u>veitabani</u>	reciprocal relationship between confederacies.
<u>veitiqa</u>	a throwing game involving the hurling of a wooden head on a reed.
<u>vulagi</u>	outsiders from over the water.
<u>Vunivalu</u>	the Root of War, the war chief, supreme Bauan title after the debasement of the Roko Tui Bau, traditionally contested.
<u>Vu yalewa</u>	offspring of the female line.
<u>Vu tagane</u>	offspring of the male line.
<u>waqavakatau</u>	all canoes with decking.
<u>wate</u>	female cannibal dance at the arrival of enemy corpses.
<u>yaqona</u>	kava, <u>Piper methysticum</u> , <u>Piperaceae</u> .

yateba

strangling of the sick.

yavusa

unit of organization embracing those who recognize
a common ancestor.

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* Abstracts from British Admiralty Charts 440, 441, 488 and 905 are reproduced by kind permission of the Controller, H.M. Stationary Office and the Hydrographer of the Navy.

ABBREVIATIONS.

H.L.	Hocken Library, Dunedin, New Zealand.
micro.	Microfilm.
M.L.	Mitchell Library, Sydney, N.S.W., Australia.
P.M.B.	Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, Canberra, A.C.T. Australia.
T.L.	Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.
W.M.N.	Wesleyan Missionary Notices.

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INTRODUCTION

It is the writer's contention that the nature of Bauan society and the aspect it had assumed by the end of the first half of the nineteenth century are best revealed by investigation of the title Vunivalu, and the careers of the respective aspirants to and incumbents of the title to 1855. Within the limits of this thesis, therefore, the focus falls on Ratu Seru Cakobau.

If there is any aid to the understanding of the interplay of language, social groupings, ideology and technology which produced the concept of the Vunivalu it is kinship. The kinship system was at once the strength and weakness of any Vunivalu and of the Bauan state, for the principle of reciprocity, which is the very bedrock of it, was a built-in limitation to growth.

The Vunivalu was born into a particular kinship network and at birth, in fact before it, he became an inextricable part of its aspirations and frustrations, its potentials and restrictions. One could choose any Vunivalu to make the point. Throughout Cakobau's early life, for instance, it was to be his paternal half-brothers by Ratu Tancoa Visawaqa and descendants of his great grandfather Nadurucoko II, who were to provide some of the greatest threats to his reaching his major goal, that of attaining the supreme Bauan title. As a product of the family Tui Kaba, he was heir to the achievements of his fore-fathers, just as he was heir to the hatreds their actions had engendered. His grandfather had ousted a rival paternal half-brother of better blood to establish his right to the title. There were thus a number of prominent chiefs on Bau with perhaps more powerful claims to paramountcy,

just as there have been in more recent times. Cakobau would spend the whole of his early life struggling to gain the title himself. There was never any certainty of this until the yaqona was actually actually drunk proclaiming him Vunivalu in 1854.

The challenge of kinship did not end here. The yasu rights (privilege in one's mother's village) of outsiders posed endless problems for high yasu were potential predators in their uncle's village. It was the fact that Raivalita had a Rewan mother and that both the Tui Cakau, Tui Kilakila, and the Roko Tui Dreketi, Kania, had Bauan mothers that made these men dangerous, the former for his blood rights abroad, the latter for their rights on Bau. Cakobau was to have all of these men murdered. His fore-fathers removed opposition to their rule in similar fashion.

There were further dimensions to reciprocity. The Bauan Confederacy was built on the interdependence of the farmer and the fisherman. The Vunivalu's status depended in part on his ability to orchestrate this successfully. The Tailevu mainland produced massive quantities of yams, the surplus of which was channelled into Bau to feed the maritime state. It was nothing without the mainland. In similar fashion, pigs were sent to the islet to feed the original inhabitants, the Levuka and Butoni fishermen, whenever they returned, and to feed the Soso and Lasakau. They in turn provided animal meat for the mainland. In the Lasakau quarter, this meant bokola, human flesh, as well as fish. The Butoni, the most prestigious taukei or landowners of Bau, provided the turtle. These two offerings together with the sailing skills of the fisher people offered the basis for a mutual accord with Tailevu.

There was also reciprocity in a different sense. The organizational capacity of the state, its strength, unity and health was expressed symbolically in feasting. The exchange of yams, the ritualized killing of turtle, pig and supremely, human beings, all contributed to rebirth and renewal. The strangling of widows, the burial alive of chiefs, the planned executions of slaves and enemies, all were seen as contributions to fertility. In all of this, the Vunivalu played a crucial role as intermediary at a number of levels.

Firstly, he was responsible for the Confederacy's corporate identity and needed to be successful in warfare: the word here is taken to mean conflict of varying intensity, sometimes involving the killing of humans. He was literally, the root of war, the source, the cause, charged with the mana of his kalou valo, his successful predecessors. The Vunivalu without warfare was a heron without a reef. Nor did it just demand the diplomatic flexing of muscles, although that gesture was often more difficult to carry off successfully than actual physical conflict. Fighting was bloody enough but it had point and direction. Warfare was secondary to and complementary to the agricultural cycle, the exchange of women and goods, the maintenance of ancestral ties. Through incessant petty warfare, the Vunivalu tested the strength and weakness of his support, the internal dynamics of

the state were exposed, its potential for growth gauged, for decay revealed. Through large scale warfare, the Vunivalu had a means to create a sense of Bauan identity and cohesiveness.

Secondly, the Vunivalu occupied a unique space. He was neither a full Kai Wai (of the sea) like the Tunidau ni Bau of the Butoni, nor a full agriculturalist like the Roko Tui Veikau of Namara. He was the supreme political symbol wedding disparate and often conflicting groups, an elevated person actualizing the mana of the state's accumulated successes. The Bauan matanitu after all, had grown at the expense of Verata just as Rewa had. The interchange of wives between Bau-Rewa-Lau for example, provided the Vunivalu and Bau with offspring able to exploit the manpower and produce of their maternal homelands. Although Bau reciprocated with its women, it made the most of its vasu rights abroad while restricting like obligations at home. There was nonetheless a limit to how far this could go. This process had peaked by Banuve's time and subsequent Vunivalu's had the greatest difficulty preserving what their fore-fathers had gained. After the shift from the mainland to the islet, this process was played out in three generations. The same thing occurred in the newer matanitu of Cakaudrove. It is likely a similar phenomenon was acted out elsewhere. It seems that Fijian matanitu reached the limits of their expansion after a seventy or eighty year time span by which time the forces of fission took over. The state just could not continue to expand with the rights and obligations of the Vunivalu as its centre. Tonga had the ability to subsume an entire population in the genealogy of the Tu'i Tonga. It

was a unifying principle which could be tapped by anyone with the necessary political acumen and social status. Fijian matanitu on the other hand were extremely vulnerable to disintegrating forces precisely because there was no such genealogy to appeal to. One could simply not satisfy enough people at any one time. At the level of the allied warrior states, the vanua bati, if a Bauan wife went to Namata, Namara had to be recompensed. Such jealousies, taken to their extreme between Tokatoka and Nakelo could wreck a state. It was not only here that reciprocity was important. The Vunivalu could ignore the rights of lesser areas, the vanua cali only at his own peril. Even the vanua kaisi, the slaves, contemptible as they were in the Bauan mind, could not be ignored.

Furthermore, the Vunivalu may well have been the most prestigious of Bauan title holders, but the granting of the title was in the gift of the matanitu, and represented, on the offering of the title, a symbolic victory over the incumbent so honoured. This installation gave the Vunivalu semi-divine status but also domesticated him, for the titleholder was by tradition, before his installation, an outsider, a Kaitani, embodying the attributes of the conqueror, the bringer of chaos, destroyer of the moral order. As Vunivalu he was restrained by the multifarious obligations of his post, as preserver of the moral order. Just as Tui Kila-Kila seemed frenetic alongside the ageing Tui Cakau, so too Cakobau wrought violence within and without the Bauan dominion as his father, the Vunivalu, remained less conspicuously in control.

This is an attempt to describe the life and times of a prominent Pacific Islander of the last century and any such attempt confronts the writer with a number of problems. In the first place there is a need to define terms. The study of Europeans in Fiji can be considered denotatively as "eurocentred". The danger with "eurocentred" historiography, to date the most prolific historical organizational construct, is that it can tend to lead to misunderstanding of the role Fijians played in the history of their own country. The strongly negative connotation assigned to the term "euro centric" is partly the result of the post-colonial desire to play down the historical significance of Britain and the consequent need to reassess the purely indigenous past. It is also partly the result of criticism directed at scholars who have misinterpreted the actions of Fijians because of their failure to utilize the sources in such a way as to see beyond categories of their own cultures. This is a perfectly valid criticism and one which Pacific historians, overwhelmingly outsiders themselves, are anxious to avoid.

Conversely the study of Fijians in Fiji, can be called "islander-centred". The obvious danger in attempting to identify the part Fijians played in Fiji's past, is that a new historiography will emerge as unproductive as the former approach. None of us wish to produce shallow caricatures of complex cultures, and yet

"islander-centred" history can quickly degenerate into hagiography and propaganda. This is particularly true if one writes from a Pacific Islander's point of view. The problems inside Bau itself illustrate the problem. The perception of history of the Lasakau, the Vusaratu, the Navusaradave and the Tui Kaba are all different, even within the same families. The events of the past are organised not on a basis of 'truth' but on how they can best suit the needs of living tribal members. The interpretation put on the past by Ratu Etuate Wainiu, Ratu Joni Madraiwiwi and Ratu Penaia Kadavulevu in the early decades of the twentieth century, were naturally at variance, each of them attempting to establish his claims to the title, Vuniyalu.

Nothing has changed: the concern is with respective mythological charters of legitimacy and this is traditionally confined to the oral world, to debate, argument, back-biting and insult, subtle and direct, a working compromise, face-saving, mutable, an organic part of the culture. The historians in this interaction of past and present are the senior sons with an immediate stake in the debate, the speaking chiefs and knowledgeable elders. Within this dialectic there is still room for talented men of appropriate traditional status to worst a senior rival. To argue any point of view immediately places one in a particular Fijian camp, at least in view of other Fijians, for the past and present are part of an open-ended, on-going process. Any historian's interpretation is seen as a written charter championing one family over another. Of course there is no need for this to be the case. One could argue a strong case that what Ratu Mara Kapawai failed to achieve in the 1850s, his descendant Ratu Sukuna achieved by

more effectively tapping the potentialities of the situation he found himself in, by redefining his goals, and not least by his bringing to the fore a highly gifted protege. Such an interpretation could well be free of any desire to advance the claims of a particular family but from the stance of an interested Fijian of the opposite camp, it is hopelessly biased and shallow.

An "islander-centred" history should attempt to embrace all available evidence. This involves explaining a particular world view, the categories its practitioners used to define reality, the plans that arose from such perceptions, the nature and causes of change within such a system. Such an explanation should make logic out of the apparently bizarre, a synthesis of seemingly unrelated phenomena. For as an outsider, one approaches the material from the point of view of one's own cultural assumptions. It is the fact that the acquisition of culture is a human process that makes cultures other than one's own ultimately accessible. When the logic of a different way of seeing things is internalized, the scholar is in a position to write an "islander-centred" history. Unless this is done the choice of a Fijian as the vehicle through which certain themes can be explored only serves to disguise a persuasive eurocentricity of interpretation.

The reality one hopes to describe is not that of the Tui Kaba, the Vusaratu, the Vusaradave, the Vale levu, the Nuvuanirewa, the missionary or the Tongan, but a construct that is built upon them all, that transcends them all.

The nature of this interpretation depends largely on the nature of the sources available and the skills of the historian. From the almost infinite number of transactions that make up the historical past the historian has access to scattered segments. The vast bulk of these sources for the early nineteenth century and the written observations of outsiders are in English. Fortunately there were a number of extremely gifted observers whose work can be tapped. Among missionaries, the Reverend R. B. Lyth stands supreme, not least by the sheer volume of his writing. Other superb sources are the day books, journals, letters and published works of men like Thomas Williams, James Calvert, John Hunt and William Cross. Among "beachcombers", William Diaper's comments are important. Of the traders, the Eagleston journals stand as the single most useful source. The way such sources are exploited is of course another matter. The preconceptions of a Thomas Williams are in some ways as far removed from those of the late twentieth century historian as those of Qaranqio.

This raises the issue of objectivity. Historians seem to be as concerned with appearing objective as with avoiding the label of eurocentricity. The problem is that the avenue by which the historian gains access to the past is through the subjective impressions which make up the documents. The relationship between the source, the historian and the past cannot be defined as objective, any more than can the acquisition of language skills. The interpretation of sources may be criticized under the solid scholarly concern for the need to avoid obvious bias, to be dispassionate, to abandon a stand if the evidence is contrary,

but this is limited objectivity at best. Objectivity is possible only if the totality of the past is available and if the observer has the skill to comprehend fully such a totality. This is omniscience, not a capacity acknowledged as part of the humble historian's equipment. The writing of history is a literary discipline, a creative process of human understanding or misunderstanding.

The indigenous sources fit into this framework. All of them are late sources for the earlier period, not contemporary accounts. Although most of them like those of Epeli Rokowaqa, Pita Tatawaqa and Deve Toganivalu are excellent ethnography, most are valuable for what the various points of view advanced reveal about the nature of Fijian social structure and rivalries at the time that they were written. The same is true of the Tukutuku Raraba available for study, the genealogies housed in the Native Lands Trust Board and private hands. It is significant that living oral sources are overwhelmingly preoccupied with the complexity of the current political environment and the preceding three generations rather than with the period prior to Cakobau's installation. Despite this, and despite the fact that non-indigenous sources make up most of the historian's data, indigenous sources are of primary value. No theses of any depth can be written without them. They are the 'history' of Fiji breathing life into outside sources. Without them we have a catalogue but not an explanation.

The historian needs both sorts of data. Yet neither necessarily allow him to reach an 'objective' understanding of

what really happened at any one point in time. A specific incident illustrates the point. The death of Gavidi in 1851 is still a fruitful area of argument within modern Fijian society, at least with those who have an emotional stake in it. According to a living informant, Gavidi was murdered at the order of Cakobau because he was posing too much of a political threat. According to Calvert, Gavidi was killed by a stray bullet fired from the besieged Verata village of Maloto. However this cannot be taken as the literal truth for two reasons. The "eye-witness" was Cakobau's closest Tongan friend, Lolohea, and both he and Calvert were predisposed to free Cakobau of any suggestion of complicity in Gavidi's murder. It may be true that Cakobau was innocent, but we shall never know. The debate quite justifiably continues and perhaps one misunderstands the needs of Fijian society by claiming to resolve it.

RESUME

The state of Bau grew between the older states of Verata and Rewa. It was different from its parent states in that it combined the activities of fishing and gardening in a unique way. The Roko Tui Bau, the paramount sacred chief of the Bauan fertility cult headed by the god of prosperity, Ratumaibulu, ruled with the senior warrior chief, the Vunivalu, representative of the war god, Cagawalu, as his executive. They acted as superior intermediaries between seafarer and agriculturalist. In performing this function they ensured the interchange of wealth and the reward of affiliated agricultural warrior groups (vanua bati). The feasting of the mainland bati took the supreme ceremonial form of the consumption of human flesh, often sent by the Lasakauan sailors of Bau.

The shift of the Bauan leadership to Bau islet in the mid-eighteenth century (ca.1760) accentuated the Bauan dependence on the sea, encouraged the build-up of maritime might and rendered Bauan power capable of touching any shoreline. The peculiarity of the Bauan state and its hierarchy was that the leadership appealed for legitimacy to the original dwellers of Bau (i taukei) who were themselves seafarers, the Butoni and kai Levuka fishermen. They had left Bau and settled in scattered groups throughout Lomaiviti, Cakaudrove and Lau. These seafarers played a fundamental role in the installation of the Bauan paramount. The Bauan Confederacy therefore had members at the core of the state who had deeply infiltrated communities in at least two major confederacies, Lau and Cakaudrove.

A succession of Vunivalu from 1760 to 1802 consolidated and expanded Bauan power by marriage, diplomacy and warfare. When Banuve died, the Vunivalu had usurped the senior role from the Roko Tui Bau

Thereafter the Bauan state rapidly reached the limits of its power. At the same time two catastrophic epidemics in 1790 and 1800 tore at the fertility cult to create a climate of despair and uncertainty.

The subsequent quest for the three Bauan titles, Tui Kaba, Vunivalu and Tui-Levata - the latter in the gift of the Kai Levuka - was to develop into an exceedingly dangerous business, marked by suspicion, deceit and intrigue. Not unnaturally the successful aspirant emerged master of the Bauan political scene though in the circumstances of the case he was obliged to walk warily. He must, for example, keep a close watch on the endless plots of his disgruntled paternal half-brothers. He must also keep faith with the state that installed him and keep the exchange of goods and services flowing. In a word, he was as much the servant of the State as its master.

Cakobau survived the coup that ousted his father Tanoa in 1832, helped return him to power in 1837, overcame rivals to the titles after this reinstatement and, after Tanoa's death in December 1852, secured the approval of the king-makers, the Butoni, the kai Levuka and the Bauan mainland bati chiefs to be himself invested as Vunivalu in July 1853.

Cakobau had mastered the old forms of Bau as had his predecessors but he was not so successful with the newer outside threat in the form of a superior naval technology displayed by three distinct and potentially fatal enemies: England, France and the United States. Cakobau used the methods he had learnt in the school of Bauan politics to woo potential allies through the supply of food wealth. This had been a stunning success with the Tongans. He also was conscious of any weakness which he could exploit, such as the obvious tension

between Britain and France. He managed brilliantly to keep the British naval officers at bay in the 1840s and 1850s ceasing even his eating of human flesh to win their support and he assumed that this friendship would keep the French at a distance. The only serious error he fell into in this period arose out of his increasing fascination with European technology and in particular his bungling attempts to secure a European vessel which indeed saw him strain the networks of his support to breaking point.

Unfortunately - despite a most promising first encounter with the Wilkes expedition in 1840 - diplomacy did not work with the United States. Relations were destroyed by the activities of the American Consul, John Brown Williams, who pressed claims for damages unsuccessfully before Captains Petigru and Magruder in 1851 but found an ally in Captain Boutwell in September 1855. Cakobau's failure to deal with the Americans was to pose a mortal threat to the Vunivalu and the Confederacy he headed.

The situation in Bau prior to this American nightmare was altered in basic fashion by Cakobau's gradual acceptance of the Wesleyan lotu, a religion that received a hearing in the vacuum created by the epidemics. He had let a sick daughter embrace the lotu as early as 1844. He then allowed his ailing first born son Ratu Epeli Nailatikau to join her. After his installation in 1853 when he himself was beset by illness and misfortune, he followed his senior wife Adi Samanunu into the church in 1854.

The step was of fundamental importance to the Bauan state. The political environment with a Christian Vunivalu, a 'legitimate' wife, a 'legitimate' heir, might be given an unusual degree of stability. The Confederacy's economic, social and political structures would be defended by a well-feasted foreign power, Britain, whose technology might be assimilated

together with the new religion. The subsequent peace concluded with Rewa, the defeat, with Tongan help, of a powerful rebel force at Kaba in April 1855 and the rapid spread of the lotu, promised new levels of organization beyond the limits imposed by kinship, limits that had vitiated any attempt to consolidate groups larger than the volatile states already in existence.

It was a paradox that the United States threatened to punish Cakobau in late 1855 on the basis of his supposed claim to sovereignty over Fiji and for damage which had occurred largely in areas beyond his control.

TITLEHOLDERS OF THE MAJOR EASTERN CONFEDERACIES: conflict and co-operation through kinship.

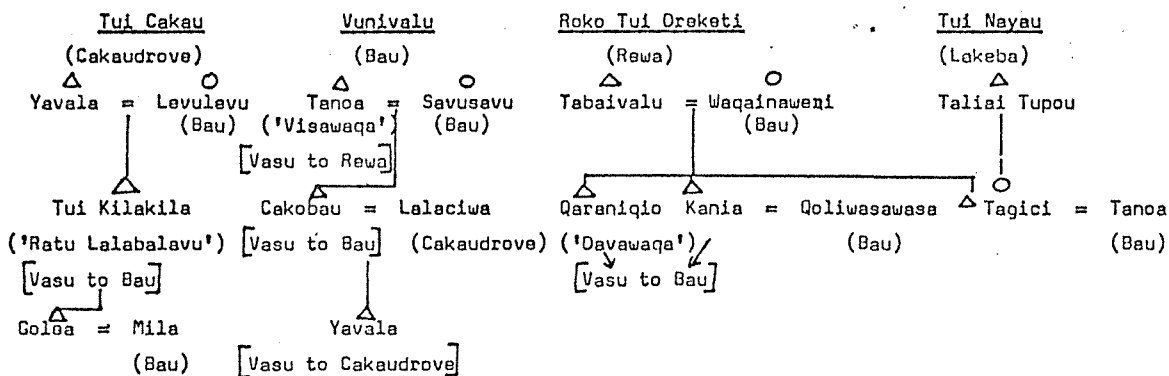
The paramount titleholders of the major Confederacies, Bau, Rewa, Cakaudrove, Lau and Verata were men who had survived the often murderous struggle for power between rival paternal half-brothers to attain their respective positions. Having done so they had to repel any further challenges from within the Confederacy and successfully represent their own Confederacy abroad. To be successful in this dual endeavour, the titleholder's martial and diplomatic skills learnt within the Confederacy had to be applied with equal dexterity to the complex web of rights and obligations created as marriage patterns developed between these rival states.

Marriages at the highest levels had the potential to buttress the incumbent's power or destroy it. Indeed the success or failure of the various paramounts in this regard was the success or failure of their Confederacies for the paramounts' destinies embodied those of their people who installed them and who identified with them. The people were intimately related through kinship structures and the associated socio-economic roles and ceremonial activities which bound the state as a recognizable corporate entity. This was true for the least prestigious slave lands (vanua kaisi), the dependent lands (vanua qali) and the related warrior lands (vanua bati). The murder of the Rewan paramount, Kania (Roko Tui Dreketi), the elimination of the Cakaudrove paramount, Tui Kila Kila (Tui Cakau), the destruction of the central villages of Rewa (Lomanikoro) and Verata (Ucunivanua) were all a measure of the success of Bau in exploiting its marriage relationships while restricting its attendant obligations.

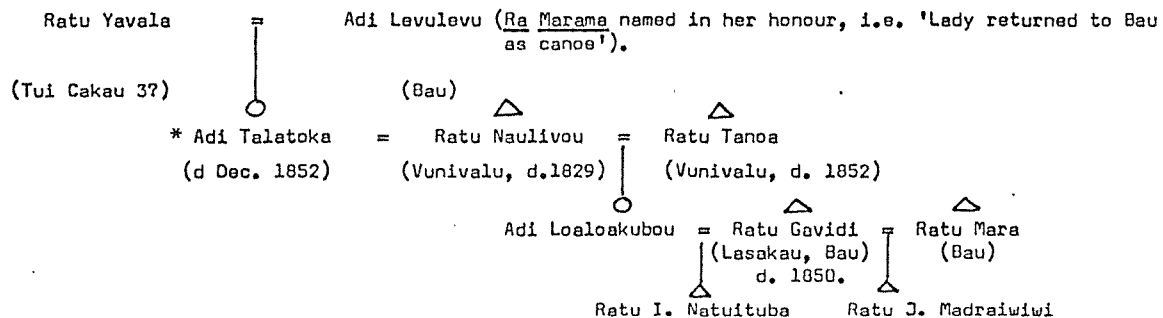
The paternal half-brothers who fought for power within their respective states were the offspring of political marriages, high vasu, who could call upon the resources of their motherlands in their quest for political ascendancy. The sons of Ratu Tanoa Visawaqa illustrate this conflict. Ratu Seru Cakobau came to power by murdering his Rewan paternal half-brother, Ratu Raivalita, and by resisting the challenges of his half-brothers, Ratu Kubunavanua from Ra and Ratu Savenaca Naulivou from Cakaudrove. He had also to overcome other close kin, offspring of defeated rivals of his father's generation. Men like Ratu Nayagodamu, whose father Ratu Caucau was butchered by Tanoa, his paternal half-brother, and Ratu Mara Kapaiwai, son of Ratu Vuibureta, (another of Tanoa's half-brothers) could appeal to Cakaudrove and Lakeba respectively as vasu.

Cakobau reinforced his claims to the Bauan paramount title by marrying Adi Samanunu of the Vusaratu, the supreme Bauan sacred family, whose paramount was the Roko Tui Bau, representative of Ratumaibulu, the fertility god. Cakobau's first born son could then claim roots in the very heart of Bau. Beyond the Confederacy, the Vusaratu family played an equally important role. The women of the Vusaratu were much sought after. Kania, the Roko Tui Dreketi, paramount of the Rewan state and Tui Kilakila, paramount of the Cakaudrove state, both had Vusaratu mothers and were thus high vasu to Bau. The potential incursions of vasu and the principle of reciprocity basic to the relationship are keys to the understanding of intra- and inter-Confederacy political activity. Three figures follow to illustrate the inter-relationships of the Confederacies and the respective power of Bau and Rewa.

(i) The Paramount Titles and Inter-marriage.



(ii) Adi Talatoka of Cakaudrove - A Case Study of Marriage.



* Talatoka married Naulivou, the Vunivalu of Bau 1803-1829. Remarried Naulivou's brother Tanoa at the former's death in 1829. Gave birth to Loaloakubou who provided the Lasakau a leader, Ratu Inoke. Loaloakubou remarried Ratu Mara Kapaiwai after Gavidi's death. Talatoka was strangled on Tanoa's death as custom dictated, Dec. 1852.

[See Genealogies, pp. 31, 78, 102.]

(iii) Comparison of Bau and Rewa Power.

<u>Bau</u>	<u>Rewa</u>
<u>Population:</u> Bau islet - 2000-3000 Confederacy: Tailevu mainland - approx. 25,000 Allied areas - approx. 20,000	<u>Population:</u> Lomanikoro - approx. 4000 Confederacy: Delta - approx 35 - 40,000 Allied areas - approx. 8000
<u>Area:</u> Confederacy - approx 100 sq. miles. and allied areas, Ra, Ovalau, Lomaiviti (volatile).	<u>Area:</u> Confederacy - approx. 96 sq. miles. and allied areas, Kadavu, Beqa (volatile).
<u>Land Strength:</u> *Greatest warrior muster - 10,000 men (1852)	<u>Land Strength:</u> 10,000 - 12,000 men
<u>Naval Strength:</u> 66 Double Canoes (1846) Dozens of ancillary craft (camakau, tabilai, takia)	<u>Naval Strength:</u> 20 Double Canoes. Dozens of ancillary craft.

* Cakobau (Jackson) had 5000 muskets at his disposal in 1842, distributed amongst his bati. The major difference between the two Confederacies was the flexibility of movement Bau had by virtue of a superior fleet. The 10,000 could be transported by fleet to such places as Macuata. A normal levy would involve 3000 warriors.

CHRONOLOGY

- ca 1650 - Yavusa Kubuna outsiders emerge as leaders on Tailevu
(pp 23-24) mainland, accepted by the 'original' land-holders.
Roko Tui Bau, sacred paramount, head of this group.
- ca 1760 - The Vunivalu, Nailatikau, executive of the Roko Tui
(pp 32-33) Bau, expels the kai Levuka fishermen from the islet,
Naulunivuaka, half a mile from the mainland.
The kai Butoni fishermen leave in sympathy.
Kai Levuka found settlement at Lakeba, Lau.
Kai Butoni scatter through Lomaiviti and Cakaudrove.
- ca 1770 - Nailatikau dies (Na i sevua ni qele = first fruits
(p 34) the soil).
Accession of Nadurucoko II.
Kai Soso and kai Lasakau settle on Bau in place of
Kai Levuka and kai Butoni.
- ca 1780 - Accession of Banuve as Vunivalu, reclaims reef flats,
(pp 34-36) builds stone docks for the double canoes (drua),
camakau, tabilai and smaller canoes.
- ca 1790 - Banuve intervenes in Lakeban war. Receives a war
(p.35) bride, Ufia, grandmother of Ratu Mara Kapaiwai. Bau
consolidates its relationship with the canoe building
area of southern Lau.
- ca 1790 - The outbreak of the lila epidemic.
(p.45)
- ca 1800 - The outbreak of the cokadra epidemic. Banuve himself
(p.46) falls victim (Bale i vavalagi).
- ca 1802 - Naulivou installed as Vunivalu (Radomodomo, Ra
(p.47) Matenikutu).
- ca 1804-11 - European sandalwood traders arrive, introduction of
(pp 49-51) the musket, changed patterns of warfare.
- ca 1808 - Debasement of the Roko Tui Bau family and elevation
(pp 48-49) of the Vunivalu family. Tanoa burns the Vusaratu
canoes off Vuna. Raiwalui killed off Mago.
- 1813 - Birth of Seru, second son of Tanoa ('Visawaqa'),
(p.2) brother of Naulivou; mother dies, Seru raised in Rewa,
his father's maternal land.

- 1821-2 - Murder of Roko Tui Dreketi, Tabaivalu; uproar in
(p.6) Lomanikoro, Rewa; Bauan contingent flees to Bau with eight year old Seru.
- ca 1825 - Seru circumcised on Moala as a twelve year old, assumes
(p.10) the mialo.
- 1829 - Naulivou dies. Tanoa installed as Vunivalu; Seru
(pp 10-12) bloods his club to receive the warrior name, Tabakaucoro.
- 1829-31 - Bicho do mar trade assumes significant proportions.
(pp 164-167) 1 March 1832, Glide and Niaqara wrecked in hurricane.
- August 1831 - Massacre of Naigani islanders by Bauan warriors.
(p.71)
- August 1832 - Revolt against Tanoa, flees to Somosomo, Cakaudrove.
(pp 53-56) Tui Veikoso (No Vuaka, Na Buli Davodavo) heads new regime; Ratu Mara (not Kapaiwai) grandson of Nadurucoko II real power. Seru remains on Bau.
- September 1833 - Brig Charles Doggett attacked off Kadavu.
(p.168)
- July 1834 - Brig Aimable Josephine taken by Bauans, captain and
(p.169) crew massacred.
- 1833-1837 - Bauan war with Rewa, Seru marries Adi Samanunu
(pp 58-59) of the Vusaratu.
- December 1836 - Warship the Victor threatens to destroy Tubou village,
(p.172) Lakeba, in reprisal for murder of sailors off missionary schooner, Active.
- March 1837 - Tanoa restored as Vunivalu after Bauan quarter of
(p.61) islet devastated by fire, coup aided by Seru with Lasakauan warriors; Caucau murdered, pursuit of Mara and Qio, Seru received the name 'Cakobau' (Bau is bad).
- December 1837 - The missionary William Cross arrives on Bau; unsuccess-
(pp 194-195) ful in request to remain, leaves for Rewa.
- September 1838 - Peace conference on Bau; representatives from through-
(pp 68-70) out Bauan Confederacy with Kania, the paramount of Rewa present; peace formally concluded despite threats of renewed war.

- October 1838 - French burn Viwa; d'Urville visits Bau; Namosimalua
(p.209) turns to the lotu to avoid further French reprisals.
- August 1839 - Ratu Rabici, Cakaudrove high vasu to Bau, murdered on
(p.104) Gau island, Lomaiviti, at request of Cakobau.
- October -
December 1839 - Bauan war with Verata, massacre of Nai vuruvuru
(pp 138-140) - inhabitants.
- May 1840 - The Tongan chiefs, Lasike and Tupou Toutai arrive on
(pp 177-183) Bau to be feasted as bati. U.S. Wilkes expedition
arrives off Levuka; Veidovi of Rewa incarcerated;
Cakobau under ship arrest.
- July 1840 - Hostilities between Bau and Cakaudrove commence
(pp 105-106) through Tui Kilakila (Ratu Lalabalavu) and Cakobau.
Tui Cakau (Ratu Yavala) and Tanoa reluctant to
support their sons' initiatives.
- October 1840 - Vuna burnt by Cakaudrove forces, Bauan fleet arrives
(p.108) - four days late.
- May 1841 - Namenans massacred on Viwa.
(pp 74-75)
- April 1842 - Tongan exodus from Lau to Tonga.
(pp 154-155)
- March-June 1842 - Peace between Cakaudrove and Bau; double canoe Ra
(pp 112-113) Marama given by Cakaudrove as symbol of peace.
Bauan fleet numbers 66 double canoes, by far the
greatest Fijian maritime power.
- October 1842 - Taufa'ahau of Tonga blown off course, arrives at
(p.113) Lakeba, holds talks with Lasike and Toutai.
- November 1843 - Hostilities between Bau and Rewa commence, beginning
(p.128) of the twelve year feud.
- February 1844 - Cakobau permits his daughter to join the lotu in
(pp 215-216) ill health.
- December 1844 - Brig Gambia threatened by Cakobau off Ba for complicity
(p.171) in Rewan plans to gain muskets and powder.
- December 1844 - Lasike (Finau) dies suddenly in Lau; Cakobau this
(pp 155-156) loses major Tongan ally.

- March 1845 - Varani (Naqaravi) of Viwa joins the lotu, Nalila of (pp 218-219) the Lasakau murdered by Gavidî.
- August 1845 - Raivalita (Doviverata) murdered for alleged conspiracy, (p.82) on Cakobau's order.
- September 1845 - Lomanikoro destroyed, Kania murdered by Cakobau; (p.133) Qaraniqio (Davawaqa) flees to the hills; Cokonauto installed as Bauan puppet.
- January 1846 - John Brown Williams arrives as United States commercial (p.183) agent at Levuka.
- August 1846 - Cakobau humiliates Tui Kilakila in 'Natewa War'; adds (pp 116-117) to Bauan maritime strength and re-asserts Bauan superiority.
- December 1846 - Gavidî marries Adi Loaloakubou on Bau. (p.85)
- February 1847 - Nakelo central village burnt; Qaraniqio vacates (p.134) Lomanikoro again.
- July 1847 - Mara returns to Bau from Tonga with Taufa'ahau's (p.158) brother and son and Ma'afu'otu'i Tonga.
- May 1848 - Death of Tupou Toutai. As Lualala is aging, Cakobau (p.158) has now no major Tongan ally he can rely on to windward.
- June 1848 - Cakobau sees exhibition of precision shelling on (pp 173-174) board H.M.S. Calypso.
- July 4, 1849 - Consul Williams' house accidentally burnt down on (p.184) Nukulau; beginning of 'American debt' issue.
- August 1849 - Captain Erskine of H.M.S. Havannah berates Cakobau (pp 174-175) in Mataiweilaga about cannibalism.
- 19 October 1849 - Tui Nayau accepts the lotu to gain Tongan allies (pp 221-222) against threatened invasion of Mara Kapaiwai.
- April 1850 - Destruction of Ucunivanua, the Veratan capital, by (p.145) Bauan forces.
- May 1850 - Death of Gavidî at Naloto, Verata; Adi Loaloakubou (p.87) allowed to live, (gives birth to Gavidî's son, Tuituba; remarries Mara Kapaiwai.)
- July 1850 - Cakobau relents to pressure from Captain Pollard of (pp 235-236) the Bramble: no human flesh given to his Cakaudrove guests

- March 1851 - Death of Cokonauto; failed attempt at reconciliation with Qaraniqio on board Falmouth.
(p.136)
- March-July 1851 - Petigru arrives in U.S. sloop of war, Falmouth; investigates Williams' claims; Magruder, U.S.S. St. Marys leaves investigations to Calvert and Whippy.
(pp 185-187)
- May 1851 - Further Tongan exodus from Lau to Tonga.
(p.158)
- June-August 1851 - Cakobau commits himself to the purchase of the schooner Thakobau and of the ketch Abolus.
(pp 189-190)
- September 1851 - French brig Etoile du Martin attempts to land men at Viwa.
(p.213)
- 10 December 1852 - Death of Tanoa, strangulation of five wives.
(pp 88-92)
- April 1853 - Ma'afu visits Bau as senior Tongan chief.
(p.159)
- 26 July 1853 - Having been installed as Tui Kaba, Cakobau installed as Vunivalu of Bau; subsequently installed as Tui Levuka by kai Levuka.
- October 1853 - Mara, Tui Levuka, Levuka whites, Qaraniqio lead front (pp 98-100,231-232) against Cakobau, murder of Varani in Ovalau highlands; King Taufa'ahau visits Bau; promised the Ra Marama as gift.
- February 1854 - Bauan inspired murder of Tui Kilakila.
(p.129)
- 30 April 1854 - Cakobau accepts the lotu, mass conversions follow throughout Bauan Confederacy.
(p.239).
- July 1854 - Koroi Ravulo turns Cautata against Cakobau.
(p.242)
- September 1854 - Ratu Mara requests a lotu teacher for Kaba.
(p.244)
- October 1854 - Koli i Visawaqa, the Lasakauan head, prevented from joining rebel forces at Kaba by missionary threat of foreign intervention.
(p.245)
- January 1855 - Qaraniqio dies of massive stroke; unable to nominate a successor or insist on continued war.
(p.250)

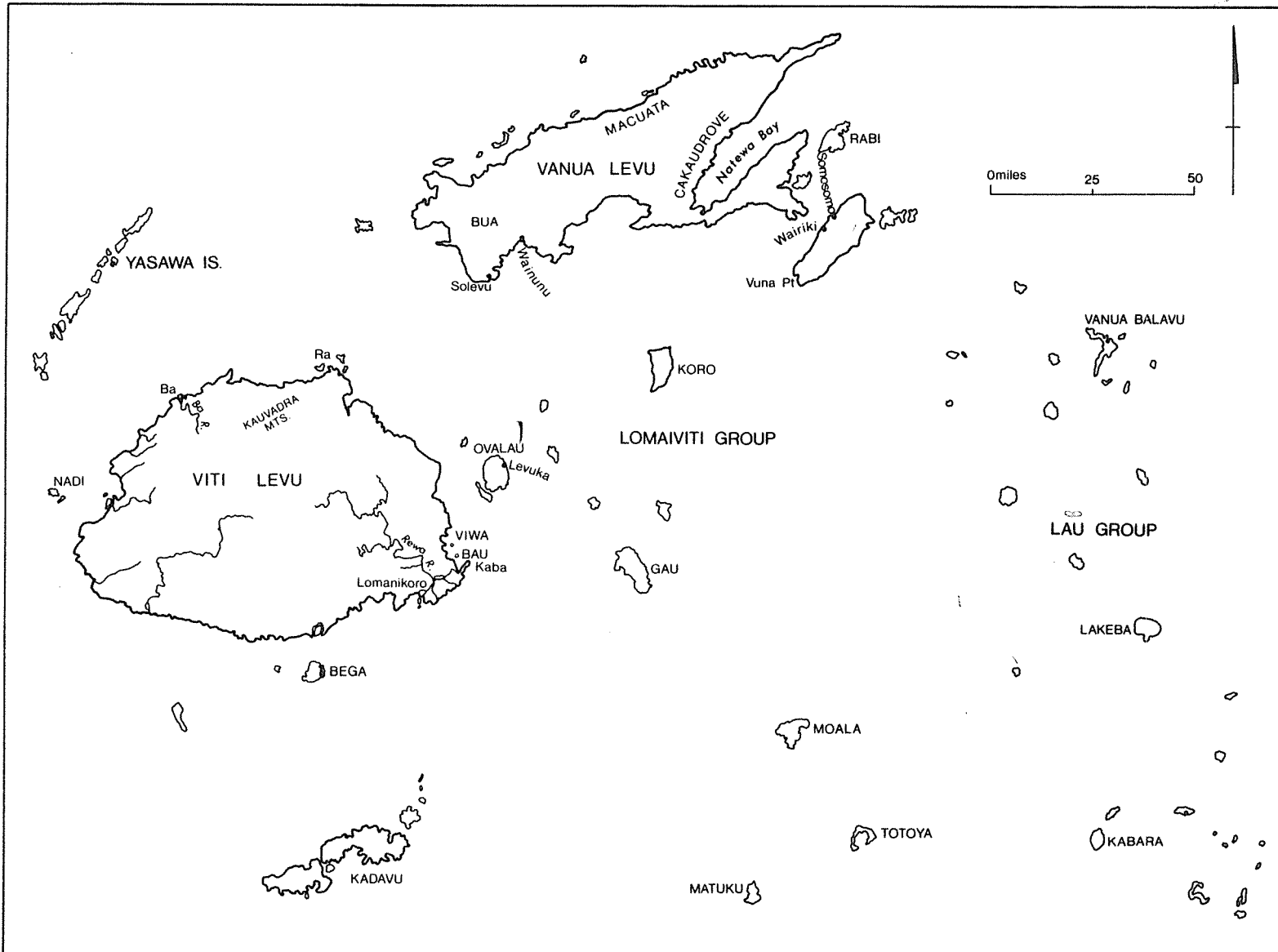
- February, 1855 - Bau agrees to peace with Rewa.
(p.280)
- March 1855 - King Taufa'ahau with Tongan fleet (36 canoes) arrives
(pp 253-255) off Moturiki; Tawaki killed off Levuka.
- 7 April 1855 - Combined Bauan, Rewan and Tongan force attacks Kaba;
(pp 256-258) warriors under Mara, Koroi Ravulo and Rewan opposition defeated.
- May-June 1855 - Forces of Taufa'ahau and Cakobau sail to Rewa, Beqa,
(pp 261-263) Kadavu and Vatulele; mass nominal conversions to the lotu ensue.
- July 1855 - Peace concluded on H.M.S. Herald between Cakobau,
(pp 266-267) Mara and Naulivou.
- September 1855 - Roko Tui Namata driven out by his people; old gods
(pp 353-355) formally taken leave of and the lotu formally adopted.
(pp 268-269) Rabi islanders massacred by Taufa'ahau at request of Tui Cakau and with Cakobau's approval.
- 29 September 1858 - U.S.S. John Adams, Captain Boutwell, arrives off
(pp 269-270) Bau to press claims for \$30,000 damages.

CHAPTER ONE: "Sa Cadra Na Matanisiga".¹

The forms observed at the major life crises acknowledged the need to honour the forces that governed the reproductive cycle. In the horror of the epidemics any pregnancy had been hazardous. The insecurity continued. Adi Savusavu's experience demonstrated this clearly. The fact that she was with child testified to her own fertility and Ratu Tanoa Visawaqa's potency, but according to one source, it had gone badly from the start.² At an early stage there was talk of abortion.³ The infant that was to be was of high chiefly rank but was only to be the second born and potentially a female. The fact that the mother was of the clan Na Baubau, part of the matagali, Tui Kaba, probably saved its life. It would be a danger if a female as future mother of a predatory vasu. It would be a safe-guard as a boy for Tanoa if his first son by Adi Savusavu died young or proved sterile. The infant was allowed to live but was still in peril.

If traditions had been adhered to the feast of the vakavotu or appearance, would have been held in the fourth lunar month after conception. The woman up to this point was highly dangerous.

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1. A euphemism for the birth of a chief: - "The sun has risen".
 2. Deve Toganivalu, "Ratu Cakobau", Transactions of the Fijian Society, Suva, 1914.
 3. Abortion could be performed by the insertion of a skewer (sau), by vigorous massage (bobu), or by the ingestion of various herbs (wai ni yava). There were many skilled abortionists. See Basil Thomson, The Fijians. A Study of the Decay of Custom, Heinemann, London, 1908, p.221 ff.



The Fiji Group

Her physical presence could render medicine useless for her child could contaminate, pollute.¹ As at the very earliest stages of the mother's pregnancy, it was a promise and a threat. The feast hoped to encompass this threat, to make it controllable. After the fourth month, the foetus was less a danger to the community and safer from its fears. The problem then remained the condition of the mother. The woman, after all, had conceived on an islet still recovering from the horrors of the twin epidemics, lila and cokadra. Her health deteriorated alarmingly as her pregnancy advanced so that it seemed she would miscarry. Despite this the child was safely delivered.

It is not known how the first days of the infant's life were handled but contemporary observances for such a birth are very revealing of Bauan perceptions of social space. The fact that he was not the ulumatua or first-born suggests it would have been a rather prosaic affair compared to the birth rites of his elder brother. The infant was nonetheless a boy and of high rank. A midwife would have first severed the umbilical cord with a sliver of bamboo. The child was thus removed from his biological mother and placed in the arms of the kevekeve, the matrons chosen from both clans to nurse the infant boy. He was the gift of the women to the clan, Tui Kaba, and it was tabu for any man to approach the bure. In normal circumstances,

1. See the death of Ratu Sukuna, Chapter 11, pp. 262, 263 of this thesis. The community could also affect the unborn child's personality. It was forbidden for women in early pregnancy (tawaiwai) to take food to a sick man lest the child be born impudent (cidroi). See David Hazelwood, A Fijian and English and English and Fijian Dictionary, W.M. Press, J. Mason, London, 1850, (1914), p.123, entry under tara.

the mother would have had her breasts massaged with oil and turmeric and wrapped in banana leaves. The symbols were important. The oil came from the coconut, symbol of the outsider, the non-taukei. The banana leaves came from the fruit which was the symbol of the landowners. The yellow ochre thickly pasted hemmed in mana. In this case there may have been no attempt to have the mother breast feed her child.

The feast on the first day of birth, the burua bula, related the birth to death, to what had come before.¹ Until the fourth night he was still an outsider. On the fifth day he would be suckled at the breast of a wet nurse, fully accepted by the females as a member of the clan. It was not until after the tenth night that the child could be viewed by the men in the bure. It was not until after the one hundredth night that the infant would have seen the outside world as he was presented to all houses of account.² Before the knots of sennit numbered this passage of time, the mother had died and an elder of the clan had named the child Seru, the name of the first Tui Kaba.³

The child Seru spent his early years under the ample roof

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1. The feast of burua was also held on the first day after death.
 2. The ceremony known as a i curucuru.
 3. It is uncertain when Adi Savusavu died. Compare Deve Toganivalu, 'Ratu Cakobau' with Joseph Waterhouse, The King and People of Fiji, Wesleyan Conference Office, London, 1866, p.34. A i seru is the long-toothed comb suitable for Fijian hair.

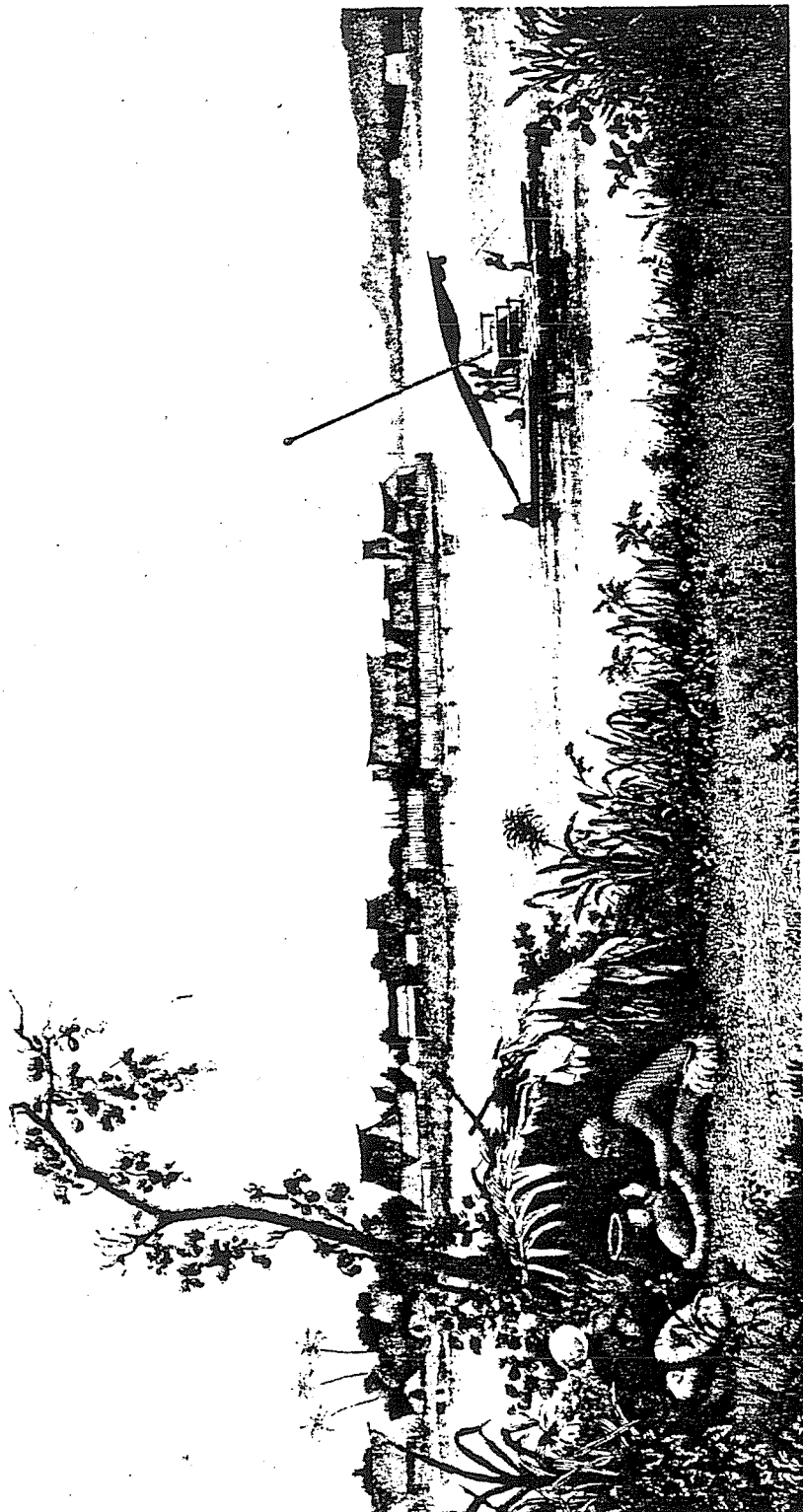
of Adi Waqainaweni, Adi Savusavu's younger sister. This woman, his 'little mother', was Radi Dreketi, wife of Tabaivalu, the Roko Tui Dreketi.¹ It was therefore a time spent in Rewa, in and around Lomanikoro. (See Figure 2).

The village was bounded on two sides by river. The confederacy's capital was older than his native Bau and had its affiliated fishermen communities of Vutia, Nukui and Masilai, its Tongan sailors of Nabua and Sigatoka. It was however, the centre of a yam culture, a delta matanitu with much individual land tenure acknowledged and respected, and much transference of land as gift and reward.² Seru was raised in a community dominated by the yam cycle. It measured his passage from infancy to early childhood.

Within this framework he developed an intimacy with the plants and bird life of the delta. He learnt of the many varieties of breadfruit, banana and taro, where to seek out the qui with its liquorice taste, sugar-cane, the wild yams, the tivoli and kawai, to distinguish between the sacred vesi tree and the close grained damanu.³ He was taught that malignant people

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1. Deve Toganivalu, "Ratu Cakobau". The classificatory system of kinship terminology meant that Seru's biological mother's sisters were also his mothers, either 'big mother' or 'little mother', depending on whether the woman was senior or junior to Adi Savusavu. Adi Waqainaweni was therefore 'small mother' to Seru and he could refer to her as 'tinaqu lailai', relating to her as he would to his own mother.
 2. Basil Thomson, op.cit., p.366 ff. Some forms of land transfer provided the receiver with rights to the usufruct only. If so, the gift was normally redeemable by the presentation of a tabua.
 3. See Berthold Seemann, Flora Vitiensis, Reeve & Co. London, 1865-1873, under Arto Carpus incisa, Musa, Calocasia antiquorum, Cordyline terminalis, Saccharum officinarum. H.B.R. Parham, 'Fiji Plants, their names and uses', Supplement to the Journal of the Polynesian Society, Memoir, No. 16, J.P.S. Vols, 48, 49, 50, 52.

FIGURE 2



Lomanikoro, Rewa 1840. [Wilkes, 1845]. The central village of the Rewan confederacy stood at the juncture of the Rewa and the Nasoata rivers. The village was surrounded by protective fences. In 1844 it was to be fired on by a Lasakauan fleet and in 1845 it was burnt to the ground by Bauans and Rewan collaborators.

could use plant life to harm others, that night time was forbidding, a time to nestle securely amongst his kin. He was surrounded by nature's paradoxes and its extremes of temperament. The boiboida's pale green flowers emitted a wretched odour by day, only to become sweet smelling at night. The sinugaga tree had greatly feared sap which caused intense pain, but which was said to cure leprosy.¹ The seasea, the Polynesian triller, was noisy and assertive. The Kiro, the Black-faced Strikebill, was shy and introverted. Flocks of fearless Siasia, the Vanikoro Broadbill, mobbed the much larger Reba, the Grey Goshawk.²

Nature echoed the conflicts and needs of men. These were given form in the hierarchy of rights and obligations, of dominance and subservience Seru saw in operation in human affairs. While the boy was largely pampered and indulged by the Bauan party in Rewa, he was also surrounded by the jealousies and animosity that formed a part of the Roko Tui Dreketi's household. The most immediate of these antipathies for the boy was the ill-feeling between children of Tabaivalu by his many wives.³ The male children by Waqainaweni - Macanawai, Kania, Bativuaka and Qaraniqio - were often at odds among themselves, but they were more bitter rivals of Cokanauto and another Seru, children by

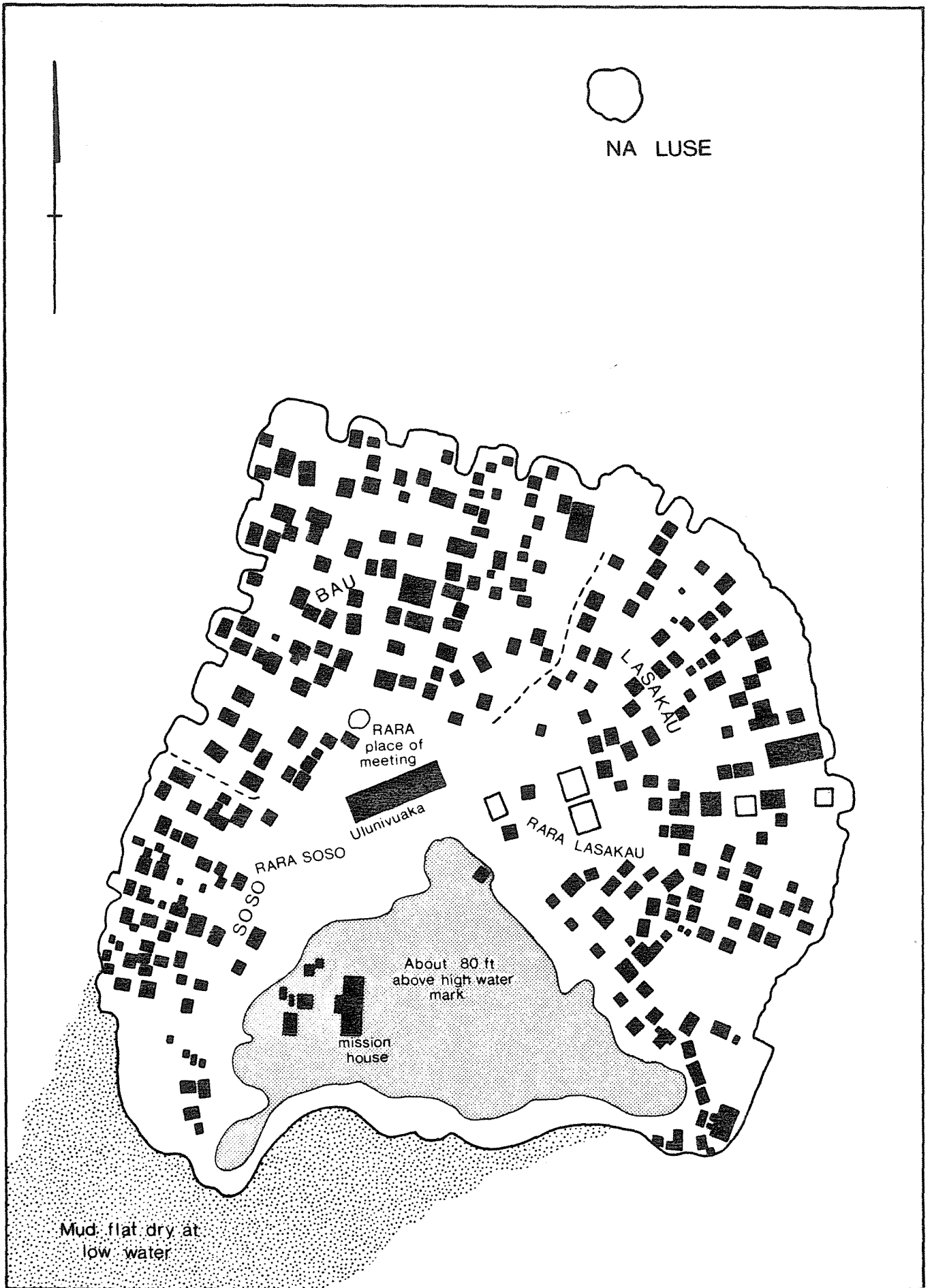
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1. Flora Vitiensis, Excaecaria Agallocha. Seeman has a harrowing description of the process by which leprosy was treated.
 2. W.J. Belcher, Birds of Fiji in Colour, text by R.B. Sibson, Collins, Auckland and London, 1972, lalage Maculosa, Clytorhynchus nigrogularis, Myiagra Vanikorensis, Accipter rufilorques.
 3. Charles Wilkes, The Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition, (Philadelphia, 1845) Vol. 3, claims Tabaivalu had over one hundred children.

Salaiwai, Ratu Tanoa's sister.¹ These were the boy's playmates as he grew.

The rivalries eventually burst out into an unhappy spectacle of patricide and fratricide. It was Koroitamana, Tabaivalu's eldest son by a Kadavu woman who initiated the chain of murders. Seru had been in Rewa over seven seasons when Roko Tui Dreketi's skull was shattered by his son's club. Rewa was in uproar. Adi Waqainaweni wasted no time. With Seru and the other Bauans, she fled to Bau, leaving Rewa temporarily to its fate.²

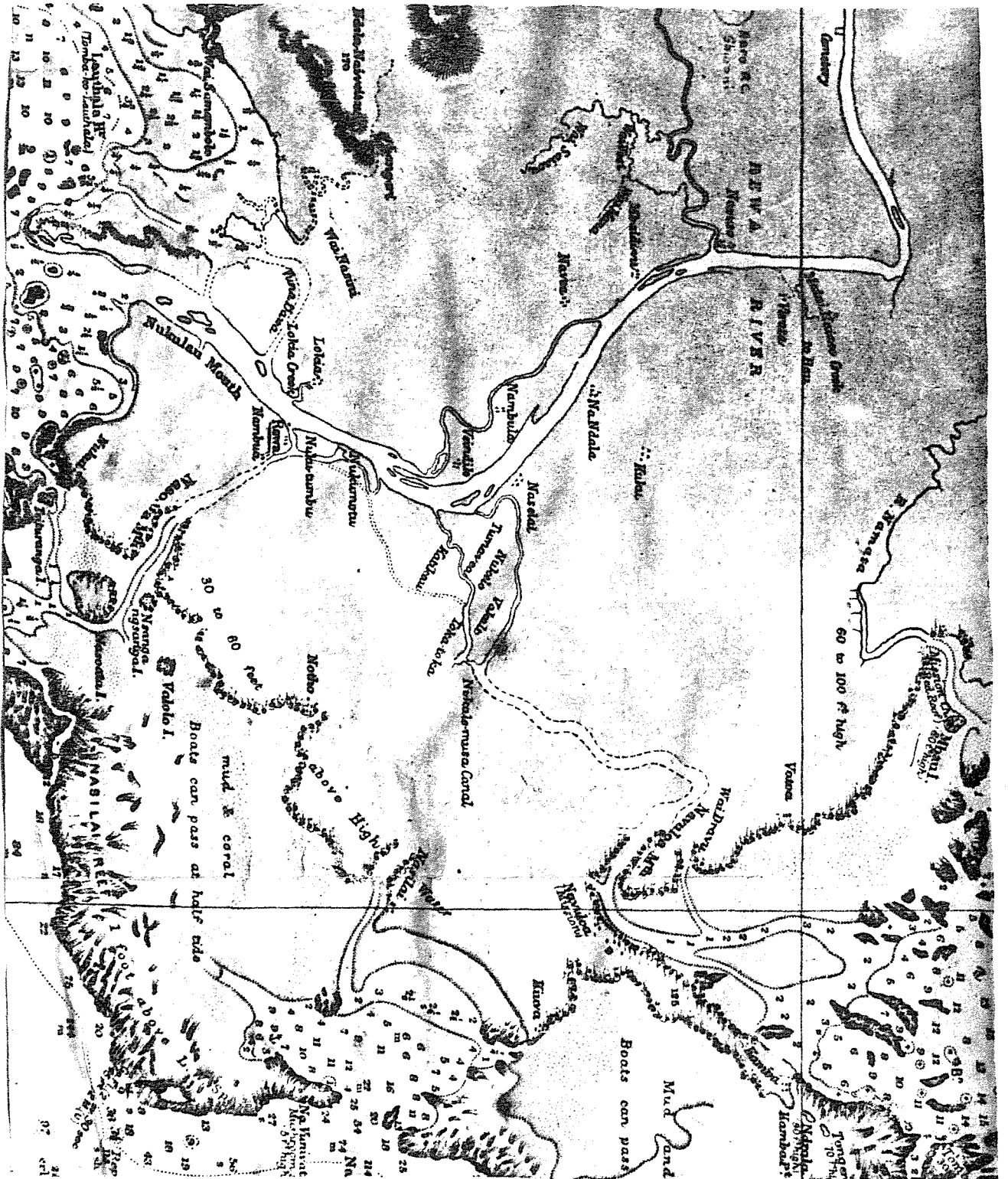
Seru returned home again to be among the Soso of Nasaravi, the Lasakau of Muridua and the families of the Yavusa Kubuna. (See Figure 3) The islet was alive with daily scenes to which he had grown accustomed at Lomanikoro. While women beat out tapa for ceremonial presentation, men's loin cloths and head-wear, other women beat out vau bark for women's dresses.³ Others

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1. Deve Toganivalu, "Ratu Cakobau", claims that Qaraniqio used to mock Seru and that he was warned against it by Bativuaka who predicted future greatness for Seru. The account sounds apocryphal.
 2. This is fully discussed in Joseph Waterhouse, The King and People of Fiji. Consequently Macanawai was installed. Kania told Wilkes (p.137 ff.) that Macanawai was killed by Seru (of Rewa). Seru took the title, Tui Sawau, after a Beqa town he had defeated, and was reputed to be an immensely powerful warrior. He was shot four times by Veidovi, dying in 1827, two years before Naulivou died at Bau.
 3. Flora Vitiensis, Broussonetia papyrifea (Masi), Hibiscus tricuspidis (Vau dra). Commoners wore one row and women of rank wore two or three rows in some districts.



Sketch of Bau showing House Sites, 1855

(Glen Wilson, Mitchell Library)



Detail showing Bau and the Bauan mainland in relationship to the Rewa delta.

again worked coconut leaves, balawa and voivoi into mats. Lasakau wives moulded their pottery to exchange with mainlanders for food. Soso groups exchanged fish for salt. Craftsmen worked on club and spear. Tabua changed hands. Whites traded axes, muskets, cloth and tobacco for yams, pork and bicho do mar.

In contrast to his experience at Rewa however, Seru was now surrounded by the sea. Just as he had learnt the rhythms of the land there, he began his education in the rhythms of the ocean. Bau was as much a part of it as Dakuwaqa, the shark god. Even the souls of the deceased Bauans acknowledged this, for it was believed they began their journey to Bulu through Davetalevu, the reef passage at Nailuva point, opposite Moturiki.¹ The sea's habits were familiar, its warnings heeded, its surface divided up as surely as the land to be worked by the different clans. The boy could not have failed to be impressed by the extent of maritime activity off the twenty acres of islet that was his birthplace. The Bauan shoreline teemed with canoes of every conceivable shape and size. From the confederacies of Cakaudrove and Rewa came drua. Occasionally they came as gifts confirming friendship or assuaging ill-feeling. More frequently they brought chiefly daughters in the interchange of brides and the land wealth for the great feasts, the solevu. The goods were unloaded by hundreds of people under the calculating eye of matanivanua who

1. P.W. Tatawaqa, "Adi Rorogo", Transactions of the Fijian Society 1914.

weighed their worth for future consideration.¹ From Lomaiviti and Lau canoes came heavy with yam, taro, breadfruit and pigs, hundreds of sweet puddings, fermented bread, mountains of yaqona, enormous rolls of sennit, great bales of tapa, servants for important households.² In less spectacular fashion dozens of craft worked between the mainland and the islet with firewood, fresh water and food.

In the midst of all this energy, Seru occupied an honoured place. He was in line to the title, Vunivalu, though his ever attaining that position was most unlikely. His uncle, Ratu Matenikutu Naulivou, was a healthy and powerful man who seemed likely to outlive his brother, the slender framed Tanoa, the most likely contender for the title. Even should both men die Ratu Nailatikau, Seru's elder brother would probably be installed before him. Nevertheless, by blood, Seru was the equal of the

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1. The quantity of food at great feasts was nothing short of staggering, dwarfing modern day efforts. It was unthinkable for any area with pretensions to greatness to gain a reputation for stinginess. Its ability to provide enormous feasts and to reciprocate feasts provided in its honour was a measure of its might. Thus food, no matter how vast the quantities, was quantified for future consideration. Ten fish, for example was bola, ten yams, ducele, one hundred puddings was a i kovu. At greater levels, 10 000 was oba, 100 000 was oba vakatini or vatuloa, 1 000 000, oka niu, 10 000 000 or a vast multitude, wakanui.
 2. The yaqona presentations could form walls seven feet high and thirty feet long; sennit was prepared in great balls (ai sauloki): the tapa bales were theoretically made up into hundred fathom sections (katudrau), though some were much longer.

greatest on Bau where he enjoyed the privileges of his birth without being heavily burdened by its more onerous responsibilities.

As childhood passed into early youth he learnt the behaviour expected of him as a ranking chief, his place in the family hierarchy, whom he could trust, whom he could expect to be his enemies, whom he could marry. In an oral culture he was taught the ceremonial language appropriate on different occasions and the protocol to be observed for different audiences. He became aware of the role of the matanivanua like his tutor, the Tunitoga, a trained orator, mouthpiece for the chiefs. In political manoeuvring and in-fighting their oratory was manipulative, threatening, promising. At feasts for neighbouring bati it was conciliatory in disputes, inveigling in request. A chief's son needed to control these specialists for their skills could be used against him. It was not all dour political intrigue, however; in less deliberately pragmatic fashion, oratory could be coconut milk quenching a thirst. The dau ni vucu, the creators of song and dance, produced works to celebrate historic occasions: to commemorate a birth, an illness, a battle, a canoe landing. Their interpretations of these events and their selection were a measure of the preoccupations of the reigning family.

When the time for assuming more of the obligations of his age and position dawned, Seru was sent by Tanoa to the island of Moala to await the ceremony of circumcision. On arriving there he was immediately thrown into inter-tribal warfare. Like the brutality unleashed earlier in Rewa, the bloodshed here was a

grim part of the youth's schooling.¹

Little else is known of Seru's time in Moala. What seems certain is that after a few seasons there Tanoa came with a large group from Bau to be present at his son's circumcision, a major rite of passage. It is probable that a number of slaves were killed to form the platform upon which the naked youth stood while the malo, the tapa mark of manhood, was wound around his loins. The murders were to ensure fertility. The tapa cloth was a gift from the women encompassing this fertility. The importance of the ceremony was marked by the presentation to the principal celebrants of a druga, the Dranivia. Such an occasion was traditionally marked by scenes of dancing, singing, feasting and great hilarity.²

The hilarity in this case would have been short lived for most. Naulivou, the weaver of countless plots, the seemingly indestructible, died suddenly, some said by sorcery.³ The

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1. Joseph Waterhouse has Seru as a seven-year-old when this event occurred. The writer believes Seru was nearer twelve at the time he moved to Moala. For Moala, as the island he spent a part of his youth, see Calvert to Williams, Lakeba, 19 November 1845, Letters to Thomas Williams, M.L.
 2. See Appendix Putting on of the masi, by Deve Toganivalu, "Ratu Cakobau". Toganivalu claims this was performed the year Naulivou died (1829). The writer believes Seru was then fifteen years old.
 3. William Cary, Wrecked on the Feejees, The Inquirer and Mirror Press, Nantucket, Mass. 1928, p.56. Jesse Cary, The Kings of the Reefs. A Poem in 100 and 17 Cantos, Melbourne, The Spectator Pub. Co. Ltd., 1891, p.240.

Bauan party having returned home was immediately plunged from mirth to mourning as the funeral rites of Ra Domodomo were enacted. Part of the obsequies demanded the offering of human flesh. Before the feast of the yakabogidrau, the hundredth night after the death, Bauan warriors set out to attack the island of Naigani to fulfill this need. Amongst them was Seru, the malo still strange around him, venturing forth on his first major test of martial skill and courage. The attack succeeded and Seru distinguished himself, blooding his club.¹ On his return and after the mourning for the Vunivalu was over, Seru underwent a ceremony to honour his valour, the buli yaca, as crucial as his assumption of the malo.

In this naming ceremony Seru underwent a further transformation, one experienced by every youth who had proved himself in battle. The buli yaca was marked by a series of observances which laid emphasis on the newly won physical and spiritual potency of the life-taker and life-giver.² The youth's change in status was symbolized firstly by the conferring of a new name. This was followed by the removal of an old tapa cloth and its replacement by a new one, the whole taking place on a crowded village green. Unlike the malo, this cloth was a large masi, its size and beauty a mark of the youth's status. Women brought dishes of scented oil mixed with turmeric and other natural dyes

1. Deve Toganivalu, "Ratu Cakobau". This blooding of the club was known as sevu malumu.

2. See Appendix 2 b, The Buli Yaca, for the eyewitness account of a similar ceremony.

but retreated before these were applied.¹ The mana of the youth on this occasion was a danger to all but the older clan males who officiated. It charged the clubs of others that were laid for an instant on his shoulder. It flowed between the natural and supernatural worlds. He was thus thickly smeared with yellow and red dye to circumscribe the power. After the ceremony, a four day period of ritual seclusion ensued, a period of silence in the village. It is likely that Seru underwent a similar experience in his transition to manhood. The only aspect of the ceremony which is known in his case was the name he received. After the buli yaca he was a warrior - Tabakaucoro - second born son of the new Vunivalu, Ratu Tanoa Visawaqa.²

Seru consolidated his new status by availing himself of the innumerable opportunities that presented themselves to engage in combat. Strife throughout the group was endless. This made many areas susceptible to Bauan exploitation. So long as people breathed old scores remained unsettled, hatreds smouldered, leadership was contested. Bau was pleased to fan discontent elsewhere while checking its own fires. On Ovalau, Bureta and Lovani antipathies were strong. These were complicated by the pretensions of the Levuka chieftain who afforded protection to his small group of whites, resident and itinerant. On the Ra

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1. The writer believes that yellow was the colour of the earth, the natural world, and that red (for example, from the kura) was of the supernatural world. By applying both, the mana was made controllable.
 2. Deve Toganivalu, "Ratu Cakobau". The name may have come from Seru's uncle who fell at Wailea in 1813.

Coast, towns combined periodically to attack inland towns. These combinations were vitiated by intra-village and inter-village distrust and envy.¹ Bua was torn by similar disruption as were the Macuata coast, Ba, Lomaiviti and Lau. Divisiveness was endemic. Natewa resisted Cakaudrove. Verata's power waned provoking discontent. Rewa was embroiled in fratricidal murders.

For a young warrior warfare's danger and excitement broke the boredom during the work lulls in the yam cycle. Most expeditions were comparatively bloodless affairs enlivened by the more carefree concerns a young chief could indulge himself in. Not least of these were the flirtations with admiring and ambitious women. The voyages revealed however, the inner workings of Fijian politics within the context of feasting, ceremonial boasting, the taga and competitive largesse. He became familiar with the fleeting nature of alliances and power structures built on immediate self interest and demands of the moment. It was an awakening to the imperatives of survival his forefathers had experienced. The skills of diplomacy were more difficult to master than expertise with club, spear and musket.

The talents Seru developed to handle the largest tool needed to execute Bauan goals bore a striking similarity to those that the intricacies of politics demanded of him. He sailed in the sleek camakau and more ponderous waga tabu. He was taught how to tack, to scull for long periods without fatigue, to operate the great steering car and to take his turn at the bailer.

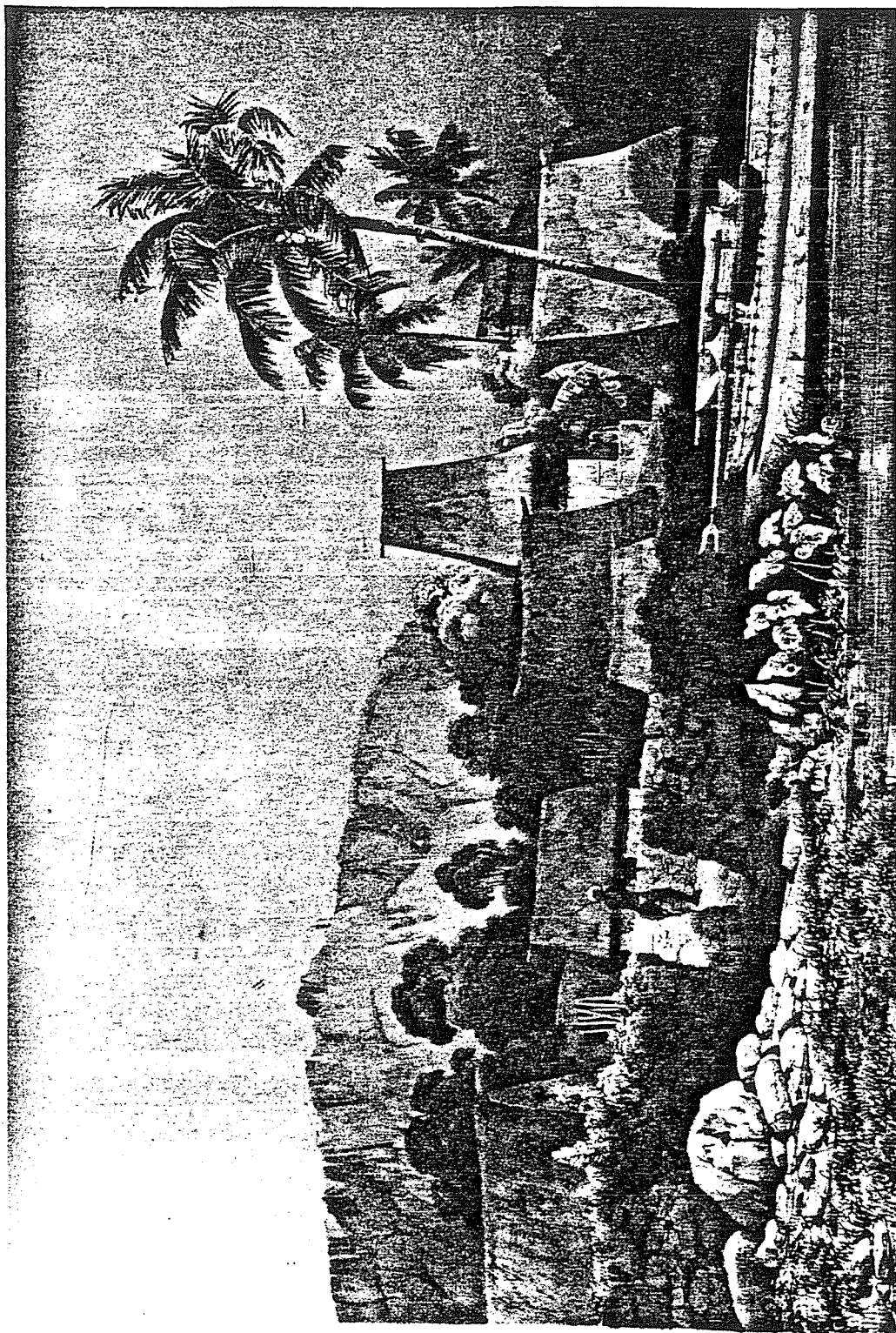
1. See for example, the Rev. James Calvert, microfilm 163/35 H.L., 22 August 1849, for a description of warfare typical of the Ra Coast.

FIGURE 4



Levuka, 1838. [D'Urville, 1846]. This village had recently changed its allegiance from Verata to Bau. The village was headed by a minor chieftain, Tui Levuka, who, like similar chieftains of villages accessible by sea, had the unenviable task of attempting to satisfy a number of potential predators.

FIGURE 5



Levuka, detail, 1838. [D'Urville, 1846]. This is a detail of the same village showing stone wall defences. There was danger from the sea (Bau) and from the cliffs behind (the Lovoni hill tribes).

Such skills were needed to turn the canoe into an effective weapon and efficient collector of barter and tribute. The success of its crews was a measure of Bauan pride, power and identity.

Seru sailed and fought where ^{he} could. The dangers were not slight. On one occasion at Naweni he suffered an almost fatal spear wound in the groin, the pain of which was alleviated only by prolonged rest and careful nursing on Bau.¹ With herbs and time he recovered and recommenced his sailing. On his excursions he preferred the company of his elder half-brother by Adi Vereivalu of Sawaike, Ratu Tubuanakoro, whom he learnt to trust. It was on a sailing voyage that yet another death occurred at Bau which was as portentous for Seru's future as was that of Naulivou. While he was resting at Moturiki news reached him that his elder full brother, Ratu Nailatikau, had died suddenly.² Seru, was, by two deaths, next in line to the title, Vunivalu. Amongst the women to be strangled was Adi Samanunu, daughter of the Roko Tui Bau and betrothed to Nailatikau. She was to bath, and gleaming in the oil, resplendent in the finest tapa, join the others selected to die. Tanoa prevented this. She would live and be a wife to his surviving son by the former Radi Bau. Any offspring of such a union could enjoy rights at the Vusaratu's expense.

The feast of vakabogi drau marked the sorrow of the hundredth

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1. Deve Toganivalu, "Ratu Cakobau".
 2. Ibid.

day after the death as it had marked the celebrations of the hundredth day of birth for Seru. Then he had been the second son of the Vunivalu's brother. Now in his magnificent bure of Mataiweilagi the young man Seru, Tabakaucoro, ko Mai Mataiweilagi, was a likely successor to Tanea and next in line to the title Vunivalu. It was 1829. The inheritance bequeathed him by virtue of his position however encompassed the whole Bauan experience from the birth of mankind.

CHAPTER TWO: The Origins of the Vunivalu: from Bulu to Ulunivuaka.

The elders could trace the antecedents of the title Vunivalu to ancient times, Their accounts, however, varied depending on who the listeners were and to whom the narrator owed allegiance. In one such account the ancestors of man had been driven from Namolikalagi, the upper reaches of Bulu, the supernatural dimension of time and space, for an offence against the supreme god, their grandfather, Ratumaibulu.¹ The culprits were twins of the opposite sex, Catanatamani, the male, and Tikinivula, the female, offspring of the primordial human giants known as the Tomanaivi.² The twins together with their mother, Camaisala had eaten the first fruits of the plantain without first making an offering, their a i seu, to the source of fertility, Ratumaibulu. Worse, the plantation they had eaten from was that planted above their afterbirths, a gift of their grandfather. The three fled in terror to the lower

1. Epeli Rokowaqa, 'Ai Tukutuku kei Viti,' MS, Fiji National Archives, n.d., p.4 ff. Rokowaqa describes Ratumaibulu as the greatest of the gods. (The name was "bulu" or "bula"; Ratu-Mai-Bulu ... a kalou vure i Bulu, [Sprung from Bulu]). "Oqo ga neimami kalou-vu-levu duadua na kai Viti", (This was we Fijians' greatest god). At one point, (pp. 4,5) he suggests that the names Degei and Kotoinaqara are alternative names and elsewhere that they were three distinct gods. I am indebted to Marshall Sahlins for this source. The Tukutuku Raraba for the Yavusa Kubuna has Ratu Vueti as Ratu mai bulu.

2. The Tomanaivi were the first humans but with extraordinary physiques and intellects. "Era bula e liu e Viti, era sega ni kalou, se yalo, se tevoru", (p.4) (They once lived in Fiji, they were not gods, or spirits, or devils.) This perhaps explains the honorific name bestowed on Kubunavanua by the Tui Kaba - Cagawalu - an eight span forehead, or a giant in intellect and physique.

levels of Bulu - Nakauvadra - and beyond, breaking into a different dimension, that of Vuni.ivi.levu, Vuravura, the world below, where they took refuge in the Vugayali tree. Ratumaibulu decreed that only their souls might return to Bulu, a fate bequeathed to their descendants. They were to be mortal man passing at death up one of the three roots of the Vugayali to the source.¹ The land of mortals would be peopled by the spirits sent from Bulu and would return there at death.² (See Figure 6)

The offspring of the male, the Vu tagane, formed the senior line, the kawa ni ulumatua or Qali Kamami. The offspring of the female, the Vu yalewa, formed the junior line, the kawa ni gone or Qali Cavakilagi. They met at the first installation at which the various rights and obligations of groups were defined.³ There was soon further trouble. The installation of Degei II as paramount was disputed. The vigorous younger line considered him weak and unworthy. Led by the folk heroes, "Kubunavanua", Tuiwai and his son, Koya Nasau, the Vu yalewa installed their own chief.⁴

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1. Rokowaqa, pp. 5,7. On p.6 Rokowaqa gives a detailed summary of the various paths to Bulu and the obstacles to be encountered on the journey. Compare Basil Thomson, The Fijians ...
 2. Rokowaqa is quite specific on this point, p.27: "Ni sa soli mai Bulu e dua na yalo me sucu vakatamata e vuravura: ia ni sa mate, e na lesu tale na yalona ki na i Cibaciba." (A spirit is given from Bulu to suckle as a human on earth: at death, the spirit returns to na i Cibaciba.)
 3. Rokowaqa, pp. 4, 16, 20, 21, 62: Ai Matai ni veibuli.
 4. Rokowaqa, pp.43, 58. In fact Rokowaqa claims the word Tui was coined to describe the paramount of the younger line and to distinguish him from the paramount, the Ratu of the Qali Kamami.

FIGURE 6: The mortal and supernatural domains.

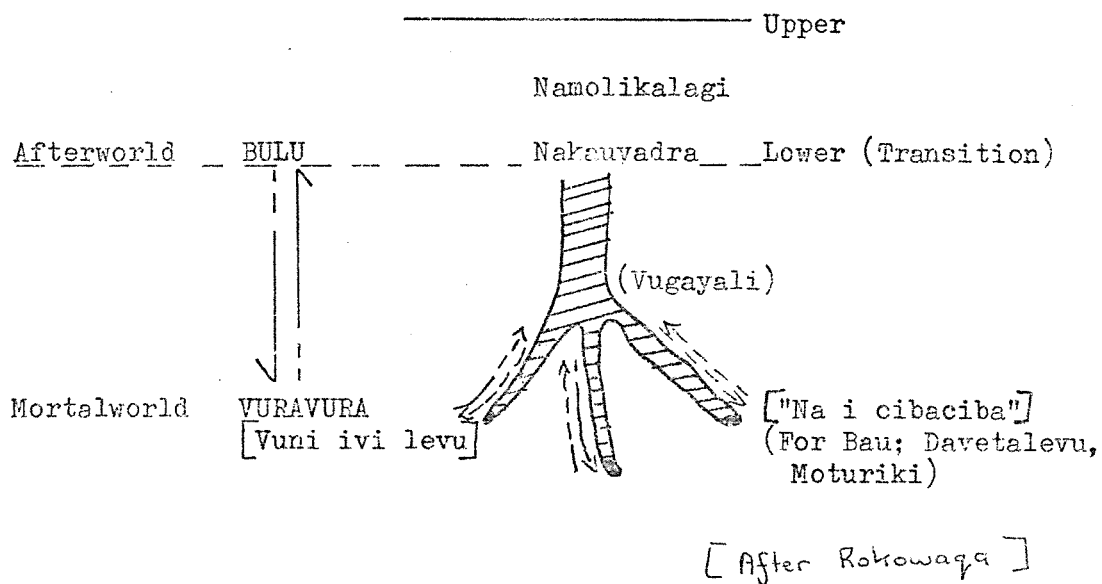
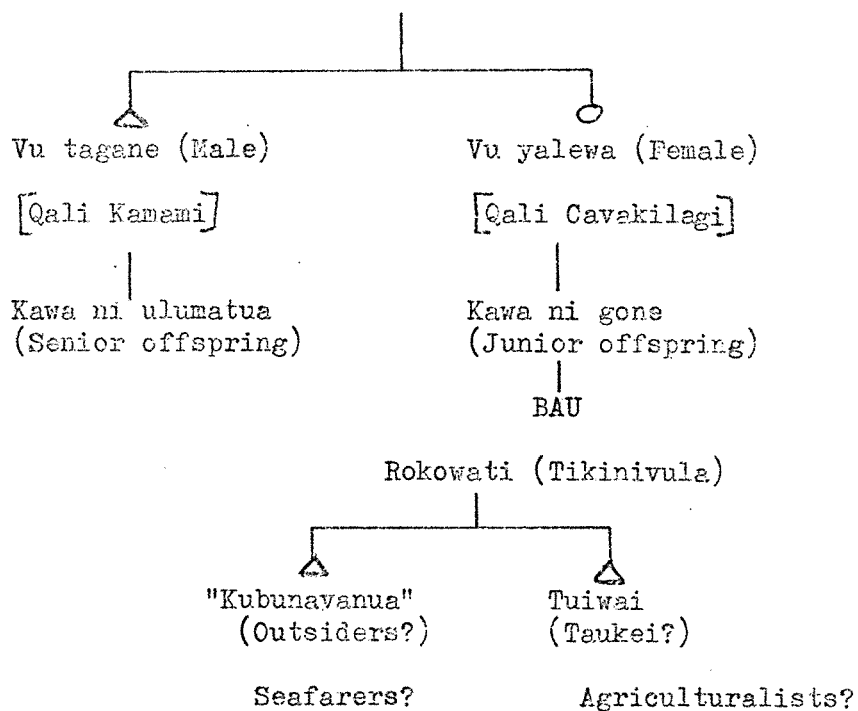


FIGURE 7: The male and female lines.



[After Rokowaga]

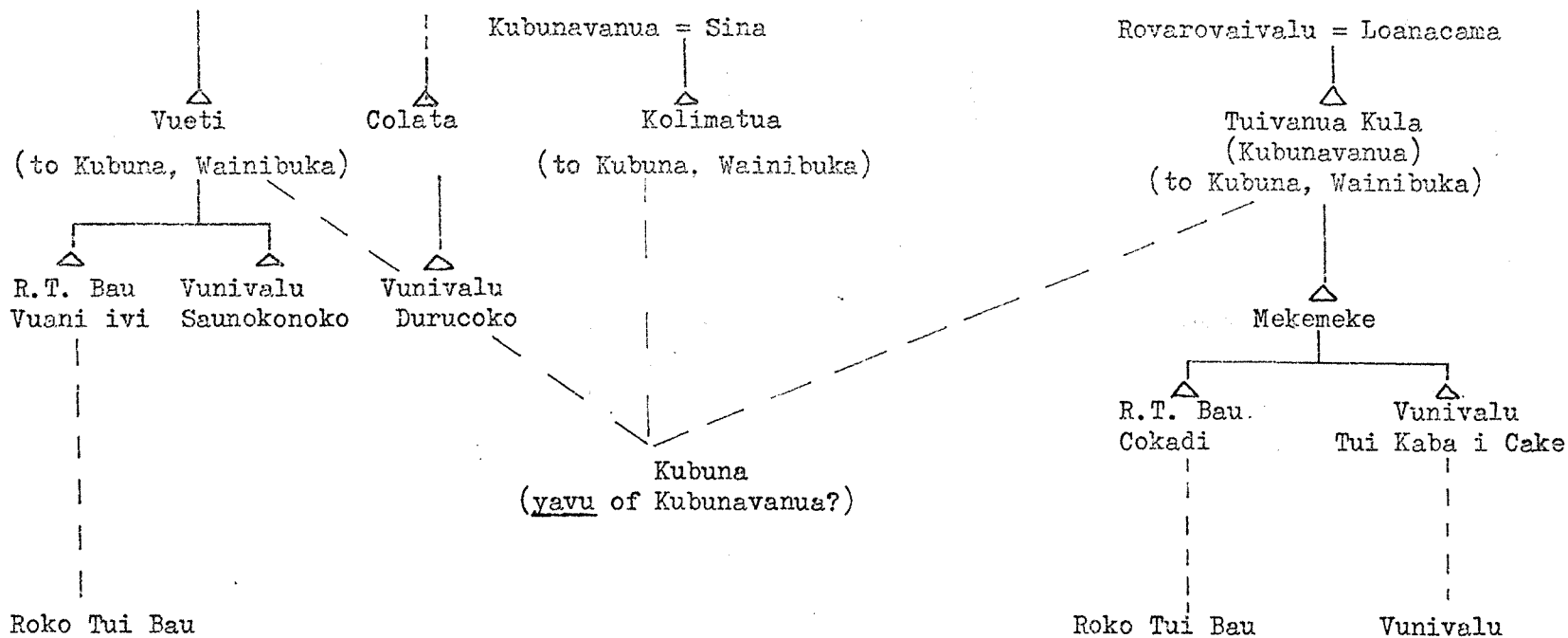
The embryo of the Bauan state was thus formed in rebellion.

These energetic sons of Tikinivula (known later in Bau as Rokowati) proceeded to populate the south east corner of Viti Levu, Lomaiviti, and Lau.¹ As the name implies, the descendants of the Tuiwai were the inhabitants of the Rewa tributaries, the Waimaro, Wainovo, Wailevu, Waibula, Waibasaga, Waila, Wailase, Waiqa, Waidina, Waidovo, Waimalua, Waidracia and Waitovu. Tuiwai's children from Nakauvadra, established their central villages at Nasautoka on the Wainibuka and Nabukebuke, home of the Saunokonoko.² These people spread as far as the Tailevu coast. They were the kai loma ni koro, the taukei or landholders of the area.³ (See Figure 7). Tuiwai's eldest son, Koya Nasau, was given certain islands of Lomaiviti as his inheritance. He settled in Verata where he established the village of Maumi. His descendants moved to land up the Wainibuka, later called Kubuna, and founded a village of the same name.⁴

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1. Rokowaqa (p.44) outlines three major divisions of rank which may be assigned loosely to the three ancestors mentioned here:
 - i. Ulumatua na Sau (Kubunavanua, Koyau Nasau)
 - ii. kai loma ni koro se i taukei ni koro se Turagalawena ('Tuiwai')
 - iii. Sau Turaga (Tuiwai). These can be considered within the framework of the myth as:
 - (i) paramount
 - (ii) original land dwellers
 - (iii) warriors.
 2. Rokowaqa, p.43.
 3. Rokowaqa, p.41.
 4. Rokowaqa, pp. 43, 44, 47.

FIGURE 8(a)

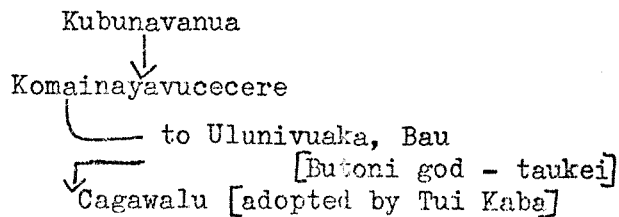
"Kubunavanua" - a genealogy*



[After Rokowaqa]

Figure 8(b)

"Kubunavanua" - a mutating ancestral name.



"Kubunavanua" was the most adventurous of these forefathers of Bau. His identity is a moot point. His name is first mentioned as one reputed to have landed in Tonga with his wife, Sina and children, Ravulo, Kolimatua and Delaiuluvatu.¹ They settled for a time on Totoya island. Their son, Kolimatua, after some time at Moala, travelled to the Wainibuka helping to found the Bauan state.² There was however another "Kubunavanua". Also at Moala were Rovarovaivalu and his wife, Adi Loanacama. Their son, Tuivanuakula, travelled to Verata where he was victorious in a competition organized by his grandfather Rokomauto, the paramount there who had decided his successor would be any of his kin able to win a foot race. In honour of his prowess he was given the name, Kubunavanua. Despised by Rokomauto's grandchildren who were a senior line, Tuivanuakula sailed to his great grandmother's land in Tonga. He returned to join his famous cousin, Ratu Vueti, on the Wainibuka and gave his name to the most prestigious yavu site there, Kubuna (Kubunavanua).³ (See Figure 8). This hero from the east fathered two children at Kubuna; Tudrau and Mekemeke. The former was the founder of the senior house of Dravo. The latter had two sons. The elder was the first Roko Tui Bau, Cokadi of the Vusaratu. The younger was the first Vunivalu,

1. Rokowaqa, p. 17. Ai Matai ni lakolako.

2. Rokowaqa, p.47.

3. Rokowaqa, pp. 47, 60, 62. "A Ciciva na Turaga". Ratu Vueti was the legendary hero who struck the Vugayali tree during the war in Nakauvadra to flood the village of the carpenters. Rokowaqa, p.52, ("Ratu Vueti, na i taukei kei Kubuna"). See Appendix 5^b for John Hunt's description of the war in Nakauvadra.

Tuikaba i Cake of the Tui Kaba, Seru Tuiviria.¹ Ratu Vueti, Kubunavanua's famous cousin also had two offspring at Kubuna, the founders of the Roko Tui Bau Vuani ivi and Vunivalu Saunokonoko titles respectively. Colata, a contemporary of Kubunavanua and Vueti, founded the title, Vunivalu Durocoko. Ramo, the child of Mekemeke, began the Vusaradave family led by Tui Nadekeke, the personal warriors of the more senior title holders. (See Fig. 8 (a)).

"Kubunavanua" was probably a generic name for any great leader in a time of upheaval. Each of them reputedly came from the east as yulagi, outsiders, and rose quickly to positions of prominence.² The accounts strongly suggest in fact a Tongan origin of the Bauan Vunivalu title. "Kubunavanua" at the second great installation at Nabukebuke was given the honorific title, "Komainayavucecere", he of the highest house site, the god of the

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1. There is disagreement in the sources as to the personal names of the first holder of the Roko Tui Bau title. Deve Toganivalu, An Island Kingdom, MS, Fiji National Archives, 1927, claims that the first Roko Tui Bau was from the Cokadi family and was Ratu Vueti, (Ch. 11, p.2). This claim is repeated in the Tukutuku Raraba for the Yavusa Kubuna. Rokowaqa claims the first Roko Tui Bau was Seru Mataidrau, founder of the Vuani ivi family, (pp. 47, 66.) Toganivalu has this name as that of the second Roko Tui Bau. As Masau, Toganivalu may have been anxious to have a member of the Cokadi family as the first incumbent to legitimize his own position in early twentieth century Bauan politics. The Tukutuku Raraba in one version claims that the second Roko Tui Bau was no relative of Vueti.
 2. "Kubunavanua" - the land in turmoil or upheaval. The name seems interchangeable with Tuivanuakula (king of the red land) for Kubunavanua was reputed to have visited Burotu, the earthly paradise where all things were red. Compare also R.H. Lester's use of the Tongan word "Kolomavu" [corruption of the Tongan kolomavae (?) divided village.] "Kava Drinking, Viti Levu, Fiji", Oceania, Dec. 1941.

Butoni, later to be known as Cagawalu, the god adopted by the Tui Kaba family.¹ As Kubunavanua was the first reputed Vunivalu, the Tongan influence is, in myth at least, overwhelming.² (See Figure 8b).

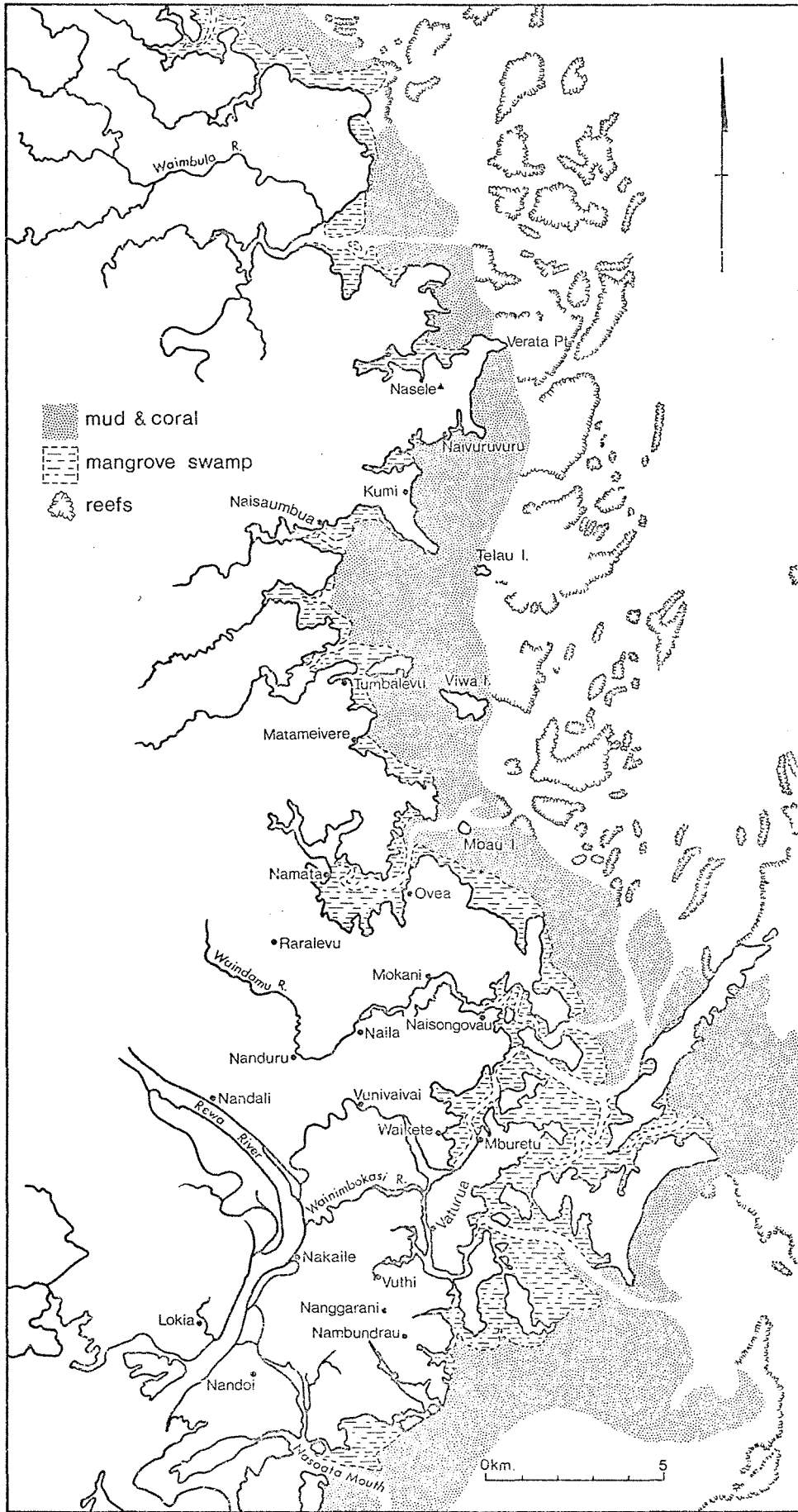
The account of Bau's antecedents embodied a belief fundamental to Fijian society. Community life flowed from the interplay of complementary pairs of opposites. This dialectic was the binding force in the social fabric, the coming together of different groups symbolised in the cobo, the deep resonant cross-handed clap of palm on palm. The Roko Tui Bau as ulumatva, the elder, ruled as paramount. The Vunivalu as gone, the younger, was his

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1. Rokowaqa, P.57 ff. "Ai ka Rua ni Veibuli i Tutu Vakavanua", Rev. R.B. Lyth, "Day Book and Journal", Series B, B539, M.L. Description of Bau, miscellaneous information.
 2. The first Ka Levu of Nadroga was said to have been a Tongan stranger and there are similar myths of the origins of leadership for the interior of Viti Levu. Professor Marshall Sahlins would see this as part of the myth of the stranger-king, the bringer of chaos and bloodshed, too destructive to be accepted as an insider or taukei without first being domesticated by the installation process. (M.Sahlins, "The Stranger-king or Dumézil among the Fijians", Presidential Address, Section 26, A.N.Z.A.A.S., Adelaide, 1980.) It is a very plausible thesis: the possibilities of actual Tongan influence are also strong. Professor Gordon Parsonson suggests an alternative but hardly contradictory thesis. He sees the basic division in many island societies as that between "salt water" and "bush", between the sea-based cultures and the land-based cultures. In the light of his thesis the outsider, the "salt water" man becomes accepted, albeit reluctantly by the "bush" people. Certainly "Kubunavanua" would fit this description.

executive. He was "liga ni wau", defending warrior, to the elder's "liga ni magiti", provider of feasts. With the younger Vusaradave present the two seniors were "liga ni magiti" to Tui Nadakeke's "liga ni wau". The three were feast givers to the descendants of Tui Wai, the bati, the warriors and taukei of the Wainibuka and early settlers of Tailevu.¹ (See Figure 9).

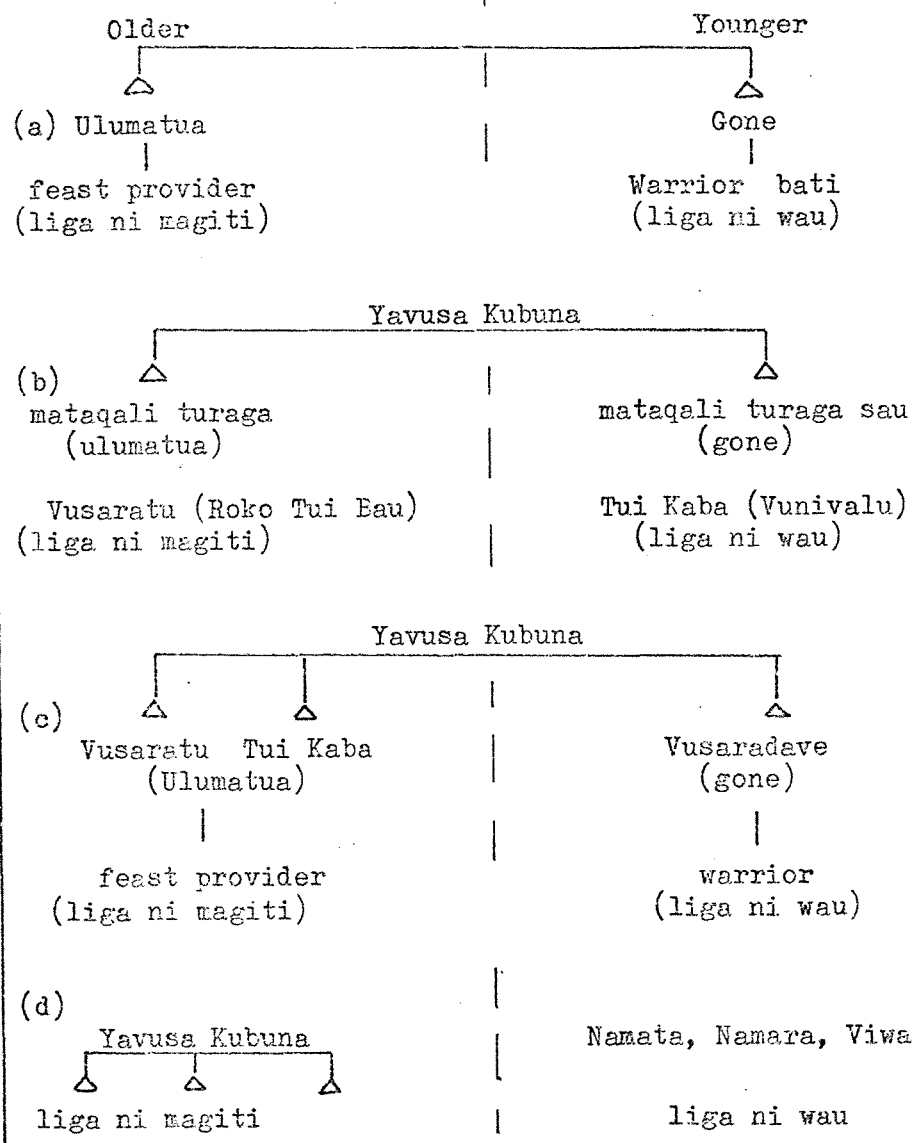
All, however, were Rokowati's descendants, Kawa ni yalewa and Kawa ni gone, from a woman and junior to Catanatamani's offspring.² The 'legitimate' leaders had been replaced. The children of Degei II were the Malosivo, the debased elders, the Masau, who as senior priests became the tutors of the Roko Tui Bau's children, the matanivanua or spokesman of the Vusaratu and an influential party in the selection of the next incumbent.³ In like fashion, the matanivanua of the Vunivalu, the Tunitoga, came from the elder line, the children of Nakumilevu. One of his descendants, Adi Loanacama, while living at Moturiki was reputed

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1. In "nature" as in man, fertility was seen in these terms. The seed yam was cut crosswise (musu) just as a betrothed couple were veimusumusuki or joined across. The Vusaradave, according to one account in the Tukutuku Raraba, occupied six villages when they shifted from the Wainibuka to Kubuna. The Nadakeke branch occupied Sawaniqalo and Nubulevu, the Rokowiri occupied Naisausau and Na Uaua, the Navitimaiwaqa occupied Raralevu and Burekonadruku. The lesser tribes, the Qalivakabau resettled (by the order of the Vunivalu) the sites vacated by the senior families i.e. Muai and Naivisou.
 2. Thus Verata, settled in myth by Lutunasobasoba's kawa was senior to Bau which was Kubunavanua and Koya Nasau's legacy.
 3. Rokowaqa, pp. 22, 66. "Legitimacy" was a very flexible term. The triumphant group of the moment defined legitimacy by their imposition of a status quo. This was challenged continually by those who had nothing to gain by it.



Bau, Verata and Rewa, the Eastern Mainland States (after Admiralty Chart 488)

FIGURE 9. Hand of the feast, hand of the club.



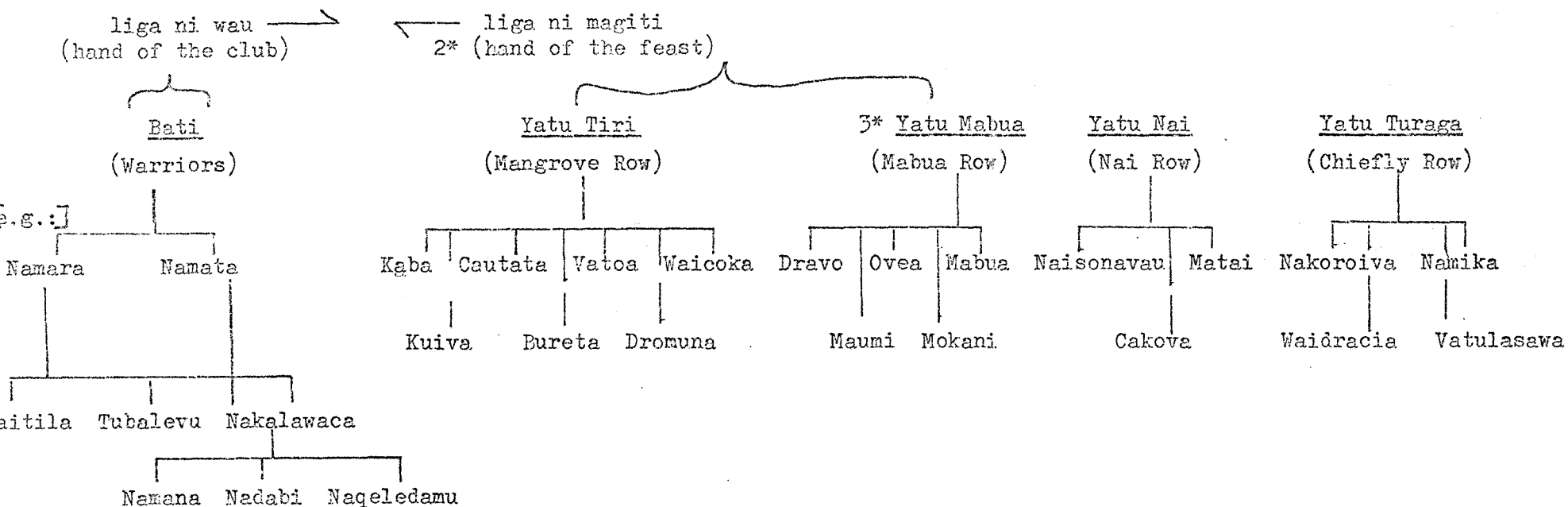
to have become pregnant to a Tongan, the offspring including the first Tunitoga.¹ This line performed a function parallel to that of the Masau. They instructed the Vunivalu's children in matters of state, spoke on their behalf and officiated at the selection and eventual installation of the titleholder. The opportunity for background political manoeuvring the positions of both matanivanua offered may have been some recompense for their decline in status.²

Interdependent groups merged, differentiated on grounds of sex, seniority and area of origin. They were assigned roles with definite rights and obligations based on these differences and this laid the basis for the Bauan state. This Yavusa, (a group which had evolved from the same yavu) shifted down the Rewa watershed to establish its centre of gravity at Ovca. The Yavusa Kubuna, green and immature, took root in foreign soil between the older confederacies of Verata and Rewa. From its fibre Bau was to grow, charged with possibilities.

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1. Rokowaqa, pp. 22, 46, 66. The name is said to derive from the original Tunitoga who wished to return to Tonga: ("ni sa lomana me lesu ki Toga").
 2. There were others with the title matanivanua quite distinct from the Masau and Tunitoga who were personal matanivanua to the senior title holders. They included Takala, Matanivanua and Tuirara; Rokowaqa, p.22. They were divided into household and outside spokesmen.

BAUAN MAINLAND VILLAGES - Organization

1* [lines of communication]



* Requests conveyed according to strict protocol via senior villages in each group.

* Can be suppliers of warriors.

* If troops marshalled (musu golo) in Mabua Row, they assemble in Dravo.

[After Hocart, The Heart of Fiji ..., micro
Alexander Turnbull Library.]

Like the more mature states, the Yavusa Kubuna relied on the taukei amongst whom they had settled, the producers of marawa, the food wealth - yams, taro and bananas, upon which all else rested. Indeed the ability to accumulate and redistribute wealth in the form of root crops, breadfruit and pigs legitimized the new groups' very existence and stimulated its growth. The Roko Tui Bau's status in the new area depended on the land's prosperity. He was a sacred chief of increase and plenty, Ratumaibulu's representative. He had to provide enough food to satisfy the vanua bati, the warrior states who chose to recognise him. With their support the whole network of the warrior state's subordinate villages, the vanua gali, could be exploited to channel food to the centre for redistribution at a level greater than that achieved by any one vanua bati working by itself.¹ When the Roko Tui Bau ordered the imposition of the sara, the tapu on eating of the fruit of all trees, the lebo, the tapu on eating root crops, or the mara, the tapu on killing pigs, his authority to do so was recognised as was his right to lift any taboo.

1. Hocart, Field Notes, 2370. See Figure 10.

Ovea was not directly gali to Bau. It was gali to Dravo. Requests and demands from Bau could be channelled to Ovea only through Dravo. Ovea would then pass on the information to villages of even lower status. Naitasiri was "vanua ki Bau". They listened to requests and would be expected to act on them but they were not subservient in the same way as Dravo. Namata and Namara were equals of the Yavusa Kubuna. They did not have to present food to the Roko Tui Bau. On the contrary, as "liga ni wau" they had the right to be feasted by the chiefs, the "liga ni magiti". (Hocart, Field Notes, 2477) I am again indebted to Professor Marshall Sahlins for these references.

Restrictions on food consumption were essential if sufficient quantities were to be available for the major ceremonies of life and death. Such tapu had the force of supernatural sanction. Those who broke them could suffer not only the seizure of their property but also ill-health or death for the mana of the Roko Tui Bau included dugua, the obverse of fertility, the power to contaminate and infect wrongdoers.

The early economy of Bau was based on the cultivation of the yam. The yam cycle provided the basic framework within which all other activities had to be accommodated (See Figure 11). While orange, kawai and arrowroot reached maturity, the tobebe reed flowered signalling the lunar month of weeding, the time when the ground was burnt and cleared for planting. The scarlet blossoms of the drala were concurrent with the new moon announcing the vula i cukicuki, when the yam gardens were prepared with the digging sticks and the yams planted in mounds, back breaking work, relieved by the festive racing once the beds were ready. The drala was followed by the frangipani, heralding the time that runners were fixed, up which the yam vines would climb, a time when the scent of bua mixed with that of the purple leba as yam tendrils first became visible. These, the cold months, gave way to the anxious time of waiting, of libation and propitiation, when the ivi flowered, the breadfruit ripened. At this time Ratumaibulu came from Bulu and all conflict, all sailing, all unnecessary noise or movement ceased for fear he be offended and depart leaving famine. It was a time of great tension, tension released in an orgy of noise, feasting and games like veitiga once the timid god had left, the health of the yam leaves a sign of his

THE YAM CYCLE.

(Ai Vola gauna)

According to Rokowaga

[Sept]	Vula ko Sakalo	}	flowering and birth
[Oct]	Ko Tui Naoco		
[Nov]	Kamaravu		
[Dec]	Suva Lala [Vula i tadravu]		
[Jan]	Suva Tawa	}	Maturity
[Feb]	Ko Tui Nacovu		
[Mar]	Na Vula i Matua	}	preparation of beds
[April]	Vula i Gasau		
[May]	Vula i Doi		
[June]	Vula i Werewere	}	
[July]	Vula i vakamakama		
[Aug]	Vula i Cukicuki		

According to Seemann

[June, July]	Vula i Werewere	[weeding]
[Aug]	Vula i Cukicuki	[fields dug]
[Sept]	Vula i Vavakadi	[runners placed]
[Oct]	Vula i Balolo lailai	[sea life]
[Nov]	Vula i Balola levu	[" "]
[Dec]	Vula i Nuqa lailai	[" "]
[Jan]	Vula i Nuqa levu	[" "]
[Feb]	Vula ni Sevu	[first fruits]
[March]	Vula i Kelikeli	[yams dug]
[April]	Vula i Gasau	[reeds sprout]
[May]	Vula i Doi	[doi flowers]

The divisions for both are virtually identical. The major difference is the definition of the start of the new year based on this lunar calendar. Rokowaga also divides the year into three segments: (a) Gauna ni se ni kau vuata kei na Sucu ni ika (the time of flowering plants and birth of fish) (b) Na Vula i Matua (the time of maturity; (c) Na gauna ni vakarautaki na laga ni teitei (the time the beds are prepared).

Like the more mature states, the Yavusa Kubuna relied on the taukei amongst whom they had settled, the producers of marawa, the food wealth - yams, taro and bananas, upon which all else rested. Indeed the ability to accumulate and redistribute wealth in the form of root crops, breadfruit and pigs legitimized the new groups' very existence and stimulated its growth. The Roko Tui Bau's status in the new area depended on the land's prosperity. He was a sacred chief of increase and plenty, Ratumaibulu's representative. He had to provide enough food to satisfy the vanua bati, the warrior states who chose to recognise him. With their support the whole network of the warrior state's subordinate villages, the vanua gali, could be exploited to channel food to the centre for redistribution at a level greater than that achieved by any one vanua bati working by itself.¹ When the Roko Tui Bau ordered the imposition of the sara, the tapu on eating of the fruit of all trees, the lebo, the tapu on eating root crops, or the mara, the tapu on killing pigs, his authority to do so was recognised as was his right to lift any taboo.

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approval. When the dawa ripened in forests of red, the first yams were dug out under the light of the full moon, the time of greatest fertility and dedicated to the powers responsible for them. The concern was with the forces that governed the reproductive cycle, the need to reciprocate the granting of renewal. The agricultural produce given to the Roko Tui Bau, the a i vaka-cavacava was given in acknowledgement of the regenerative powers that he embodied. It was his right and created an equally pressing obligation. The food that he subsequently redirected acknowledged his dependence on the vanua bati, equals who needed to be feasted, without whom there was no control over the lesser areas.¹

The early growth of the confederacy must have taken place in comparatively peaceful circumstances for the development of the yam fields sufficient to support a growing state could not have taken place in an atmosphere of unrestrained violence. Small scale warfare was important however. Apart from intra-tribal quarrels and skirmishes, ritualized warfare was fundamental to the yavusa. Through it youths blooded their clubs to become men and husbands, the exploits of the past were fused with those

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1. An avoidance custom mentioned by Rokowaqa reveals the way Fijians thought of the Turaga as opposed to the Bati. The Turaga commonly ate food cooked in coconut milk (vakalolo), the Bati ate plantains (yudi). If both ate in the presence of each other neither could eat their normal fare. The yudi was the symbol of the insider, the taukei (real and classificatory), the coconut, the symbol of the outsider, the vulagi. Neither side of the relationship wishing to embarrass the other, both avoided their common form of food when eating together. Rokowaqa, p.38. "A kena dredre na veibatiki".

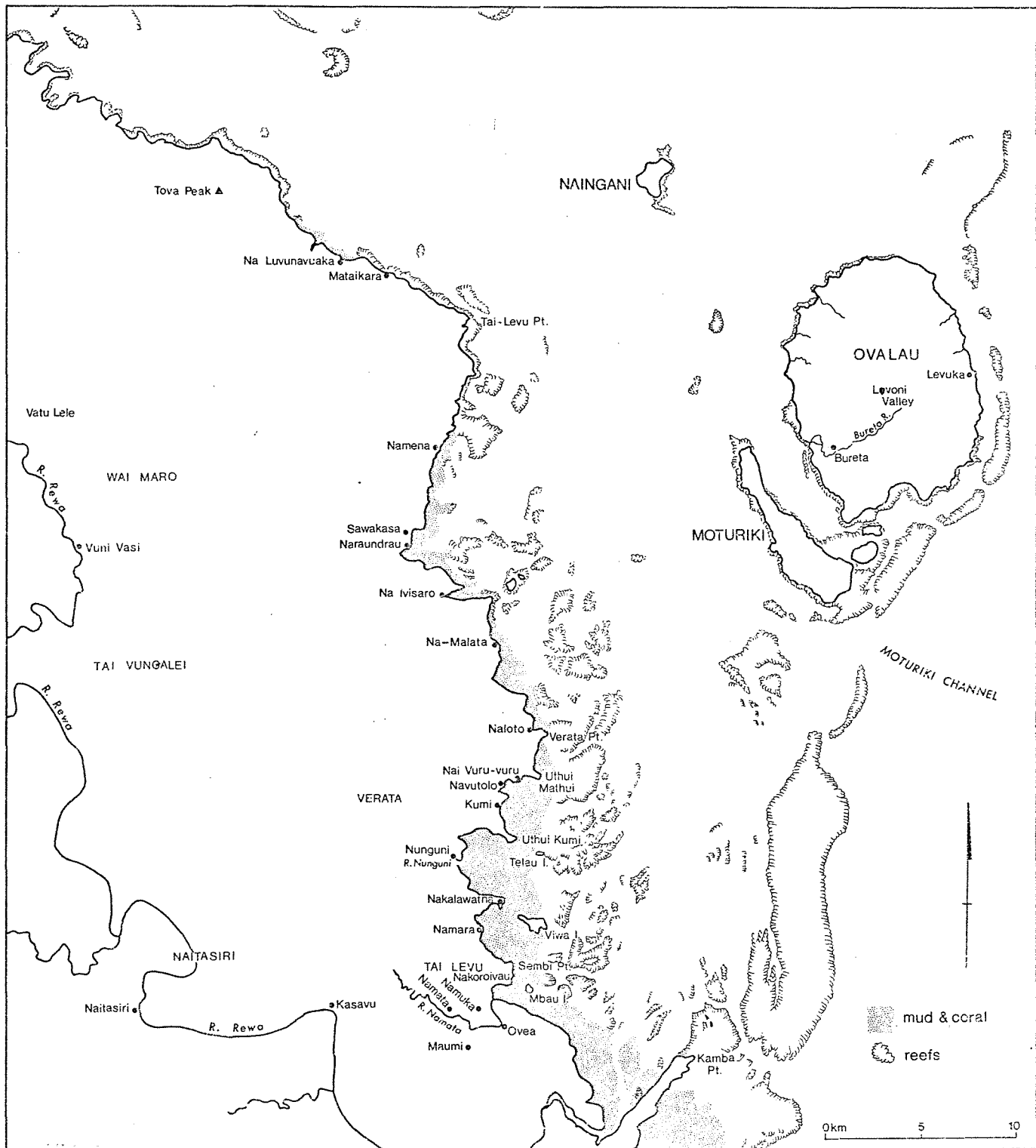
of the present and given meaning, the gods were made accessible and then interceded in human affairs. The bodies of enemies became part of the wealth of the state, the corpses sent as sacrifice, the cooked bodies redistributed by the Roko Tui Bau to allies. Those subjugated groups who were incorporated in the state became the vanua kaisi. Defeated and debased, they provided the human sacrifices at the erection of the great houses, at the circumcision and investiture of chiefs. Unlike outside enemies they could be killed but not eaten. The death had meaning. It ensured the fertility of the state. Within this context, ceremonial warfare was circumscribed, pursued only after the demands of the agricultural cycle were met.

Although nurtured in a society based on the cultivation of yams, the leadership of the Yavusa Kubuna, in myth at least, had originated from seafaring people, a later wave of aggressive outsiders who migrated inland. The shift of the yavusa to the coast altered the nature and direction of the community for the proximity of Kubuna to the sea accentuated this crucial element. The division between land based yam cultivators and those who earned their livelihood and status from the sea was as fundamental as that between leader and warrior, older and younger, male and female. When the geographical and cultural gulf was too great, the difference between these two groups was often the basic conflict in many Pacific Island communities. The elemental struggle obvious elsewhere between "bush" and "salt water" did not apply in the case of the Yavusa Kubuna. The specialist skills of the salt water people were as obvious an advantage to the Roko Tui Bau and Vunivalu as those of the agriculturalist. Moreover, the titleholders held an intermediate status between

both groups being neither fully one nor the other. Close to the coast, the Yavusa Kubuna was well placed to involve the salt water people in the cultural life of a growing state.

Three groups emerged whose activities, though in stark contrast to those of the yam growers, became just as basic to Bauan life. Two of them were incorporated by the mainlanders in the Yavusa Kubuna: the kai Butoni, the fishermen, and the kai Korolevu, the sailors,¹ who had settled on a small soapstone islet fringed with mangrove, a mere twenty acres in extent, separated from the mainland by a large tidal flat half a mile wide and formidable at half tide. It is highly probable that these two groups themselves had ousted or assimilated earlier maritime people. The sailors occupied the small hill which rose on the islet. The fishermen dwelt on the flat known as "Ulunivuaka" in honour of the kai Butoni's right to the pig's head at the distribution of food at a feast.² This honour was bestowed upon them for they were responsible for the capture of the turtle, the most prestigious life form taken from the sea, as man was of the land. The complex ritual surrounding the turtle fishing confirmed the interdependence of groups within the Yavusa Kubuna, expressing and reinforcing group loyalties.³ With them on the islet were the Soso, the kai Rara, originally from Kadavu who had arrived on the islet after the Butoni and kai Korolevu and who had built their dwellings in the area known as Nasaravi. All three were taukei.

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1. Rokowaqa, pp. 22, 23. The kai Levuka were the Daunisoko, (sailors), the Butoni, the Daunigoli (fishermen).
 2. A.R. Tippet, "The Survival of an Ancient Custom Relative to the Pig's Head, Bau, Fiji", in Transactions and Proceedings of the Fijian Society, Vol. 6, 1959. The kai Korolevu (kai Levuka) were divided into two, "na Manuku i Cake, kei na Manuku i Ra".
 3. A.R. Tippet, Fijian Material Culture, B.P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 232, Honolulu, 1968, pp. 130-132.



The Eastern Coastline and Ovalau (after Admiralty Chart 905)

The kai Korolevu and kai Butoni were recognized as land owners on the islet. The Soso held land at Matasawalevu on the coast.¹

The Soso and kai Korolevu performed distinct but complementary functions. The former harvested the shallow waters from Kaba point to Ucuikumi with their fish fences.² The latter, aside from their role as sailors, fished all the deeper reefs from Sawakasa to Mata i Suva, from Ulunivuaka to Moturiki using different nets and traps according to the season. Their activities were accommodated by those of the agricultural community upon whom they depended. As the gardens were dug on the mainland, the massive sukau nets, up to fifty feet long trapped kanaca, ta and saga, this work as backbreaking and tedious as the digging of the ground. As the yams were planted the uwea fish traps captured babaloa and kawakawa. When the yams were dug up, walai creeper nets further dragged fish from the sea to supplement the work of agriculturalist.³

What actually occurred as the Yavusa grew at Kubuna is difficult to reconstruct because the actual identity of the titleholders and their supposed activities were historically

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1. Deve Toganivalu. An Island Kingdom, Ch. 1,2.
 2. The Soso used temporary fences (batevu) to trap fish like the kaikai, matumatu and wailo. These split and woven reed fences could be hoisted as temporary sails. Elsewhere they used permanent fences (ba kele) of timber posts and woven reed walls. (Deve Toganivalu, "Fishing".)
 3. Ibid.

significant to the indigenous narrators. The accounts therefore vary considerably depending on which genealogy is advanced and by whom. Nevertheless the broad outline of what happened is clear because of the disagreement in interpretation evident in these sources.

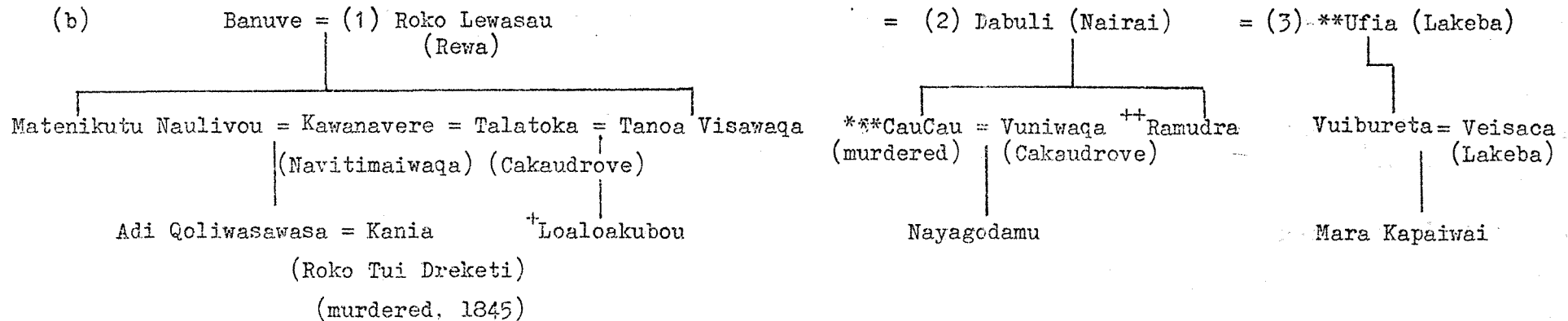
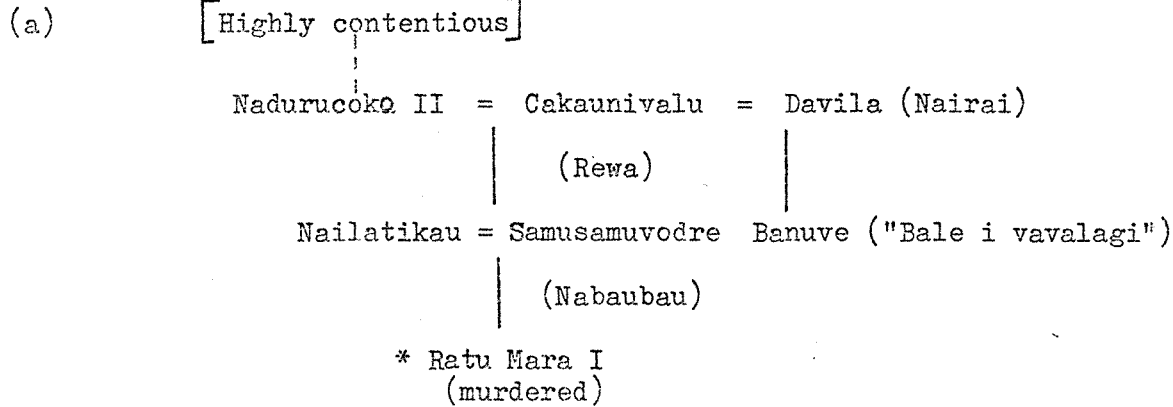
If there was acceptance of the legitimacy of the titles Roko Tui Bau and Vunivalu amongst the Yavusa Kubuna members and those groups incorporated by small scale war and marriage, there was no unanimity in the choice of incumbent for either. Volatile congeries of support and opposition formed around contending brothers and half-brothers with ambitious mothers and disgruntled matanivanua fomenting the worst of the trouble. The endemic hatreds and jealousies within the chiefly mataqali were to be a persistent theme in Bauan politics. Internecine quarrels rendered any leader vulnerable. The survivor was necessarily a superb tactician, a politician of consummate skill. To be less meant failure, for the title holders had to manoeuvre in a political climate of considerable complexity. To do more than survive they needed to augment rare tactical and political wisdom with the insight of an astute diplomat, the physical attributes of a proficient warrior and more than a little good fortune.

Controversy surrounds all the early figures who aspired to the titles. An early Roko Tui Bau, Tauriwau, was, according to one source, murdered by his matanivanua, the Masau, apparently for his excessive demands and his subsequent failure to reciprocate

the rights he enjoyed by virtue of his position.¹ Na Durucoko I, a contemporary of Tauriwau was holder of the Vunivalu title. How he came to power is unknown and his family antecedents are a point of contention. It is possible that he was himself a victor over a rival and senior claimant of the Tui Kaba i Cake family. The name Durucoko suggests he may have been from the Vunivalu Durucoko clan, a part of the Tui Kaba i Ra. The background of his successor, Buinivuaka Nailatikau, is even more controversial. The Masau historian claims he was the son of Tui Nakelo and a Bauan chieftainess adopted by Na Durucoko I. Remembered for his outstanding courage, Buinivuaka gathered around him a powerful clique of supporters, murdered the Vunivalu and was installed in his place.² Other genealogies suggest Nailatikau was Durucoko's son, coming to power as eldest son.³

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1. Deve Toganivalu, An Island Kingdom, Chapter 2. Tauriwau was from the family Roko Tui Bau Vuani ivi. As Toganivalu was the matanivanua for the family Roko Tui Bau Cokadi and champion of that group's claim to legitimacy he cannot be considered an impartial source. The fact of his assassination is repeated in the Tukutuku Raraba for the Yavusa Kubuna.
 2. Toganivalu, An Island Kingdom; Ai Tukutuku kei Viti. The Tukutuku Raraba in one account, has Durucoko as a member of the Nanukurua family.
 3. Genealogy kindly supplied to the writer by Ratu Joni Madraiwiwi. In this version Nailatikau is son of Nadurucoko's wife, Adi Senibuli of Navula, Nakrotubu ("luvena dina kó Buinivuaka"). The Tukutuku Raraba has Durucoko die at Muai and Nailatikau installed at Naivisou. Rokowaqa does not mention Durucoko though most genealogies mention two of the same name. More recent genealogies solve the problem by ignoring it. They have Nailatikau as the first of the recorded Vunivalu.

ABSTRACT OF THE GENEALOGY OF THE TUI KABA TO RATU TANOVA



* Murdered when Tanoa restored.

** Status debated.

*** Murdered when Tanoa restored.

++ Tui Veikoso ("Na Vunivalu davodavo").

+ Married Gavidu of Lasakau. After his death married Ratu Mara, son of Vuibureta. Talatoka married Ratu Naulivou's brother, Ratu Tanoa after the former's death.

He was Vunivalu, and Tauriwau's successor, Lele, was Roko Tui Bau when the intermittent conflict between groups produced a redistribution of clans and a redirection of the state's energies. The kai Korolevu failed in their duty to the Roko Tui Bau and were forced by the Vunivalu to vacate their islet. They were joined by the Butoni who also left, seemingly out of sympathy for their fellows.¹ The kai Korolevu migrated to Lau settling eventually in Tubou, Lakeba, where they were known as the kai Levuka. They built up such influence there that for a time they were the paramount titleholders.² They must have harboured little ill-will for they continued to identify themselves with the mainland group. This had the effect of extending the Yavusa Kubuna's influence in a greatly expanded area and one dominated wholly by maritime cultures. The hardwoods of Kabara and Fulaga, so suitable for canoe-building, now came under their control. The exodus of the Butoni was no less important. Spreading throughout Lomaiviti and as far north as Cakaudrove, they too remained a vital part of Yavusa Kubuna. By becoming part of the newly emerging state of Cakaudrove, the Butoni further enhanced their parent group's maritime capabilities for Natewa Bay's hardwoods were used in the construction of large

1. A.R. Tippet's informant claims the kai Korolevu were driven out and the kai Butoni left out of sympathy. The kai Korolevu have a different version of course: Lorimer Fison, Tales from Old Fiji, Alexander Murray Ltd., London 1904. Lele may not have been Tauriwau's immediate successor as Roko Tui Bau. The Tukutuku Raraba has Veikoso installed after Tauriwau.

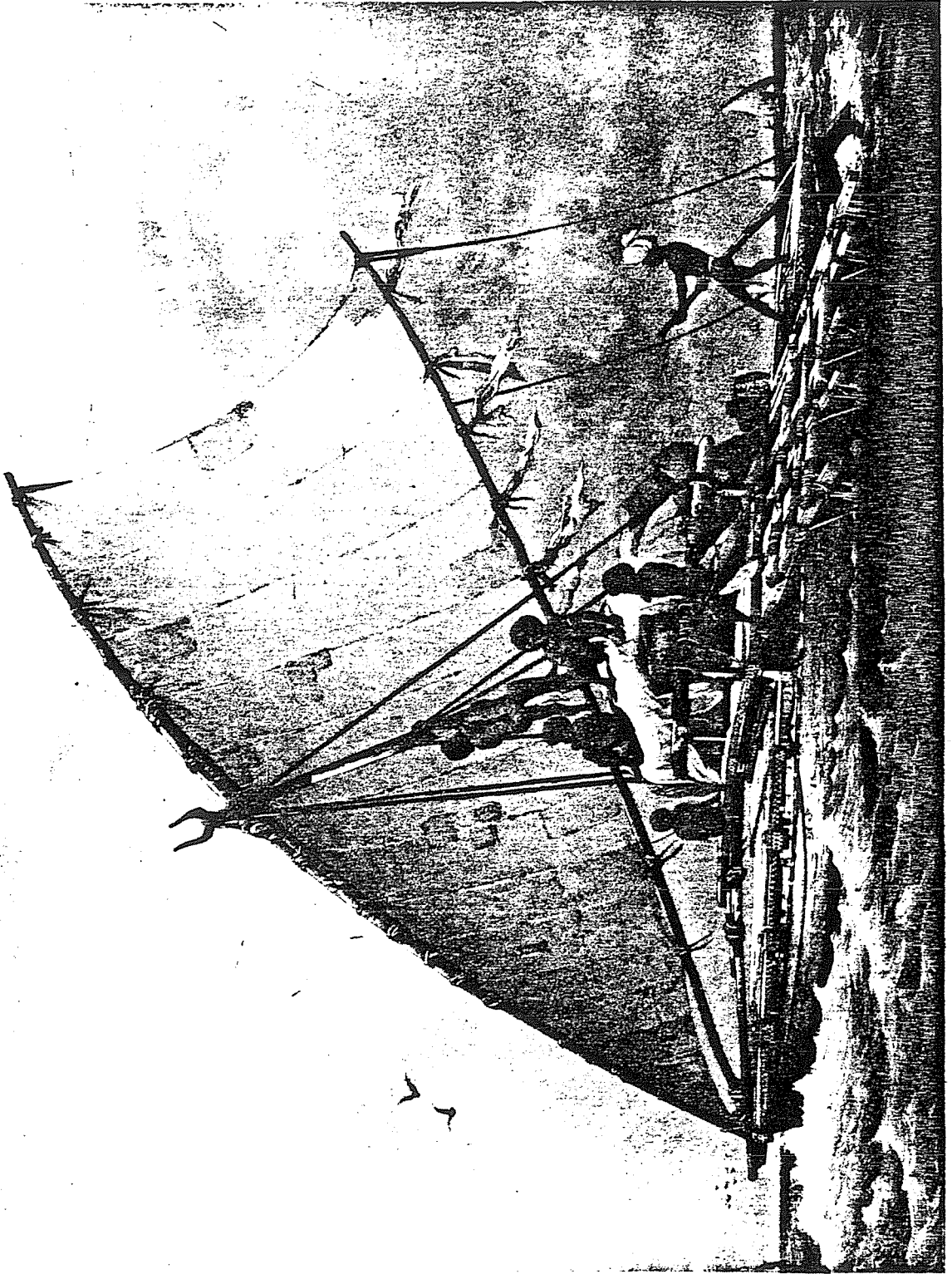
2. A.C. Reid, "The Fruit of the Rewa", J.P.H., Vol. 12, Part 1, 1977.

canoes.¹

The vacuum created by the departure of these two groups was filled by the Yavusa Kubuna. The islet became known thereafter as Bau.² What prompted this shift to Bau is uncertain. Proximity to the coast over a number of generations may have convinced the leadership that such a move would allow extended political influence with the canoe as the major tool for such expansion. On the other hand it may have been occasioned by the political manoeuvrings of contending chiefs, the process of fission in this case resulting in the transfer to Bau. The end result was that the geographical extent of Bauan influence had increased dramatically and that the groups on the peripheries of that expansion were an organic part of the state. The kai Levuka had the right to install the Vunivalu as Tui Levuka; the Butoni head, the Tunidau ni Bau, remained head of the turtle fishermen. Both were the original landholders of Bau, the kai loma ni koro, the insiders. On Bau itself the Yavusa Kubuna was now surrounded by ocean. The islet was as much a part of the sea as the mangrove.

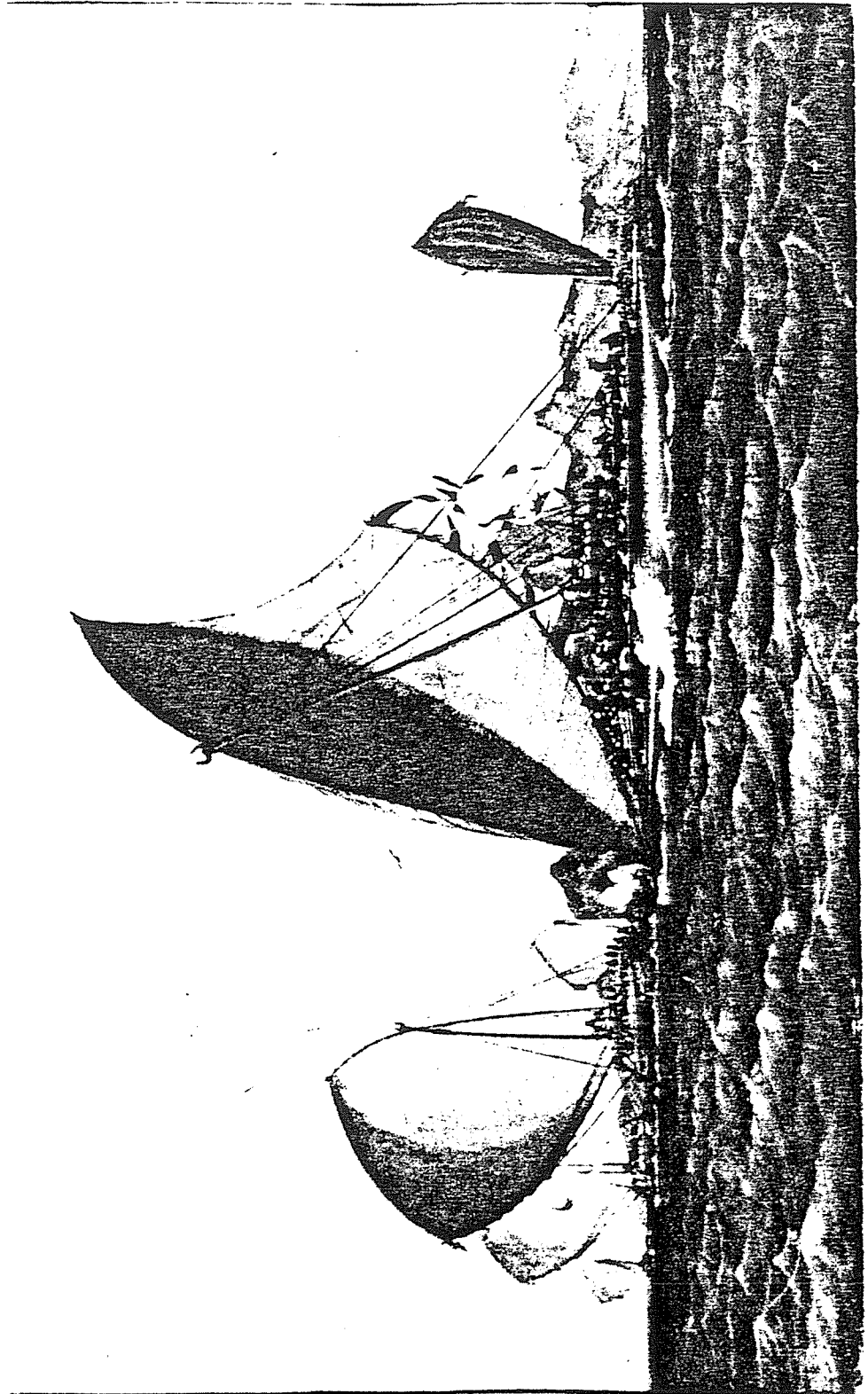
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1. A.R. Tippet, 'Survival of an Ancient Custom ...'. The Butoni were an important Bauan component within the Tui Cakau's dominions as will become clear. For the link with Natewa Bay, see Hocart Papers, micro. 375.2, T.L.
 2. The origin of the name Bau is debatable. Ronald Garvey suggests that it was the name of the mounds of Vueti at Ucuivanua, (R. Garvey, 'The Chiefly Island of Bau', Transactions and Proceedings of the Fijian Society, Vol. 6, 55-57, Dec. 1959.) The Tukutuku Raraba for the Yavusa Kubuna claims it was the name of the mounds of Vueti at Nakauvadra, ("na Suvasuva nei Roko Tui Bau mai Nakauvadra").

FIGURE 13



Camakau under sail, 1838. [D'Urville, 1846] The pennants hanging from the yard (karikari sila) proclaim the importance of the canoe's occupants. The upper yard (karikari tu) consisted of vesi wood (Intsia bijuga) at the base lashed to the supple damamu (Calophyllum vitiense) above.

FIGURE 14



Double canoes or waqatabu (drua) under sail. [Glen Wilson, 1855]
The canoe in the foreground may be the Ra Marama (built in Natewa Bay) given to Bau in the first instance by Cakaudrove and subsequently given by Cakobau to King Siasia Tupou I as a gift on their first meeting. One of the other canoes is probably the Rusa i Vanua from Lau, an equally majestic drua.

The departure of the Butoni however, had left the islet without a specialized clan of sailors or deep sea fishermen. Canoes sent as gifts to Bau were of no use without the crew necessary to man them. Groups of Tongan mariners were to find generous hosts on Bau because of their maritime skills, but sporadic additions to Bau's naval power were hardly satisfactory. Whether by choice, like the Butoni, or under pressure, like the kai Korolevu, a clan of sailors left Beqa, arrived on Bau and were allocated a third of the land upon which to build their bure and temples. This clan, the Lasakau, sailors and fishermen, fulfilled the duties of the Butoni and the ousted kai Korolevu.¹

Kinship, geography and technology combined to allow Bauan consolidation and enhancement of its maritime influence and prestige. Nailatikau's descendants displayed a considerable capacity for capitalizing on these three foundations to build a power base which was to alter the structure of chieftainship within the Yavusa itself and to see Bauan authority touching the shores as far away as the Yasawas.²

The blessings of kinship remained as always - mixed. Nadurucoko II who is said to have gained the Vunivalu title after Nailatikau, was as controversial a figure as all his predecessors. He was followed by his son, Banuve, a classic example of a younger claimant bettering rivals of a senior line.³ The child of Adi Davila of Nairai, he was lower in status than his paternal

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1. Deve Toganivalu, An Island Kingdom, Ch. 2. They settled at Muridua but owned no land on the islet.
 2. Ibid. Nailatikau on his death had the honorific name "Na i sevunigele", the first fruits of the soil, bestowed on him. It demonstrated the islet's dependence on the yam planters of the mainland and the antecedents of the Vunivalu family. Buried as he was on Delanikoro, the hill on Bau where a division of the kai Levuka once lived, his grave site also exhibited the Tui Kaba's wish to be acknowledged by the original taukei as legitimate leaders.
 3. Toganivalu does not mention Nadurucoko II, although he is prominent in most genealogies.

half-brothers, Nailatikau and Celua, children of Adi Cakaunivalu of Rewa, but fought his way to the title at their expense.¹ (See Figure 12).

Though kinship disputes might prove fatal for the losers, in fact much of Bau's growth came from the exploitation of kinship rights. It was during Banuve's time that the potential of the new Bauan situation was realized. The Bauan presence, already prominent in the hardwood areas of Lau and Cakaudrove was strengthened by marriage. In Lakeba this was due in part to direct military intervention. The kai Levuka sent for Bauan help in a succession dispute between the Cekena and Narewadamu families. Banuve responded and received a war bride, Ufia, for his contribution to the war.²

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1. The Reverend R.B. Lyth also records a chief, Savou, child of a Cakaudrove woman who is not mentioned in any of the later genealogies. He was an elder paternal half-brother of Banuve and was defeated by him. This demonstrates the nature and limitations of the genealogies as "historical" sources: Rev. R.B. Lyth, Day Book and Journal, Series B, b539, M.L. Description of Bau, Miscellaneous information. Banuve was also known as Raivalita.
 2. The status of Ufia is of current interest in Fiji owing to the present status of her descendants. Her detractors claim she was a vada or maid servant-concubine. Her descendants claim she was of chiefly status and a formal match, though a war bride. Banuve's father had taken a bride from Cakaudrove (R.B. Lyth, loc.cit.). Banuve's mother, Adi Davila was said to have been seduced by Niumataivalu, a Lakeban chief of the Navuanirewa; Toganivalu, An Island Kingdom. Chapter 2.

In less belligerent fashion, Bauan marriage patterns emphasized the taking of brides from Ra, Lau and Cakaudrove. This created webs of vasu relationships which Bauans were not slow to take advantage of.

The development of the large fleet of double canoes, the massive drua, capable of transporting thousands of men, was due in part to the elaboration of these rights. Protected by the sea from imminent destruction on the part of envious rivals, the islet's location encouraged such a build-up of maritime might.¹ As the fleet of drua grew, the foreshore was transformed by embankments of stone, broken at regular intervals by docks capable of harbouring them, the superbly swift camakau and others of the wagavakatau class of outrigger canoe.² The islet became as densely populated with canoes as with progeny of political marriages, and not without provoking considerable resentment.

The envy such expansion provoked was evident in those areas with most to lose by it - Verata and Rewa. The Yavusa Kubuna was capable of attracting groups in contact with and grudgingly allied to these states. She thus posed a threat as a potential rival. Groups of discontented clans left the older confederacies to ally with this rising power. This alliance was further fed by refugee groups, victims of the interminable tribal skirmishes. These ousted groups settled in varying degrees of subjection on

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1. G.S. Parsonson, 'The Nautical Revolution in Polynesia', amended version of Macmillan Brown Lecture, University of Otago, 1969.
 2. Ronald Garvey, 'The Chiefly Island of Bau', 1959, Transactions and Proceedings of the Fijian Society, Vol. 6.

land adjacent to Bau. Independent groups also turned to Bau, their allegiance dictated by a wily pragmatism. Clans could choose any option as self-interest dictated or occasion demanded. In the kaleidoscope of superordination and subordination, of intrigue, animosity, support and opposition, Bau was a definable power, but a qualified power, built on precarious alliances, on personalities, on promises and threats. It was as substantial as the endless pursuit of status and prestige allowed.

Despite this, Bau's gains in the days of Banuve were not simply those of disaffected border regions of established matanitu. This became obvious to Verata when Viwa, a bati of prime importance, turned to Bau. It was a shift of loyalties with far reaching implications for it brought with it its own network of support on the Ra coast, Lomaiviti and as far north as Macuata. It also meant that Bau's maritime base was expanded. Viwa had its own fleet of canoes and sailors to man them. Ideally placed, a mere two miles from the islet, its allegiance made Bau a fully fledged matanitu whose dominant feature was a flexibility of movement denied competitors.

CHAPTER THREE: The Epidemics: assault on the fertility cult.

The increasingly complex socio-political structure of the state elevated the Vunivalu's status. Conflict within the matanitu or the threat of war outside pressed the Roko Tui Bau's executive into the centre of activities. Since legendary times the vigorous younger line had overcome the senior lineage. This had been acted out often enough within the Tui Kaba family itself. The Roko Tui Bau fell victim to this trend. Without any physical confrontation to decide the issue, the Vunivalu had become, by Banuve's time, de facto paramount in Bau.¹ This did not mean that the Vunivalu himself was the personification of blood and destruction. On the contrary, Banuve is remembered in indigenous accounts more for his talents as a diplomat than as a warrior.² The violence was generally left for the Vunivalu's sons or brothers. The incumbent had proved his competence as a warrior by virtue of the victory of his installation. After the event he had his hands full coping with the pressures of his position. Nevertheless the change in the status of mataqali in Bau reflected the open nature of the society in which the change took place, and the increasing emphasis on war.³ Outsiders, vulagi of

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1. Some sources have Banuve as Vunivalu when the Roko Tui Bau was physically ousted (e.g. A.C. Reid, "Notes on Some Fijian Hereditary Titles", Transactions and Proceedings of the Fijian Society, Vol. 10, 1969; R.H. Lester, "Kava Drinking in Viti Levu", Oceania, Vol. XII, No. 1, 1941). Toganivalu's claim that it was later seems more likely.
 2. Deve Toganivalu, An Island Kingdom, Chapter 3.
 3. The changing status of mataqali through time was, and still is within prescribed limits, a feature of Fijian politics: Basil Thomson, The Fijians . . ., p.366 ff, for Rewa; A.C. Reid, "Notes on Some Fijian Hereditary Titles", for Cakaudrove; W.R. Geddes, "Fijian Social Structure in a Period of Transition" in Anthropology in the South Seas, (ed. J.W. Freeman and W.R. Geddes), New Plymouth, Avery Press, 1959, for Vatulele; Rusiate Nayacakalou, "The Bifurcation and Amalgamation of Fijian Lineages over a period of 50 years", Transactions and Proceedings of the Fijian Society, 60-61, Vol. 8, 1965.

other island groups were accepted into Bau, their relative importance depending on what skills they had to offer.¹ Tongans continued to come both as fully incorporated resident carpenter groups to construct the smaller coastal canoes, the takia, and as peripatetic warriors willing to act as mercenaries for any group able to reward them adequately.² The carpenters shared the low standing of all mataisau. The mercenaries enjoyed the privileges accorded other bati.

The religious system mirrored this political change and reflected the interdependence of the natural and supernatural world in the minds of its adherents. The daily physical health of the Bauan

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1. Samoans, for example, came at least as early as Niumataiwalu's time as specialist craftsmen. Two came with Tongans, one of whom, Lemaki, established, with his son Manakosiale, a notable lineage of carpenters throughout Lau (A.C. Reid, "The Fruit of the Rewa", p.17). Of course Samoans had come much earlier. There was Fijian contact with Tonga perhaps as early as the thirteenth century if Tongan genealogies are to be believed, and Samoans formed part of the Tu'i Tonga's Falefa at that time (E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, B.P. Bishop Museum Bulletin, 61, Honolulu, 1929). It is highly probable that there were therefore Samoans in Fiji at this time, (just as it is highly probable that there were other Pacific Islanders in Fiji, given the Samoan-Tongan network of contacts with other groups) and that some of them found their way to Bau at its very earliest stages. Indeed, "Kubunavanua" himself may have been of Tongan blood.
 2. George Vason, An authentic narrative of four years' residence at Tongataboo, one of the Friendly Islands in the South Seas, Longman, London, 1810; A.M. Hocart, Lau Islands, Fiji, B.P. Bishop Museum Bulletin, LXII, Honolulu, 1929, "Abstract of the Genealogy of Navuanirewa". Vason recounts the career of Kau Moala who spent years engaged as a mercenary in Fiji. A.M. Hocart's genealogy shows the unmistakable influence of Tongans in the Lakeban chiefly hierarchy. Lau was to be the refuge of the Ha'a Ngata Tupu clan of Vava'u. They were destined to play an important role in Bau's history.

community was maintained by an extensive use of herbal remedies. Cuts were soothed by a variety of poultices, the juice from the stipes of the balabala cured headache, the boiled roots of the natonu banished ringworm.¹ Discomfort in the stomach, chest and lungs, dyspepsia and neuralgia; all were amenable to the power of herbs as were lumbago, sterility and falling hair, the innumerable complaints of adulthood. The needs of the body and the fruits of the external world were thus merged in belief and practice.² This went beyond the more mundane concerns of boils and rheumatics, embracing the supernatural and welding past and present. The daiga might emit a horrid smell but it was vasu to heaven, a safe refuge when terrors appeared. The gigantic plantain, the Boia, was the food of the sky Veli, the little people reputed to live in the forest. The Baka tree with its fantastic aerial roots hosted spirits when they chose to materialize. The tarawau trees had been planted by the dead.

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1. Poultices for a wide range of complaints were made from a great variety of ferns (digi), mosses, lichens and algae (lumilumi), creepers (wa), the leaves and bark of many shrubs and trees in different combinations. (H.B.R. Parham, "Fiji plants, their names and uses"; B. Seemann, Flora Vitiensis).
 2. Elephantiasis was dealt with by chewing the leaves of the walai creeper and applying them as a poultice, sterility by the bark and leaves of the dawa combined with walai leaves. Falling hair was treated with yauyau, a forest herb. Abortion was procured by a decoction of the leaves of the wakiwaki and kalaunisoni. The lemaru reduced fever after childbirth, the kauniyalewa (shrubs, trees etc.) alleviated period pain, the wakalou fern provided a means of contraception. Many of these latter uses were successful only if taken in time with natural cycles like the phases of the moon. H.B.R. Parham, ibid; C.A. Latouche Brough, "The Diseases and Medicines of Fiji", Transactions of the Fijian Society, 1924.

When nightfall descended only the insane or evil frequented the forest. For human agents could tap the forces resident there and maim or kill any enemy against whom they might direct their powers. Draunikau, herbal witchcraft, could be used by specialists of either sex as a weapon sure as any club. Its male practitioners, the Veinita, were wizards whose knowledge of herbs could kill an enemy or protect a patron by countering the spells of others. No personal refuse was left carelessly around lest it be used by enemies for such sorcery.¹ There were also the potent female priestesses, the a i Vava.² There were those who became temporary prophets, doctors, composers of dance and visionaries through the power of

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1. The Veinita might not be a bete as such, but experts in draunikau specialising in sorcery. They could use refuse (benu) or herbs to harm an enemy or concoct antidotes (bulakaureki) to counter other charms. Personal rubbish and waste was thus usually thrown into the sea to prevent this. ("Sa sega ni mana na draunikau e na waitui").
 2. A classic case of a priestess is told by Pita Tatawaqa ("Adi Rorogo", Transactions of the Fijian Society, 1914). During Tanoa's time as Vunivalu, a goddess entered into a woman of Namara, Nawaisau. She went to Bau claiming she was Leveusu come from Davetalevu (the Bauan gate to Bulu), that she was the offspring of Ra Domodoma and Adi Kawanavere (Radi Levuka), mother of Qoliwasawasa. Tanoa fed the woman at his kure at Muaidule. The goddess was reputed to have reappeared years later as Adi Rorogo entering a Moturiki woman.

the luveniwai, the offspring of the water.¹ There were endless supernatural dreams and ghosts, the spirits of the dead which entered ordinary mortals, the spirits of the sleeping which entered others, and the most potent of spirits, those of women who had died in childbirth.²

These supernatural manifestations permeated Bauan life and were inextricably bound to the natural world not only by the direct role that herbal medicine played in witchcraft and divination but also in the manner in which the Bauan pantheon was continually restructured to accommodate political reality. The dignity of the Kalou vu, the ancestor spirits of legend, and more particularly the Kalou yalo, the ancestors of more recent times, waxed and waned as did the fortunes of their adherents. They existed in symbiotic

1. The cult of Luveniwai (also known as kalourere), was widespread. The form varied from the coast to the interior. In South East Viti Levu, a site near a beach was chosen and beautified to attract the little spirits, usually by young men wishing to attain supernatural powers. The little spirits conferred five types of mana on their mediums:

- (a) skill in the organizing and construction of meke (Vuniduvu),
- (b) power to restore health (Vuniwai),
- (c) the power of prophecy (Daurairai),
- (d) the power to accumulate property (Dauniyau),
- (e) the power to practise sorcery (Daunidraunikau).

The mediums had to remain strictly celibate during the appearance of the Luveniwai. See R.H. Lester, "Magico-Religious Secret Societies of Viti Levu, Fiji", Transactions and Proceedings of the Fijian Society, 1940-1944, Dec. 1953.

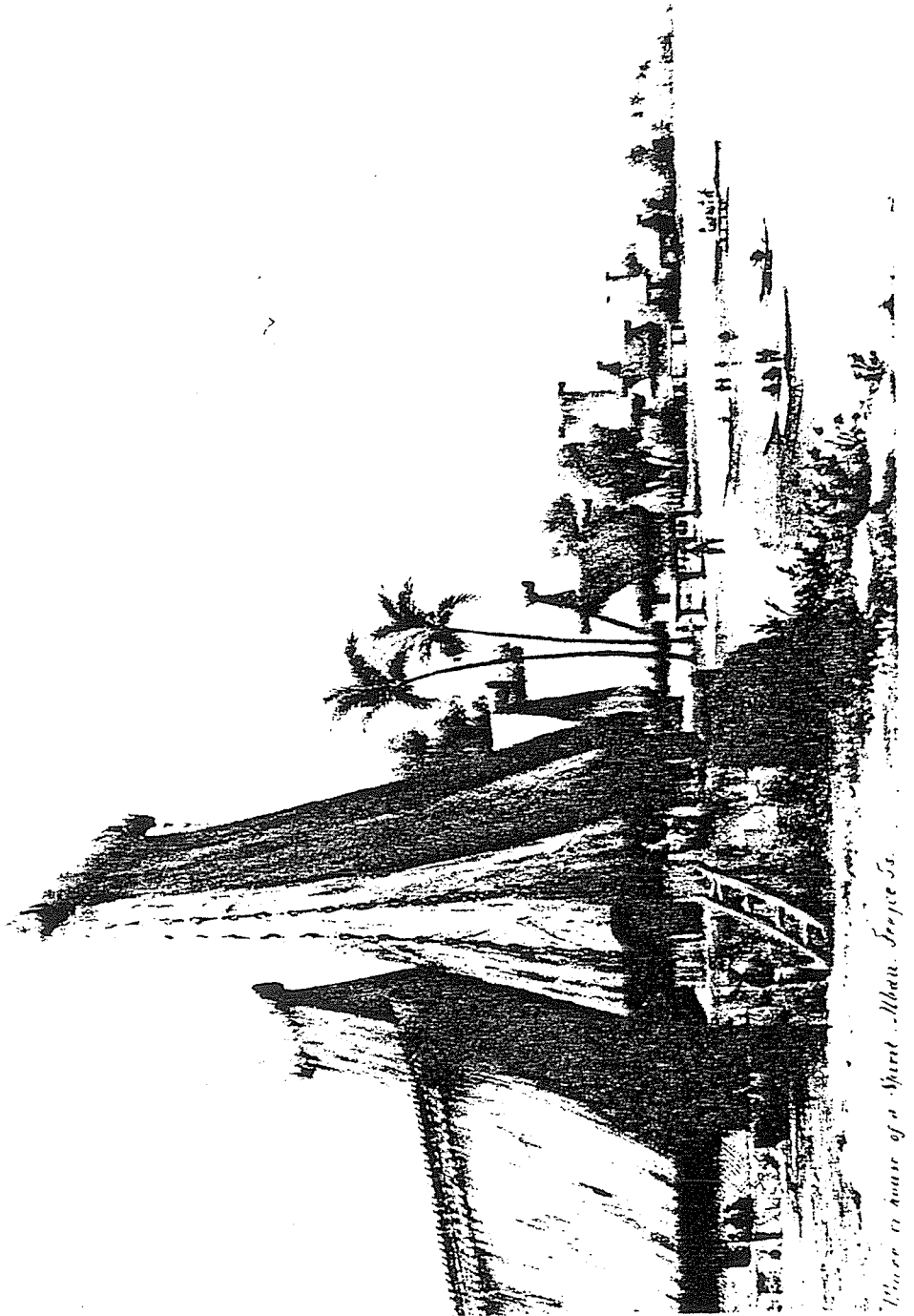
2. One could for example suddenly have visions (raivotu). One form could be daukida (kida - to feel, a premonition), usually in contradistinction to the activities of the Veinita in that it revealed wrongdoers, scaring them into righting a wrong they had done. Supernatural dreams (daukaumatana) and ghosts (sae) were legion. The spirits of the dead entering the living were yalo ni mate. Those spirits of the sleeping which could enter others were yalo bula (living spirits), and those of women who had died in childbirth, yalo ni tine ni gone.

relationship, the prestige and efficacy of one, a measure of the other. As groups merged and split, as status relationships and fortunes altered, the pantheon of necessity altered also. The rejection, elevation and debasement of political life had its counterpart in the supernatural.

The crowded islet literally bristled with temples that affirmed this. The temple of the war-god, Cagawalu, was itself proof of the new leading family's recognition of the need for both spiritual and temporal legitimacy. The Tui Kaba had adopted Cagawalu from the Butoni seamen, the taukei of the islet. The ancestor god of Bau's expatriate mariners and landowners thereby strengthened the position of the Vunivalu's family for it bound the Butoni and Tui Kaba by cutting through the narrow confines of reverence for the Kalou yalo, the personal ancestral gods of each household and clan. In like fashion the other great temple bordering the green of the Bauan quarter encouraged loyalties beyond the borders delineated by kinship groupings. The temple of Navatanitawaki, dedicated to the fertility god, Ratumaibulu, had before it an ominous killing stone. Against it were smashed the heads of victims taken in battle. Their corpses were given to the Roko Tui Bau by the warriors of the confederacy, "the hand of the club". The bodies were dismembered, cooked and distributed by the Vusaratu head, "the hand of the feast", after he had consumed the choicest portions. The first turtles taken were also offered as sacrifice before the same stone as were the first fruits of the soil. The green before Navatanitawaki hosted ceremonies that united agriculturalist and seafarer.¹

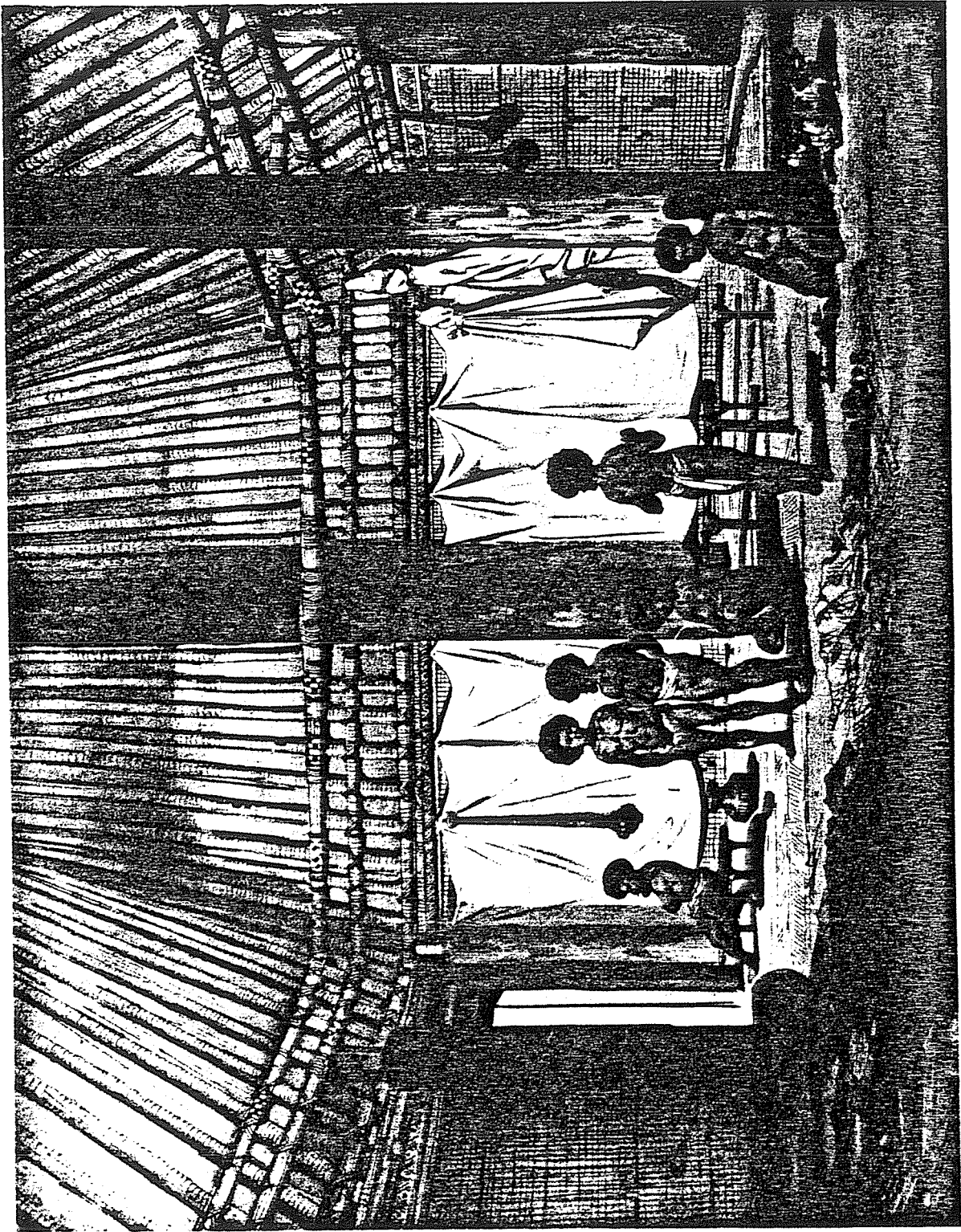
1. Ratumaibulu was not the only fertility god with an appeal broader than the extended family. In the Lasakau quarter stood the temple of Daucina, the lascivious god shared by many seafaring tribes. The other great structure on the Bauan green was Na Ulunivuaka, the bure over one hundred feet long which helped to house the large group of visitors who frequented Bau.

FIGURE 15



Bau, 1848. [Shipley, Mitchell Library.]
The illustration features a spirit temple (bure kalou) on the Bau islet shore. The high foundations and the steeply pitched roof were typical features of such structures.

FIGURE 16



Temple, 1838. [D'Urville, 1846]. The sketch is notable for the massive ceremonial club displayed and for the illustration of the groin tattoo of the maiden. The tattoo was a preliminary to the consummation of marriage. The men are clothed in the maro, the tapa cloth loin-cloth.

Elsewhere on the islet there were temples dedicated to gods who had the following of specialist groups on Bau and in other parts of the country. The temple of Rokola, the god of carpenters, and Dakuwaqa, the shark god, were examples of this. The majority of temples however were erected to serve the particular needs of clan groups and families within a clan. The Lasakauans had a temple in honour of Butakoivalu, their god of kidnapping. The Soso had an area of ground sacred to Delatabutabu, a god of fire. The "junior" line of the Vunivalu family, the Tui Kaba i ra, had the temple Naisoronicika; the warriors of the Tui Kaba and Vusaratu, the Vusaradave, had the temples of Nadulukovuya and Naveikilaisautu. The Vusaratu had the temple, Nadruguca; their spokesman, the Masau, had the temple of Nayaranabati.¹

The men responsible for the intercession between mortal man and the Kalou vu and Kalou yalo of the various temples were the bete, specialist priests of each clan, trained as intermediaries like the matanivanua of the natural world. Unlike the greatly feared wizards, the bete owed allegiance to the clans of which they were members. These men became the temporary shrines of their respective gods who would take possession of their mortal bodies in the temple after the bete had imbibed ceremonial kava. The

1. Rev. R.B. Lyth, Day Book and Journal, B539, M.L., Sequence B, "Notes on Fijian politics"; Joseph Waterhouse, The King and People of Fiji, p.363 ff. Those sharing a god were known as Kalouvata. Rokola and Cronabasaga were gods of the Bau carpenters (kalou mataisau). The names of the temples suggest episodes of importance in the careers of the Kalou yalo to whom the structures were dedicated: Naisoronicika, (propitiation for weakness), Nadulukovuya, (a parcel of a cooked(?) portion of a victim of war), Naveikilaisautu, (mutual recognition of peace), Nadruguca, (discordant note), Nayaranabati (the dragging of the warrior).

convulsions of full possession were followed by the staccato voice of the priest in trance as he became the mouthpiece of the god. Like their contemporaries of the natural world, the bete were responsible for all ceremonies associated with oaths (musukau), with thanks (madrali), libations (lovi) and propitiation (soro). The status of the priests and the ancestors for whom they were spokesmen depended on the success of their living senior clansmen and the relative success of rival groups within each clan.

For thirty years this community, which Banuve dominated as Vunivalu, was strengthened and enlarged. Then the sickness came.

Although the identity of those who brought the diseases is debatable and the dates at which the illness swept through the group uncertain, it is clear that two catastrophic epidemics struck Fiji probably a decade apart in the last years of the eighteenth century.¹ The first, called the lila (the wasting sickness), was characterised by acute headache, intense thirst and loss of appetite. Introduced from Lau, it devastated the population of the South East littoral of Viti Levu. Traditions of the lila describe its effects as being even greater than that of the measles epidemic which claimed at least 25% of the population eight decades later.² A lament of the time echoed the feelings of despair and bewilderment:

They fall and lie helpless and pitiable ...

The spirits flow away like running water, au nanuma.

This was not a sickness the community could easily come to terms with. It was not just those normally vulnerable to illness who succumbed. Men and women in their prime "fall with the sap still

1. See Appendix 4, C, ii.

2. Commission of Inquiry into the Decrease of the Native Population, Govt. Printer, Suva, 1896; M.P. Heasley, "Collaboration and Resistance in Post-Cession Fiji, 1875-76", B.A.(Hons.) thesis, Otago, 1977.

in them". Herbal remedies apart from the lagaigai and wavuwavu did little to stem the appalling mortality rate. A natural corollary to this was disillusionment with the gods themselves and disaffection with the priestly clans. Dismay at man's seeming failure to placate the fertility god, Ratumaibulu, brought into question the perceived relationship between the natural and super-natural worlds:

Degei is now put to shame.

The sick appeared trapped in an unhappy interstice and threatened contagion.

We do not die. We do not live, au nanuma.

As a consequence of the belief that the community was endangered by chronically ill people, the custom of strangling the sick (yateba) as an act of mercy and protection was introduced.¹ This was done to preserve not upturn the ideological status quo, to speed the transit to the afterworld and, it was hoped, to restore balance, to bring health back to the community.² Nonetheless it was a desperate attempt to do so and many were to die this way before the contagion passed. The life of the yam planters of the Tailevu coast and the seafarers of Bau must have been severely disrupted.

Within a decade of this upheaval an equally calamitous epidemic of dysentery (cokadra) hit the group, again brought by white vulagi via Lau. The cokadra was a severe blow to Bauan society not yet recovered from the debilitating effects of the

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1. Ilai Motonicocoka, Appendix 4, C, U . See the same Appendix for the debate.
 2. This was fundamentally different from the strangling known as loloku ni mate, that done as part of the a i loloku at the death of a friend out of grief and respect. Nonetheless widow strangling was the precedent from which yateba derived, a fitting if frightening example of the change in emphasis wrought by the epidemics. Commission of Inquiry ... p.35.

first epidemic. The effects of both were felt in all aspects of Bauan life. Death from warfare, sickness and old age had been an accepted fact beaten into the social fabric, a necessary transition enabling the union of the mortal and immortal to be realized. Death was a resolution welding complementary states of being. For this reason widows were strangled to follow their husbands on the journey after death. The epidemics posed a fundamental challenge to traditional beliefs, a challenge which was largely unmet. Old answers proved sterile, the gods impotent in the face of new forces. The religious system failed to provide a satisfactory solution to the problem or suggest alternative ways of coping. The psychological and physical impact of the cokadra accentuated and reinforced trends initiated by the lila. The sheer numbers of dead made the efficacy of previously trusted forces highly questionable. The ceremonials associated with death had been concerned with renewal and rebirth. The forms remained but the agnosticism encouraged by crippling illness tended to bury these concerns.

One of the victims of the cokadra was Banuve himself, named afterwards, "Bale i Vavalagi" (He who) fell of the foreign (disease)). His successor was his eldest son by Roko Lewasau of Rewa, Ratu Matenikutu Naulivou.¹ The accounts of his installation and the manner in which he maintained his influence thereafter stress the belief current at the time that nature had gone berserk. His veibuli was said to have been marked by the terror of a full solar eclipse. This was a decidedly inauspicious omen so soon after the

1. There may well have been a delay of a year or even more between the death of Banuve and his son's installation given the effects of the epidemics. Cakobau himself, fifty years later, had an eight month wait before his own veibuli as Vunivalu. See also Basil Thomson, South Seas Yarns, p.297 ff. Of course there was never any certainty of a formal installation at any time.

nightmare of death. It was followed moreover by floods of legendary proportions that destroyed villages along the Tailevu coast and the Rewa delta.¹ The suspicion, mistrust and fear of assassination which had been the most startling features of the political environment in which titleholders were expected to function were accentuated.

Naulivou's grasp of the imperatives of Bauan politics created by the epidemics led him to create webs of intrigue as fine as the patterns on Kadavu masi cloth. He surrounded himself with innumerable plots and counter plots, with rumour and uncertainty.² In the ensuing confusion he hoped to recognize his allies and confound his enemies, to break through the screens of seeming. It was a technique of survival and control he needed to wield with as much dexterity as his club and his canoes. Treachery or fear of it pervaded Bau. He simply exploited a means of defence and attack suggested by the predicament he found himself in and he did so with telling effect.

During his tenure of the title, the debasement of the Roko Tui Bau family, initiated by the younger line and encouraged by the epidemics, was completed. Ratu Raiwalui, the Vusaratu paramount, inveigled by his Cakaudrove wife, Adi Salauca, agreed to the assassination of a group of visiting Cakaudrove chiefs. They were

1. Commission of Inquiry ... p.36; "Whole villages were swept out to sea and the mangrove was buried deep in silt. This flood it was said formed much of the land in the lower Rewa. A similar tradition is found in Bua".

2. An expression used in reference to Naulivou was "Drau vakadrau na nona vere" (plots a hundred times a hundred or countless). He was also known as Ra Domodomo, the crutch head on the uppermost part of the double canoe mast.

apparently responsible for the murder of the lady's brother some time before. The Vusaratu were opposed in this plot by the Tui Kaba family. The opposition developed quickly into serious armed conflict. The Vusaratu fled. After a considerable chase they were engaged in a sea battle off Mago where Raiwalui himself was killed. Naulivou's younger brother, Ratu Tanoa, who had led the attack, then burnt the opposition's canoes found beached off Vuna, Taveuni.¹ Raiwalui's successor, Bala, held a title deep in the shadow of the Vunivalu's authority. Aside from his family's physical worsting he was the representative of a fertility god whose credibility had been severely eroded.

Naulivou demonstrated furthermore, a capacity to adapt to changes apart from those wrought by the epidemics. When the vulagi from more distant lands started to come for the same sandalwood the Tongans had long been cutting, new technology and new ideologies became available.² With a motley collection of American, British and colonial trading ships came Tahitians, Maoris, Hawaiians, Chinese, Lascars, Bengalis, American blacks, Hindus, Bhuddists, Muslims, Christians, pantheists, altogether a bewildering array of belief and language. (See Appendix 4b).

More readily accessible and comprehensible than the realities

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1. Deve Toganivalu, An Island Kingdom, Chapter 4.
 2. Naulivou had his first major experience of the effectiveness of European weapons of war after the attack on Tavea (see Thomas Smith's account, Journal of William Lockerby, Everard Im Thurn and L. Wharton (Eds.), Hakluyt Society, London, 1925, pp.193 ff.) He and the combined fleet of Bauan and Dana canoes attempted to enter Bua Bay to attack Bua, only to be frustrated by the two trading ships, the General Wellesley and the Favourite. See Journal of William Lockerby, p.45 ff.

of conflicting systems of belief were the musket and cannon. They were immediately absorbed into the weaponing of Bau. White mechanics able to maintain the new weaponry found a place in Bau, welcome as vulagi before them for as long as they fulfilled their duties and respected Bauan custom, killed when they did not.¹ The musket, the dakai ni vavalagi, joined the bow, the dakai ni vili, as the broad axe joined the club in attacks on Verata and Nakelo.²

The consequences were somewhat ironic. Large scale confrontations quickly ceased. Lightning raids and brutal skirmishes became characteristic of armed conflict with a resulting decrease in the mortality rate in warfare (see Appendix 4 d). Protracted sieges were remarkable for the elaborate, almost obsessive concern for defensive positions (see Appendix 3 a). The blooding of one's club, the sevu malumu, had been a basic rite of passage.

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1. A small group of non-Pacific Islanders lived on Bau in a house between Soso and Bau. They included, among others, Charles Savage, a Swede, Martin Bush, a Prussian, Joe, a Lascar, and Luis, a Chinese. Three of them were clubbed because of their behaviour at a Solevu. According to Thomson (South Sea Yarns, p.312 ff.) they had trampled and slashed yams in anger at their failure to receive a portion. Only Naulivou's patronage prevented them all being killed. See Peter Dillon, Narrative and Successful Result of a Voyage in the South Seas ..., 2 Vols., Hurst, Chance & Co., London, 1829 p.3.
 2. The musket was naturally classified in the same group as the bow (dakai ni vili). Thus the musket was dakai ni vavalagi, the fowling piece, dakai ni manumanu, and the pistol, dakai lekaleka. Just as a club with great mana was occasionally elevated to the status of a sacred club (gadro) and kept in a temple, so too, the musket was sometimes similarly honoured. See Jackson's Narrative in J.E. Erskine, Journal of a Cruise Among the Islands of the Western Pacific including the Feejees, London, 1853, p. 434.

The killing of one's adversary by the throwing club or by the hand clubs like the bowai or totokai proved courage, daring, manly skill.¹ After such an achievement a youth was knighted in the ceremony of buli yaca, the naming ceremony. He symbolically threw off his childhood as he had partially done at circumcision to become truly potent, privately as an individual with his own name, socially as a husband and father. With the horror of the epidemics the acceptance of this relationship between martial success and social potency was under question. With the advent of the musket the relationship was made even more tenuous for any youth aspiring to acceptance as a man could do so by quite different methods. He could shoot the bravest of adversaries by luck more than skill and then shatter the corpse's skull with his club. Tactical sorties and retreats, already a part of Fijian warfare, became an essential method to ensure against the ignominy of being shot.² The musket, by its very impersonality and indiscriminateness, changed the patterns of warfare as irrevocably as the epidemics had challenged the viability of the fertility cult.

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1. The bowai was a striker, the waidriwa, a throwing club, the totokai, a penetrator, and the ququ, a chiefly ceremonial (?) club. (A.R. Tippett, Fijian Material Culture, p.36 ff.) The astonishing beauty of these clubs, a fine expression of Fijian material art with their variety of shapes within each type, their high polish, the intricate patterns of carved spirals, flanged butts, bosses with raised lozenge centres, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic designs and inlaid mother-of-pearl can be seen in the Canterbury Museum where the Oldman Collection is housed, and see "The Oldman Collection of Polynesian Artifacts", Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vols. 48,49.
 2. Given the incredible accuracy and deadly force with which the hand club, (generically - ula), spears and stones (from slings - rabo) could be thrown, skill at dodging these weapons was necessarily highly developed. Thus the need for sorties and retreats.

CHAPTER FOUR: Inside the Confederacy: the pursuit of legitimacy.

To some observers Ratu Tanoa Visawaqa seemed a mere shadow of a man in comparison to his predecessor. Age had begun to whiten his hair and beard. It was a measure of his mortality which he attempted to disguise with constant applications of black dye. He was shorter than his brother, given to speaking through his nose, the nasal twang making his utterances inelegant. He was lightly muscled, almost fragile in appearance.¹ The leanness however was that of the yocivoci tree, its unspectacular wood perfect for digging sticks season after season. Tanoa had its wiry strength and the determination and courage to intimidate his enemies. His confidence and self assertion was qualified by an instinct for danger. Allied with this were the diplomatic skills at his command, the mastery of which he owed to his half century of experience. They would prove decisive in the crises he was soon to face. His title, Visawaqa, indicated the role he had played in the overthrow of the Vusaratu family. The terrible scars on the back of his head and near his right ear bore silent testimony to his resilience.² This man, father of Seru, was a match for any in the art of survival. In the ceaseless violence and bloodshed as the club, spear and musket cut down those around him, Tanoa fed the vanua bati, exacted tribute from

1. See William Cary, Wrecked in the Feejees ... p.56:

"We were soon visited by David Whippy and a host of natives who informed me that the old king of Ambou was dead and that he was succeeded by his brother Verser Wanker who was greatly his inferior in every sense."

His tendency to speak through his nose was commented on by nearly all visitors. See e.g. Jackson in Erskine, Journal of a Cruise ... p.457 and G.M. Colvocoresses, Four Years in a Government Exploring Expedition, N.Y., Cornish Lamport & Co., 1852, p.141.

2. Cargill, Rev. D., Memoirs of Mrs. Cargill by her husband, J. Mason, London, 1841.

the vanua qali, took slaves and bokola from the vanua kaisi and enemy territories with almost as sure and ruthless a hand as Naulivou before him.¹

Survival was a triumph in itself. To thrive and succeed amidst all this mortality was the mark of genius, and benevolent ancestors. Seru, as son of such a man could see little to disturb him. While his father was burdened with the demands of his position, Seru could devote himself to the pursuit of pleasure. Life had edge and direction. For Tanoa this meant endless concern with maintaining his grip on the matanitu. For Seru it meant taking advantage of every privilege he could tap before the same problems of government began to whiten his own beard. Tanoa had lived long enough to know of his own vulnerability, the paradox of the family whose leaf could be balm or poison at any moment. He had been Vunivalu a mere three seasons when it turned to poison. The venom was latent in any Vunivalu's reign. By holding the highest position in the Bauan state, Tanoa deprived others of the title, an honour to which they had a powerful claim. Amongst the least active of the contenders was his half-brother by Adi Dabuli of Nairai, Tui Veikoso. He was older and had grown very corpulent partly because of a painful abscess which left him mat ridden.² Caucau, Tui Veikoso's full brother,

1. Vanua bati: equals like Namara, Viwa, Dravo and Namata.

Vanua qali: dependants in varying degrees of subservience like much of Lomaiviti.

Vanua kaisi: like Batiki, see Jackson in Erskine, op.cit., p.456.

Kaisi is a term of abuse meaning amongst other things "from semen": other terms indicating disgust were kaimoro (the white mucus under the foreskin) and luve ni gale (children of the scrotum).

2. Tui Veikoso was also known as Ma Vuaka and Ramudra.

was more active both in body and in the resentment he felt at Tanoa's status. Either of these men, if they could marshal sufficient support on Bau and on the mainland from such men as Roko Tui Namata, Roko Tui Veikau, Tui Vugalei or Tudrau were serious threats to Tanoa's tenure as Vunivalu. Their own father, Banuve, had defeated a rival with better blood by military prowess and diplomatic cunning. They could do the same should the occasion present itself for a similar coup. An even more powerful centre of opposition to Tanoa's rule revolved around Ratu Mara, son of Nailatikau, Banuve's elder brother.¹ Mara was a respected warrior, the equal of any by achievement and blood. The ambitions of Caucau and Mara, the acquiescence of Tui Veikoso and the tacit support of the mainland chiefs who would not interfere, merged with the more widespread jealousy and hatred felt for a Vunivalu whose exactions were less skilfully made than those of his predecessor. Men like Mara, Tui Veikoso and Caucau were only the focal points of large networks of support of course. They could lead the thrust against the installed Vunivalu or simply be, like Tui Veikoso, agents for its expression. It is not possible to trace the backstage machinations of matanivanua, of envious and ambitious women promoting their sons' interests, of the mainland chiefs who had a stake in who should lead the matanitu. If it were, this particular incident in itself would give a very revealing insight into Bauan politics. Given the main lines of what happened, it is however, possible to speculate on the composition of the major interest groups.

1. W. Cross, Extracts from letters and diary, No.25, B686, M.L. September 1838. Mara was known also as Naborisi.

Tanoa had sailed from Bau for Lomaiviti when the rebellion occurred which was to make him an exile for five years. Observers disagreed as to why Tanoa was expelled. A Wesleyan missionary commentator claimed later it was the Vunivalu's cruelty which led to his overthrow. A Rewan matanivanua of the time claimed that Bau resented Tanoa's habit of presenting great quantities of food to his Rewan relatives while ignoring the Bauan mainland villages.¹ Certainly this claim makes sense. If the Vunivalu was failing to observe the basic need to fulfill his obligations to feast his bati, he was neglecting a vital responsibility in his attempts to maintain his power. Neither reason, however, is sufficient to explain his expulsion. Given the divergent needs he had to satisfy, the fact is that any Vunivalu walked a precarious path. Neglect of the Rewans may well have led to their anger being directed against him in some new combination. As it happened they were to be important allies.

Namosimalua, the chief of Viwa, had been approached by Tanoa's enemies and offered Vatea, the daughter of Caucau, as inducement to kill the Vunivalu. He weighed the odds and seeing the dangers of refusal to comply with the wishes of the plotters, agreed to pursue Tanoa and put him to death. On reaching Koro in the Roiroi however, Namosimalua warned Tanoa of the danger and gave him time to sail away in his canoe, the Volotui, to seek sanctuary at Somosomo, Cakaudrove. The Viwan returned to Bau his duplicity undetected and informed all that Tanoa had

1. W. Cross, Extracts from letters and diary, September 1838.

escaped.¹ Disappointment was naturally intense but the determination to bring the attempted coup to a successful conclusion led to the preparation of the Lenaki and Roiroi for an expedition to Somosomo. Seru escaped death by instinct and luck. As the canoes were ready to sail, both he and his paternal half-brother, Ratu Tubuanakoro, were sent for to come to the waterfront. The son of Adi Vereivalu was there first and was immediately murdered. Seru heard of the treachery and hid himself. The single murder was thought of as sufficient and Seru was not pursued. The canoes sailed. By extreme good fortune, Seru was still alive.

The expedition proved abortive. Seru's father was safe with Ratu Yavala and Tui Kilakila. He would bide his time, collect his forces and avenge his humiliation. On Bau his wives were redistributed as were his goods. His Rewan wife, Adi Qereitoga, mother of his favourite son, Raivalita, fled to Lomanikoro rather than be parcelled out to one of her husband's enemies.² Tui Veikoso, huge, infirm, innocuous and pliable was installed as

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1. This took place in August 1832. Eagleston met him on 2 October at Somosomo, Tanoa having been chased out six weeks before. P.M.B. 205, Peru, 2 October 1832. The series of events surrounding his ousting is debated. Cross's informant told him Namosimalua went to Koro to kill Tanoa but he was forewarned by a son (Tubuanakoro?) and fled. (Cross, Extracts ...) Deve Toganivalu ("Ratu Cakobau") tells the same story. Mary Wallis's story (Life in Feejee, or Five Years among the Cannibals (By a Lady), Boston, 1851, p.49 ff.) makes more sense however. It is the only explanation for Tanoa sparing Namosimalua's life after his return.
 2. See Eagleston's comments on 23 January, 1835, as captain of the Emerald, P.M.B. 205.

Vunivalu in his place, chosen as the most acceptable candidate for the transition.¹ The choice was, in the short term, a wise one. Na Vuaka endangered no-one. The change was therefore peaceful and comparatively bloodless. Had it been otherwise, Seru must have died, being too threatening a figure no matter how quiescent, a focus for discontent, plots and revenge. As it was, he was permitted to live. He showed no signs of ambition or anger at his father's treatment. He was yet another self-indulgent young chief, fickle, immature, unremarkable, a dilettante, engrossed in the pleasures of his position. He appeared to be neither a rival nor a match for his uncles with their much greater political sense and maturity. It was a time of severe testing for Seru. He was accessible to any assassin's club, constantly under surveillance for any sign of discontent, threatened with imminent death should he alarm his father's enemies. The fate that awaited any who appeared disaffected was made brutally clear to the young man with the murder of the Lasakau chief, Kolivisawaqa. He had taken no part in the coup but was obviously sympathetic to Tanoa. At the request of the leading rebels, Tuti, his brother, shot him dead.²

It was the act of an ambitious man and an extremely insecure hierarchy. Tanoa was gathering his support at Somosomo. Many of the Tongan matai of Bau had left to join him, and the Rewan leadership, incensed at the treatment of their most illustrious yasu and the consequences for their own relationships with their state, transformed threatening gestures into an open declaration

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1. He could be manipulated. As eldest he was most acceptable. The real power was wielded by Mara and Caucau. Na Vuaka was also known as buli davodavo (the lying-down Vunivalu).
 2. P.M.B. 225, Cheever on the Emerald.

of war.¹ In all this danger Seru was apparently unconcerned at the change of leadership. He chose to live unguarded on Bau rather than to flee to Cakaudrove or Rewa where he could expect a warm welcome. His satisfaction at the commencement of war with Rewa also seemed tangible enough proof to most that they had nothing to fear from him.² Namosimalua, conscious of the fact that Seru might be dissembling, remained unconvinced. He had seen intrigue and treachery enough to be alert to danger from any quarter. His repeated advice to kill Seru was however, ignored. The acquiescence of the former Vunivalu's son to the nominal rule of Tui Veikoso added further legitimacy to the new administration, as the mokosoi flower added perfume to coconut oil. For more than four seasons Seru confirmed the leadership's vision and avoided the club.

His credibility as a supporter of the new regime was reinforced by his willingness to join the forces of Caucau and two warriors prominent at the time, Naborisi and Ratu Maimuri, in their sporadic raids into the Rewan state.³ His fighting served two functions.

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1. P.M.B. 205, Eagleston on the Peru, 2 October, 6 December 1832, P.M.B. 225. Cheever claims the Tongan carpenters left Bau in sympathy for Tanoa.
 2. Deve Toganivalu ("Ratu Cakobau") claims that his practice of leaving his bure unguarded at night was a convincing display of his loyalty to and confidence in the status quo.
 3. Ratu Maimuri or Qio, his brother Koroi Boginiliga (Ibe), his right-hand man, the aging Etoninaigani, together with Caucau, Ratu Mara, Namosimalua and Tuti of the Lasakau, were in control of events on Bau for most of the period 1832-1836. See, e.g. W. Cross, Extracts from letters and diary, 1838-1842, B 686, No. 25, September 1838, M.L., P.M.B. 225, Cheever of Emerald, typescript, entries for 9, 10, 17 May 1834. Cheever talks of Saratahnoak as 'one of the greatest fighting characters among the islands, a great kava drinker' (ibid, May 10, 17). I assume this is Namosimalua. It is certainly not either Seru or Tanoa, the individual concerned being an elderly man on the Bavan side during this period. The other Viwa chief Naqaravi (P.M.B. 205, Eagleston in Emerald, Sept. 1834) is later known as Varani (France) for his part in the taking of the French brig, the Aimable Josephine.

He satisfied Naborisi, Qio and Caucau of his desire to prove himself in their eyes and avoided any direct attack on his father. If he did not want to plant tarawau trees he had little alternative.¹ The engagements were brutal. Typical of the bloodshed, the Lasakauans fought a naval engagement with a Rewan canoe and brought the bodies back to shore amidst the jubilant singing of the cibi, the male cannibal dance of triumph, led by fifty Lasakauans, the boys striking their arrows against their bows in accompaniment to the song.² A month later fifteen girls were trapped while fishing on a reef and clubbed. Three hundred Lasakauan women chanted the wata, the female counterpart of the cibi, and the killers brandished their clubs while the corpses were paraded around Bau.³

It was not all violence however. There was birth to be dealt with as well as death. Ratu Maimuri's wife was with child and the whole of Bau seemed to be smoking with lovo to ensure its safe delivery.⁴ It also seemed an appropriate time to demonstrate that normalcy had returned to Bau by joining Seru to Adi Samanunu of the Vusaratu.⁵ Ironically it had been Tanoa himself who had

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1. See for example P.M.B. 225, 3 June 1834. Only the dead could plant this species of tree.
 2. Ibid, 18 June 1834.
 3. Ibid, 24 July 1834.
 4. Ibid, 16 June 1834.
 5. There is no exact date available for this marriage but Deve Toganivalu ("Ratu Cakobau") claims that in 1837 Adi Samanunu was pregnant with her first child, Adi Koila. The marriage could have taken place at any time before the overthrow of the Tui Veikoso government, i.e. before March 1837.

prevented her strangulation at Nailatikau's premature death with a view to making her wife to his second born son. Now they were wed while he sat frustrated in Somosomo. The match seemed even further proof that Seru's professions of loyalty were legitimate. He had settled for an influential place in the running of the Bauan state as a young married chief, offspring of the former Vunivalu, neither bitter nor vindictive. The leadership may have believed he would be satisfied with having offspring vasu to the Vusaratu.

This was some consolation for Mara and the others but there was much to make them uneasy. The war with Rewa was proving totally inconclusive and time-absorbing. Despite the fact that they had plenty of muskets and thirteen cannon at their disposal, their stocks of powder and shot were diminishing daily. There were also signs of growing disaffection in the matanitu. Tui Levuka, for one, although making no claims to great power, fast tired of the exactions of the Bauans and inclined to Tanoa's cause. No matter how restricted his influence he was himself a formidable warrior who had on two previous occasions escaped from the most horrendous danger.¹ He had no intentions of pandering endlessly to a noticeably shaky regime. Nor was he alone in this. Tudrau of Dravo, Roko Tui Namata and Tui Vugalei had never offered much more than a tentative support for Tanoa's overthrow and seemed very susceptible to the inevitable bribes

1. P.M.B. 225. Tui Levuka was a huge man approaching sixty. David Whippy claimed that he had once been clubbed and was laid beside the oven before recovering and fleeing. On another occasion, he was about to be thrown into an earth oven when he managed to overpower his captors, kill four of them and escape.

that they were being offered to champion Visawaqa's return. On Bau itself the allegiance of the Soso had always been grudging while even Tuti could not be trusted in the face of Rewan offers of wealth for his support. In Somosomo itself moreover, Tanoa's confidence in his return was growing as the gaps in his enemies' alliance opened. The mara, the tabu on pigs, had been placed in preparation for his removal to Rewa.¹ Their consequent build-up was a growing danger signal for Naborisi and Caucau. They heralded with unbridled arrogance the imminent arrival of the former Vunivalu and his supporters. His sending of two bales of tapa to Adi Qereitoga as a token of his love and as a gesture of defiance aroused further anxiety.² Another source of disquiet was the news that Lasike and his brother, Tupou Toutai, the sons of Tupouniua, had sailed from Lakeba to join Tanoa with a powerful force of Tongans.³

When at last Tanoa left behind the hospitality of Ratu Yavala and moved to Rewa he had every reason therefore for confidence. As Namosimalua had feared, the banyan tree had grown, drawing nourishment from the Bauan soil and was ready to kill its supports. Seru was now obliged to play his part in his father's reinstatement. The screen of suspicion which had surrounded him had lifted so far

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1. Eagleston complained that he could get no hogs from Rewa as they had all been tabued in preparation for the arrival of Tanoa and his men, P.M.B. 205, 20 May 1834.
 2. Ibid, 23 January 1835.
 3. See Memoirs of Mrs. Cargill, p.128: Rev. R.B. Lyth, Journal entry for 24 August 1839, micro. 163/42, H.I.

that he was able to turn the friendships he had made into active support for Tanoa. He had already succeeded in ingratiating himself with the leaders of the mainland bati and he now exploited this influence without provoking the fears which would have killed him on Bau.¹ His cultivation of these friendships was not necessarily a precursor to treachery but a normal part of a chiefly Bauan's consolidation and reaffirmation of old bonds. He was obliged, however, to move with extreme care. There were men everywhere who would keep the leadership at Bau informed of his activities. He managed nevertheless to avoid giving them alarm while engaging himself in a necessary preliminary for the action he was contemplating. A man in his position needed allies. Seru was gaining them. As Tanoa schemed and bribed, his son attempted the most dangerous manoeuvre of all. The crucial ally to be won over was on Bau itself - the Lasakauans. Without their support a successful coup would have been virtually impossible. Their quarter afforded a much needed strategic advantage. Their warriors were the professional assassins of the islet. Included in their number were the bulk of the most hardened killers in the state. With a man like Tuti at their head it was impossible to predict what the outcome of any approach would be. In a slow process of seduction and enticement, Seru tempted the sailors. Attracted by the offer of canoes from Rewa and by the continual stream of food and tabua from Seru, they decided that their interests were best served by supporting Tanoa and his son.² Seru's timing and

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1. He offered whale's teeth to Tudrau of Dravo with a request for help. The news of the presentation was reported to Bau. Tudrau protected Seru by stating that it was an offering symbolizing his love and affection, and not a plea for military aid. See Deve Toganivalu, "Ratu Cakobau".
 2. William Cross, Extracts ..., No.25, Sept.1838, B686, M.L.

judgement proved sound: when at last he approached the Lasakauans with a gift of kava root, and split it down the middle before them, the traditional way of requesting help, it was not refused. They were with him.¹

Events now moved fast. A fence was erected overnight between the Lasakau and Bau villages. It was an action which had most serious implications. Bau was emotionally and physically divided, families facing each other from opposite sides of the divide. Hostilities would begin only after the demands of protocol were met. The parties consulted and Mara, Caucau and Qio reached the conclusion that bloodshed was the only means of resolving the issue. All agreed that it must be settled by a fight. None was anxious to tear the islet apart and, out of respect for the vulnerability of all at such close quarters and the lack of adequate protection, it was agreed muskets were not to be used: it would be decided with traditional weapons. In the excitement preceding the first action however, a musket was fired. What may have been decided in a few sorties with little death erupted into a pitched battle.² All were endangered. Seru had a pit dug in a Lasakau bure and had Adi Samanunu, heavy with their first child, lie in it lest she be hit by a bullet. The Lasakauans gained a crucial advantage when their arrows, wrapped in burning masi, set a number of the great Bauan bure on fire. The flames spread and destroyed any shelter the Bauans might

1. Communication of Ratu Peni Gavidi, 15 August 1978.

2. William Cross, Extracts ... , claims a Bauan fired the first shot. Joseph Waterhouse, The King and People of Fiji, claims that Namosimalua fired at Varani.

have sought. In the pandemonium of exploding bamboo and rampant flame, the Lasakauans gained the hill. They fired down on their enemies who were then in an impossible position.¹ The survivors were forced to flee to the mainland. Among them were Ratu Maimuri and Mara, both of whom eventually found shelter at Namata.²

The victory had been achieved only by the aid of Cakaudrove and Rewa. Prior to Tanoa's return therefore, a great fleet of jubilant warriors with Ratu Yavala and Tui Kilakila at the head, came to feast Seru. They were followed by a triumphant entourage of Rewans who escorted Tanoa home.³ On Bau, five years of frustration and anger were vented on the captured Caucau. He was dragged forth, his tongue cut out of his mouth and eaten before him; he was tormented and insulted and to complete the humiliation, clubbed, cooked and eaten.⁴ Vengeance was then unleashed on the other ring-leaders of the opposition. Tanoa and Seru sought reconciliation with the refugee Bauans and sent messages ordering their former leaders to be killed as soro. In return, all should occupy their house sites and build upon them anew.⁵ The vengeance was not, however, allowed to develop into

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1. William Cross, Extracts ...; Deve Toganivalu "Ratu Cakobau" claims that the fighting took place over a few days.
 2. William Cross, Extracts Ratu Maimuri's other name, Qio, was reputedly given him because of his shark-like enjoyment of human flesh. He is mentioned in the meke Waterhouse has printed in The King and People of Fiji, pp.432,433:

... A wai sese voli a Qio ya
 ki Namata me la'ki kasa toka.
 3. Toganivalu claims Cakaudrove came first, then the Rewans with Tanoa; p.4.
 4. See Mary Wallis, op.cit.,
 5. Toganivalu, "Ratu Cakobau"; Waterhouse, op.cit., p.62.

widespread violence. Such action would engender such bitterness and opposition that it would recoil on its authors. Winning approval for the return of Tanoa was at least as difficult as the scheming which had resulted in the overthrow of Mara. It required extreme patience and proof of sincerity before any who considered their lives in jeopardy would hazard all by returning home. A full yam cycle was to pass before the yavu were reoccupied, before the peaceful overtures of Visawaqa and his son were accepted as genuine.¹ It was essential, however, that Tanoa and Seru should not repeat their enemies' mistake. Mara had to die as did Qio. The revenge likely to be sought by their offspring was less intimidating than the immediate dangers they posed alive. Repeated unsuccessful attacks were therefore made on Namata to capture them. On Bau itself, the Lasakau chief, Tuti, could not be trusted. Tanoa therefore had one of his own tribe shoot him dead as he had shot his brother, Kolivisawaqa, five seasons before.² Nalila, a more reliable chieftain, ruled as Lasakauan head in his stead. His name was a reminder of the terrifying sickness which had cut down Banuve when nature had gone berserk.

There was nothing berserk about the killings going on now. It was a more ruthless culling of prominent rebels as a thin stream of bodies flowed to Bau's shores, the corpses the soro of families aching to return home. The tiny fish too, the nuqa

1. P.M.B. 225, entry for 3 May 1837, Eagleston on the Mermaid. Tanoa had returned two months before this date, i.e. March 1837. It was not until September 1838 that the meeting convened by Kania on Bau formally ended the hostilities.

2. Cross, Extracts ...

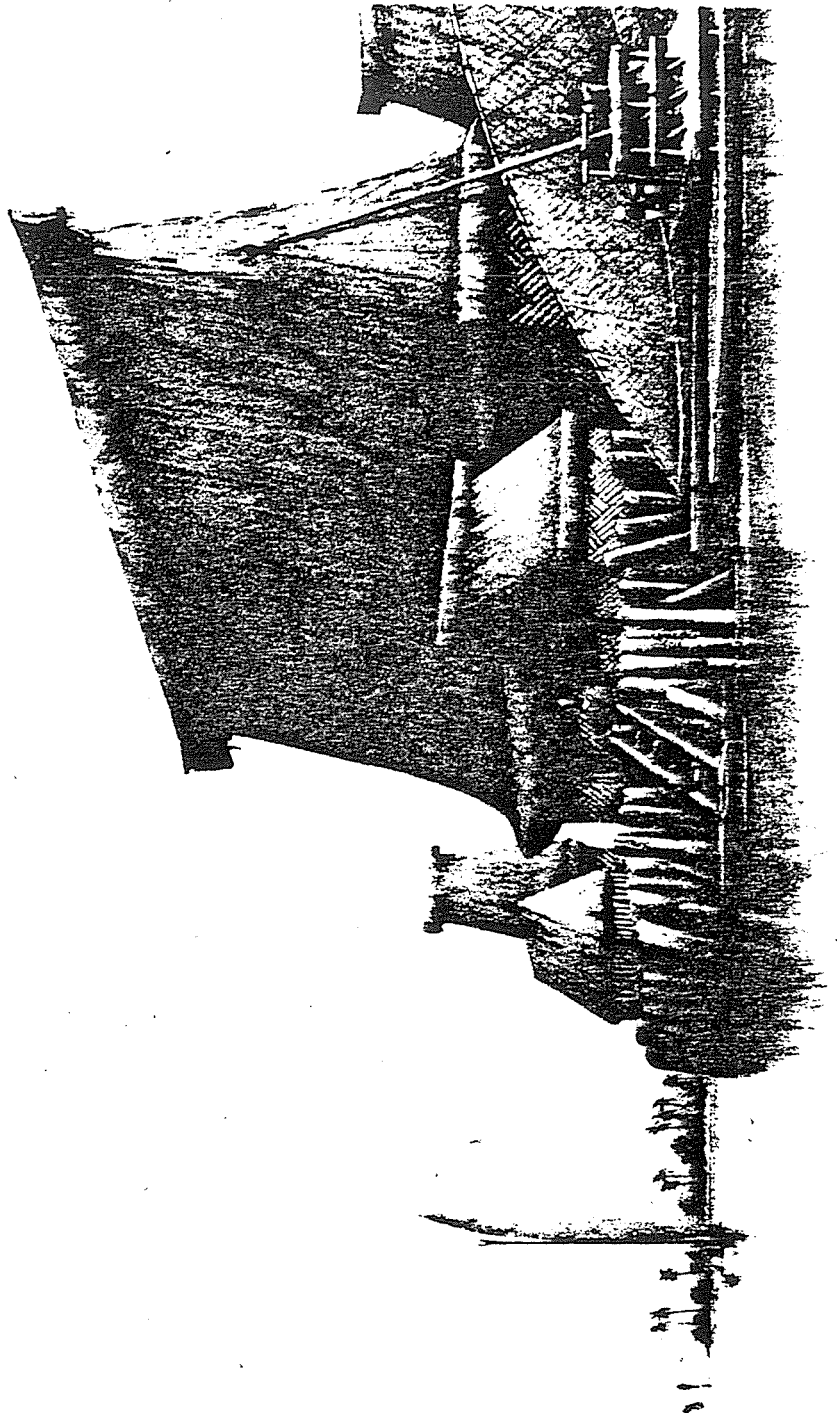
were beginning to flow in small numbers as the islet still remained unsettled, even though breadfruit and arrowroot had ripened since Tanoa's return. The tensions were still tangible, nerves still taut. But with each returning family the acceptance of the situation was growing.

The greatest source of anxiety remained the failure to kill Mara and Qio. Repeated attempts to inveigle them from the Namata fortress failed. The problem was soon resolved by a piece of treachery. Tui Namata himself, tired of the attacks, came to soro. He was detained and held as a hostage until the two were surrendered and butchered.¹ The return of Tanoa was complete.

The permanence of the victory was symbolized by the erection of a magnificent bure for Tanoa at Muaidule. The structure, one hundred and thirty feet long, replaced the temporary home he had occupied at Cakalailai immediately on his return.² Seru's status was also advanced. He had lived through extreme danger and triumphed.

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1. The accounts of this episode are conflicting. Waterhouse claims there were repeated attacks by combined forces. (op. cit., p.63) Cross claims that Kania was approached in the fourth week of January 1838 for aid in the attack, that he sent a party but no attack was made on this occasion. (Cross to General Secretary, Rewa, May 3, 1838, FM 4/3043, M.L.) Waterhouse has Mara die an heroic death. This fits in with his image of him as an epic figure, a man before his time. The more prosaic end given by Cross seems more likely. Both agree he was killed by treachery.
 2. See for example, the Rev. J. Waterhouse's observations p.85. Although this is a description of the rebuilt bure after the fire on Bau two months before, it was the same dimensions as the former structure. See also Deve Toganivalu, "Ratu Cakobau".

FIGURE 17



use of Tanoa. See Fiji. Alkan.

Muaidule, 1848. [Shipley, Mitchell Library.]

This structure was erected for Tanoa after his return from exile in 1837.

With Tui Dreketi, Tui Cakau, Tui Kilakila, Tanoa and the Lasakauans, he had played a part in the defeat of a great enemy. A trilogy of titles, "Cikinovu" (the centipede), "Bi" (the turtle fence), "Cakobau" (Bau is bad) joined his others. He had masked his true intent like the centipede, then struck boldly and savagely. He had filled the turtle pond for his father. He had made Bau bad for his enemies.¹

Arrangements were made for a meeting to be held on Bau to consolidate the peace. The ambitions of Tanoa and his son, however, were not the immediate concerns of all. Indeed the negotiations were very nearly wrecked by hatreds that revealed the inner workings and crucial weaknesses of any large-scale confederacy in Fiji. Tui Veikau of Namara had quarrelled with Vakaidegu, his son, who had in consequence approached the chief of Mulituva with a musket asking him to commence war with his father.² The chief agreed to help him and took a pig to the Lasakauans to request their aid. A woman and property was offered to Namosimalua who also joined the alliance against Namara. He took tabua to Vugalei to enlist their help, and Namata was similarly approached. Tui Veikau was shocked to hear of this combination against him and sailed immediately to Bau to see Tanoa. He was as surprised as his bati chief at the news. He knew nothing about it until Tui Veikau himself sat before him in Muaidule begging permission to fight the alliance and murder Namosimalua. Tanoa was greatly alarmed

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1. Waterhouse, op.cit., p.64. The Lasakau paramount was given the name "Na Bai Kei Bau" (the fence of Bau) in commemoration of the event. Communication with Ratu Peni Gavidi.
 2. Cross, Extracts... B686, M.L. example of conflicts in Bau and Rewa, n.d.

at the turn events had taken. Had fighting broken out, the Bauan state might have been thrown into chaos at a very sensitive time. The endemic jealousies were capable of spilling over into violence at any juncture. This particular combination of interests was suitable to the participants for the present, but any configuration of support and opposition was possible. Tanoa had little control over the bati involved but he was incensed that Mulituva, subject to him directly, had undertaken such a step without prior consultation. He requested Tui Dreketi to destroy the town but Kania was anxious for peace. There were dangers enough for him in Rewa where Dreketi was fighting Nacuguca, Nabuli and Waivou, and Kasavu was at odds with Talia.¹ The Roko Tui Dreketi patched up a temporary peace instead in Rewa and then mediated successfully in the Bauan conflict. With Kania's intercession the immediate danger passed.

The next crisis to be confronted was the peace conference convened by Kania on Bau. The preparations were extensive and carried on without unseemly haste. They were prefaced by Tui Dreketi's presentation to Tanoa of many canoes. Amidst the exchange of great quantities of pigs, yams, taro and kava, the heads of Cakaudrove and Rewa, the harmless Tui Veikoso, a frightened Namosimalua, an angry Tui Veikau, Roko Tui Bau and other notables began discussions with Tanoa and Seru.² Firstly the interchange of tabua formally ended the ill-feeling between

1. Cross, Extracts ...

2. Ibid. Hunt's "Memoir of William Cross" does not mention Somosomo representatives but they are mentioned in Cross, Extracts... No.26, September 1838, and see Mary Wallis, op.cit., p.49 ff.

the Vusaratu head and the Vunivalu. Tui Veikoso then denied an active role in the ousting of his brother, and his declaration of innocence was accepted by Tanoa with much embracing and weeping. The problematic figure in this mood of forgiveness and reconciliation was Namosimalua. On the second day of the meeting he was accused of being the inspiration for the rebellion. There were at least two men present who particularly wanted him dead. Tui Veikau was still outraged at Namosimalua's part in the plot to fight Namara. Seru knew that the man had often recommended his death during his father's exile. Namosimalua's astuteness in recognizing the peril of leaving Seru alive was receiving terrifying proof. He had a great talent for sniffing out danger and avoiding it. He had smelt a threat in Seru but his advice had been ignored. For this reason he stood now an arm's swing from the clubs of his antagonists.¹ His accusers charged him with having agreed to kill Tanoa. Namosimalua admitted that he had accepted tabua and Vatea as reward for this action. Tanoa, not surprisingly, forgave him. He had, after all, saved the Vunivalu's life by his warning on Koro. The danger lay in the hatred of Tui Veikau and Cakobau. In a scene of roaring accusation and tumult they demanded his immediate death. Tui Dreketi, obsessed with a desire for concord and well aware of Tanoa's wishes, managed yet again to effect a reconciliation. Visawaqa's decision on the matter was irrevocable. He was acknowledged Vunivalu. His return to power was as much his doing

1. R.B. Lyth, Day Book and Journal, 11 August 1850-51, December 1851, B539, Sequence B. Tui Dreketi was the son of a Vusaratu mother but of course, not an antagonist in this situation. Tui Kilakila, Roko Tui Veikau and Namosimalua were also offspring of Vusaratu women.

FIGURE 18



Tanoa, Vunivalu of Bau, 1838. [D'Urville, 1846.] The Tam-o'-shanter and knife had been given to him as gifts from the French. The two profiles below are of young Bauan chieftains.

as any man present. His tenacity and courage, his right to be Vunivalu had been uniquely proven. Seru could not and would not cross him. Namosimalua lived.¹

The attainment of power and its subsequent maintenance and enhancement was impossible without the development of the diplomatic skills necessary to control diverse groups and the execution of plans born of these skills. Successful completion of delicate and complex negotiations discouraged potential rivals and undermined their positions. Failure had the opposite effect. Within the confederacy, groups favourable to the status quo had continually to be wooed, to be feasted and rewarded. Neglect could be disastrous. Groups unfavourable to the ruling elite had either to be won over or defeated. The second option called upon all the reserves of diplomatic cunning and finesse the leadership could muster. The ability to deceive and anticipate deception was a precondition for mastery on Bau. It was a necessary talent, a fundamental part of any Vunivalu's weaponry. Treachery could destroy an enemy where all other methods failed.

The fate of the islanders of Naigani was a brutal example of this. Seru had won his first title in an attack on this same island. Subsequent attacks had been uniformly unsuccessful with loss of Bauan life for the inhabitants took refuge in their inaccessible fortress nestled safely on one of the twin humps that rose from the island. The method by which they were dislodged was indicative of how important treachery was in triumphing over a determined enemy. Ironically, the Naigani people provided

1. Cross, Extracts ...

the opportunity themselves. They had grown weary of the conflict and agreed to the Bauan request that they should evacuate their island and remove to Makogai close by. In return the Bauans would not molest them further. On the contrary, to show their goodwill and their desire for a peaceful solution, they would be willing to remove the whole population by Bauan canoe. The Naigani villagers accepted the offer. When the canoes arrived, the fortress was abandoned as all made their way to the coast loaded with their property and boarded the canoes. At a given signal the Bauan warriors turned on their passengers, massacring over one hundred men, women and children.

The plot had achieved what no musket could have.¹ On Bau, the frenzy of dances, the cibi and wate, and the sexual abandon which followed, expressed the ecstasy of the conquerers.² This was the right and privilege of the living. This same enemy had performed similar insults on Bauan bodies in their time. The bodies of the slain were trussed up like pigs, carried on poles, spat on, cut and jabbed by their captors, their private parts insulted even after death, poked with sticks, severed from their bodies and displayed on ironwood trees. The bulk of their bodies were dissected, cooked and distributed to those anxious to complete the humiliation.³ The dance of life, at these times was a

1. P.M.E. 205, 9 August 1831.

2. See Fergus Clunie, 'Fijian Weapons and Warfare', Bulletin of the Fiji Museum, No. 2, 1977.

3. Descriptions of cannibal feasts are numerous. One of the best is that of William Endicott, Wrecked Among Cannibals in the Fijis. Marine Research Society, Salem, Mass. 1923, included in Appendix. Even at this point the humiliation might not be complete. Some particularly hated enemies had their bones crushed, the powder put into sweet puddings to be eaten at a later day. Others had their shin bones shaped into very useful sail mat needles.

celebration of survival, an hysterical repudiation of ever-present death as close to men as their malo. The mutilated corpses were vivid testimony to the mana of the leadership. The distribution of the cooked remains affirmed this throughout the confederacy. The never-ending need to display ruthless and effective paramountcy demanded this. The Vunivalu was executing the state's expectations of him as provider of feasts. Inability to do so automatically placed the titleholder in extreme jeopardy. Divisive and contagious rebellion remained an ever-present danger. The Vunivalu was obliged to transform this mortal threat by brutal example into triumphant proof of willingness to crush opposition in uncompromising fashion and ability to out-manoeuver the enemy wherever they emerged and whatever shape they assumed.

There was intense pressure on Cakobau as prospective Vunivalu to demonstrate just such a capacity, and there was no shortage of opportunities to do so. By February 1841, a state of war had developed between Bau and Cakaudrove. In conflicts of this type the most immediate danger came from those groups resident on the islet whose sympathies tended towards the enemy. Suspicions centred on the powerful Somosomo clique whose every movement was monitored and reported. Distrust grew into a certainty when the Tunitoga's son, Koroi Wainiu, fled Bau and persuaded Namena to join his maternal homeland in the war.¹ Seru was perturbed at this turn in events. If he was satisfied to keep Somosomo itself in continual alarm and paranoia, he was not willing to play the same game with Namena, ostensibly a member of the Bauan confederacy. His anger was further provoked when the chief of Telau island,

1. Cross to Secretaries, 16 February, 1841, FM 4/3043.

close to Bau, previously approached for aid, murdered and ate six Bauans sent to him from Cakobau. The body of the seventh was sent as a gift to Tui Kilakila, Cakobau's counterpart in Cakaudrove. An unsuccessful attack to avenge this outrage was coupled with a disastrous fire which swept through two thirds of Bau destroying Muaidule. This served to heighten Seru's determination to punish the Namenans by any stratagem available.¹

Namena as expected proved no easy kill. A combined land and sea attack succeeded in burning three villages but with a minimal loss of Namenan life. Indeed, despite the six cannon he used in the fighting, the defenders gained the upper hand and killed ten of his men. This, and the danger of a wind change threatening to trap them, precipitated an ungainly withdrawal, a scrambling, chaotic affair which was as humiliating as the failure to punish Telau.²

An opportunity to destroy the enemy nevertheless soon arose. Tui Kilakila had decided on a more direct approach. He tempted Viwa through Namena with offers of great rewards for their turning. He had not however counted on the absolute loyalty of the Viwan chief, Varani, to Seru's interests. Varani agreed to join Cakaudrove but immediately informed Cakobau of what had passed. With his assistance, Varani proceeded to concoct a most elaborate and carefully masked plan. It was a plot shrouded in such secrecy that Namosimalua became the unknowing agent for its success.

1. R.B. Lyth, loc.cit., 15 March, 28 April 1841; Cross to Secretaries, no.55, 14 June 1841, entry for 19 March.

His brutality with Vatea provided the essence of the plan upon which all else rested. She had fled to Bau after one of her frequent beatings received at his hands, but was forced by Cakobau to return to Viwa a few days later. News of her alleged adultery while on Bau seemed to drive Varani to distraction. In a paroxysm of anger he demanded war with Bau urging a very reluctant uncle to build war fences in preparation for the fighting. Namosimalua was as willing to be embroiled in such a war as he was to beat tapa but his nephew's taunts grew unbearable. He built the fences as a defensive measure against a man he knew detested him. The Namenans heard of this and prepared to sail to Viwa's aid.¹ Over a period of three days fourteen canoes filled with the Macoi and Nacere fishermen of Namena landed at Viwa.² The day following the arrival of the last canoes Seru drew near Viwa and demanded to know the reason for the fences. He was answered by a gloating Koroi Wainiu. Seru, he said, had told him he would take twenty years to conquer Bau and even then he would fail. Here he was only months later standing on Bauan territory. Seru replied with the threat that he would present his yams to his god and then return to destroy them all.³

Four days had passed when the afternoon ebb tide signalled a three-pronged attack. Viwa was immersed in the uproar of war cries and measured insults when musket shots were fired - a Bauan, it was shouted, had fallen.⁴ The Namenans shook their

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1. R.B. Lyth, Journal, 1832-1843, B533, M.L., 15 March, 28 April, 10 May, 1841. Cross to Secretaries, May 1841.
 2. Cross, Ibid., 21, 23 May 1841.
 3. Ibid., 24 May 1841.
 4. J. Waterhouse, op.cit., claims blanks were fired and Bauans only pretended to fall as part of the deception.

spears in jubilation. Their joy was strangled at its birth. As the unopposed Tongans and Bauans came rampaging at them from three directions, their Viwan hosts suddenly turned on them. The Namenans had little time to confront the reality of their predicament before one hundred and forty men had their skulls shattered, their bodies impaled on spears and shot through with arrows.¹ Not until the massacre was being acted out did Namosimalua realize the truth.

That same evening, Seru, at Varani's insistence, came to his bure and presented a tabua on Varani's behalf. He requested forgiveness for the deception. It was a quiet and simple ceremony accompanied by the mesmeric roll of the sea on the surrounding beach, a finale in stark contrast to the bloody consummation of his revenge earlier that day. Social bonds, so vulnerable in this atmosphere of deceit, needed consolidation through such ceremonial forms. The Namenan massacre had been a savage example of how highly developed the art of treachery had become and how skilfully Cakobau had mastered the art.

Intrigue was so basic to the fabric of Bauan politics that several independent but interwoven plots could reach resolution almost simultaneously and place ever greater strains on their perpetrator. It required nimbleness of mind, a mental agility to adapt instantly to changing circumstances. The most intense surveillance was needed not only of the expected victim or victims, but also of allies privy to the schemes. Cakobau had to correctly interpret prevailing moods, to grasp the nuances of meaning in offers of help couched in ceremonial forms or else be a victim himself.

1. Cross to Secretaries, 28 May 1841.

The war that broke out in earnest between Bau and Rewa in 1843 and continued with varying degrees of intensity for twelve years, was replete with such examples. The conflict in the Rewan delta was smouldering in May 1849 when two acts of treachery resulted in the slaughter of a group from Burebasaga and an individual from Nakelo. Cakobau was particularly anxious to kill Natoga, a Nakelo chief who had shouted insults at him during an attack against the village of Kuku. Seru went to Kiuva with Lolchea, a resident Tongan on Bau whose company he enjoyed, and where he prevailed upon Roko Tui Kiuva to support him in a plot to kill the giant Natoga.¹ Before this vere had matured another more time-absorbing plot reached fruition. A year before, Lokia had turned to Qaraniqio by harbouring Burebasaga refugees who were his supporters. Hoping to entrap Qaraniqio, Tanoa, the son of a Naitasiri chief, had pretended to join the Lokians with half of the inland vanua's forces. He proved as elusive as ever and rather than pursue this hope any longer, Tanoa informed Cakobau that the Burebasagans were ripe for slaughter. In a synchronised attack from within the village and without, over seventy were murdered.² Among the captives was a boy whom Seru gave to his eldest son, Ratu Epeli, to do with as he wished. The

1. Lolchea's narrative, under "Natoga's fate", Lyth Journal, B536-1, M.L. Cakobau presented a tabua to Roko Tui Kiuva and Koroi Raivalita at Kiuva addressing them in this manner:

"This whale's tooth, gentlemen, is given that you know I wish Natoga dead. If you accomplish this the wealth of my home is yours and the wealth bought from all parts of the land. If you love me kill him. If not let things be as they are. My speech is too long so I will finish!" To which Roko Tui Kiuva replied, "I accept this for Natoga's death". (Free translation).

2. Lyth, Journal, B536-1, M.L. 16 May 1849.

boy commenced to beat the captured youth's brains out with a stone. Nailatikau was being schooled in the brutality of his country as his father had before him those many years ago on the island of Moala.¹

Soon after, the Kiuva plot ensnared Natoga. The man believed that Kiuva had turned to him and made his way to the village. Cakobau, informed of his coming, waited in the main village while Natoga was welcomed in Kiuva i ra, that section of the village on lower ground. So convincing was the supposed support that Seru himself feared treachery and took to his canoe only to hear the death drum announce his enemy's destruction. Natoga had been shot in the back by a Lasakau man and finished off with his own hatchet, wielded by a constant companion of Cakobau, Tawaki. The liver of the corpse was given to Seru, the tongue to Tanoa, the rest to Cokonauto at Nukui.²

Cakobau's triumphs would be told and retold, embellished by his admirers, diminished by his detractors. However distorted the final account, nothing could deny him the enhancement of power and prestige that was the fruit of victory.

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1. See Loloha's Narrative, in Lyth Journal B536-1, M.L. under "Nailatikau's bloody feat", Appendix 5a.
 2. Ibid, "Natoga's fate".

CHAPTER FIVE: Legitimacy attained.

By 1841, as a twenty-eight year old, Seru had turned his splendid physique and noble blood to good account since he had helped to restore his father to the title of Vunivalu. His achievements in that time had transformed raw potential into the political expertise and instincts of a leader marking him as a worthy successor to Tanoa, achievements that measured his coming of age. His status as a warrior was acknowledged in his new name, "Uvi ni Siga", the name of his club which had been charged by the mana of his accomplishments.¹ He had survived long enough to complement the commonplace mastery of weapons with a formidable arsenal of techniques for controlling and manipulating his peers and inferiors, for anticipating, circumventing and confronting danger. He could strip an opponent of an advantage and re-assemble his changing alliances of support as readily as he could a musket. In the process he had learnt the limits of his authority, a crucial part of his apprenticeship. Tanoa, as Vunivalu, was naked without the support of the many groups who chose to stand by him. The bulk of Cakobau's energies would thus be absorbed keeping intact what he already had. This maintenance of Bauan loyalty was the true test of his maturity, demanding skills that made the simple unadorned emotion of battle relaxation and release in comparison. Nor was he always confronted by matters of great state. Less heroic duties often elbowed their way to the forefront. One such duty was the punishment of his sister, Batinamu. She had refused to live with her husband, Ratu Mua, and thereby threatened to disturb the peace as he determined to treat her unfaithfulness as an insult to his entire family. Mua would accept nothing less than the traditional remedy and would not be satisfied unless Seru had administered it.

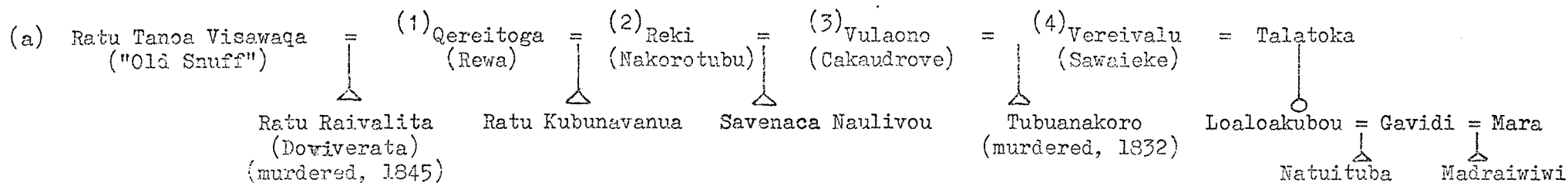
1. Etuate Sokiveta told A.R. Tippett that two bowai elevated to sacred (gadro) status helped to cement the loyalty of the Bauan state. They were carried by Cakobau (the Uvi ni siga) and by his companion Koroi Konamalo (Sala ki na Buka) a chief of Koronakalou, Cautata: Tippett, Fijian Material Culture, pp. 70, 71.

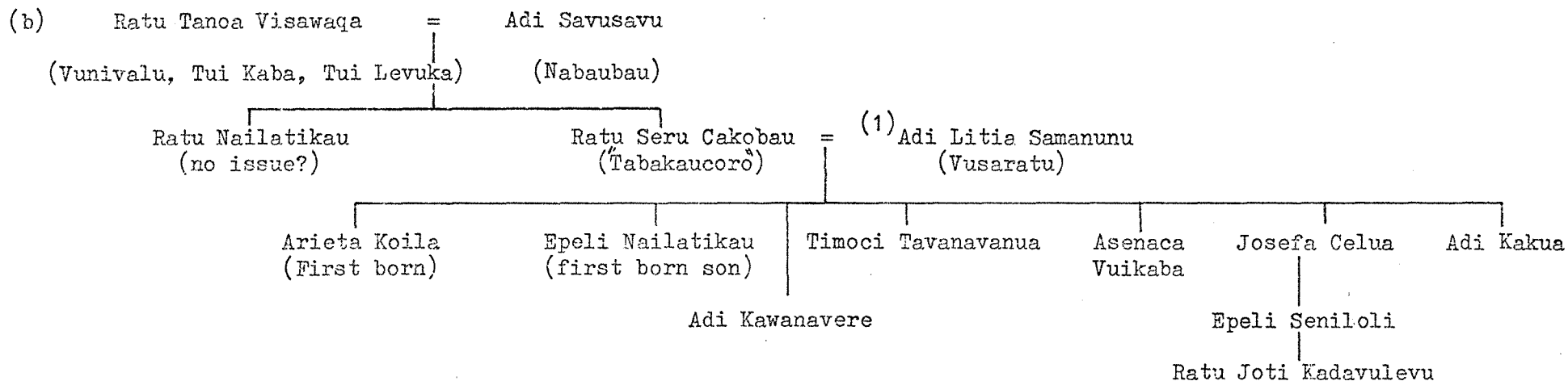
FIGURE 19

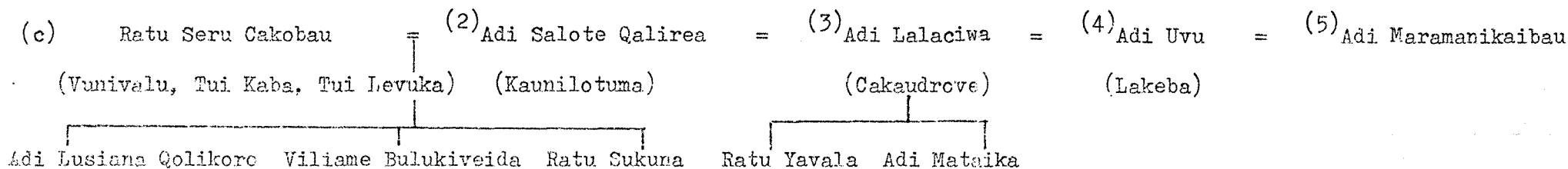


Tanoa, Vunivalu of Bau, 1840. [Wilkes, 1845.]
Tanoa has attempted to disguise his age by blackening his beard with vegetable dye.

ABSTRACT OF THE GENEALOGY OF THE TUI KABA TO RATU JOTI KADAVULEVU.





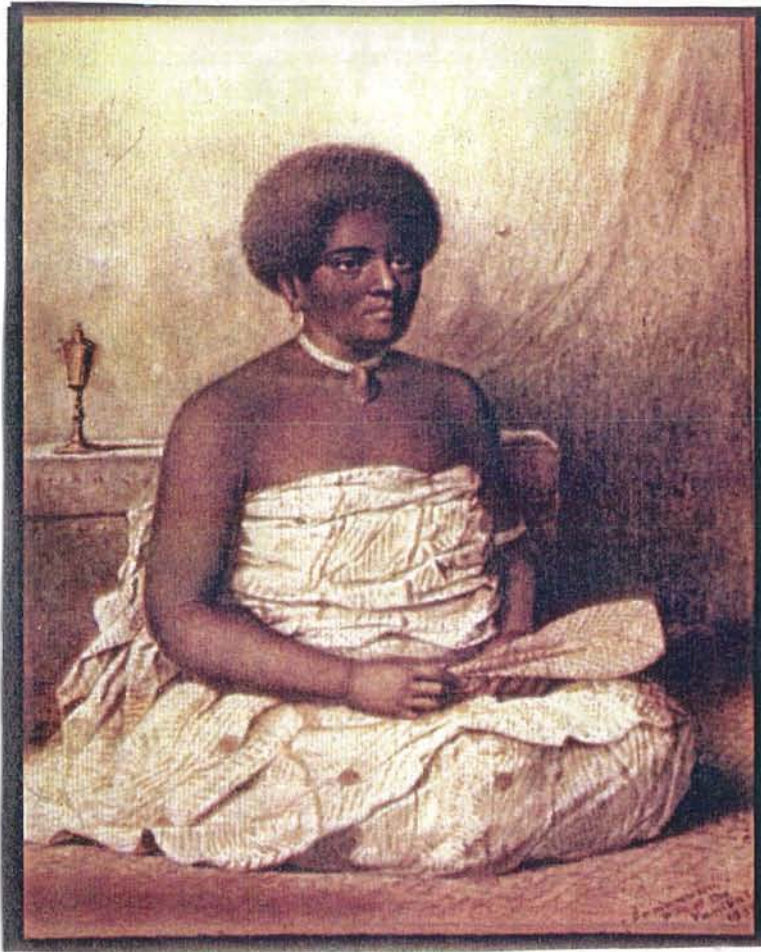


Domestic calm on the islet demanded it. Cakobau therefore summoned his sister and with a knife deprived her of her nose.¹

But his was no singleminded devotion to warfare or to the unity of the state. He had proved himself as potent a father as a warrior. As antidote to the frustrations of leadership and complement to its successes, Seru took refuge increasingly in the company of Adi Samanunu, whose handsome features had filled out with the passing of time and the demands of childbirth. It was she Seru would sit beside in Mataiweilagi and occasionally even eat with.² This woman was different from the many lovers he enjoyed. She had given birth to his principal children. As a daughter of the Vusaratu family she provided Seru with offspring who were yasu to the senior chiefly family. Adi Samanunu promised Seru a future secured by "legitimate" heirs.³ The second born, his first son, Epeli Nailatikau, was now a healthy four year old. Both Adi Samanunu's sister, Adi Qalirea and Adi Lalaciwa of Lakeba had also given birth and there seemed no reason why there

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1. Lyth to Williams, Viwa 29 August 1848, in Letters to Thomas Williams
 2. Wallis, op.cit., 11 January, 17 December 1846. Seru had added to his wives by marrying Adi Titilia Maramanikaibau who was destined to marry Ratu Savenaca Naulivou after Seru's conversion to Christianity.
 3. Cakobau's lovers, aside from his wives, were many. See for example, William Diapaa [pseud.] Cannibal Jack, London, 1928, p. 99 ff, where the seduction of Lualua's daughter, Matai ika, is mentioned and Calvert, J. Viwa Record, 24 November 1851, Journal of J. Calvert, Micro. 163/35, H.L. where he mentions that Tui Naitasiri's wife was pregnant by Cakobau.

FIGURE 21



Adi Samanunu, senior wife of Cakobau, 1855. [Glen Wilson, Mitchell Library]



Adi Kuila, daughter of Cakobau by Adi Samanunu. [Glen Wilson]

should not be many more children.¹

There were offspring of other unions who would contest his every move. Amongst his most prominent half-brothers on Bau were Ratu Kubunavanua, Ratu Savenaca Naulivou and Ratu Raivalita, all warriors of repute with their maternal homes at Nakorotubu, Cakaudrove and Rewa.² Of his cousins, two in particular were also men of considerable influence on Bau and both appeared to be malcontents worth watching. One, Ratu Nayagodamu, had good cause to resent both Seru and his father since they had been responsible for the murder of his own father, Caucau. The other, Ratu Mara Kapaiwai, was the son of Vuibureta and Adi Veisaca of Lakeba. Mara was a compulsive traveller. He seemed content only on his frequent voyages to his mother's homeland, and was habitually

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1. Adi Samanunu (Tagacanavere) was to bear seven children. By 1840 Adi (Arieta) Koila and Epeli Nailatikau were born, followed by Adi Kakaa (died 1846), Adi Vuikaba, Adi Kawanavere, Ratu (Timoci) Tavanavanua (Tavakecenavanua) born 1850-51, and Ratu Josefa Celua. Adi (Salote) Qalirea (Kaunilotuma), was the mother of Ratu Sukuna (d. 1855), Adi Qolikoro and Ratu Bulukiveida. Adi Lalaciwa gave birth to Ratu Yavala and Adi Mataika while Adi Uvu had no issue. See Lyth, Day Book and Journal, 11 August 1850, 31 December 1851, B539, M.L., Sequence B; Deve Toganivalu, "Ratu Cakobau".
 2. Ratu Kubunabanua's mother was Adi Reki of Nakorotubu, sixth wife of Tanoa. Ratu Naulivou was the son of Adi Vulaono of Cakaudrove and Ratu Raivalita was the son of Adi Qereitoga of Rewa.

involved in Lauan politics.¹ Of the young men on Bau, Ratu Gavidi of the Lasakau stood out as remarkable for his powerful physique and unique skills as a sailor.² Although Nalila was the tribal head, he stood in the shadow of Gavidi's vigour and dynamism. None of these men cringed before Cakobau nor did any of them intimidate him. Their status was a measure of the care with which he had to manoeuvre.

Raivalita did not move with sufficient caution. When the Rewan war erupted in 1843 he became an obvious target for suspicion as had Koroi Wainiu at the outbreak of conflict with Cakaudrove. The rumours that Raivalita and Namosimalua were conspiring to murder Cakobau in espousal of the Rewan cause circulated widely.³ Raivalita was the natural head of the Rewan clique on Bau. His mother's escape to Lomanikoro and subsequent treatment had after all helped precipitate the war. The rumours were reason for concern and for watchfulness, but as always rumours of the kind

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1. Ratu Nayagodamu's father was Caucau, his mother, Adi Vuniwaqa of Cakaudrove. Ratu Mara's grandfather was Banuve whose son, Vuibureta was from his Lakeba war bride, Ufia. Mara himself was the son of Vuibureta and Adi Veisaca of Lakeba, (Henderson, G.C. (ed.) The Journal of Thomas Williams, Sydney, 1931, Vol.1, 11 March, 1842.) In October and November 1841, Mara was at Cicia, Lau, involved in an internal war there. He shot three men and took five female slaves and seven rolls of sinnet, (ibid, 8 November 1841) On 27 February 1842 his party of Bauans fought with Tubou youths in a very serious affair, with cannon fired and fences erected, (ibid and Journal of James Calvert, 27 February 1842, Micro 163/35, H.L.)
 2. See Erskine's description of Gavidi, Journal of a Cruise ..., p.177.
 3. Calvert to friends, Lakeba, 9 April 1844, Micro. 163/40, H.L.

were as common as balawa mats and hardly cause for dread. The amorphous nature of such conspiracies received more solid outline however when Cakobau returned from a foray to the coast. Two women had been discovered in the act of attempting to burn down Seru's bure. It was a criminal act of the most serious kind on the island. Mataiweilagi; nearly eighty feet long, thirty-six feet wide, forty feet high, its twelve main posts each six feet in circumference, crowded with treasures accumulated during its owner's lifetime, was at once magnificent and defenceless in the face of vindictive arsonists.¹ Those apprehended could expect only the worst punishment. Seru ordered them to the bure ni sa, the visitor's house, where numerous warriors indulged themselves in the custom of tutevutaki; the women were mass raped and, when all the men were satiated, were clubbed cooked and eaten.²

The doubts about Raivalita in this climate of crime and retribution hardened but it was not until Gavidu came to Cakobau and asserted he had been invited to join Raivalita's plot to murder him that Seru felt he must remove this danger to his life despite the fact that this was Tanoa's favourite grandson.³ He was brought before Cakobau and charged with the crime which he denied. Seru was convinced of his guilt and as he left the bure Cakobau ordered a warrior to club him. They both followed the dead man out. As Raivalita lay stunned after a massive blow to the head, a cord was thrown around his neck and he was strangled.

1. Wallis, op.cit., 11 January 1846.

2. Hunt, Journal 111, 19 February 1844. Micro. 163/40, H.L.
For this custom see Hunt 19 February 1844.

3. Wallis, op.cit., 7 August 1845. Gavidu may well have been lying. Raivalita was a competitor for status on the islet. Cakobau himself was predisposed to believe allegations of this kind against his extrovert nephew.

The orchestrator of the murder stood near the body as an English friend of Raivalita, in grief at what had passed fired his pistol at Cakobau. It could have been Seru's last moment, but by extreme good fortune the pistol misfired. Seru may have been horrified at his brush with death but he did not show it. He so admired the man's courage he let him live. Gavidi's reward was to be Adi Loaloakubou, a gift already promised to Tui Nakelo in return for his help against Rewa. The offer was made in secret. Seru would deal with the problem of Nakelo's anger at his trickery when it arose.¹ The problem of Raivalita at least had been solved.

By 1848, Tanoa's real influence had diminished with increasing age to a ceremonial status, his former prestige and mana absorbed in the person of his son who had built upon it with that natural grace and ease which Tanoa lacked.² Seru's successes in war had been sunlight and rain on the matanitu where his flourishing support choked enemy growth. His stature as a leader in the group had grown so much that outsiders called him Tui Viti.³ Cakobau himself enjoyed the title but he harboured few illusions about

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1. Hunt to Lyth, 9 August 1845, letters to and from Lyth; Journal of Thomas Williams, 8 September 1845.
 2. Lyth to Williams, Viwa, 10 January 1848, Letters to Thomas Williams, ML.
 3. Outsiders, naturally inclined to expect a king in the group, began calling Cakobau, Tui Viti after his burning of Rewa in 1845. The missionaries habitually referred to him as Tui Viti after this date. Nonetheless, the same title was occasionally bestowed on Tanoa. Journal of Thomas Williams, 16 January 1848; John Watsford, extract of letter. Nadi, and David Hazelwood, extract of letter, Ono, May 1848 in W.M.M. no.132, micro.163/58, H.L.; Lyth to Williams, Viwa, 29 August 1848, in Letters to Thomas Williams; Conway Shipley, caption on sketch, opposite p 66.

it no matter how fondly he wished it to be true. Unlike his contemporary in Tonga, Siaosi Taufa'ahau Tupou, who had attained the Tu'i Kanokupolu title, Cakobau had no legitimacy as leader even within the Bauan state until his father's death when he could expect to drink the yagona making him Vunivalu. If he was indeed to be installed - and there was no certainty of this - he would need to contain others on Bau who would deny him the title. After Raivalita, Gavidí emerged as the greatest threat.

He had attained leadership in the Lasakau quarter by methods equally as ruthless and effective as Cakobau. Nalila, the tribal head, had been chased from Bau for the murder of another Lasakauan chief and lived a precarious life under the protection of his kinsmen, Varani and Namosimalua. Gavidí had been anxious to have Nalila clubbed to avenge his murdered friend and remove the last obstacle to his own leadership.¹ He had managed to quieten Nalila's suspicions of him by pretending outrage at Raivalita's affair with Nalila's wife. Gavidí treated it as an insult to the whole Lasakauan tribe and used it as a basis for a supposed reconciliation with the ousted Lasakauan chief. Repeated visits heady with goodwill had dulled Nalila's suspicions to the point where his instinct for survival failed him. At another seemingly innocuous visit in March 1845, as the man bathed in the smiles of his tribesmen, Gavidí's man beat his brains out. The body lay on the mats when Gavidí strode to where Nalila's terrified father sat and clubbed him too. As a further act of hatred Gavidí refused to strangle Nalila's distraught wife who begged

1. Wallis, op.cit., 30 December 1844; Watsford, extract of letter, Viwa, 30 June 1845, in W.M.N. no.93, September 1846. Nalila's wife was Namosimalua's sister. See Wallis, 25, 28 January 1845.

to join her husband.¹

Gavidi confirmed his status as the islet's most violent figure nearly two years later when he had three of his women executed. They had attempted to escape from him on a previous occasion. In spite of warnings that they would be shot if they tried again they fled a second time and were captured. Gavidi had them tied to stakes on a shoal near Bau where they were used as targets for musket fire.²

After the murders he was a pale and agitated man, hardly the ideal bridegroom for the impending marriage with Adi Loaloakubou. Nevertheless in December 1846, the preparations were complete and his marriage went ahead. She was given to the Lasakau tribe. Her gleaming body was wiped free of the oil expressing her virginity and apartness, her new liku was exchanged for an old one as she changed from maiden to matron, a status finally achieved after the consummation of the marriage and publicly demonstrated by cutting of the tobe, the wringlets of youth. It was a marriage of clans, an expression of interdependence and solidarity and for

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1. Wallis, 5,6,25 January 1845, Watsford, extract of letter, loc.cit. and 28 March 1845. As loloku ni mate, his children had their little fingers severed above the joint and placed in the thatch of the bure. Journal of John Hunt, Summary of events, 30 October - 18 April 1845, Micro. 163/40; Watsford to General Secretaries, 30 June 1845, extract of letter, s.d., W.M.N., no.93, September 1846. Wallis is wrong in her entries for 21 and 22 March. After the formal mourning, Nalila's wife, her status destroyed, turned to the lotu for refuge.
 2. It is probable that their vaginas were cut open also. Wallis, op.cit., 7 December 1846.

Gavidi a source of joy.¹ He was the husband of the Vunivalu's daughter by Radi Levuka. Cakobau was content to pay his debt for the exposure of Raivalita while scrutinizing a rising star whose ambitions might not end at this marriage.

Cakobau was assailed endlessly with rumours of vere against his life. Three and half years after Gavidi's marriage his suspicions of the Lasakauan chief had gained a solidarity that others lacked. The man's charisma and stature complemented his ambition so effectively that he stood apart as a very real centre of discontent. When Adi Loaloakubou approached Tanoa warning him of her husband's plan to kill Seru in concert with Na Yagodamu and seven others, Cakobau believed this rumour to be true. It was clear he would have to be watched closely.² Cakobau had just achieved a memorable victory over Verata in April 1850, when he was approached to pursue Veratan refugees to the village of Naloto. He agreed. It was to be a fateful decision for it was to remove his greatest rival.

Naloto was defended desperately for the Veratans had nowhere else to run. Fortunately for the harrassed men the irresistible weaknessess in even the most successful alliance were beginning

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1. Ritova came to the wedding in considerable fear of Tanoa who had been Roko Mamaca's friend and had been expecting his daughter as another bride; Wallis, op.cit., 24 December 1846.
 2. See Lolohea's narrative, Lyth Journal, B536-1. M.L. under "Ngavidi's conspiracy against Tui Viti's Life ...", Appendix 54. The others implicated in the plot were Komainaua, Adi Qoliwasawasa, Ratu Ravulo, Ratu Vukinamualevu, Namosimalua, Koroi Coknauto and Qaraniqio.

to show as jealousies found rich soil in squabbles over plunder. The defenders were aware of the change and decided to risk a sally. As they did so one was shot as he emerged from the fence. As Gavidi turned around to retreat after engaging the enemy around the body, a musket ball hit him squarely in the back. The dying man fell, digging desperately at the earth with his fingers before dying.¹

Cakobau must have been as relieved as Kuli i Visawaqa, Gavidi's brother and new Lasakau head, that the man was dead, but ordered Adi Loaloakubou to prepare for her strangulation. At the last moment the Lasakauans begged for her life as she was pregnant, Gavidi's mother becoming her substitute. Seru tied the cord around her throat and throttled her while others strangled a servant from Moala. All three were interred together in a huge grave.² Another threat to his continued existence lay buried beneath the soil of Bau.

This sudden death and extreme brutality were a duet that created an atmosphere fetid with suspicion and duplicity. Enacted with numbing frequency, the killings exposed ambitious chieftains as frighteningly vulnerable. The murders in which Cakobau was directly or indirectly involved had an underlying logic beyond the immediate need of self-preservation of course: he wanted to be Vunivalu after his father. Despite the apparently overwhelming series of successes Cakobau could claim, a single rash or ill-conceived manoeuvre could destroy all of his gains. By December

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1. There is a good deal of controversy about this death even today. See Appendix 5a.
 2. J. Calvert, Viwa record, May 1850.

1852 his position was under threat largely due to his single-minded determination to possess a foreign vessel and the resultant strains that he placed on his followers.¹ He could ill afford to jeopardize his predominance on Bau at any time. The event now occurred that made his need for support as crucial as it had been when he had helped his father return to the islet sixteen years before. Old age had finally claimed Namosimalua. It seemed Tanoa, growing feeble and increasingly confined to Muaidule, was also succumbing to its onslaught.² The Vunivalu's health deteriorated rapidly and he soon slipped into a state of near coma. It was obvious to all that his long expected death was near. As the old man's breathing became more laboured, Seru was forced to prepare himself for the step he had been preparing himself for emotionally over many months. Unlike the previous strangulations he had performed, this involved the wives of his own father. He was torn between two courses of action: to submit to the wishes of the English missionaries or to yield to the equally pressing obligation to honour his father, unite the matanitu in the loss and demonstrate his worthiness as prospective Vunivalu. He felt trapped by counter expectations he could not hope to satisfy. As the missionary Watsford passionately urged clemency, the separate reality moved before him irresistibly. Radi Levuka, Adi Vulacno, Adi Lagi, Radinibausivo and Koyanamalo prepared themselves with their sweetest smelling oils, their finest liku, their most prized mats. The Lauan, Adi Tagici, the former darling of the missionaries, wept with frustration that she had not been selected to share the honour. The impending death of the Vunivalu was of supreme significance to the state, the ceremonial attached greater than any of the individuals. It was one of the three great rites of passage. It swept up all in its emotion, a moment

1. See Chapter Nine.

2. Joseph Waterhouse, Vah-ta-ah, The Feejeean Princess, Hamilton, Adams & Co., London, 1857, p.68.

of unity. The Vunivalu would be buried with due honours as surely as the seas would be fished, the yam fields dug. The matanitu would function as one expressing its corporate identity and Seru would play his part.

After a night of teetering at the verge of death, the old man passed away. It was time for Cakobau to prove his suitability as successor. His conduct was to be determined by the expectations of the state. The lotu priesthood was exerting undeniable pressure for the cessation of the unrelenting violence of Bauan society. These men viewed widow strangling as they did cannibalism. Both epitomised, in their eyes, the very worst aspects of this culture. The lotu could no longer be dismissed as the refuge of the alienated like Varani, the rejected like Nalila's wife, the fearful like Tui Veikoso.¹ Cakobau himself had grown increasingly receptive to its ideals. The inroads to his resistance had been cut initially by antithetical pressures: a superior technology promising greater military and maritime control; an alternative medicine promising better health.² It was Bauan women however, who had become the lotu's most enthusiastic adherents for reasons which ran deeper. They appeared responsive to the lotu appeal for non-violence. This was an elaboration of the belief in the efficacy of lotu medicine for its practitioners were also priests of a literate religious tradition whose message was one of love and reconciliation.

Paradoxically it was the most prominent of these same Bauan women who helped decide Cakobau's actions. Their view was that the impending strangulations were a symbol of respect for the

1. See Chapter Ten.

2. See Chapter Nine and Chapter Ten.

Vunivalu, an act of solidarity and mercy to ensure Tanoa had companionship on the perilous and otherwise lonely journey to the afterworld. Not to submit would have done violence to his memory. If the lotu women felt any conflict of interest they did not show it. The chiefly women chosen would be the gift of the state which gave them life, providers of the feast through their willing self-destruction. Those not to die also played their role. The former lotu women, Adi Vatea, the widow of Namosimalua of Viwa, and Adi Qoliwasawasa, the widow of Kania, the murdered Roko Tui Dreketi, prepared the widows.¹ As offspring of Vusaratu women they gave the act the sanction of the Roko Tui Bau family and of Viwa, a major bati vanua. Adi Tagici, the veitabani representative, added the strength of Lauan approval.

The women were summoned and came without hesitation. The leading lady of the Tui Kaba by marriage, Adi Talatoka, was first in status. She was to be duly honoured as the first to die. She had played a role of immense importance to the Tui Kaba family as crucial as that of Tanoa himself. Adi Talatoka had been a key figure in the maintenance of Bauan political and social cohesion. Through her frail body ran the blood of a Bauan mother, Adi Levulevu, after whom the great double canoe, the Ra Marama, had been named. She was a full sister to Tui Kilakila of Cakaudrove and daughter of the former Tui Cakau, Ratu Yavala. She was thus the greatest gift Cakaudrove could offer and as such had been the wife of Naulivou, Tanoa's brother and Vunivalu before him. On his death she had married Tanoa and been installed as Radi Levuka, accepted by the kai lona ni koro, the insiders from Lakeba, as supreme chieftainess on Bau. Her daughter by Tanoa, Adi Loalcakubou, had

1. See Chapter Seven

given the Lasakau a future head, for before Gavid's death she had conceived his child, Natuituba. Adi Loaloakubou's own strangulation had been averted because of the Lasakauan wish to have this offspring survive. She was further to provide Ratu Mara with a son, Ratu Joni Madraiwiwi. Adi Talatoka therefore united four generations, two major confederacies and three distinct groups within Bau itself.

It was this formidable woman, witness to and active participant in so much of Bau's recent history, that Seru confronted with the strangling cord. Her quiet resignation provided a chilling contrast to her dead husband's son. Seru, distraught and fighting back hysteria, first strangled Adi Talatoka. He was in the process of killing the second woman when Watsford entered. The already tense atmosphere reached screaming point. Cakobau refused to stop.¹ The third to die made it easier for him. She offered herself with rapturous abandon. Her only demand was for a better strangling cord. The last two accepted their fate with less drama. As the last body dropped lifeless on the mats, Cakobau, finally overcome by the event, fled from the house.²

The deaths of these five women from different parts of the confederacy and beyond, gave the Vunivalu's death a significance it could never have had in isolation. They sent the shock through

1. J. Calvert, Viwa Record, 10 December 1852:

"Cakobau: A vakaevei, Misa Wativoti?"

Watsford: Kakua saka mada. Sa levu na mate e rua."

Cakobau told Watsford afterwards that had it not been for the missionaries many more would have been strangled on this occasion.

2. Watsford to Calvert, Viwa, 8 December 1852, micro 163/38, H.L.

the whole Bauan nervous system beyond the family, Tui Kaba, to spread the grief and absorb it, a loss all could feel. It was the fulfilment of the Vunivalu's life in death, a measure of the confederacy's power over the fate of its most prominent representatives. The event had been larger than any of the participants.

The Vunivalu's body was hardly cold in its grave when the village of Kaba rebelled. The turning gave warning of the growing strength of Rewan influence and rejection of the foremost claimant to the titles his death had left vacant.¹

There was no one to seriously challenge Cakobau's right to paramountcy however, and he was duly installed as Tui Kaba. Nor in spite of his failure of judgement in recent months was there any other serious contender for the title of Vunivalu. When the matanivanua approached the leading chiefs of the confederacy to come to Bau there was no major threat to the consensus that would have Seru as the new head.²

There were many others who either turned a blind eye to Cakobau's fumbling, who accepted it unquestioningly, or who saw it as a temporary aberration of behaviour. Others had no doubts about his proven superiority, the legitimacy of his position, his undisputable right by blood to the state's highest honour: others again who would resist his elevation to Vunivalu as a matter of course. The Butoni and Levuka tribes for their part had accepted the suitability of Cakobau. When the day of his investiture was chosen, the Tunidau sent the news to Bau.

1. J. Waterhouse, The King and People of Fiji, p.204.

2. See Ratu Ravulo, "Kava Drinking", Transactions of the Fijian Society, 1912, 1913.

Like a metaphor of renewal a devastating fire accidentally started by a senile Lasakauan ravaged the islet. It destroyed Muaidule but left Mataiweilagi unscathed.¹ The death of his father, the destruction of his great bure presaged a new order. The Lasakauans waited in ambush off Kiuva. There they captured seventeen of the Dau ni Nakelo people, seamen like themselves, and threw twelve corpses and five trembling prisoners onto the fore-shore at Muridua to feast the honoured guests housed at Ulunivuaka, among them the Butoni paramount, head of the state's fishermen, and Tui Kilakila with his entourage conveyed to Bau in Owen's ship, the Packet.

The families of the Yavusa Kubuna, Soso and Lasakau shared the islet's confined space with representatives from all the bati areas as Cakobau made his way to the great rara of the Bau quarter for his installation. The supreme ceremonial moment of his life was about to be enacted. Not even this event was safe from the interference of the outside world however. He was approached by the missionary Calvert, who pleaded for the lives of the surviving captives.² Cakobau was tolerant of this interruption. He respected Calvert's sincerity and courage but he was in no mood for acts of clemency with different expectations to fulfill. Nor was he in a position to order that the fishermen be spared. The

1. Lyth Journal, 14 June 1853, B451, M.L.

2. Calvert, Viwa Record, 26 July 1853. Calvert said to Cakobau if the captives were given up and the cooked pieces of the dismembered corpses surrendered for burial, "it would be renowned as the day of the veibuli, veibula and vei vakabulai". Cakobau was particularly disgusted with whites at this time as Owens had offered him only torn sails for the 150 piculs of dri he had given him. Owens for his part refused to take Tui Kilakila home unless he surrendered the corpses.

Lasakauans had provided this flesh for the Butoni, those ultimately responsible for the official installation of the paramount of the Bauan confederacy. Without their final sanction any Vunivalu would remain de facto leader with all the insecurity that this would imply. Their representatives awaited Cakobau's arrival in their midst ready to offer him the bowl of yagona which would transform him, in the eyes of the confederacy, from senior son to Vunivalu. Cakobau could afford no magnanimous gestures of the kind the missionary requested at this point in his life. Neither could he summarily dismiss Calvert for he represented a political threat of even more daunting proportions. Cakobau had long been sensitive to the need for cordial relations with outside powers particularly since D'Urville's arrival. He demonstrated his political maturity and his ability to deal with apparently insoluble problems under pressure by a clever compromise. The captives, he argued, were enemy presented to his guests. If Calvert could persuade them to surrender the prisoners and the corpses he would have them. Seru left his importunate friend and reached the assembly. He sat in the place of highest honour, then drained the cup offered him. A great shout proclaimed him Vunivalu.²

His installation as Tui Levuka was of equal importance. The ceremony was performed by the kai Levuka in the rara before Na Ulunivuaka. The tying of the masi armband of office by the Daulakeba, the kai Levuka paramount, symbolised their acceptance of Cakobau as their superior, an acceptance of basic importance for they were the taukei of Bau, the insiders accepting the outsider. Cakobau's installation as Tui Levuka was the definitive act confirming his position, a triumph for both the givers and

¹ See Chapter Ten.

² Calvert, Viwa Record, 26 July 1853.

the receiver. They domesticated him. He achieved the three titles, the ultimate Bau could confer.¹

His first act after securing the title was to muster over one hundred canoes for an attack on Kaba. A victory here was very important. It would be a triumphant beginning as the new Vunivalu, a sorely needed proof of the efficacy of his war gods. Seru made extensive offerings at Vatanitawaki. The eerie pitched voice of the possessed head, bete, promised that the gift was not in vain. Cakobau's enemies would be annihilated. With warriors picked from Sawakasa, Waimaro and the Bauan mainland the attack was opened by the burning of Drala and Dromuna. This was a mock heroic stroke as both villages had been recently deserted. The thrust against Kaba was led by the Sawakasans, their priests legendary for their powers to have deadly weapons rebound harmlessly from their bodies. With their fans quivering, their bodies yellow with turmeric they fearlessly approached the war fences which they intended to tap thus rendering the warriors invincible. A ball through the head of the leading priest shattered the legend; it also precluded what was to be an unsuccessful assault. The besiegers in fact received a mauling. Na Yagodamu himself was shot through the leg. Cakobau's previous disillusion with the prophecies of his once reliable mediums now hardened to disgust. When his fleet returned home he heaped scorn upon them. He refused this time to even remove his sala in the temple.²

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1. Deve Toganivalu, "Ai Tovo ni nona buli na Vunivalu" in A.M. Hocart, Micro. 375, T.L., A.M. Hocart, Field Notes, No.3249. (I thank Professor Sahlins for this reference). The Butoni installed the Vunivalu. The kai Levuka installed him as Tui Levuka. The three titles were all conferred by those acknowledged as the i taukei, the land owners of Bau or its environs.
 2. Calvert, Viwa Record, 2,3,4,5, August 1854.

In the atmosphere of gloom that enveloped him after this debacle his judgement failed him again. When Adi Vatea had fled from the horrors of marriage to Namosimalua she had found comfort and content in the arms of the Vusaradave chief, Koroiravulo. Ratu Isikeli demanded satisfaction for the insult to his family by taking over Nayaukumu, a village on Ovalau under Koroiravulo's control. Cakobau himself aggravated the situation when he extended his own authority directly over the chief's home village of Cautata and laid claim to the produce of its gardens.¹ Koroiravulo, not naturally inclined to plot against Seru with whom he had no quarrel, felt cornered. He sailed to Levuka where he believed he could persuade the scheming Tui Levuka to side with Ratu Mara and Qaraniqio.

Mara was a natural rival of his cousin, Cakobau. His status had been eroded considerably by the Tongan leadership in Lakeba, Lau, his maternal homeland, with the delighted approval of Seru.

1. Waterhouse, Vah-ta-ah ... p.70ff. In his The King and People of Fiji, Waterhouse claims this occurred on 22 December 1853, (p.210). This is a mistake, the correct date being 22 October 1853.

In March 1852 the animosity between the cousins assumed serious proportions. Cakobau was on a fruitless bicho da mar fishing expedition to the Macuata coast when Mara had arrived at Bau from Lau. Seru had left instructions for him to make arrowroot rather than join him in the north. Koyamatanaa and other Bau chiefs still on the islet teased Mara about Cakobau's anger. These taunts received substance when his canoe, the Uluilakeba, was confiscated. When he was unsuccessful in attempts to gather arrowroot on Ovalau he fled in desperation to Rewa to seek refuge with Qaraniqio. Seru had certainly not anticipated this and it was something he could not ignore. No matter what personal enmity he felt for Mara, no matter what setbacks Mara had received at Tongan hands, he was still the most prestigious Bauan vasu to Lau, its wealth, its support. The possibility that he would attempt to enlist the aid of Taliai Tupou, the Tui Nayau, his nephew, Wetasau, and Koroiradinibau, the Butoni head at Tubou to get property for the Rewans, was the cause for such concern that a canoe had been sent to Lakeba to foil this development. Seru knew that Taliai Tupou's nephew might exploit Mara's new allegiance to embarrass his uncle. Lauan support could well prove a prelude to increased violence in the Rewan delta.¹ Seru must also have realized that the contempt with which he had treated Mara for years had made him a natural enemy. The extent of his alienation was made clear when Mara approached Roko Tui Suva to ally himself to the Rewan cause only to be threatened with the club for his efforts.² It was also clear that it was fear as much as malice that had driven Mara into Qaraniqio's arms. In the Rewan's eyes, Mara was first and foremost a Bauan whom he could not trust, a temporary ally with him by force of circumstances

1. Calvert, Viwa Record, 27 February 1852.

2. Ibid., 1 March 1852.

not natural affinity. Cakobau thus had some grounds for hope that they would soon fall out.

Eighteen months later this had not happened. Indeed with the aid of the disgruntled white residents of Levuka, the Lovoni tribesmen of Ovalau decided to switch their allegiance from Viwa to Mara. They would never have accepted Tui Levuka as a leader but with Koroiravulo at his shoulder encouraging the uncertain Levuka paramount, Mara was approached to come to Ovalau as leader of the new alliance. Seru's alarm was somewhat lessened by the nature of this front against him. Mara walked about with a loaded revolver for days, not willing to trust Tui Levuka who he believed had sought his life a few short months before, while Tui Levuka himself was hesitant.¹ He wavered between a public hard line against the Vunivalu and a secret desire to befriend him should the wind change. No matter how unstable the combination, however, it existed, a very unsavoury fact so soon after his installation.

The weakness in the alliance soon became obvious. There were rumours from Levuka that Mara and Tui Levuka were talking

1. Lyth Journal, 21 October 1853, B541, M.L. The former Tui Levuka had been killed in a raid by the Lovoni mountaineers of Ovalau; his son gained the title. Hunt to Williams, 28 February 1846, Letters to Thomas Williams; Jagger, extract of letter, Viwa, 7 October 1846, W.M.N. September 1847, Micro. 163/35, H.L. Cakobau had encountered and slighted the new Tui Levuka deliberately on board the Havannah in late 1849, Erskine, p.175 ff.

of submitting themselves to Seru.¹ If a reconciliation was achieved it appeared likely that he would be in a more powerful position than ever. He could recover the ground he had so obviously lost and use his new title to govern with the authority denied him in his father's lifetime. Any confidence vanished in a new bout of misfortune. A Bauan chief was caught in the act of plotting against Seru's life and expelled from the islet. He immediately allied himself with Qaranigiq and took with him nearly twenty villages of the mainland over which he had influence.² Furthermore Koroiravulo moved to Sawakasa and there enlisted the support of his namesake: he persuaded him to ally his coastal vanua with Ovalau. The boost given the league's confidence pushed Tui Levuka back into line with Mara and shattered Seru's hopes of ending the front against him.³ Another accidental burning of Bau was not an auspicious omen nor did it improve either his temper or his health which began a serious decline. Cakobau was discovering that it was easier to be a leader in prosperity than adversity. The strain showed in the fistula he suffered from and a leg that gave him increasing pain.⁴ The cinders had had little time to cool before a hurricane lashed the islet, further testing his nerves.⁵ So weak did his illness leave him that he could not take advantage of the destruction of

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1. Lyth Journal, 28 November 1853, B541, M.L. In December Tui Levuka sent a messenger with five tabua to Cakobau. Calvert Journal, 14 December 1853, micro. 163/35, H.L.
 2. Calvert, extract of letter to William Boyce and Calvert to his children, 9 March 1854, micro 163/38, H.L.
 3. Calvert, Viwa Record, 1 May, 18 retrospect, entry for 19 April: Joseph Waterhouse, Vah-ta-ah. ., p.78 ff.
 4. Viwa Record, entries for May.
 5. Waterhouse, extract of letter, Bau, 18 August 1854, entry for 18 March 1854, in W.M.N., May 1855, micro. 163/59, H.L.

the Kaba war fences which had been demolished in the storm. By the time he was able to move from his bure, the opportunity for an easy assault had been lost as the frantic Kabans feverishly rebuilt their defensive walls.¹

The next attack on Kaba was again prefaced by glowing promises of triumph. It was as abortive as the others had been. The rebuilt fences proved too much for a disjointed Bauan attack.² Nagalu of Namena provided the only hopeful note when he entrapped Koroiravulo of Sawakasa by pretending to join with him against the Vunivalu. Koroiravulo of the Vusarandave remained at large. An expedition against Sawakasa specifically to capture him ended as fruitlessly as the Kaba foray.³

Cakobau had discovered, as had his predecessors, that attainment of the title, Vunivalu was no assurance of its retention. He had survived the coup that had ousted his father and played a significant role in his re-instatement. During that time and after, he had demonstrated the capacity to lead both as a warrior and as a diplomat. He had displayed a willingness to employ the most ruthless tactics to maintain and enhance his standing in the Bauan community. In so doing he had eliminated most of his competitors either violently or by sheer force of a success which eroded their positions. By fulfilling the expectations

1. Waterhouse, The King and People of Fiji, p.230 ff.

2. Ibid, p.238.

3. Viwa Record, 1 May entry for 19, 21 April 1854.

of the state he achieved its approbation. His installation was the confederacy's recognition of the legitimacy he had pursued. He had gained the titles to immediately face opposition. The Bauan state was to afford him an alternative way of coping with this traditional challenge, a solution denied his ancestors.

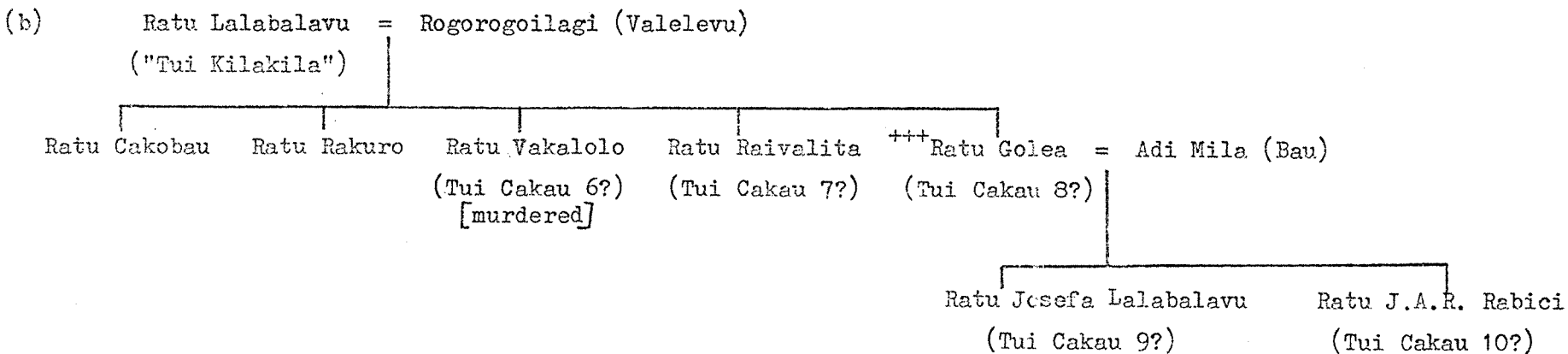
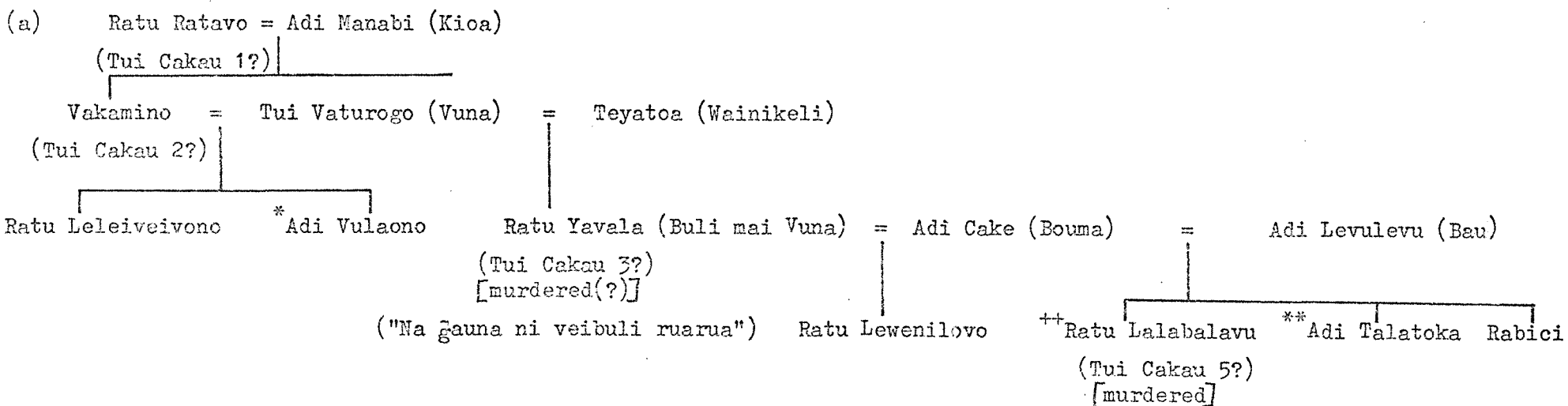
CHAPTER SIX: Marital Challenge and Martial Conflict: the neutralizing of Cakaudrove.

Ratu Yavala, one of two men invested with the title of Tui Cakau, courted Bauan support to enhance the legitimacy of his claims to leadership.¹ Ratu Lalabalavu, Tui Kilakila, his son by Adi Levulevu of the Vusaratu, was vasu to Bau, while Ratu Yavala's daughter by the same woman, Adi Talatoka, was not only Tanoa's wife, but also Radi Levuka, the first lady of Bau. Thus the fortunes of the bald-headed leader of the house of Lalagavesi, and his gigantic son were intimately linked with those of Tanoa and Seru.² (See Figure 22).

The extent of this interdependence and the fruits to be derived from it became obvious at Tanoa's ousting from Bau. When he was forced to flee for his life, he made for Somosomo

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1. Ratu Yavala, the son of the second Tui Cakau, Vakamino and Adi Teyatoa (Wainikeli) was installed at Vuna (thus "Buli mai Vuna") at the same time that the son of Ratu Rakuro and Adi Kabadreke (Wainikeli), Ratu Naiqama, was installed at Buca, on the mainland of Vanua Levu. This period was therefore known as "Na gauna ni buli ruarua" and reflected the shift from the mainland to Taveuni. See A.C. Reid, "Notes on some Fijian Hereditary Titles", p.42 ff. (although he states that it was during the rule of the fourth Tui Cakau that there were two men installed).
 2. R.B. Lyth, Day Book and Journal, B539, M.L., claims that Lalagavesi was one of two houses Tui Cakau had on the mainland. When the move to Taveuni took place, the name of Tui Vuna's house, Nasima, was taken as Tui Cakau's house site. Their Yavusa name was Valelevu.

⁺ABSTRACT OF THE GENEALOGY OF TUI CAKAU



* Wife of Ratu Tanoa Visawaqa

** Wife of Ratu Tanoa Visawaqa

++ Order of incumbents correct but numbers in question. Ratu, Naigama held title briefly before Tui Kilakila and Vakalolo briefly before Ratu Raivalita.

+++ Note strong Bavan influence through Levulevu and Mila

⁺ [baleta na i Tutu vaka Tui Cakau]



Adi Talatoka, Radi Bau, 1838. [D'Urville, 1846]. Adi Talatoka was the wife of Ratu Naulivou, Vunivalu of Bau. After his death she married Tanoa, Ratu Naulivou's successor as Vunivalu. On his death, she was strangled to accompany Tanoa on the journey to Bulu, the afterworld. Below are two women, the one on the right, a maiden. She still has the tobele, the wringlets of virginity.

whence he was offered succour and from whence he was able to assemble his support and plan his re-instatement. Although Tanoa himself was vasu to Rewa, Cakaudrove had the considerable protective advantage of open sea between it and Bau while his motherland merged perilously into the Bauan mainland. Ratu Yavala afforded Tanoa protection and extended him his hospitality for five years. When he was restored to the title in 1837 the Vunivalu was preceded by a fleet from Cakaudrove, a display of approval and fidelity.

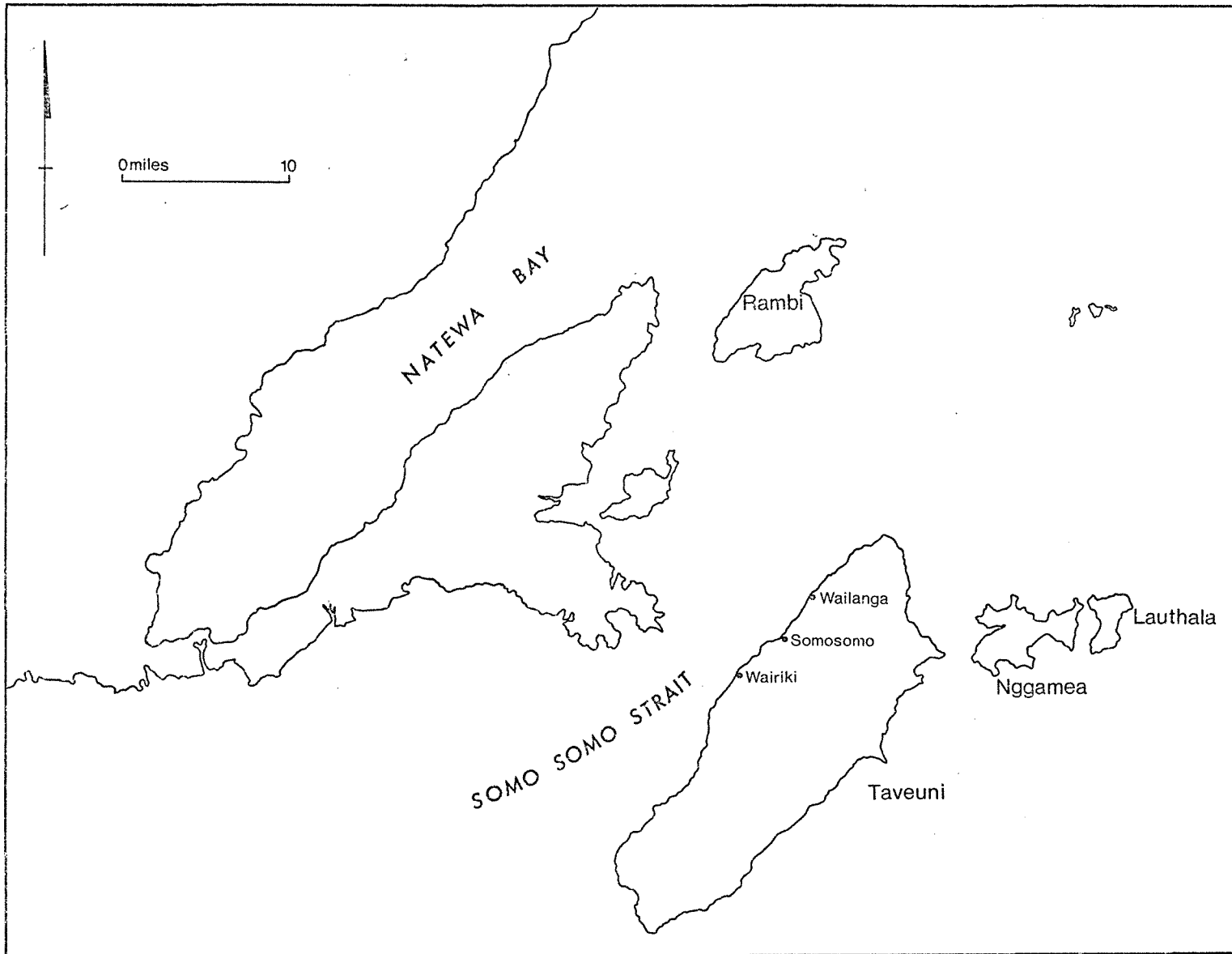
Tanoa was understandably in debt to his Somosomo relatives, a debt which he honoured by attempting to maintain the peace between the two confederacies as far as was practicable for the rest of his life.

Cakobau had no such feelings for the northern confederacy. As one of the leading contenders for the title Vunivalu, Cakobau was bound to discourage the encroachment of outsiders. This was particularly the case with high vasu who could expect to enjoy great privileges in their mothers' villages. Given the warmth Tanoa felt towards the Cakaudrove chiefs, their vasu to Bau could expect especially favourable treatment. Seru was anxious to limit these expectations. He was to prove on numerous occasions that he had no fear of taking lives he considered a threat nor of issuing orders to murder rivals.

Ratu Rabici, fifth child of Ratu Yavala and full brother to Tui Kilakila, was a victim of this very determination. He was also evidence of how extensive and effective Bauan espionage networks

could be and how well secrecy could be maintained when even the highest chief's life was taken. Rabici had been wrecked off Sawaike, Gau, on his way home to Somosomo from Lau where he had been terrorising people of Nayau and Totoya.¹ Nalila, the Lasakau chief, had influence there and by chance was himself present when the survivors reached shore. As custom dictated, most were slaughtered immediately, but the chiefs, Rabici, Ravulo and Koli i Visawaqa, were left unharmed. Instead they were housed, clothed and fed. One did not lightly murder a high vasu to Bau in such circumstances. Nalila sent a canoe to Bau to know the Vunivalu's desire as to their treatment. Cakobau had no love for the roving Rabici and ordered his killing, an instruction carried out while the unfortunate man slept. It was a political assassination. Both Bau and Cakaudrove vied for increased influence in Lau. Rabici had been vigorously advancing the rival cause. He was also a predatory vasu like his elder brother, Tui Kilakila. The murder was carried out in secrecy, perhaps at Tanoa's request.²

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1. Journal of John Hunt, vol. 2, 18 Jan, 26 Aug. 1839, 18 Aug. 1841, Micro 163/40, H.L.
 2. When the news of Rabici's death reached Somosomo, it was believed he had been lost at sea in a gale. The news was followed by the strangulation of his widows, the circumcision of young men and the normal funeral observances, (Ibid, 7 August 1839). When it was discovered that he had been murdered on Gau, a punitive expedition was organized, (2 September 1839). The true story of what happened emerged when a Tongan who was an eye-witness related events to James Calvert (Calvert to Brethren, 31 January 1842, micro. 163/38, H.L.) He claimed Koli i Visawaqa killed two men once the assassins attacked and was about to kill a fleeing Nalila when struck down from behind. Rabici was also killed but apparently not eaten, his flesh reputed to have been too bitter. Ravulo was killed with a totokea ("pineapple club"). His body was then daubed with lime to make it appear he had died on the reefs, taken to Bau and buried. In his Journal, Calvert (Journal, 1 or 6 November 1839, Micro. 163/35) attributed the murders to Tanoa but changed his mind after this eye-witness account.



Cakaudrove (after Admiralty Chart 440)

Cakobau had the chance to annoy another vasu to Bau through his own initiative. The Vuna people, joyous at the safe deliverance of their kin wrecked on Bauan shores, sent word that a feast was to be made in Cakobau's honour as their ka ni bula.¹ This was an opportune moment for Vuna, in reluctant subservience to the house of Lalagavesi, to embarrass and annoy Somosomo.² By feasting Cakobau they could express their dissatisfaction at their own decline in influence and hope that their overlords would be reluctant to react forcibly out of fear for Bau. In spite of orders from Somosomo not to hold the welcome for Visawaqa's son, they went ahead with the preparations. Cakobau was fast developing a mastery of the art of divisiveness. It was thus not surprising when he sailed to Vuna in July 1840 to enjoy the fullness of their hospitality.³ Tui Cakau and Tui Kilakila were placed in a very embarrassing position by this action. If they failed to respond, this insult could precipitate a tidal wave of rebelliousness which could engulf their house. If they punished Vuna there was a very real threat of war with Bau. There was really no option. Tui Kilakila sailed with a fleet for the southern coast of Taveuni to quell the revolt. How real it was became obvious when he reached Bouma, home of his half-brother and rival, Ratu Lewenilovo.⁴

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1. The feast was part of the thanks for help in distress.
 2. Vuna was conquered by the Lalagavesi family who adopted Tui Vuna's house site name, Na Sima. R.B. Lyth, Day Book and Journal, 11 August 1850, 31 December 1851, B539, sequence B, M.L.
 3. See R.B. Lyth, Journal for 28 July 1840, 163/42, H.L.
 4. His mother was Adi Cake of Bouma, Ratu Yavala's second wife. The Bouma inhabitants were the "original" inhabitants, the taukey of the soil of Vuna. Lyth, Day Book and Journal...

Here he found Seru enjoying the same welcome the Vunans had afforded him. The whole coast was wavering as rivals caught the promised tide. Ratu Lalabalavu acted decisively and effectively. Although the seas were rough and dangerous he ordered Cakobau to sail immediately. Outnumbered and outmanoeuvred, Seru took to the sea but survived the return voyage home. When the Vunans, threatened with war for their provocative behaviour, appealed to Bau for assistance, Seru promised help.

There was to be no hasty assault on Somosomo however. Bouma had decided that the flirtation with Seru was more dangerous than sharing its kava with blood relatives and had decided to aid Ratu Yavala, as had the Butoni of Somosomo, Matewa, Tunuloa, Savusavu and Rabi.¹ The apparent closing of ranks within Cakaudrove over this was disappointing but hardly surprising. Obviously the mainland vanua had decided this best served their interests for the moment. Cakobau could hardly object to the actions of those over whom he exercised no more control than he did over the Nadrogans or the Kai Colo tribes. Furthermore Tanoa was most reluctant to pursue his son's wish for a head on attack on Tui Cakau's capital. He felt that conflict with Somosomo would be counter productive; neither had he forgotten the support he had received there in his exile. He could not remain uninvolved for Seru had been outraged at his treatment when at Bouma and claimed repeatedly that Tui Kilakila had sent tabua to a variety of men requesting his murder.² The Vunivalu could however attempt to ensure peace by his own initiatives. The Butoni provided an opening. They were concerned about their predicament should war with Bau reach Somosomo.

1. Journal of John Hunt, 14 September, 29 October 1840.

2. Cross to Secretaries, 16 February 1841, FM 4/5043, M.L. He claimed Ratu Lalabalavu had approached Rewa and given a club to a Macuata chief to kill him if the occasion arose.

Consequently when they sent to Visawaqa and begged him to send a daughter as another bride for Tui Cakau, the Vunivalu leapt at this chance to achieve a reconciliation by a political marriage. A daughter was sent and amidst the exhilaration of elaborate feasting, a marriage was concluded to the contentment of those in Somosomo who had not welcomed a confrontation with Bau.¹

Seru refused to let this interfere with his own ambitions. A Tongan canoe's arrival at Bau gave his plans added force. It had been driven to Fiji by contrary winds and had made landfall at Vuna. It then proceeded to Bau with the Vunans' urgent appeal for military aid.² Cakobau, against the wishes of his father, persuaded the Vava'u brothers, Lasike and Tupou Toutai, to join him in the expedition to Taveuni.³ They reached Ovalau but the winds became unfriendly. He was forced to remain six frustrated days on the island while Tanoa twice sent messengers asking him to desist. Seru finally tired of the wait and returned to Bau where he used the time to gather more men.

It was a crucial delay for as Seru mustered more forces, a major thrust against Vuna was begun.⁴ The siege of the Vunan

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1. See Journal of John Hunt, 28 September, 1840, J.
 2. Cross to Secretaries, 14 October 1840, FM 4/3043, M.L. Canoes driven from Tonga were a common occurrence. In February 1840 a canoe which Tautafa'ahau had sent from Tongatapu to Vava'u drifted to Lakeba; on 3 April one from Vava'u drifted to Ono; on 29 May one fetched up at Totoya. See Journal of James Calvert, micro, 163/35, H.L. s.d.
 3. Cross to Secretaries, 24 October 1840.
 4. Bouma had come with the Vuna soro from the king's son. Tui Kilakila ordered the young man to be killed. Lyth Journal, 163/42, H.L. 19 October 1840.

fortress was indicative of the obsessive concern for defensive positions that had become so characteristic of Fijian warfare whenever sizeable groups of men were involved. This preoccupation emphasized the leadership's awareness of how fragile large-scale combinations were and how careful the warriors themselves were to ensure their survival if things took a turn for the worse. The most arrogant self confidence of the preliminary ceremonials could vanish in an instant to turn triumphant progress into a precipitate retreat. With this in mind days were spent hacking out approach paths through the dense bush. These focussed on a trio of walls, the innermost made of stone and earth, which afforded the attackers a safe defensive position. No hostilities commenced until this flexibility of movement was assured.

In this attack the Cakaudrove chiefs hoped to frighten Vuna into capitulation by sheer weight of numbers. The assault opened with the most courageous of the attackers and priests planting their banners and spears at the Vunan outer fence. The rest of the besiegers screamed their blood curdling war cries in unison as background accompaniment. The intimidation worked.

At first dawn the following day, Tui Vuna came out. In a posture of abject humiliation and defeat he offered his soro of whale's teeth and earth to Tui Kilakila, a soro this time accepted. The town was subsequently plundered and burnt to the ground.¹ Four days later, Cakobau with a fleet of over thirty canoes left Bau, but arrived at Vuna to find only charred remains.² This was not

1. Journal of John Hunt, 29 October 1840.

2. Cross to Secretaries, 2 November 1840. He left for Vuna and was back on 11 November 1840.

the end of the matter. Rumours of his impending invasion had nerves stretched taut and the tensions were beginning to show. Tui Kilakila became hysterical when his father separated from his new Bauan wife. He was afraid that the Butoni would be outraged and provoked into support for the invasion. In his madness he threatened to kill all of Ratu Yavala's other wives, a threat which caused panic amongst the royal ladies. Although the murders were not performed and the two were eventually reconciled, the fear of Cakobau's arrival remained.¹ The fear was inflamed by the Butoni who brought a report that Bauan forces were massing at Koro and had been joined there by Lakeba, Veratan and Rewan men.²

The verbal provocation developed into more solid action against Macuata. Tui Macata and his son Bete had decided to back Cakaudrove in the dispute with Bau. Seru believed they had no right to be involved. Namosimalua's Viwan forces were ordered to besiege the main village, Vunirara, which they did, obtaining the Macuatans soro in a bloodless encounter.³ Masavai made up for his father's pacific accomplishment by destroying a village and all of its one hundred and fifty inhabitants.⁴ The Macuatan paramount further antagonised Bau when nine Tongans were

1. See R.B. Lyth, Journal, B533, M.L., 30 November 1840.

2. Ibid. The report of Lakeban support was untrue. Taliai Tupou did not want to get involved. Verata had simply made peace but not joined with Bau and Rewa was not interested either.

3. Hunt, Journal, 12 August 1840.

4. Cross to Secretaries, 15 March 1841, no. 49, 14 October 1840, FM 4/3043. They were away 47 days, leaving at the end of August. They were detained by contrary winds at Namena.

FIGURE 24



Tombs at Macuata, 1840. [Wilkes, 1846]. Small bure were erected over the graves demonstrating the Fijian belief in the interdependence of the natural and supernatural worlds. The spirits of the dead needed protection against the elements just as their human counterparts did.

murdered at Cikobia, an island under Macuatan control.¹ A fleet of eighty canoes, again headed by the Viwans was sent to Macuata and arrived at a time when the coast was rent with internal fighting. Roko Mamaca's infirmity, his leg swollen with elephantiasis, was matched by that of his son, Bete, whose near-sightedness was a decided disadvantage in battle. It had not prevented him plotting the death of his two cousins, Roqiqi and Ritova.² They were both of higher status than he.³ Bete had achieved part of his ambition by removing Roqiqi. He had slept with two of Bete's wives during his absence at Somosomo. Bete had repaid the insult on his return. He burnt his rival's bure at night and had him clubbed as he ran out. Ritova escaped a general massacre by fleeing to the village of Raviravi where he was living when the Bauan fleet arrived.⁴ The supporters of Ritova combined with the invaders in an attack on Vunirara. Adverse winds allowed Tui Macuata and his son to escape north first to Mali and then to Mouta where they took refuge. The

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1. See Journal of Thomas Williams, 31 January 1841, Henderson (ed.) vol.1; Cross to Secretaries, 5 March 1841. The survivors had left Vavá'u for the war to the south and drifted to Lakeba. They headed back to Tonga but drifted back again, this time to Cikobia, thirty-one men in all. Nine were killed and twenty left by a canoe sent by a Tongan chief of Somosomo.
 2. Wallis, op.cit., recounts such an attempt in 1835 when two Salem brigs were fishing off Macuata. They had heard of a plan for a solevu which they tried to stop, thinking it would be bad for business. Ritova and Roqiqi had been detained on board. Bete had the Americans' dri houses on Yagaqa Island burnt in the hope the two would be killed in retaliation. The plot failed when Bauans arrived to ensure their release.
 3. Wilkes, op.cit., p.227 ff.
 4. Journal of John Hunt, 11 Jan 1841. Bete had gone to Somosomo on 3 October 1840 to take part in the final assault in Vuna.

attackers, with the Tongans in the vanguard, nevertheless managed to slaughter over two hundred people and to capture nine cannon.¹

Cakobau's influence on the north coast of Vanua Levu had never been so extensive. In comparison Cakaudrove was nervous. Cakobau played on this. He fed the rumours of his imminent invasion of Somosomo. He then sailed around Bua with a fleet of canoes, and made his way along the north coast to halt at Udu, thirty miles from his enemies, before sailing home, conscious of the panic he had created.² Without his father's support, however, Seru could not launch a frontal attack on Somosomo even if he had wanted to. Moreover the anger had largely lost its initial impetus as the memory of past insults was blunted by the passing months and their new concerns.³ A stalemate had been reached in the threats and counter-threats but it needed more than just a simple act of forgetting. There was too much pride at stake. The ideal mediators, the Butoni of Somosomo, were therefore approached and provided with a feast which rivalled anything in living memory. Hundreds of cooked pigs and sixty thousand yams affirmed the friendship of the Tui Cakau family and themselves.⁴ While Bete was in the village

1. Cross to Secretaries, 18 March 1841.

2. R.B. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 1,3,8 February 1840. M.L. B533.

3. In October 1841 Lewenilovo ran away with one of Ratu Lalabalavu's wives causing a huge stir, while Tui Tunuloa had stolen the wife of a Weilagi chief. R.B. Lyth, Journal, 18 October 1841, micro. 163/42, H.L. Whilst Cakobau was preoccupied with Namena, Somosomo warriors sailed to the Macuata coast at the request of Ratu Bonaveidogo to attack Mali on behalf of Mouta. Bonaveidogo was Roko Mamaca's son by a Waciwaci woman and had a Natewa wife. See Jackson in Erskine, op.cit., p.422 ff.

4. Journal of John Hunt, loc.cit., The massive feast of 1846, fully described by Thomas Williams, was dwarfed by this affair. A mere 38,000 yams were presented on that occasion.

asking for help against the victorious Ritove, the Butoni people were asked to sail to Bau to learn their intentions and to effect, if possible, a reconciliation. The reward for Bauan accession to these overtures of peace would be the magnificent newly-completed drua, the Ra Marama.¹ The Butoni were welcomed as always at Bau. The preliminary discussions proved successful, and were followed by peace offerings from Somosomo. These also were accepted to allow the peace to be formally concluded. It was now safe to begin the lengthy preparations for the sailing of the Ra Marama to Bau.² Seru could feel some contentment at the way things had resolved themselves. In the end it had been Somosomo which had made the advances for peace and if he had not succeeded in killing Tui Kilakila or in causing any discernible weakening of his confederacy, he had plagued him with endless doubt and kept him guessing. It was not an inconsiderable achievement.

The fleet from Cakaudrove appeared thick on the northern horizon three months later with the Ra Marama dwarfing all the other canoes.³

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1. Journal of John Hunt, 18 October 1841. Things had quietened down so much by November in fact, that Lasike returned home to Lakeba, Journal of James Calvert, 18 November 1841, Micro 163/35, H.L. The Ra Marama had recently been built in honour of Tui Kilakila's Bauan mother, Adi Levulevu. Its massive twin hulls which could carry up to three hundred men, equalled anything yet made. Journal of John Hunt, 20 May 1841; Jackson in Erskine, p.451; Appendix 1c.
 2. Tui Kilakila had no time to brood over the peace settlement. He was soon involved in a most delicate mission to Natewa, to explain his murder of Tui Tunuloa.
 3. A feast was held in Somosomo in March in preparation for the trip to Bau. R.B. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, B533, M.L. 7 March, 1842.

As preparations were made to lower its mast for the first time Cakobau discovered that no sacrifices had recently been made to ensure the well-being of the craft and its sailors. As if to emphasize the neglect, the head of the massive mast slipped as it was being lowered and crushed a man to death. It was a most unwelcome sign for a man, who, like Tui Kilakila, owed so much to the sea. Cakobau performed his role of executor. Gavidu was dispatched immediately to procure bodies as propitiation to the irate powers which had manifested their displeasure. Obviously the ten corpses then cooking in the ovens opposite Ulunivuaka were inadequate sacrifice. The Lasakauans soon returned with eleven corpses, people from a passing canoe they had murdered. The twenty-one bodies were thought sufficient. The new drua could carve through the seas without disaster befalling its crew. The war might be over but the killings continued.¹

When the Somosomo visitors returned home, Adi Talatoka went with them for a home visit, a symbol of the relaxed bow string. Seru accepted that the war was over but was unwilling to accept unfettered friendship. He stayed at home while his half-brother, Raivalita headed the Bauan peace contingent. They were ordered not to sleep in Tui Cakau's village but to keep their distance.²

By June 1846 the victory over Rewa had been Cakobau's most noticeable achievement by force of arms. His victory over Cakaudrove

1. Jackson in Erskine, op.cit., p.451 ff.

2. Journal of R.B. Lyth, 1836-1842, loc.cit., entry for 7 June 1842 and for 28 June 1843.

was to be his greatest diplomatic triumph. Indeed his success at Tui Kilakila's expense was to be so devastating as to rank with the finest coups of the Yavusa's history and to confer upon its executor a stature rivalling Nailatikau, Durucoko and Naulivou, the men to whose achievements he was heir.

Tui Kilakila had suffered a number of setbacks in Somosomo. His elder paternal half-brother, Ratu Lewenilovo, had stolen one of his wives and fled to Bouma.¹ Lewenilovo had later been exposed as the ringleader of a plot to have Tui Kilakila assassinated.² Natewa also had commenced hostilities against Cakaudrove and was proving successful to an embarrassing degree. Tui Kilakila sailed a fruitless voyage to the deserted village of Qele where, he had been told, the Tunuloans who had originally sided with Natewa had turned to him.³ A later attack on Koro ni Yasaca was completely indecisive.⁴ The situation was further complicated by hostilities with Ritova's party in Macuata who, naturally enough, had objected to Cakaudrove's support of Roko Mamaca. A fleet of twenty Macuata canoes had gone so far as to attack a Butoni canoe off Cakaudrove.⁵

Tui Kilakila had presented property to Tavanoasara, Cagawalu's counterpart in the northern matanitu, but to little avail. To buttress the supernatural, the ageing Tui Cakau journeyed to his relatives on Bau. He remained for seven months, returned home in the Faliki and sailed back to Bau a second time. Cakobau was no

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1. Journal of Thomas Williams, vol. 1, 24 February 1844, 5 February 1844.
 2. Ibid, 31 July 1845.
 3. Ibid, 25 May, 31 May 1844.
 4. Ibid, 15 July, 30 July 1844.
 5. Ibid, 21 February 1844.

doubt happy to have the importunate Ratu Yavala in his midst. Seru promised aid when he was freed of the constraints imposed on him by the Rewan war, then reaching a climax in late 1844. Cakobau was well aware of the dilemma his old adversary Tui Kilakila was in. Natewa was doing nothing for his prestige. If he could gain Bauan aid and thereby assure himself of a quick victory he would demonstrate both his influence as vasu to Bau and his ability to punish his enemies. Yet past experience suggested that Cakobau's assistance might be trading boils for leprosy.

Tui Kilakila soon faced a new crisis. There were many men of influence in Cakaudrove who felt the confederacy was unhealthy and who ascribed the illness to the feebleness of Tui Cakau. The parallel drawn between the confederacy's head and the state itself was only logical. Tui Cakau had enjoyed his privileges by virtue of his proven ability to maintain the health of the matanitu. His increasing senility endangered the corporate entity of which he was the expression. His health suddenly collapsed completely. He lapsed into unconsciousness and the decision was made to bury him immediately. Ratu Yavala was thus put into his grave still breathing.

Tui Kilakila's insecurity was immediately revealed. His uncertainty about his acceptability as the new head of the confederacy convinced him on reflection that it would be wiser in the short term, to allow his father's younger brother, Ratu Ralulu, to be given the title, an unspectacular candidate whom he could control.¹

1. Journal of Thomas Williams, 6 March, 25 September 1844, 19, 21, 23 August. Lyth to Hunt, Somosomo, 23 March 1844, micro. 163/42, H.L.

He then chose what he believed to be the lesser of two evils and sailed to Bau to request aid in the Natewa conflict.

Cakobau readily acquiesced. Here was his chance. The assembling of warriors and canoes proceeded with heartening ease, villages from all parts of the matanitu contributing men. By the time the fleet left, Cakobau headed eighty-two canoes, his strength increased by Tongan support, Bureta warriors and Levuka men led by Tui Levuka. The fleet proceeded to Somosomo where they were greeted by a host who had exhausted himself in his attempts to please his guests. After the traditional welcome Seru and his men were housed in new bure especially constructed for them while hundreds prepared the major feast.

The afternoon of its presentation no doubt rekindled memories of the great feast five years before when the two confederacies had made peace. A fence of 38,000 uncooked yams vied with a wall of kava thirty-five feet long and seven feet high, both complementing the seventy turtles, the hundreds of pigs, heaps of taro puddings and other appetising delights heaped at one end of the green. The opposite side was lined with great bales of tapa which together with the food enclosed the assembled Bauan warriors. Over five hundred Cakaudrove men followed in the footsteps of Tui Kilakila and his sons and piled up similar bales before their guests. Into this open space between this wealth marched Cakobau and Tui Kilakila bearing spears and clubs to be followed by groups of men with a range of weapons. The Bauan warriors formed a line four deep in front of the food, musket bearers to the right, club and spearmen to the left, the orderliness of these marchers a contrast to the frenzied en masse invasion of the rara by a sea

of shouting, capering warriors. After the removal of the tapa bales, Tui Kilakila staggered forward with one hundred whale's teeth upon his immense shoulders. He stooped before Seru, welcoming him formally and requesting his assistance against Natewa. Seru replied as did others of his party after the takua were accepted. The welcome closed after further ceremony with shouting and the firing of muskets.¹

It was all prelude to a Cakobau coup. He refused to allow Somosomo warriors to assist. Instead he led the attack against Natewa, burnt a few empty towns and besieged Koro ni Yasaca where a handful died on both sides.² This inconsequential fighting was the sum total of his efforts. The Natewa people presented their soro to him and the war was over.³ For Tui Kilakila it was an unmitigated defeat; for Cakobau a diplomatic and political masterpiece. While he and his warriors stripped the land of food and property for nearly three months Ratu Lalabalavu could do nothing but contemplate his short-sightedness in impotent rage. When the Bauans eventually left for home they took everything they could including Bauan men and women who had lived in Somosomo for years. They even plucked up young taro and yams to rot and ravaged the banana and masi plantations. More seriously they took with them every canoe and carpenter they could lay their hands on. A hurricane would have done less damage.⁴ Cakobau had exercised the muscles of the Bauan state, tested its loyalties,

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1. Ten were killed at Laucala for Cakobau to take down the large mast; Journal of Thomas Williams, 13 June 1846. See Appendix 5c.
 2. Ibid, 22 June 1846.
 3. Ibid. 1, 24, 28 July 1846.
 4. Ibid, 5 August 1846; Jagger, extract of letter, Viwa, 7 October 1846 in Y.M.N. September 1847.

reaffirmed old allegiances, feasted his allies, rewarded his supporters with wealth made from the sweat of Cakaudrove labour, won over Natewa and left Tui Kilakila seething with a discontent equalled only by his own satisfaction.

This humiliation was unlikely to remain unanswered. Tui Kilakila had been decisively out-thought but he waited in vain for a suitable opportunity to retaliate. Four years later, in fact, he had swallowed his pride, cut his losses and decided on a state visit to the ageing Tanoa.¹ He also headed the Cakaudrove contingent to Cakobau's installation as Vunivalu in July 1853, remaining as a guest on the islet for over four months.²

On returning home from Bau Tui Kilakila's attitude appeared to change. To Seru's dismay he commenced taking property to Ritova. The Macuatan had recently allied himself with Qaraniqio after resentment at Cakobau's demands on the bicho de mar to be had along the Macuata coast.³ Tui Kilakila had been worsted over Natewa in 1846. It seemed he was about to reverse the roles in 1854. Seru could not afford to allow such a combination to mature. A Macuata-Cakaudrove-Rewa front could be the foundation of a

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1. Calvert, Journal, 30 June, 1, 2 July 1850, micro 163/35, H.L.
 2. Robert Young, The Southern World. Journal of a Deputation from the Wesleyan Conference to Australia and Polynesia, Hamilton, Adam & Co., London, 1854.
 3. Calvert Journal, after entry for 15 May 1855, micro 163/35, H.L. Cakobau left Ovalau on 12 January for Macuata. He arrived at Bua on the 13th. with between 10 000 and 12 000 men. He left here for Macuata the following day. Journal of Thomas Williams, 13 January 1852: Calvert, Viva Record, 27 February 1852, 3 May 1853, 25 November 1852. Ritova's son had arrived at Rewa in November 1852.

massive swing against him nearer home. He therefore sent a message to Koli i Rabici, a Bauan chief at Somosomo, to arrange his old adversary's assassination. Tui Masi, the Butoni chief, fled to Macuata rather than be caught in the bloodshed he knew would follow. It was nevertheless a simple matter to inveigle a number of Tui Kilakila's family into the conspiracy. The jealousies of the many half sons were as ripe a field for intrigue as on Bau. His sons by Rogorogo i lagi, Ratu Cakobau and Ratu Rakuro, agreed to the murder, the details of which were arranged by Komai Tavuki, Seru i Raturaga and his brothers, all sympathizers of Cakobau. The sleeping Tui Cakau lay in his bure when his nephew, Cikaitamana, entered just before dawn. As Ratu Rakuro lifted the mosquito screen around his father's mat, Tui Kilakila drowsily opened his eyes to make out the disturbance. Cikaitamana, using the very weapon Cakobau had used to despatch Kania, the Roko Tui Dreketi in 1845, struck the prostrate man three savage blows. He left the hatchet embedded deep in his side.¹ The result was pandemonium. Ratu Mara, another of the murdered man's sons, with the permission of Ratu Vakalolo, installed as Tui Cakau six days later, murdered Komai Tavuki and Koli i Rabici. Cikaitamana was killed by a Kioa man.² Within a month Ratu Vakalolo, who had hardly recovered from the shock of his father's assassination, was himself murdered. The whole of the island was then divided into competing camps centred at Weilagi and Wairiki.³ The end result of this blood-letting, equalled in Cakobau's memory only by the uprear after Tabaivalu's death at Rewa when he was a boy, was that Cakaudrove was neutralized as a threat.

1. Lyth Journal, 23 February, 9 March 1854, B542⁻¹.

2. Ten women were strangled as loloku ni mate for the death of Tui Kilakila, Komai Tavuki and Koli i Rabici; ibid.

3. Ibid., 21 April 1854; Calvert Journal, 30 November 1854, micro. 163/38

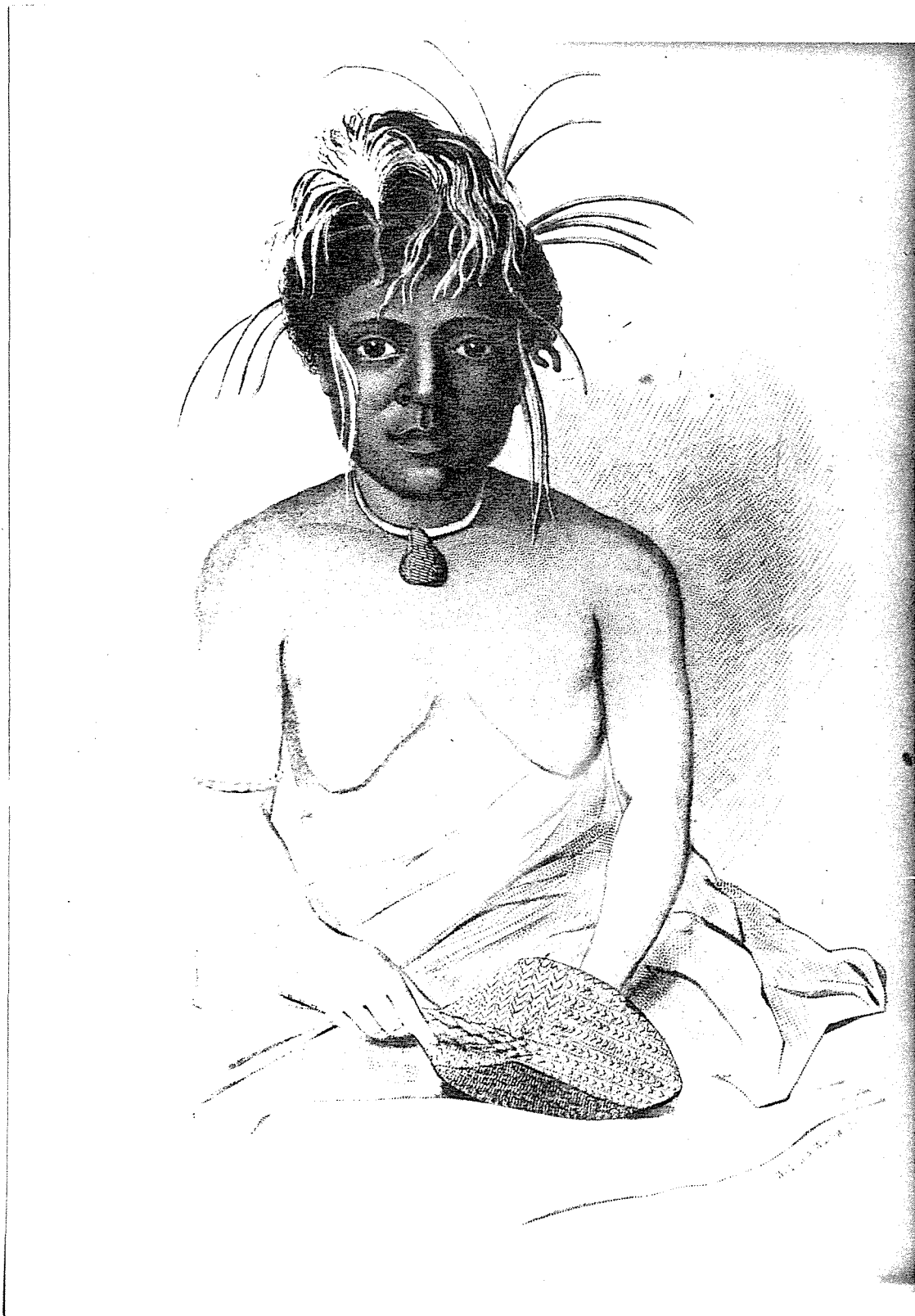
CHAPTER SEVEN: Consanguinity and Contiguity: the evolution of the feud with Rewa; confrontation with Verata.

When Tanoa became Vunivalu in 1829 his relations with Rewa were very cordial. Tanoa was vasu there and Ratu Kania, the Roko Tui Dreketi, had both a Bauan mother and Tanoa's niece, Adi Qoliwasawasa, as his chief wife. She was considered by many the flower of the island's beauty. Lomanikoro was as much a home for the Vunivalu as it had been for Seru in his youth. To the displeasure of those Bauans who had neither Rewan affiliations nor sympathies, the Vunivalu spent much of his time there in his mother's village where he lavished gifts of canoes, pigs and yams on his friends.¹

This preoccupation with his motherland contributed to his overthrow in 1832 but just as materially ensured his return to Bau in 1837. During his exile in Somosomo, Rewa declared war on the new Bauan regime. Seru's former playmates in Lomanikoro were for their part only too happy to take advantage of a divided Bau to launch attacks. Before Tanoa's triumphant re-entry into Bauan politics, he was given sanctuary in the Rewan capital. After his return Kania played a pivotal role as mediator for the various contending parties.

The brutal deaths of the more recent incumbents to the title Roko Tui Dreketi suggests that Kania had pursued the course of peace-maker to ensure his own survival. After Tabaivalu's murder,

1. W. Cross, Extracts from letters and diary, 1838-1842, 25 November, September 1838, B686, M.L.



Adi Qoliwasawasa, wife of Kania, Roko Tui Dreketi, 1840. [Wilkes, 1845].
She was the daughter of Ratu Caucau, murdered when Ratu Tanoa returned from exile.

Macanawai and then Tui Sawau had been slain, the latter by Veidovi who still lived and schemed in Lomanikoro.¹ It was obvious that Kania was most insecure in his position as the paramount of Rewa. On a visit to Bau in May 1839 he brought news of a voyage to the island of Kadavu and the return with a thousand men, their canoes crammed with tribute.² It had been a satisfying and reassuring measure of Kadavu obeisance to Kania's rule.³ Loyalty to the paramount of Nakusa was expressed in even more gratifying terms a few days later when 2000 warriors from the towns feasted at Lomanikoro. The occasion was climaxed by the scintillating oratory of Kania's matanivanua who called for peace and unity on his behalf.⁴ The Rewan paramount however, also brought news of uneasiness and dissension in Rewa. Despite the relative peace over the past eight seasons, the hatreds spawned since his father's murder had, like the prawn, merely been asleep.⁵ Incendiaries had burnt parts of the village and the seasonal flooding of the Rewa had not improved the tempers of the cliques that formed around his rival brothers.⁶ Cokonauto's toothless grin seemed an unlikely introduction to a man with a passing acquaintance in a score of languages. His desire to try other tongues had led him naturally to an enjoyment of foreign company where he could put this confidence to use. He spent a great deal of time on visiting trading ships where he won the favour of the captains and crew by

1. Wilkes, op.cit., p.137 ff.

2. Journal of James Calvert, 6 May 1839, Ch.7 and 5. Micro 163/35 H.L.

3. Journal of John Hunt, vol. 1, Jan 1839-Aug 1841, micro 163/40, H.L.
He had left for Kadavu on February 25th. and returned on April 12th.

4. Hunt, 29 April 1839.

5. The proverb "Moce vakaura" connotes the cunning of the apparently sleeping prawn who in fact watches everything.

6. John Hunt, 7 January 1839, 8 March 1839.

his infectious good nature in their company and the mastery of the rudiments of their languages. A nonentity in battle, anxious to foster his image as one of the most prestigious of the Rewan vasu to Bau, he had maintained his support of Tanoa during his exile by his frequent visits to him in Somosomo.¹ To his English, Spanish and Tongan he had recently added Tahitian.² His trip to Tahiti with Eagleston had resulted in an enjoyable encounter with Queen Pomare and the sighting of whales whose teeth had, not long since, established themselves in the group as almost the only form of tabua.³ On his return he had revelled in the cries of amazement and admiration, as in the full military regalia of an English army officer, he had paraded his gifts of two bull calves and two heifers throughout Rewa. These bulamakau had caused an instant sensation.⁴ In harmony with his attraction to the exotic, he was addicted to the grog brewed by four Tahitian servants, prepared from a mixture of bananas, sugarcane and tiroot which his Manila steward served him nightly after his evening meal.⁵ His love for

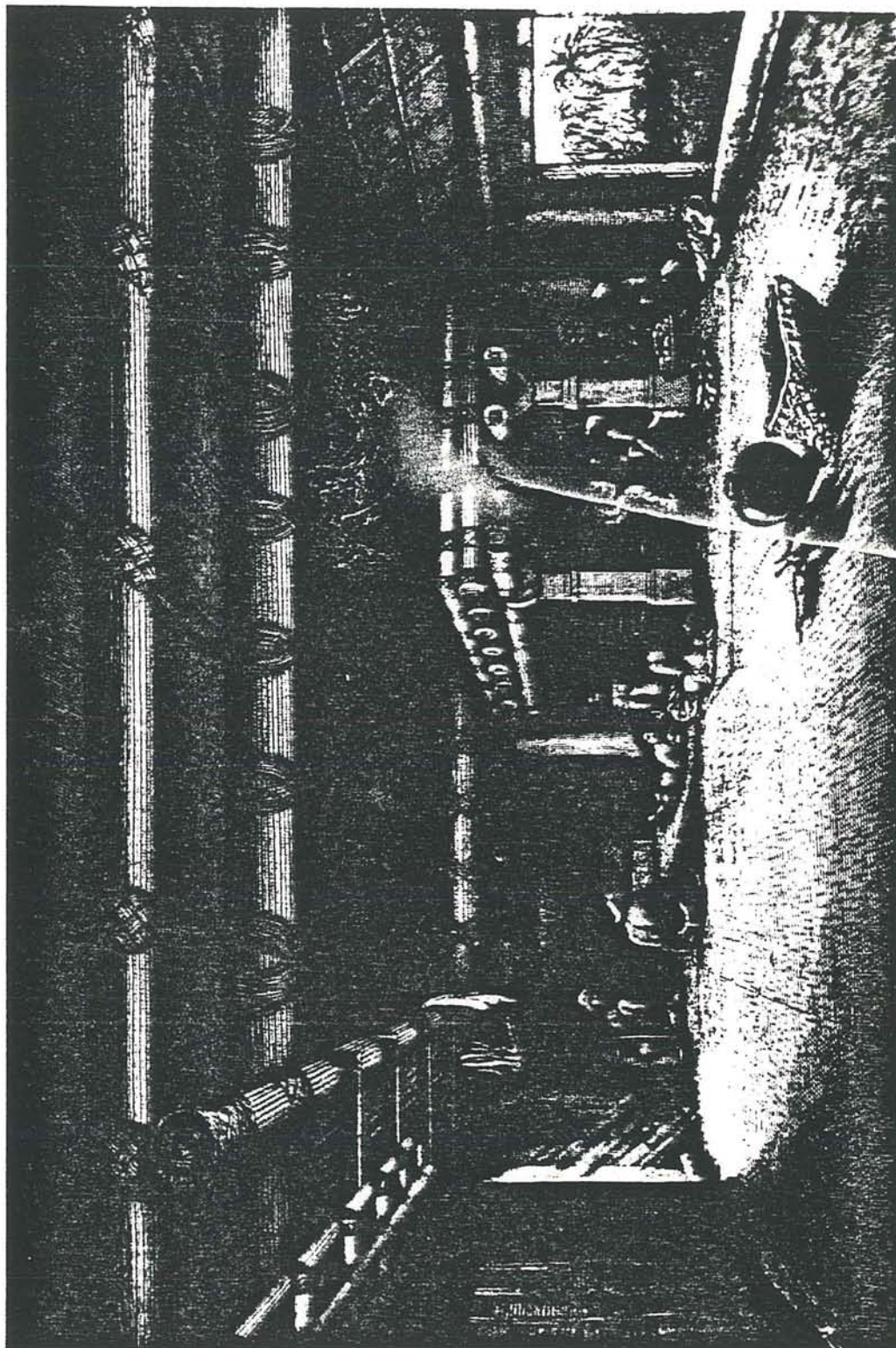
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1. Cokonauto had volunteered himself as a hostage on board visiting trading vessels. The exchange of hostages was a common pattern as a safeguard for both the hosts and visitors. As a sixteen-year-old in 1831, he was on Eagleston's Peru where he became a great favourite with all on board. This was especially so with the captain, who named him Phillips after S.C. Phillips, the Salem ship-owner. P.M.B. 205, Eagleston on the Peru, 3 July 1831, Eagleston on the Emerald, 16 June 1831.
 2. His linguistic skills often provoked comment. See, e.g. E. Belcher, Narrative of a Voyage Round the World Performed in H.M.S. Sulphur during the years 1836-1842, 2 vols. Henry Colburn, London 1843. vol. 2, p.39: Wilkes, op.cit., vol.2, p.111; Jackson in Erskine op.cit., p.461. Belcher claims he stood about 5'10" high.
 3. P.M.B. 225, 205, Eagleston on the Emerald, August 1834, P.M.B. 223. Phillips appeared astonished at the sight of a whale and at being told that they were the source of the new form of tabua. I am indebted to Professor G. Parsonson for calling my attention to this.
 4. P.M.B. 225, 205, 23 August 1834.
 5. Jackson in Erskine, op.cit., p.461 ff.

alcohol was not shared by many but his addiction to tobacco was.¹ Another addict, Kania, watched Cokonauto closely and did not like what he saw. As the offspring of a former queen of Bau he offered a powerful attraction for Rewans with Bauan sympathies, a valid alternative to Kania.² Qaraniqio towered over Cokonauto and despised both him and Tui Dreketi. He carried his six foot four frame with enormous grace and pride, his unequalled and daunting reputation as a fearless warrior now dwarfed by his brutality.³ Veidovi, grown tall and slender had shown his claws often enough.⁴

If Bau was riven with dissent and intrigue, ready to engulf an unwary paramount, Rewa was doubly so. Within such an explosive political climate Kania attempted to maintain a modicum of stability.

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1. See P.M.B. 225, Cheever's comments for 12 June 1834. He claims all on Bau were by then addicted to tobacco as they were to red paint: "I believe the greatest enjoyment they could have would be first to be rolled in red paint, and then be smoked with tobacco". Red was the colour of the supernatural.
 2. P.M.B. 225, Cheever on the Emerald, May 1834, January 1835. Wallis, op.cit., January 1846. His chief wife was Vatea's sister who was often beaten by him and had no love for her husband.
 3. Belcher, op.cit., pp. 45, 46. Wilkes, op.cit., Vol. 3, p.127. When he came on board, his face painted red and black, Wilkes observed, "... he was by far the finest looking person among the whole assembled group". Wilkes (p.191) says his portrait was sketched but I am unable to find it. On a visit to the island of Kadavu, Qaraniqio cut open the stomach of a woman in advanced pregnancy and tied the foetus to a tree; Jagger to Brethren, Rewa, 20 April 1840, entry for 8 February 1840, FM 4/3043, M.L.
 4. George Colvocoresses, op.cit., p.149 ff, says he was about thirty-five years old, older than Cokonauto or Qaraniqio. However European observers were notoriously bad at guessing the ages of Fijians.

FIGURE 26



Qaraniqio's bure, 1840. [Wilkes 1845].

He assumed an air of neutrality and moderation to avoid exacerbating the potential violence that simmered at the surface of Rewa politics. To reinforce his position as an acceptable if unspectacular and uncontroversial leader he courted and received the support of the Bauan leadership, assistance he had a right to expect as vasu. This was to be the pattern for thirteen years from 1829 to the end of 1842.

By 1843 Rewa emerged from its political turmoil of recent years to assume a more bellicose stance. This new aggression was directed at the most likely external object - Bau, the state which had benefited most at Rewa's expense.

This change in attitude came as a shock, for Rewa still seemed unable to effectively control the hatreds among its leading chiefs long enough to give its attention to outside problems. When he was exposed as the lover of Roko Tui Dreketi's wife, Qoliwasawasa, Qaraniqio in fact had fled for his life from Lomanikoro to find asylum on Bau.¹ Seru himself was not averse to amorous encounters away from the arms of Adi Samanunu, his favourite wife, or his other formal matches, Adi Qalirea, Adi Lalaciwa, Adi Uvu and Adi Maramanikaibau. In fact such behaviour was expected of him. Nevertheless he took care not to embroil himself in affairs with the wives of men whose anger might prove fatal. Kania appeared

1. T. Jagger, letter to Brethren, 18 January 1841, FM 4/3043.
Kania took his immediate revenge by killing 160 in a village belonging to Qaraniqio. Cross to Secretaries, 15 March 1840.

incensed. He repeatedly refused soro made by Bau on Davawaqa's behalf. After Qaraniqio had left Bau, Cakobau could appreciate Kania's apparent attitude. A rumour circulated on the islet that Qaraniqio had also made a cuckold of Seru. This outrage did not diminish the surprise when Kania made peace with his brother on his return home. It could only be assumed that Kania, once renowned for his conciliatory attitude to Bau, had refused Bauan intercession out of dislike for them. Despite the fact that Adi Qoliwasawasa was notoriously evil-tempered and most difficult to live with, Kania's ready acceptance of her infidelity with Qaraniqio smacked more of anti-Bauan feeling than indifference to his spouse.

Further behaviour tended to confirm this belief. Both brothers assumed a very aggressive attitude towards Suva and its chief, Ravulo, grandson of Tancoa, nephew of Cakobau. Their resentment at this enclave of Bauan influence in a territory otherwise Rewan was in itself reasonable. What was not reasonable was their threatening gestures at a village they knew to be a particular favourite of Visawaqa and his son. This rudeness, so at variance with past behaviour, was transformed into naked provocation when Qaraniqio made an unsuccessful attack on the village. Cakobau sent a messenger to enquire why they had failed to observe the simple etiquette of asking permission before making such an attack, permission which might well have been granted had the reasons been strong enough. If any tension with Rewa could be released by the sacrifice of a village whose destruction did not offer any immediate threat to Bau then the leadership would probably have agreed to it. Unlike the war with Verata, Cakaudrove, Macuata or Eua, war with Rewa was something not lightly entered into.

Delta fighting was time-absorbing, notoriously difficult to orchestrate and as potentially dangerous for the attacker as for the defender. The juxtaposition of the two states tended to promote mutually destructive violence whose direction could not be easily controlled. Even Cakobau was conscious of this; indeed his awareness marked his coming of age as a diplomat. Paradoxically Tanoa was the problematic figure. Normally it would be he who preferred skilful diplomacy to naked aggression. Yet in this crisis he was more likely than Seru to make a reckless response. His kinship ties in Rewa ran deep and crises of this nature tended to unleash all the irrationality, vindictiveness and violence typical of disputes among close kin. The Bauan messenger to Rewa although received coldly was given assurances that the men then massing at Lomanikoro were preparing for an expedition to Kadavu. Just as they hoisted their sail mats however he was told the truth. Another attack was being launched against Suva. This assault was viciously successful, the village burnt and the inhabitants decimated in a ruthless slaughter. It was clear grounds for declaring war but the Bauans did not act. Perhaps the attack was precipitated by hatred for the lotu growing there. Perhaps Ratu Ravulo had provoked the massacre by his arrogant refusal to defer to the Rewan leadership and feast them occasionally.

The rather sudden development of Rewan belligerency and the consequent unmasked provocation remained something of a mystery. The dramatic about-face of Kania may have been a response to his reading of the mood within the Rewan state. He had spent years keeping Qaranigic, Veidovi and Cokonauto at bay by employing tactics aimed at maintaining peace. He may well have felt that his position

was stable enough to assume a more aggressive role and to consolidate his position through war. Conversely his change in approach to leadership of the state may have been stimulated by precisely the opposite feeling: that he was losing control and needed to undertake desperate remedies. Whatever the case he took an irrevocable step on the path to war with Bau.

After the destruction of Suva, Cakobau left for Lakeba. He hoped that the attack had been a mere aberration of behaviour.¹ The pleasures of Lakeba could not however make up for the shock in store for him on his return. During his absence, Adi Qereitoga, mother of Raivalita and Adi Cecere had fought with her husband, Tanoa, and fled home to Rewa with the whole of her household including many of Tanoa's Rewan concubines. Normally the woman would have been sent back immediately. On this occasion Kania gave Adi Qereitoga to another and farmed the others out to his friends. It was an insult Tanoa could not endure. Cakobau arrived home to find his father hysterical over the affair and screaming for revenge.²

This time there was no way out. The issue was now how to prosecute the conflict. It was a simple enough matter to arrange for Rewa to be attacked from the north. Savou, Tui Naitasiri, brother of Cokonauto and son-in-law of Tanoa, had no love for those at Lomanikoro and would leap at the chance to ally with Bau

1. Journal of Thomas Williams, 21 May, 1843. Toganivalu in An Island Kingdom, states that the Suva people had refused to supply a pig to the Rewans when asked. Qaraniqio, as vasu to Bau, therefore had reason to be chagrined. Nonetheless the Rewan reaction was most provocative.

2. See summary of events by John Hunt, macro 163/40, H.L.

if asked.¹ Similarly there was no difficulty in launching attacks from the east coast at a moment's notice. The problem was that the insult to Tanoa could only be remedied by the death of Kania and this could not be achieved by desultory attacks. If it could not be managed by treachery it would involve Bauan forces in a long and bloody confrontation. This would sap the energies of both sides with a good chance that neither would gain any great advantage and that Tanoa's loss of face would be unavenged. It seemed a situation devoid of any tangible gains and fraught with dangers. Nevertheless there was no option but to send messengers to Rewa to announce the severing of friendly relations and the commencement of a state of war; the most destructive and cruel of all wars, one chief's vendetta against the other.

The first blow was a long time coming. Cakobau, assuming the mantle of his father, was still hopeful even at this point something would happen to remove the necessity for war. Three months since his return from Lau communication between the towns of the two matanitu had ceased and still the only fighting had been a Naitasiri attack on a Rewan town when a few on both sides had fallen.² This was true even a month later as Bauan reluctance to strike the first blow heightened the tension.³ When the first strike was made it came therefore as somewhat of a relief for all except the village hit. Nadali was attacked and burnt by Bauan

1. Wilkes, op.cit., p.126; Memoirs of Mrs. Cargill, p.278 ff.

2. Jagger to Williams, Rewa, 19 October 1843, in letters to Thomas Williams, F.L.

3. Hunt Journal, October 1843/1844, micro 163/40, 13, 20 November 1843.

forces while Savou's men took another village.¹ Seru was now committed to a conflict he had wished to avoid. Victory here would require all his skills as a military tactician.

The chief of Tonga village took tabua to engage the village of Nakasa on the side of Rewa. During the taga a Naitasiri man entered the review unobserved, his face and torso painted in the fashion of the others. As he stood over the unsuspecting chief witnessing the professions of bravery he crushed the man's skull. The corpse crumbled before him while other Naitasiri warriors rushed in to massacre those who failed to escape.² The incident was a summary of the Bau-Rewa war with its elements of treachery, audacity, surprise and sudden brutality. The war was of course, no more bloody than those of recent seasons. On the contrary the musket had reduced most battle actions to brief and savage skirmishes so that the death rate did not rival that of his grandfather's day. But for Seru this war was different from that with Somosomo. It was a time consuming and wearisome war of attrition with an enemy sharing a common border, a war productive of the most dangerous intrigues within Bau. These intrigues seemed more threatening than any resistance Rewa could offer.

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1. Hunt Journal, 4 December 1843. On 25 December 1843 he wrote, "I do not think the war will continue long. I think both parties will soon wish for peace as they are too nearly equal for either to gain much by hostilities".
 2. Extract of letter, Hunt, Viwa, 15 May 1844, in Missionary Notices of Wesleyan Magazine, September 1845.

From the very outset in fact the Rewan position looked hopeless. Cut off to the north by Naitasiri and the raiding activities of Namara, their access to the sea was severely restricted when Cokonauto allied Nukui with Bau. He had discovered that one of his wives had lain with Kania. Sexual jealousy thus combined with his natural inclinations to support his Bauan kin and embarrass his brothers.¹ It was a simple matter to have Bauan canoes raid and patrol the Rewan littoral: they maintained an effective blockade against attempts by Lomanikoro to enlist Beqa and Kadavu help. To the east of Rewa, Bauan mainland villages had set a day to launch raids against the enemy.² Rewa was thereby besieged from most quarters and immediately thrown into a morale-sapping, nerve-snapping defensive war. The pressure on the fault lines within the state was to make the footing too treacherous for Kania.

The naval blockade had soon proved effective. A number of canoes coming from Kadavu were intercepted and over twenty of the enemy were killed in the ensuing fight.³ On land Bauan forces launched a powerful attack on villages so close to the Rewan capital that the smoke of their muskets was clearly visible.⁴ The Rewans were still nevertheless dangerous as attacks on Tokatoka and Burekonoco proved. Namosimalua's kin from Lovoni were repulsed with the loss of two men and Bauan corpses kept the death drums sounding at

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1. Hunt, extract of letter, W.M.N., 16 January 1844.
 2. Wallis, op.cit., 23 January 1845.
 3. Hunt, op.cit., 5 February 1844; Jagger extract of letter, Rewa, 9 July 1844, W.M.N. vol. LXVIII, part 2. Toganivalu in An Island Kingdom, names the Lekau, the Tui Navau and the Kabalavu as the three drua involved in this action.
 4. Hunt, extract of letter, 15 March 1844.

Lomanikoro.¹ Although the resistance in certain areas was ferocious enough, the flash attacks on the Rewan flanks were drawing enough blood to weaken the matanitu's resolve. The deliberate destruction of all food sources, the sudden butchering of isolated parties of men, women and children, the successful bribing of disaffected chieftains and the divisiveness within the capital itself contributed to the general air of despondency and desperation evident in the state. More pleasing developments flowed from Cakobau's policy of wooing key Rewan villages to his side. Lokia, near the very core of Rewa, succumbed to Bauan charms bringing with her the bulk of the yam harvest which Lomanikoro had been relying on for the coming months of fighting.² From Lokia the Bauans were able to fire into the capital. Seru seemed to have Rewa in his grasp. The combined influence of famine and siege promised a quick finish to the war. To add to Roko Tui Dreketi's miseries, Cokonauto's supporters in Lomanikoro erected a war fence and fought Kania's supporters within the capital itself.³

In the face of all this adversity Kania and Qaraniqio hung on grimly. The yam harvest came in and, severely depleted though it was, it was sufficient to give their forces spirit to continue. Unfortunately for Kania it was not to be enough. The Bauans rebuilt Suva and by mid 1845 were in the final stages of successfully bribing Tokatoka and Burebasaga, both of whom were all but

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1. Jagger, extract of letter, Rewa, 15 March 1844 op.cit., : Hunt, loc.cit., 29 April 1844.
 2. Hunt to Williams, Viwa, 25 November 1844, Letters to Thomas Williams, M.L. In November 1844 the missionaries removed their property from Rewa to Viwa. Hunt, extract of letter, Viwa, W.M.N. vol.LXVIII.
 3. Hunt to Williams, Viwa, 18 January 1845, Letters to Thomas Williams, M.L.

seduced.¹ The Nakelo chief had already been won over by the promise of Cakobau's half-sister, Adi Loaloakubou.²

As expected Tokatoka and Eurebasaga turned to Bau. Their defection made Rewa's position virtually intolerable. Kania therefore felt compelled to soro to Bau and sent the Matakibau, Koro i Gavoka, to beg for peace. Seru rejected his father's suggestion to kill the youth and instead won him over. The boy was sent back to Lomanikoro where he set about preparing Bauan support within the capital. The village would be set on fire when Cakobau would lead a major Bauan offensive outside the Rewan fences. The plan worked and with brutal effect. While Bauan forces besieged the capital from all sides, arsonists set the bure alight. In the chaos that followed over three hundred were slaughtered. As Cakobau surveyed the butchery from his canoe on the opposite bank of the river the messenger he had sent to convey Adi Qoliwasawasa to safety could be seen clambering into his canoe, the refugees with him. He had orders to let Kania perish in the burning village, but Tui Dreketi in a desperate last gamble came with his wife. The canoe drew closer. Cakobau screamed at Kania that he must die. He levelled his loaded musket at the unfortunate man but the ball missed its mark. When the canoe reached his,

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1. Hunt to Williams and Hazelwood, 30 September 1845, Letters to Thomas Williams.
 2. Joseph Waterhouse, The King and People of Fiji. Adi Loaloakubou would be worth individual attention as a subject for the role of women in Fijian history. She married Gavidu, their child being Inoke Natuituba. After Gavidu's death, which she was extremely fortunate to survive, she remarried Ratu Mara Kapawai. Their child, Ratu Joni Madraiwiwi was the father of Ratu Sukuna.

another chief speared the horrified Kania through the chest. One of Cakobau's Manila men then shot the wounded chief. Yet he still breathed as Seru cleft his skull with his club hatchet. The agony of the assault was ended with the strangling cord. The murder affirmed Seru's prowess as a warrior and leader. The only disappointment was that Qaraniqio had not been in the village and was still at large. It was to prove a costly escape for Cakobau.¹

Cokonauto was honoured with the name of paramount of Rewa but he was overshadowed by the towering figure of his brother. Grief stricken Qaraniqio was biding his time among friends at Colo i Suva. Three of his young sons had perished when Lomanikoro had fallen. In his eyes their blood was on Cakobau's hands.² Kania's death had placated Tanoa but with Qaraniqio alive, the threat from Rewa remained although in less immediate form. For a year Qaraniqio maintained his distance until his desire to return home became overwhelming. His prestige had, if anything, been enhanced by his escape. The threat he posed to Cakobau became immediately obvious. Qaraniqio, with a fine awareness of the diplomatic complexities involved, made a soro to Seru through Buretu rather

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1. Hunt Journal, micro. 163/40, loc. cit., 19 October 1845, Review of events; Hunt to Williams, Viwa, 30 September 1845, Letters to Thomas Williams. The estimates for the number killed varied. Hunt thought 300, Wallis, 400. See also Calvert Journal, iv, June 1855, micro. 163/36, H.L.
 2. Calvert Journal, 29 September and October 1852, micro. 163/38; letter to Captain E. Home, 13 October 1852.

than attempt a direct approach. Cakobau, perhaps conscious of the dangers of his action, refused it. The offended Buretu people immediately opted to side with the Rewan, their sudden switch in loyalties a further example of the fragility of alliances.¹ Cakobau had also to pay for his mistreatment of Nakelo. When the news of Cavidi's intended marriage to Adi Loalokubou reached them they recommenced war against Bau. With help from Buretu and Nakelo, Qaraniqio felt secure enough to take up residence in Lomanikoro. Seru was faced with a resurgence of the delta war. Fortunately for him the divisiveness within the vanua together with the lack of support from the matanitu in general dissipated Nakelo's energies. Within six months the central village of the vanua was destroyed by Bauan forces. An attempt to remove Qaraniqio by treachery failed however. Seru ordered him out of Rewa and told him to go to Nukulau island where he was promised sanctuary. Qaraniqio felt too vulnerable to resist and decided to vacate Lomanikoro. His suspicions of Seru's intentions suggested to him it would be more politic to return to his refuge in the mountains. This he wisely did.²

The delta war continued as brutal as ever if at a lower pitch. Lokia which had turned to Qaraniqio was devastated by Bauan treachery, Natoga, the Nakelo chief was murdered, also by deceit. In all of this Qaraniqio remained in the hills. Even after a comparatively successful meeting with Cokonauto in June 1849 at

1. Calvert Journal, 19 June 1855, micro. 163/36. H.L.

2. Hunt to Williams, Viwa, 4 February 1847, Letters to Thomas Williams, H.L.: Calvert Journal, June 1855, micro 163/36.

which a temporary peace was patched up, he trusted to his instincts and avoided a return to Lomanikoro.¹ Cakobau for his part now saw Buretu as a greater threat than Qaraniqio. Buretu after all was within the Bauan matanitu and its continued successful insolence was an exceedingly dangerous precedent. Peaceful overtures between the Rewan brothers were not unwelcome if they could result in the undermining of the Buretu position. He was therefore favourable to any moves which would unclench the fist, encourage the rebuilding of Lomanikoro and allow its re-occupation by Qaraniqio's men.²

When H.M.S. Daphne moored off Viwa, Seru saw an opportunity to use the vessel as neutral territory for a mediated peace with the Rewan. All were agreeable to the suggestion of a meeting under English patronage. Qaraniqio, distrustful but eager for peace and certain that no treachery would befall him in such company, came down from the hills. He, his brother and Cakobau sat with the whites at Nukulau and tried to dissolve their bitterness in kava. The meeting was delicately poised when the negotiations foundered on the problem of Buretu. In Seru's mind there was no chance of a reconciliation with them for their rebellion had fanned anew the dying embers of the Rewan conflict. There was no room for simple forgiveness. They had to be punished or his reputation would suffer serious, perhaps irreparable damage. Qaraniqio made peace with Buretu a basic condition and could not

1. Calvert, extract of letter, Viwa, 28 June 1849 in W.M.N., August 1850, micro. 163/58, H.L.

2. See Lyth Journal, 29 August 1849, B536⁻¹, M.L.

accept the terms. The meeting broke up with nothing resolved.¹

The nature of the Rewan quarrel altered somewhat with the sudden removal of Cokonauto, his premature death hastened by heavy drinking. Seru performed the strangulation of his protesting widow, Tatila, who preferred life to sharing the grave of her profligate spouse.² Cakobau felt, as he had at Gavidi's death, that this was a fundamental rite of passage, an affirmation by the living that the deceased had been a man of status. It was a re-affirmation of bonds with potent ancestors whose mana pervaded those still living. It was also a visible symbol of the orthodoxy and legitimacy of Seru's position as future Vunivalu. The strangulation was an expectation of the state which he felt compelled to fulfill.

The consequence of this death was that Qaraniqio was the natural choice as Roko Tui Dreketi and a choice Seru was willing to endorse. After all the man was safer at Lomanikoro than brooding in the hills. More fighting seemed like sucking an already chewed sugar cane. Seru took advantage of the Falmouth's presence to reach an understanding with Qaraniqio. The adversaries faced each

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1. Calvert Journal 5 October 1849, micro 163/35, H.L. Calvert, extract of letter, loc.cit. The meeting was held on 5 October. Fanshawe left the group on 8 October and sent a letter to Cakobau at sea urging him not to strangle any at Tanoa's death and attacking warfare and cannibalism.
 2. Calvert, Viwa Record, 19 March 1851, Micro 163/38, H.L.

other again in April 1851. This time it was the Rewan who would not bend. Seru asked him to come to Bau to be reconciled with all there before proceeding to Rewa where he would be installed as the new paramount. He refused. A seer had foreseen his treacherous murder. The refusal was the snapping of the last thread of reconciliation. Cakobau told him to return to Colo. The attacks launched soon after on Nakelo and Buretu left the club as the only solution.¹ By October 1852, Qaraniqio, confident now that his Rewan support was sufficient, emboldened by a succession of abortive Bauan raids and despairing of any reconciliation with Seru, had made a solemn promise: he would be satisfied only when he had killed Cakobau and eaten his corpse. With his decision the chances of peace in the delta vanished.² Seru had to accept the unpalatable fact that he would probably have to face an expanding war on his most exposed border with a man now his implacable foe. One of them would have to die.

Rewa was not the only confederacy sharing a common border with Bau. Verata, the seed yam state of the eastern littoral, presented a formidable problem as well. Most accounts of Bau's legendary origins acknowledged Verata as the birth or resting place of the ancestor heroes, Kubunavanua and Vueti. Its power

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1. Viwa Record: Lyth Journal, 25 April 1851, B539, M.L.; Edward Martin to Williams, Viwa, May 1851, Letters to Thomas Williams, M.L.
 2. Viwa Record, 8 November 1851; letter of J.E. Home to Cakobau dated 13 October 1852, Levuka, in Calvert Journal, September and October 1852.

had diminished as Bau's had grown. Its proximity, sharing as it did a common and disputed border to the north of the Bauan mainland, and its resentment at the encroachments Bau had made at its expense, were ample grounds for conflict.

In October 1839 an epidemic swept through the islands, afflicting its sufferers with a violent cough and severe headache. Kania and Qoliwasawasa were hit by the sickness as were many in Cakaudrove, some fatally. It was difficult to know what it presaged. Some believed it was further proof of the gods' impotency. Others believed that they had cursed the land for the inconstancy of a few who had joined the lotu movement.¹ Either way the community was shaken by this new illness. There were still those alive who had survived the horrors of the lila and cokadra. The epidemics had become embedded in the memories of the survivors and were passed on as a fear in the folk memory of the islet. Dysentery followed the influenza, compounding the confusion.²

The tensions born of these fears spilled over into more bloodshed. Plans were made for the erection of a new temple to reaffirm Bau's tenuous faith in its spiritual mentors. This

1. David Cargill, Memoirs of Mrs. Cargill, p.238. Journal of John Hunt, 13 October 1839.

2. David Cargill, Memoirs of Mrs. Cargill.

undertaking absorbed much of Seru's energies, its construction preceded by discussion, by presentation of tabua and food to the matai. The work required human victims for its successful completion;¹ death, it was hoped, would give it life, the blood of enemies or slaves would give the form its function and potency. Men were sent out to fulfill this need and proved successful. They captured and pulverised the skulls of three Veratans. The work could commence.² Verata could not of course allow this outrage to pass unavenged and killed five Bauans in retaliation. Seru therefore seized this opportunity to demand a full-scale war against Bau's old antagonists. Perhaps this time they could be crushed. There were nevertheless many on Bau who had fought with Verata often enough to believe this to be impossible. It was true Veratan power had waned over the years to Bau's advantage; its peripheries had been reduced but its centre was healthy. Verata had bati whose courage was proverbial. Most saw the attempt at a full-scale war as doomed to failure with a great loss of life on both sides. Seru listened to these objections but persisted in his demands. His stature as a warrior was undeniable as was his authority to speak. The Lasakau, Soso, Vusaratu and Tui Kaba clans consulted with the mainland bati at length and decided on war.³

Hostilities commenced with an attack on an enemy settlement where a number of defenders were killed.⁴ This skirmish served as

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1. When the posts were set men were killed to hold them, a custom called A i vakasobu ni duru. Men were also killed at the completion of the structure, A i vakavotivoti ni bure.
 2. Memoirs of Mrs. Cargill, p.261 ff.
 3. Ibid, and see Deve Toganivalu, "Ratu Cakobau", p.5.
 4. Memoirs of Mrs. Cargill; Cross to Secretaries, extract Journal, no.40, 1839.

an appetizer for the attack on Naivuruvuru, a bold and dangerous thrust near the very core of Verata, Ucumivanua itself. It required careful preparation, the organizing of all the warriors Cakobau could muster and their transportation to the scene of battle. The warriors boarded the Lasakau canoes and skirted the coast to disembark near the target village. Others marched across land to join them, their courage primed by the taga, the ceremonial boasting preceding the march. Most would fight for the promise of rewards tangible and intangible that fell to the victors. The attack exceeded all expectation. The Naivuruvuru warriors in the height of the battle sensed defeat and fled. The Bauans and their allies rushed into the fortress slaughtering the hundreds of women and children who had failed to escape.¹ Jubilant warriors, completed their triumph by taking many slaves. Some of the captive children were hoisted in baskets to the tops of the returning drua to be dashed to death against the yesi and damanu wood masts as they bucked in the wind. Seru, his reputation enhanced, his confidence boundless, arrived amidst scenes of glee. The captives were distributed amongst the tribes to be enslaved or butchered.² Natavutolu would be next, then Naloto and finally the Verata capital. He could achieve what his father and grandfather before him had not. It was cause for great pride, a pride that was soon shattered.

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1. Cargill claims 260 people were killed and many taken as slaves. It was a full-scale attack with extermination as the objective. (Qeavu, kawaboko, kawavali give the sense).
 2. Cargill, Memoirs of Mrs. Cargill. Some of the captives were used as target practice for the archery of the Bauans. At least twenty bodies were sent to Kania, who having given up cannibalism, distributed them among his villages.

Basking in the sunlight of his most recent achievement, Seru could be forgiven for thinking that nothing would be denied him. Almost as a matter of course, therefore, when two females were sent from Somosomo as a gift to Tanoa, Seru ordered them on their arrival to go to his bure. Tanoa, on hearing what he had done was so incensed that he sent a message to Seru: he refused to allow him to destroy Verata. The destruction of Naivuruvuru was to be sufficient. Cakobau was no doubt aware that his father was making his authority over him painfully explicit. He marched in anger to Muaidule for a confrontation. He demanded to know whose power was greater. Had he not restored Tanoa to power by his genius? Had he not ended his bitter exile? Had he not by this action established his right to control affairs? Tanoa was not to be intimidated. He told Seru to remain on Bau and he himself would leave as would all of chiefly blood. With this threat he rose and left the house. Seru's confidence vanished for he could not be sure of his support. There appeared to be only one course of action open to him, no matter how painful and humiliating. He presented a soro to Tanoa which was accepted. The blow was softened by the agreement that Verata would be attacked again when convenient. Seru was learning the limits of his power.¹

He was also forced to consider his priorities. The defeat of Verata was desirable only if it was his victory. The Lasakau chief, Nalila, threatened to destroy his chances by his own plan, which if successful, would have robbed Cakobau of the glory. Nalila was related to tribesmen of Matsavutolo which had been

1. Cross to Secretaries, no. 40 of Journal extracts, FM 4/3043, M.L.

attacked and burnt down. Some of his relatives fled to Verata where Nalila managed contact them and arrange for them to put the torch to the houses in the fortress. Seru when informed of events sent a messenger to Verata to warn them of the incendiaries in their midst. The arsonists thus exposed were forced to flee in canoes provided by their Lasakau relatives and Verata survived.¹

Seru was anxious to prove he was capable of strong and effective leadership and he intended this to be a reprieve in order to satisfy his own plans. He was aware that many villages in the matanitu continued to send parties on raids against Verata only under duress. Their increasing reluctance to go was checked by their fear of Cakobau's reaction.

Nonetheless there were times when even war with Verata assumed secondary importance. Such a time was the expected arrival of Ratumaibulu.² As the new moon rose at midnight the silence of the preceding days was shattered by the blasts of the davui conch shells. Shouts of congratulations and yells of praise continued until dawn. These observances in honour of the fertility god were the hopeful prologue to another successful yam harvest. The god's power, so severely tried in human affairs, still seemed effective enough.

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1. Cross to Secretaries, no. 40 of Journal extracts, FN 4/3043
M.L. Two bure were actually burnt before the arsonists were actually exposed.
 2. Cross to Secretaries, extract from Journal, 6, 10, 12 February 1840, 17 July 1840. Ratumaibulu's shrine (wagawaga) was a large land serpent which bathed on a certain night of the month when the moon rose at midnight.

The hostilities recommenced soon after this necessary period of calm with a major new offensive in March 1840 as large as that against Naivuruvuru. A huge Bauan army advanced on Naloto.¹ This attack however did not develop into a massacre for Naloto relatives living on Bau persuaded their kin to soro to Seru, a soro which was accepted by him, and separately by his father.² As Naloto was entered, the conflict amicably settled, a messenger from Verata arrived with a similar soro. It was a very tempting offer of peace but Seru would have none of it. He had his mind set on the complete humiliation of Verata and nothing else would suffice. He would not make do with the mean fare of the yaka tuber when there was kawai, the queen of yams, to be had. Consequently on his return to Bau further consultations led to the decision to build yet another war temple to gain supernatural aid to achieve this end.³

He discovered he had been overly ambitious seven months later. After the fruitless voyage to assist Vuna against Somosomo, Cakobau attempted to devastate Verata using the same force. Accordingly the fleet of thirty canoes beached and the warriors attacked Verata. His men however were unenthusiastic in this attack. After a brief skirmish a general panic set in and they fled ignominiously, sick of the whole affair. Tanoa had advised

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1. Cross estimated the Bauans had a 14 or 15 to one advantage; 9 March 1840.
 2. The agreement not to fight was made as the soki (sharpened stakes w.矛s) were being removed in fact, in preparation for the initial attack. Cross Extract from Journal, 11 March 1840.
 3. Cross, extract from Journal 15, 17 March 1840.

his son against the assault and his judgement had proved correct. There were too many variables to consider with war on two major fronts. It was fortunate for Seru that the Veratans too had had enough. A week later their soro was made to Bau and gratefully accepted.¹

In the end, Cakobau had achieved very little in his attempts to subjugate an old antagonist. He was to wait ten years before he had another chance to trouble Verata. In the early months of 1850 Cakobau's attention was quickly riveted on ways to exploit a new Verata imbroglio. Natavutolo, a former Veratan village which had been conquered by Bau and paid tribute to Lasakau, had been burnt down by irate Verata chiefs who were chased from the village when they came for pigs. A combination of discontented bati and habitually belligerent border enemies formed quickly, with Waimaro and Tai prominent under the pretext of avenging the destruction of Natavudo.² Seru allied himself with this force immediately. He was soon to discover that there were fundamental flaws in this "united" front.

Within two months of sending to all of the Bauan villages for levees he had organised a huge army along the entire coast as far as Verata itself. They met the assembled Waimarans and Taians who had tapped their own inland village networks, their ranks swelled by a motley collection of malcontents in temporary alliance. This force awaited Seru as his one hundred and fifty canoes beached before them in late April. Although dreadful weather reduced this first attack on Ucuivanua to a minor skirmish, the sheer scale

1. Cross to Secretaries, 22 November 1840, FM 4/3043 M.L.

2. Calvert Journal, 19 December 1849, fragments in micro 163/38, H.L.; Calvert, Viwa Record, May 1850, ibid.

of support and the efficiency of the muster and co-ordination of the land force and the naval thrust was a terrifying spectacle to the defenders. They hurriedly sent a soro to Cakobau via Varani, the Viwa chief, who had accepted the lotu. Seru was not impressed either by the request for peace or with the spokesman. Verata, he said, opened the hostilities by their provocative act. A previous soro which had been accepted had seen no change in their behaviour. Nor did Varani have a right to beg for peace. As he had done nothing to help Bau in its struggle, Seru would not allow him to interfere. His one concession was to send Koroi Cokonauto, Roko Tui Bau's man, to warn the Veratans to vacate their village and allow it to be burnt. When they refused the war continued unabated.¹

After another unsuccessful attack the full force was re-assembled at Naivuruvuru and the building of protective and offensive war fences commenced around Ucunivanua. Six days of brisk firing snapped the defenders' nerves and they fled. As old toothless Bauan warriors watched, perhaps in disbelief, the empty town was put to the torch.² Seru wished the victory to be complete and accepted a Taian tabua to pursue the refugees to Naloto.

The village was defended desperately for the Veratans had nowhere else to run. Fortunately for the harrassed men the irresistible weaknesses in even the most successful alliance were beginning to show as jealousies found rich soil in squabbles

1. Calvert, Viwa Record, and Calvert Journal, 8 March 1850, micro 163/35, H.L.

2. Viwa Record. On 21 April 1850 he was at Naivuruvuru. On the 26th or 27th Verata was burnt.

over plunder. When the Lasakau chief Gavidu, was shot dead the fragility of the attackers' commitment to their task revealed itself with alarming speed. The Wainarans and Taians vanished rudely without so much as farewelling their former allies while a brief and noisy night foray by the Malotan forces was sufficient to send the Bauans scrambling for home with the undignified haste that panic breeds, their lovo still steaming.¹

By the end of 1854 Cakobau could claim some remarkable successes over both Rewa and Verata. He had overseen the destruction of Lomanikoro and Ucunivanua, feats no other Vunivalu could have laid claim to. Paradoxically only Cakaudrove, which he had never assaulted, had been effectively neutralized as a threat and this in all probability was merely temporary. Rewa was now on the offensive, confident, if exhausted, under the leadership of Qaraniqio. Verata was as cantankerous and unbending as ever. Within the boundaries dictated by the limits of kinship and the rights of his position, the potential for further expansion of the Vunivalu's power and that of the Bauan state looked no more promising than when Banuve had died in the epidemics at the turn of the nineteenth century.

1. Calvert, Viwa Record. Seru returned on 1 May 1850.

CHAPTER EIGHT: The Tongans; Bau's mercenaries and Cakobau's nemesis.

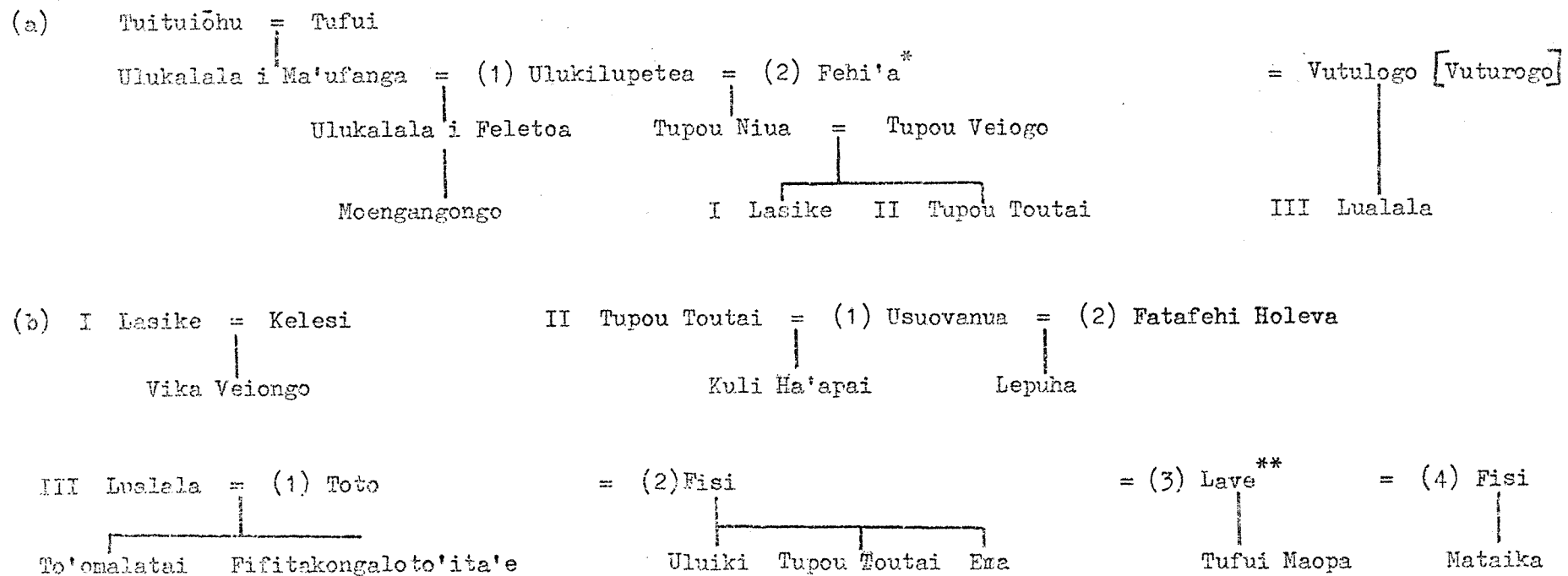
Tongan influence in Bauan history extended to the very inception of the state. Not only was the connexion ancient, it was also fundamental. The legendary folk hero "Kubunavanua" had come from the east, from Tonga. It was he who gave the Yavusa the name "Kubuna". It was he who was adopted by the Eutoni fishermen of the Bauan islet and named "Komainayavucecere", and after them by the Vunivalu's family, the Tui Kaba. They called him Cagawalu, the war god. The outsiders thus adopted the outsider: the usurpers of power sought legitimacy by claiming the taukei's principal deity. The title, Vunivalu, was therefore intimately linked with Tonga. This association was reinforced in legend by the origins of the Vunivalu's speaking chief, the Tunitoga, a line reputed to have sprung from a Tongan male.

By Cakobau's time there was a clear division in status between those Tongans who had been incorporated into the Bauan state as matai and those peripatetic Tongans who left their homelands to fight in Fiji's wars. The former shared the low status of all matai: the latter enjoyed the riches bestowed on all bati. Of all the Tongan families in the more prestigious category, the Ha'a Ngata Tupu of Vava'u, Northern Tonga, stood supreme on the islet. Though Tongan blood flowed in chiefly veins on Bau it was Bauan expansion to Lakeba in Banuve's time which consolidated the Tongan association and allowed it to be expressed in more solid and direct terms. Lakeba was recognized in principle as veitabani, a friendly state of near equal status to Bau. In practice Bauan influence there was pronounced particularly since Banuve's involvement in Lakeba affairs. The Ha'a Ngata Tupu had

married into the Lakeban aristocracy and become deeply embroiled in its affairs. One of the Vava'u family's most famous sons, Ulukalala i Ma'ufanga had taken a Fijian wife, Vutulogo (Vuturogo). Their son, Lualala was to be very prominent in Lakeban politics, a supporter of the Bauan Vunivalu. Ulukalala's Tongan wife, Fehi'a had given birth to a son, Tupou Niua. It was he who was murdered by Tupou To'a, the father of Taufa'ahau Tupou, the first king of Tonga. Tupou Niua's sons by Tupou Veigo were thus natural enemies of Taufa'ahau. These men, Lasike and Tupou Toutai, had their roots in Vava'u which was traditionally an area of sailors and resentful of any encroachment from groups to the south - Ha'apai and Tongatapu. The brothers had left their homeland as Taufa'ahau's star had risen and followed in the footsteps of their illustrious grandfather. In Lakeba they had established a substantial power-base, a base from which they were willing to extend aid to Tanoa when he was driven from Bau. It was not illogical that the two brothers, essentially mercenaries, should ally the forces at their command to those of the ousted Vunivalu. This was particularly so as his chances of reinstatement were good. As foreign bati of the Bauan Vunivalu there were excellent opportunities to expand the areas open to them for women and chattels. These men were warriors of great repute and their allegiance to Visawaqa considerably enhanced his chances of eventual success against the Tui Veikoso regime. (See Figure 27)

Lasike was the more formidable and able of the two, Tupou Toutai the more extrovert. On numerous occasions Lasike was to play the role of intermediary between Lakeba and Bau, and Lakeba and Cakaudrove on behalf of his beleaguered relative the Tui Nayau,

⁺PROGENY OF ULUKALALA i MA'UFANGA. [ABSTRACT]
 (After the genealogy of Tuituiōhu, Palace Records Office)



* Parents from Niuatoputapu

** Daughter of Tui Nayau

⁺ [Koe Tohi Hohoko 'oe hako o Tuituiōhu
 as written by Princess Fusipala.]

Taliai Tupou.¹ Lasike was an emissary no-one would dismiss lightly. Tupou Toutai, like the Rewan, Cokonauto, enjoyed the company of foreigners. He had been to Sydney and had been feted by the Governor of New South Wales. When the American Expedition under Wilkes arrived in Fiji in May 1840 he delighted in the opportunity to practise his faltering English and his newly acquired social graces.² Imposing a figure though he was, he was never to attain the prestige of his brother.

After Tanoa's return to Bau they became as basic a part of the bati allies of the islet as Namata and Namara. On their frequent visits from Lakeba and their extended stays they were treated with the greatest respect and hospitality.³ Neither Tanoa

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1. Cross to Secretaries, letter no. 49, 14 October 1840, FM 4/3043, M.L. Lasike had gone to Somosomo in August 1839 at Taliai Tupou's request, after Rabici's visit, to ascertain Cakaudrove's attitude to Lakeba and to take Tui Cakau's daughter there to be tattooed prior to becoming Tui Nayau's wife. See Journal of John Hunt, vol. 1, loc.cit., 26 August 1839; Journal of James Calvert, 17 August 1839, micro 163/35, H.L.; 22 October 1842, micro 163/42, H.L.; R.B. Lyth, 23 August 1839, micro 163/42, H.L.
 2. Tupou Toutai was a classic case of the wanderlust of a Tongan who loved the company of foreigners. Peter Bays encountered him on 29 October 1829 at Nuku'alofa where he was in the habit of boarding all visiting ships and introducing himself as harbour master. (A Narrative of the Wreck of the Minerva, Cambridge, E.Bridges, 1831, pp. 105, 106) In 1838 he boarded Peter Dillon's ship the Jess and reached Sydney on 12 April. (J.W. Davidson, Peter Dillon of Vanikoro, Oxford, 1975, p.278). Here he was feted by the Governor of New South Wales (Wilkes, op.cit., vol.3, p.143). Wilkes remarked he "had all the grace and elegance of a finished gentleman". William Mariner of course, had lived with his father, Tupouniua, when he was a boy. He had thus had long exposure to whites.
 3. See Tupou Toutai's comments to Wilkes, op.cit., vol.3, p.145 ff.

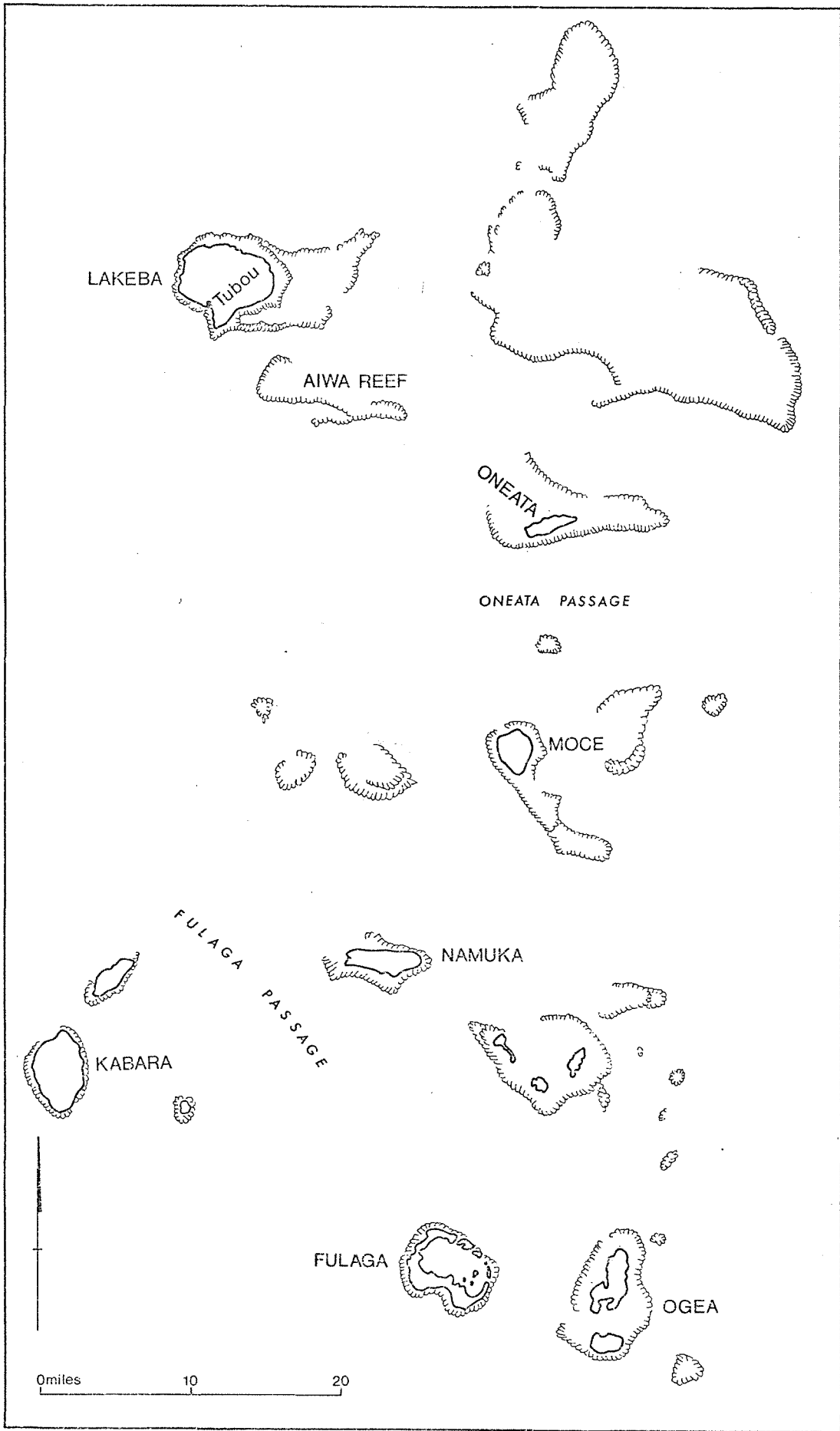
nor Cakobau was ever guilty of insensitivity to these warrior allies or unconscious of the debt they owed the Tongans. The brothers could always expect and receive the most lavish of gifts, the most succulent food. In return they displayed unquestioning loyalty to the Vunivalu and his son. When Cakobau sailed to Vuna's aid in October 1840 Lasike, Tupou Toutai and their men sailed with him.¹ In the attack on Macuata five months later the Tongans led the slaughter.² In no instance did they refuse military aid when it was requested. Bau was as much a home for them as Lakeba and Vava'u.

The loyalty of Lasike and Tupou Toutai to their benefactors, Tanoa and Cakobau was to prove particularly valuable in Lakeba. Here they were to be the eyes and ears of the Vunivalu and his son. By their presence they forced their patrons' adversaries to act circumspectly. Their ire was not lightly aroused or their displeasure wantonly incurred.

Ratu Mara Kapaiwai was one unhappy victim of this truth. Mara was a natural competitor of Cakobau, his cousin. By January 1843 he was finding the Tongans increasingly unbearable. Their great influence over Tui Nayau, the respect and loyalty which they displayed towards Tanoa and Cakobau and which they denied him was a difficulty this once powerful vasu to Lakeba found hard to resolve. This, his maternal home, where he was accustomed to indulge his every whim was becoming increasingly reluctant to humour him.

1. Cross to Secretaries, 24 October 1840, FM 4/3043, M.I.

2. Ibid, 18 March 1841.



Central Lau (after Admiralty Chart 441)

The Tongan leadership he well knew had claims of blood and marriage to Taliai Tupou's patronage as strong as his own and all of them were warriors who would delight in pitting their skills against Mara should he challenge them. He knew also of the dislikes and plots within the Tongan community itself. He knew of Lasike's distrust of the Tongan King and of Tupou Toutai's wish to murder the Rewan Tongans expected soon at Lakeba in a substantial drua. Mara had in fact recently sent his own men in the canoe of Koroi-radinibau, the Levuka chief of Tubou, to Matuku, Moala and Totoya, at the request of Toutai, with orders to kill the Rewan Tongans should they rest there on their way to Lakeba.¹ Despite this disunity outside of the island here the top three were comrades, their presence a bitter reminder of Mara's own declining prestige.

He felt like an act of defiance. Three times therefore he emptied his musket into the air until Sefanaia Lualala sleeping nearby awoke and taking umbrage fired a shot in return. Mara called him "bokola" at which insult Lualala called to his cousin, Lasike, for aid, a call quickly answered as Tongans came running from all directions. Once aware of the Bauan chief's action they began screaming insults and firing their muskets repeatedly into the air. Their noise and threats reached such a crescendo that Mara panicked and fled to the protection of Vatuwaqa, the house site of Tui Nayau. Lua did not pursue him and the next day Lasike came to Tui Nayau's bure. He presented a soro to Mara, not as an act of deference to him, but as a gesture of loyalty to his Bauan patrons, the Vunivalu and his son who might take personal offence

1. Calvert to Hunt, Lakeba, 20 Hanuary 1843, micro 163/38 H.L.

at the action. Mara might be crossed but not Cakobau.¹ For Mara there was some consolation in the soro but he knew why it had been made and the blow to his prestige was almost unbearable. He would never forgive it.

This was not all. Mara was to suffer even further embarrassment. He presumed on his vasu rights so far as to appropriate to himself two of Tui Nayau's daughters, one of whom he had stolen from her husband, an old chief of Moce. So confident was he that he would not be crossed in this matter at least he returned to Tubou rather than sail to Bau. On his arrival he was ordered to give them up and sail immediately. Lualua insulted him and he was forced to seek the safety of Lasike's house to avoid a beating.² Lasike, who had taken the title of Finau Ulukalala, protected Mara but the Bauan was soon forced to sail for Cicia. Taliai Tupou's subsequent attempts to console him by the sending of a soro did little to relieve his mortification.³ Cakobau was soon to learn of the first of these skirmishes from eye-witnesses as the sail of the recently completed double canoe, the Rusa i Vanua harnessed the wind and in company with other canoes under Tupou Toutai and Vuetasau, nephew of Tui Nayau, cut through the temperamental Koro sea to Bau. They brought a harvest of fifteen large rolls of masi, heaps of mosquito screens, seven large balls of sinnet and the favourite daughter of Tui Nayau, Radi Tagici, beautiful, delicate of health, a christian and Tanca's latest wife.

1. Calvert to Hunt, Lakeba 20 January 1843, Micro 163/38, H.L.

Calvert Journal, 3 January 1843, Micro. 163/35, H.L.

2. Calvert Journal, 28 August 1843.

3. Calvert to Hunt, Lakeba, 8 December 1843, Micro. 163/38. H.L.

The chattels, the canoe, the princess, the worsting of a rival, all were due in part to Tongan support of Tanoa and Cakobau.

This Bauan rival was not the only threat kept in check by the brothers. There was a more awesome adversary to counter in the form of a Tongan; King Siaosi Taufa'ahau Tupou, the son of the man who had murdered Tupou Niua. Taufa'ahau's interest in the activities of Tongans resident in the Lau group never waned. The King's interest in their movements was made continually plain by the voyaging back and forth of his brother Josaia Lausi'i.¹

Lasike was to experience the great warrior's concern at first hand. Tui Nayau had been anxious to prove his goodwill to the Vunivalu, particularly since he had maintained a neutral stance in the conflict between Cakobau and Tui Kilakila in the early 1840s. Lasike therefore had voyaged to Bau and informed Cakobau that the Fulaga craftsmen had nearly completed a canoe larger than the Ra Marama. This canoe, the Rusa i Vanua, would be a gift to Bau.² On his return to Lakeba in late October, Lasike saw four unfamiliar canoes moored off Tubou. They were prelude to an unexpected meeting. King Siaosi Taufa'ahau Tupou was resting in the village which had given birth to his family name. He had been blown off course on a voyage from Samoa to Tonga where he had been involved in the struggle of his kin there to have Wesleyanism instead of the Samoan's London Missionary Society brand of Christianity. In Lasike's absence he had established a rapport with Lualala. The King had had quiet

1. R.B. Lyth, Journal, 23 October 1839, Micro. 163/41, H.L. Lyth letter, ibid, December 1840.

2. Journal of James Calvert, 22 October 1842, Micro. 163/42, H.L.
See previous page.

conversation with the Vava'uan over kava but he was well aware of Lasike's enmity towards him and that this was the Vava'uan's territory.¹ Lasike himself avoided a meeting. This was the son of his father's murderer. The blood spilt in the recent civil war in Tonga had spawned hatreds which would not vanish. There were malcontents who had taken refuge here in Lau. Taufa'ahau was anxious however to establish friendship here. He had enough enemies in Tonga without jeopardizing his influence in the very area that supplied him with his sea power, an area that could just as easily supply his enemies. His cordial advances and statements of concern for Lasike's well being lightened the prevailing mood. The day after Lasike's arrival therefore both sat in Calvert's house and drank kava in private as dusk fell. At midnight Taufa'ahau was presented with a cooked pig, yams, and a kava root to seal the two men's friendship, Lasike promising to be loyal to the King's regime. It was an accord rooted in mutual self interest. Neither would interfere with the other. When the king sailed ten days later however, joined by six other canoes, it was not to be his last sight of the group. Cakobau would live to rejoice and then regret that the man had ever come.²

The Vava'uans' commitment to Bau was total. Their attitude was in strong contrast to the majority of their countrymen, some of whom lived for long periods in Lau. Most were there to improve

1. Journal of James Calvert, 25 October 1842, micro. 163/35, H.L.

2. Ibid., 1 November 1842 and 25 October 1842, micro. 163/42, H.L.

their positions in their homeland. Lau was to be exploited to that end as it had been for generations. A pattern of mass exodus after extended stays had developed. One such large-scale removal took place in April 1842. A thousand Tongans were ready to depart for Tonga. Many had been preparing for years. One of the voyagers, Nuibalavu, had like many others, been accumulating property for over six years specifically for this voyage. His canoe, the Lana ni Mati, was heavily laden with his wealth.¹

When the fleet sailed the Tongan villages looked like the yam houses at the end of the season.² Sefanaia Lualala was content to stay tending his gardens at Waciwaci village. Lasike and Tupou Toutai also remained. They were not averse to return visits to Tonga but they preferred life in Fiji to life in Taufa'ahau's Tonga.³ This decision was important to Bau. The new arrivals might not necessarily reflect the same attitude towards the islet as their predecessors. Lasike at least, would help ensure that they did.

In December 1844, however, Lasike died suddenly. He had tried both English and Fijian medicine when he fell ill. After an improvement he suffered a relapse and died. The mourning was intense.

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1. Journal of James Calvert, 10 May 1842; Journal of Thomas Williams, 11 May 1842.
 2. Journal of Thomas Williams, entry for 22 April 1842. Williams says eight to ten canoes or one thousand people had left during the week. Calvert (Journal) has an entry for 23 April 1842 which claims fourteen canoes sailed on that day. There may be a mix up in the dates or it could mean as many as twenty-four canoes sailed in two days.
 3. Lualala had gone back to Tonga in April 1840 but had returned. (Calvert, Journal, 11 April 1840; Calvert to Brethren, Lakeba, July 23 1840, FM 5/3943, M.L.) Lausi'i came in October 1839 (R.B. Lyth, Journal, October 1839. Micro. 163/41, H.L.) and sailed back in December 1840. (Lyth, Letter, ibid, December 1840).

Lasike's body was put into a coffin made by a white carpenter while the Tongans constructed a vault for him. On its completion weeks later, the decomposing corpse was taken out, re-oiled, re-wrapped and finally interred in a place of honour.¹ It was a blow not only for the Tongan community in Lau but for Cakobau. He had lost the most loyal of friends and the staunchest of allies.

Taufa'ahau was not slow to see an opportunity for extending his influence. Seru was to learn of this through an aggrieved and agitated Tupou Toutai who arrived at Bau a year after Lasike's death. The cause of his discontent was a letter that Cakobau had long been waiting for. Seven months before, Josaia Lausi'i had arrived at Lakeba with a letter from his brother Siasoi Taufa'ahau for Cakobau.² While Lasike had been alive he had often spoken against Taufa'ahau warning Seru that Siasoi had designs on the Fijian group and had verbally threatened Bau. Seru was thus most uneasy about him. The man's qualities as a leader and warrior inspired the greatest respect and equal suspicion for it was likely that now his adversary Lasike was dead he might go beyond casting a lustful eye on the Lau group and its hardwood and consider it wi fruit ripe for plucking. The news of the letter had assuaged Cakobau's fears as it presaged friendship. The long delay in receiving it had in fact been the fault of Lausi'i himself. He had broken the seal and on reading its contents had no wish to be

1. Finau fell ill on 11 December 1844 and died about 8 p.m. on 13 December: Calvert to Brethren, Lakeba, 16, 28 December 1844, micro. 163/38, H.L. and 11, 13, 14, 31 December, micro. 163/35.

2. Lausi'i arrived on 4 June 1845, Calvert, Journal, micro. 163/38, H.L.

its bearer as it was an attack against the late Finau. Should Tupou Toutai be present when the letter was read violence could ensue. Eventually he offered a tabua to Calvert to send it to the missionary Hunt at Viwa and have him read it to Seru. The missionary instead gave it to Koroi Busavulu, the Mata ki Lakeba, and it was in his hands that Tupou read it. The man sat with Seru angrily unfolding its contents. In outlining his desire to visit Bau to befriend the Vunivalu and his son, Taufa'ahau dismissed Tupou's deceased brother as a liar and deceiver. When the news had spread amongst the Tongan community in Lakeba Lausi'i and Tupou had had to intervene to prevent their warriors attacking each other,¹ Cakobau sympathized with his disgruntled friend. He could not be sure whether Taufa'ahau was sincere in his professions of friendship or whether Finau had been right and it was simply the sweet coconut milk preceding less palatable fare. What he had no intentions of doing was losing Tupou's long and loyal allegiance by siding with Siaosi. The real friendship of the brothers had been a club in his hands. At best Taufa'ahau could do no more than also add his club in Seru's support. At worst he could use it against him.

The next major indication of Taufa'ahau's interest in his western neighbours came nineteen months later. Mara, no doubt

1. Calvert to Hunt, 9, 11 December 1845, Micro 163/38. (This letter is split on the microfilm, the latter segment being 96 frames on). Calvert paraphrased the letter from memory: "Kuo hao 'a kaka ko ia kia [sic] fa'itoka". The word kaka (crafty) captures the core of Taufa'ahau's criticisms of the late Lasike. See also Wallis, op.cit., 6 January 1846.

hopeful of more cordial relations with Lasike's rivals, had sailed to Tonga and there been given six canoes, including his own tabilai. He returned to Bau with a powerful contingent of men related to King Siaso, none of whom felt any affection for Tupou Toutai. Among them were Josia Lausi'i, Siaso's son, Tevita 'Unga and his cousin, Ma'afu'otu'itonga, son of Aleamotu'a, the former Tu'i Kanokupolu. Their visit was brief but for Seru, forewarning of a growing interest in the mind of the Tu'i Kanokupolu in Fijian affairs and Bau's place in them.¹

Tupou Toutai died four years after his brother in May 1848. He had come to Bau on one of his innumerable visits but on his return to Lau he had taken cold between Koro and Cicia and died soon after.² With Tupou Toutai's death went the last major screen between Cakobau and Taufa'ahau. For nearly three years in fact the most prominent Tongan to frequently visit Bau was Josia Lausi'i, the king's brother. If Seru was dubious about the intent of such visits, Lausi'i did nothing to alarm him. Their relationship remained very amiable.

Another great exodus then took place like that of a decade before. Eleven drua packed with Tongans and led by Lausi'i, Tevita 'Unga, Sisilo Tu'ipelehake Fakatoumafi and others, sailed back to Tonga in May 1851 leaving the ageing Sefanaia Lualala as

1. Calvert to Brethren, 10 April, 23 July 1847, micro. 163/38, H.L.

2. Ibid, 5 May 1848. Calvert, Journal, 4 May 1848, Micro 163/35, H.L.

the most powerful leader of those remaining behind.¹ Seru could not be sure what the consequences of this migration might be but it seemed he had been mistaken in his doubts about Taufa'ahau. Of course, the Tongan King had dissent to deal with at home and his passivity might prove temporary. Nonetheless Seru's initial trepidation had proved unnecessary.

In April 1853, four months after Tanoa's death, a canoe, the Tainawi, docked at Bau. Its captain, Ma'afu'otu'itonga had become a familiar face on Bau seven years after his first visit and was beginning to exert the same sort of influence among the Tongan community in Lau that the brothers, Lasike and Tapou Toutai once had.² Like them he was a vital, aggressive, powerfully built man, husband to a renowned beauty, a recent fiery convert to the lotu which he was now helping to spread with the same

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1. The canoes and their captains were: Wainafana - Josese Moimoi; Lawedua - Paula Havea; Lekutu Levu - Hakeai Gauamo; Jone - Tevita 'Unga; Moturu - Lote Havea; Esala - Jamesi Fefita; Mafileo - Joeli Tu'i Ha'apai; Mele - Josia Lausi'i; Lomalagi - Sisilo Tu'ipelehake; Moapa - Fakatoumafi; Lagu - Tu'iahau; Lyth Journal, 4 May 1851, B539, M.L.
 2. Ma'afu had accompanied Mara back to Bau from Tonga after the latter's journey there in 1847. Thereafter he was an occasional visitor coming with Tui Kilakila on his 1850 visit and again in September 1852. Calvert to Williams, 23 July 1847, Micro. 163/38, H.L. Lyth Journal, 18 Sept., 6,7,16 Dec. 1853, 8 Jan. 1853, B541, M.L. Lyth Journal, 19 February 1852, B540, M.L.

uncompromising authority in Matuku and Moala that the brothers had in Northern Lau. With Sefanaia Lualala enfeebled by increasing age and corpulence, Ma'afu as a resident of Tubou had risen naturally as the head of the Tongans, an intimate of the restless Wetasa'u recently expelled from the lotu for waging war on Matuku. Unlike the brothers, Ma'afu's only Fijian blood went back five generations when Baleisasa had married Toafilimoe'unga, the great-great grandmother of his own father, Aleamotu'a, the former Tu'i Kanokupolu. Aleamotu'a had been the brother of Taufahau's grandfather, and as son of the late Josai'a Tupou, Ma'afu was a chief of high rank. Here he was having brought Tui Nayau's messenger to commiserate at the death of Tanoa and to affirm the friendship of Lakeba with Bau.¹ Seru must have been delighted with this evidence of his acceptance of him and at what appeared to be the re-emergence of an old pattern. The Vava'u brothers had often performed the function Ma'afu was now fulfilling. It was possible that this man too could become an important ally. He too had some cause for dissatisfaction with Taufahau. Ma'afu had a legitimate claim to the Tu'i Kanokupolu title. This could well be turned to Seru's advantage if King Siaosi proved unfriendly. If Ma'afu was merely Siaosi's eyes and hands in Lau, Seru's relationship with him would be uncertain. Taufahau would prove either an invaluable friend or a mortal enemy. Cakobau was certain he would not remain either neutral or indifferent to the area which supplied his canoes. Seru recognized in this once immature, self-indulgent son of Aleamotu'a, whom he would once have ignored in the company of Tu'i Pelehake, Josai'a Lausi'i and Lualala, a self-assured leader with a presence and panache equalling his own. The transformation made him a man to be reckoned with.

1. Lyth, Journal, 2 April 1853, B541, M.L.

Six months later Cakobau had his first opportunity to meet Taufa'ahau face to face as the John Wesley dropped anchor off Viwa. The Tongan king had taken the opportunity to fulfill a long standing wish to visit Sydney and had accepted the invitation of the missionaries to ship with them to Australia.¹ Seru had the chance to learn at first hand the designs of the man in the group, to gauge his strength, to analyse the possibilities his existence both promised and threatened. Cakobau sat with Adi Samanunu on the matted floor of Mataiweilagi as Siasia entered. Here was the man, the son of Tupouto'a, who had managed to establish himself as King of the whole of Tonga. With Ha'apai behind him he had beaten Vava'u into acceptance of his position.

His last great battle for paramountcy had been fought a little over twelve months before when Houma and Pea, espousing the cause of Laufilitonga, the Tu'i Tonga, and buttressed by catholic promises of aid, had been finally overcome and reluctantly submitted.² Taufa'ahau's commanding presence exuded authority, his bearing that of a successful leader brimming with confidence. Seru was looking at one of the great warriors of his time, a superb sailor whose skills matched his own, a statesman who had proved his superiority to all his enemies on innumerable occasions, a man whose ambition might not be spent. The yaqona ceremony eased both of them into the perfect prelude to dialogue. The two men however were more concerned to feel each other out than engage in high level talks. This was a first meeting and within this context Cakobau was eager to bestow upon his distinguished

1. R. Young, Southern World ... p.211 ff. The King had boarded the John Wesley at Nuku'alofa, travelling via Vava'u where 5½ tons of yams, 1,548 lbs. of pork, 2000 coconuts, and about 600 fowls were loaded before proceeding to Lakeba.
2. Rev. R. Amos, extract of letter, Nuku'alofa, 1 June 1852, in S.W.M.N., March 53, no.171, micro 163/58, H.L.

guest a memorable gift. The ideal gesture was therefore made. The Vunivalu of Bau offered King Siaosi Tupou of Tonga the Ra Marama. Tupou accepted, happy to collect the drua at some future date. Cakobau as he did with all outsiders worth the effort was courting a potential ally, sealing a friendship, creating an obligation. The two men parted friends for the time being.¹

It was hardly surprising that Tongans should have played such a notable part in Bau's history. The Tongan group spread so far that the chances of accidental voyages to Fiji en route to Tongatapu from Vava'u were exceedingly high. Accidental or not, in the first instance, they continued unabated in planned voyages to exploit Fiji's rich stands of yesi without which Tonga would not have had its great canoes.

After Tautafa'ahau's rise to power his Vava'uan rivals took advantage of the kinship relations established by their forebears in Lau to establish their own centre of power. It was a natural progression for such sailors to ally their fortunes with the greatest Fijian maritime power -- Bau. This meant in practice support for the incumbent Vunivalu, Tanoa and later his son, Cakobau, support which continued during and after the former's exile. There were no more loyal bati allies than Lasike and Tupou

1. Young, R. op.cit., p.300 ff. It seemed almost certain that Ma'afu was Tupou's representative in Lau since the King appointed Lualala and him deputy governors of the Tongans in Fiji when he passed through Lakeba. Lyth Journal, 21 December 1853, B542⁻¹, M.L.

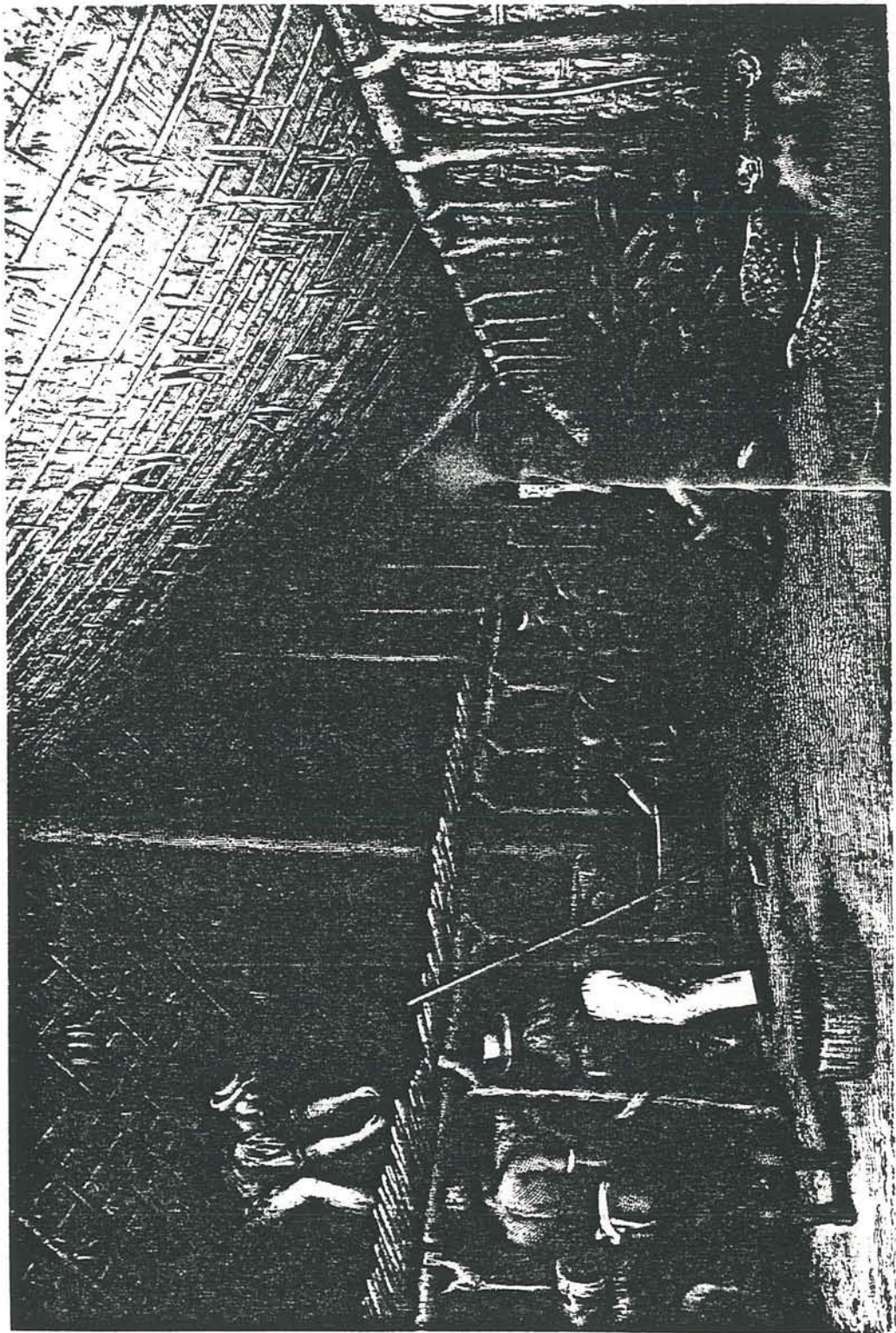
Toutai whose fidelity to their patron's cause was unwavering. During their lifetime they neutralized Ratu Mara and Taufa'ahau. After their deaths the Tongan king was quick to fill the void their passing had created. Cakobau could not be sure what this change portended for him or for the state he was to rule.

CHAPTER NINE: The Foreigners: the observation and pursuit of technology.

In the early days of Naulivou the foreign traders had come for sandalwood. In 1829, the first season of Tanoa's rule, their immediate interest was turtle shell and bicho do mar.¹ When the Quill arrived off Bau in the same year, the Vunivalu was dealing with a group of men whose habits were very familiar to him and in a context which was both satisfying and exciting.² This was Tanoa's home ground and he welcomed them as he would any whose company he enjoyed or who had something to offer.³ In return for providing drying houses for the bicho do mar and manpower for the operations,

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1. European activity had peaked in 1812-1813 and fell off after sandalwood was exhausted. When the secret of smoke drying bicho do mar was discovered from Manila seamen, the visit of Benjamin Vanderford in the Clay in 1837 initiated a new trade. The great majority of the ships to come were from Salem, men like Vanderford, William Driver, John Eagleston and Wallis making many voyages between Fiji and Manila.
 2. One such man was David Whippy. In 1825 Peter Dillon was back in the Calder and because of his previous friendship with Naulivou in the days of the Wailea affair in 1813, the then Vunivalu sent a brother, probably Tanoa, to Bua Bay to ask Dillon to come and live on Bau. He did not come but one of his crew, David Whippy, did, reaching Bau on 6 January 1825. (J.W. Davidson, Peter Dillon . . ., p.58). Whippy had left his brother's ship in South America in 1822 because of ill-treatment, and had shipped on the Calder. He was left on Bau collecting dri and turtle shell. By 1826 he was happily settled down in Levuka (William Cary, op.cit., p.26).
 3. P.M.B. 225, Henry Fowler, Documents written on Fiji during the cruise of the Glide; William Endicott, Wrecked Among Cannibals in the Fijis, Marine Research Society, Salem, Mass., 1923, p. 31ff. Cheever on Emerald, P.M.B. 225.

FIGURE 28



Bicho do mar (dri) curing, 1840. [Wilkes 1845].

the Vunivalu added to his supply of muskets and powder.¹ The whites who stayed on fitted easily into the activities of Bau. They lived with her women. They obeyed her chiefs. They fought in her wars.² They became indistinguishable from others except for their disgust at the customs of cannibalism and strangulation. The whites were vulnerable and generally complaisant in a situation that Tanoa delighted in and of which he was master.³ This visit of the Quill was as enjoyable as others. The Vunivalu developed a predilection for rum, sneaking off bottles to his house for future

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1. The price varied depending on competition and supply. Cary, op.cit., p.44. claimed sixteen hogshed of dri cost one musket, about five or six days work. When Eagleston came in the Pemu it was twelve casks for a musket, five for a pistol, two for an axe and 15 1/2 cords of wood for a musket. P.M.B. 225, (Typescript) and P.M.B. 205, 1 July 1831.
 2. See Cary, op.cit., p.43, p.52 ff, p.64. A group of Manila men who had killed the captain of their ship in a mutiny were also living in Bau and Rewa, (p.24).
 3. The Oeno was wrecked in 1826, a story carried in six papers in New England from September 26, 1828 to February 24, 1834. See, for example, North East Palladium and Commercial Advertiser, Boston, 3 October, 1828, in R.G. Ward. (ed.) American Activities in the Central Pacific, V, p.438, and other accounts, pp.432-447. The brig Minerva a Sydney whaler was wrecked on Minerva reef in 1829 (Peter Bays, A Narrative...). On 11 August 1830, the brig Fawn of Salem was wrecked on the South coast of Vanua Levu, Salem Gazette, 19 April 1831, Ward, op.cit., Vol. 7, p.417 (and other accounts pp.418, 419.) The hicho do mar business was itself a very hazardous undertaking, the dangers only somewhat reduced by the practice of the mutual exchange of hostages while work was under way. The traders were very susceptible to intertribal and inter-personal rivalries. See, for example, William Endicott, op.cit., p.26. These problems were worsened by the need to avoid giving offence to the two groups responsible for wood-gathering and fishing: the "bushmen" and the "saltmen".

drunken bouts while enjoining the captain not to encourage its use among others. He swapped the shell of three large turtles for a four-barrelled fowling piece and the painting of his canoe.¹ There was no majesty about these men but their presence gave the Bauans an opportunity to experience an unusual diversity of language and race.

The whites, for all their technical skills, were as susceptible as any to the ravages of the sea. The islet was accustomed to heavy winds at the start of the yam season and the islanders avoided sailing when the hurricane risk was high.² All Bauan canoes were securely docked therefore when a killer wind wrecked the ship Glide off the Macuata coast and destroyed the brig Niagara off Bau in March 1831.³ The Bauans had seen much of this foreign trading activity over the past two seasons but never had the islet been so congested with ship-wrecked whites and Manila men. A few months after the hurricane, another ship,

1. William Cary, op.cit., p.56, 58.

2. The cagoyalo for example, bloomed in January. If it bloomed in March the Bauans considered it as a warning of a hurricane (Cagilaba - killer wind).

3. Endicott, op.cit., p.34 ff, says this ship was wrecked on 21 March about 8 p.m. [William Cary, p.66 ff says it was 20 March.] They were robbed by mountaineers but treated very hospitably by Roko Mamaca at Vunirara. On the same day the Niagara, Captain Nathaniel Brown, was driven from her anchors and wrecked off Bau. (Cary, p.68) See also Ward, op.cit., Vol. 7, pp.420-429. Five papers carried the story of the wreck of these two ships from 16 May 1832 to 11 June 1832. On 6 June 1831, Eagleston's barque, the Peru arrived off Ovalau to be informed of the loss of both ships. P.M.B. 225 and P.M.B. 205 6 June 1831.

the Peru, arrived offering an opportunity for Tanoa to trade the booty of the Niagara wreck for arms. He sailed out to the barque with a gift of six thousand yams and was received with a salute of five guns. In return for cable, guns, anchors, and chain he was given six kegs of powder. Tanoa was able to exact such a high price by executing a strategy commonly used when dealing with groups on Bau: he played off the Peru against the newly arrived schooner from Hawaii, the Harriet, both of whom wanted the salvage goods.¹

The foreign weaponry so attained served only to negate any possible advantage other confederacies might have over Bau in possible confrontations on the coast or away from defensive positions. It was also crucial that Bau was able to demonstrate a capacity to give its bati allies musket as gifts lest others win their confidence by similar presentations. The patterns of support and opposition within the matanitu remained therefore basically unaltered.²

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1. Eagleston in the Peru, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13 June, P.M.B. 205, P.M.B. 225. On 14 June many canoes came alongside the Peru selling 1000 lb. of pearl shell. On 17 and 18 June, Tanoa went on board with 200 yams as a present and sold Eagleston one large pot for boiling fish and 1000 lb. of pearl shell. See P.M.B. 206 for Peru and Eagleston's trading activities with Tanoa.
 2. When William Diapea (alias John Jackson, alias Cannibal Jack) visited Bau in 1842 on delivery of the Ra Marama he was welcomed by Cakobau as an expert mechanic who could cast musket balls for the five thousand muskets that were distributed amongst the Bauan warriors, Jackson in Erskine, op.cit., p.451 ff.

Bauan desire for the technology the traders offered went beyond paint, tobacco, chisel, musket and cannon. Bauan strength depended largely on its fleet. It was only natural that they should cast a desiring eye on the traders' vessels themselves. The Rewans already had done so. In the state of war that existed between Bau and Rewa from 1832 to 1837, the scheming of Veidovi and his Manila associate, Bottan, finally received the support of Kania and Qaraniqio. When the brig Charles Dogget arrived from Moturiki with Levuka whites as part of the crew in September 1833, Veidovi persuaded the captain to sail to Kadavu, his maternal home where he claimed there was enough bicho do mar to satisfy anyone. Despite the advice of Cokonauto not to go, the brig sailed. At Kadavu it was attacked and ten of the crew murdered in an unsuccessful attempt to take the ship.¹ Seru was no less averse than Veidovi to take part in a plot to capture a trader. An occasion soon presented itself. Ratu Mara, a leader of the coup that overthrew Tanoa, had struck up a friendship with the captain of a French brig, the Aimable Josephine. The Frenchman had agreed to place his ship at the disposal of the Bauans in

1. The attack was made public by a letter from the Captain, George Batchelder to the Lynn Record, a Salem newspaper, published on 24 September 1834. The attack took place in September 1833. See Ward, R.G. op. cit., Vol. 2, p.379. For the role of Veidovi and Bottan, see Eagleston on the Emerald, P.M.B. 205, 10 May 1834, and Cheever's opinions about the part Kania played in P.M.B. 225 (Typescript), May 1834.

return for promises of a full cargo. Mara had been impressed with the brig's performance on a voyage to Lakeba and its potential for furthering his chances of defeating Rewa. He determined to kill the captain and take it. Seru was privy to the plot and with Mara and Naqaravi assisted in the murder of the crew. The brig was brought triumphantly to Bau in July 1834.¹

The response of other traders to this action was very revealing. Eagleston in the Emerald and Vanderford in the Consul began negotiations to buy the brig. Joseph Winn of the Eliza arrived on Bau, also apparently eager to purchase it and stayed for six days. Seru had learnt the cardinal rule of island politics. Appearances could be very deceptive. He was soon to see that the same truth applied equally well to the activities of the captains. Winn sat with them as a guest, offering to transport the Bauans to Somosomo so they could attack the ousted Vunivalu and his sympathisers. Winn's real intention however was to kill the Bauans in revenge for their taking of the brig. He was outraged that the other Salem men had discussed the possibilities of purchase. Three days after leaving Bau, therefore, he brought the Eliza as close as he could to where the Aimable Josephine was moored and fired at her. The startled Bauans fired three shots

1. P.M.B. 225, 17 May 1834. The writer saw Seru on board after the murder of the five crew members including M. Bureau, the captain. The date given here is wrong. Eagleston was told by Osborne (left on Bau while he sailed to Tahiti) that the Viwans informed him of the brig's capture on 20 July 1834. Eagleston himself had written to the captain on 2 June warning him that Ratu Mara and Seru were asking him to get the Americans off the ship prior to its capture. He was later informed by Whippy that the captain saw the warning as an attempt by an American to scare him off so that he could move into the vacated position of Bauan ally. P.M.B. 205, 2 June and September 1834.

back before slipping her cable and running into waters so thick with patches of coral reef that the Eliza could not follow. The following day Winn fired on Viwa before retreating frustrated and unsuccessful back to his Moturiki anchorage.¹ Less than two weeks had passed after this excitement when Eagleston was at Tui Veikoso's bure offering one hundred muskets, twenty kegs of powder and one hundred tabua for the brig.² It was an example of greed, self-interest and deception that Seru had seen often enough among his own countrymen. It was intriguing to see foreign captains from the same American port scrambling for an advantage.

The belief that they were the masters of the situation and the confidence this bred with the attacks on the Charles Dogget and the Aimable Josephine vanished when the American and French naval capacity was demonstrated. Nonetheless the Bauans felt they had the measure of the traders and were rarely willing to be dictated to. Cakobau's dealings with them continued to be cordial until his own desire to own a foreign ship, by means more acceptable to outsiders than those which gained the Bauans the fleeting service of the Aimable Josephine, soured relations. The Vunivalu's

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1. P.M.B. 206, Winn in the Eliza. He had decided to risk his life if necessary to recapture the brig. On 29 July he had approached the Consul for help but Vanderford was at Bau at the time and Chapman would not agree to assist without him. (P.M.B. 203, 29 July 1834). After hearing of the plans to purchase the brig (P.M.B. 206, 30 July 1834), he sailed to Bau to work out a safe approach passage, and after unsuccessfully attempting to take the brig by a ruse, fired his cannon at the ship on 23 August. P.M.B. 14, 20, 23 August 1834.
 2. P.M.B. 205, Eagleston in the Emerald, 16 September 1834.

son was not averse to threatening traders who he believed were interfering with local politics. In December 1844 he discovered that Captain Joseph Hartwell of the Gambia had employed Rewa men to help him at his bicho do mar enterprise at Ba. This use of Rewan labour threatened to destroy Cakobau's monopoly of the trade and to provide the Rewans with ammunition. Consequently he set sail to put a stop to it. His canoe in the company of ten others reached Ba and closed on the brig despite the firing of a one gun warning. The captain, then fully aware of serious misjudgement, made an offer of two muskets as a soro for his having employed Rewans. Cakobau was satisfied with the destruction of the Rewan canoes and softened into a conciliatory mood. Four days after his arrival at Ba he was supplying the brig with dri.¹

His relations with Salem traders in particular provided him with a continual replenishing of his supplies of powder and muskets, while he provided men for the work on the reefs together with fresh provisions of yam and pork. His relations were not confined only to men. He had struck up a friendship with the affable wife of Captain Wallis of the Zotoff and had been particularly taken by the whiteness of her hands, so much a contrast to his brown warrior hands hard from sailing, agriculture and war.²

Even when Cakobau was under intense pressure in August 1854 the rapport he had established with traders proved too much for

1. P.M.B. 218, brig Gambia, Sunday, 15 December 1844.

2. Wallis, op. cit., 7 December 1844. By February 1845, there were four vessels in the group, extract of letter, Hunt, Viva, 26 February 1845 in W.M.N. February 1846.

the Ovalau league which had placed an embargo on Bau. Captain Dunn of the Dragon simply ignored the orders of the confederation of interests at Levuka and sailed to Bau with welcome ammunition. The possibilities of a bicho do mar deal and hire of the Vunivalu's new schooner, the Thakobau, were more eloquent than anything the Levuka whites could say.¹

Although the traders were armed they were takia to drua compared to the ships of their respective navies. From the first encounter, the Bauans were fully conscious of the need for a different response to such vessels. Bauan strength had been assured by its fleet, protected by the man-made docks on the islet's beachfront, manned by the most assured and ruthless of sailors. The maritime capability of foreign warships presented an unenviable and discouraging comparison. Bau's strength immediately became its weakness, the apparent invincibility afforded by the islet's strategic location made it all the more vulnerable. The Bauan leadership's attitude to outside naval might centred on this realization.

The first suggestion of British naval might had come as a report from Lakeba in December 1836. A warship, the Victor, had threatened to destroy the village of Tubou in reprisal for the murder of ship-wrecked sailors off a missionary schooner.² The

1. Lyth Journal, 21 August 1854, B542⁻¹, M.L.

2. The wreck was reported in the Salem Observer, 24 June 1837, the news brought by the brig Edwin, (Captain Millet) which had been there at the time. (Ward, R.G. op.cit. Vol. 2, p.394) See also Memoirs of Mrs. Gargill, pp.122, 123. The brig Victor, Captain Crozier, arrived off Lakeba on 1 December 1836. The next day it threatened to destroy Tubou if the murderers of the crew were not handed over. See extract of letter, Calvert, Lakeba, 18 October 1837, in M.M.H. November 1838.

threat had not been realized but it had caused a general panic. By May 1840 the closest encounter the Bauans had had with an English war-ship was with the Sulphur which, with its tender, the Starling, had moored off Nukulau where it had proceeded to repair broken rudder pintles.¹

The leadership on Bau did not need any exposure to the English to realize that a policy of appeasement was the most sensible course of action. The Rewan war was in its infancy when a deputation of whites made up of Hunt, Whippy and a Captain Clayton had arrived at Mataiweilagi for an interview. They wished to know if Seru was willing to entertain the idea of the appointment of Captain Clayton as British consul for the group. Cakobau had found the idea of an English herald appealing. It would increase the possibilities for trade and provide friendly access to a foreign power. He had readily signed a written request to the Queen of Great Britain approving such an appointment.²

The arrival of H.M.S. Calypso in June 1848 gave him an opportunity to witness the naval might of England which he was

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1. It was pure coincidence that the Sulphur arrived when it did. It was on a voyage around the world. These surveying ships were destined to take part in operations against the Chinese. The Starling was sent to Levuka to ask the Americans for replacements. Belcher, op.cit., p.36 ff.
 2. Hunt, extract of letter, Viwa, 15 May 1844, entry for 21 December 1843 in W.M.N., September 1845, and Journal, s.d. micro. 163/40, H.L.

eager to enlist. He boarded the ship to be grandly entertained by Captain Worth and the marines. Cakobau had had sufficient exposure to the customs of these people to have mastered the complex etiquette of mealtime at the Captain's table. It was important not to insult his hosts through failure to conform to such habits for he was anxious to see the power of the new weaponry on board. He was not disappointed. The firing of demonstration shells staggered him; two of them burst with astonishing precision on a pre-ordained target.¹ Such weaponry made nonsense of Bauan maritime power and made its owner virtually invincible at sea. If he had any lingering doubts about what he faced they exploded with the shells. He needed this power with him not against him.

Cakobau's confidence about his ability to win British friendship and thus counter any other outside adversary received powerful confirmation on the next visit of a warship in August 1849. Captain J.E. Erskine of the H.M.S. Havannah stepped ashore at Bau with several of his officers and military men from Sydney. As the missionary Calvert translated, Seru sat with the senior officer of the Australian squadron. The meeting was not all pleasure. He felt considerable embarrassment in the face of the inevitable admonishments to give up cannibalism and join the

1. See Conway Shipley, Sketches in the Pacific (During the Cruise of H.M.S. Calypso), Haymarket, 1851, p. 28. "Seru was silent a moment (after the shells burst) and then himself and followers, as well as the people in the canoes round the ships burst out into a tremendous long 'Whooooo' accompanied by shouts of 'vinaka - vinaka!' " The Calypso was in Fiji in late June and early July 1848. See Journal of Thomas Williams, 4 July 1848.

lotu.¹ The unmasked disgust for the custom that these powerful and dignified naval commanders demonstrated, had an unsettling effect upon him. As men of the sea they had his unreserved respect and admiration. Their opinions carried great force with him. He assured his visitors that he would renounce the custom and followed this assurance by supplying them with generous amounts of food. He also expressed delight with Erskine's proposal of a British Consul. A few days later he sailed to the Havannah moored at Levuka and was again treated to a display of the devastating power and accuracy of rocket fire.²

Cakobau organized a meke to entertain the marines, he himself beating out its rhythm on a drum on the quarter deck. He was slightly chagrined at the twenty five dollars given him for two hogs.

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1. Lyth, Journal, Viwa, 26 August, B536⁻¹, M.L.; Calvert, Journal, 14 August 1849, micro, 163/35, H.L. Erskine, like so many other outsiders (Walter Lawry excepted) was struck with Cakobau's appearance: "It was impossible not to admire the appearance of the chief: of large, almost gigantic size, his limbs were beautifully formed and proportioned, his countenance ... agreeable and intelligent: while his immense head of hair, covered and concealed with gauze, smoke dried and slightly tinged with brown, gave him altogether the appearance of an eastern sultan. No garment confined his magnificent chest and neck ... he looked every inch a king"; Erskine, op.cit., p.186. Shipley, op.cit., p.28, described Cakobau as "a splendidly made, noble-looking man".
 2. Erskine, op.cit., p.204 ff; Calvert, Journal, 16, 17 August 1849, micro. 163/35, H.L. Cakobau was also presented with a full uniform of an officer of the Guards.

The money had no value in his eyes but his disappointment was short lived. He, Gavidi, and the new Tui Levuka had discovered a bottle of brandy in Erskine's cabin with which they had proceeded to get drunk. When Erskine discovered them Cakobau rose with as much dignity as he could muster, made his way uncertainly to the side of the ship and made an unsteady departure.¹ Tanoa was not the only Bauan who appreciated this expression of European technology.

This ship had gone hardly a month when the sloop of war, H.M.S. Daphne moored off Viwa.² Seru boarded the vessel to greet Captain Fanshawe and to meet George Pritchard, the ex-missionary and expelled British consul of Tahiti.³ The Vunivalu's son had heard unsettling rumours of French belligerency and had seen it expressed at Viwa's expense in 1838. Pritchard was living proof of what the French would do if they put their minds to it. Cakobau further consolidated English friendship even if it was at the expense of another lecture on the barbarity of his country and the need for immediate reform.

By 1854 Cakobau had discovered that not all captains of the English warships were willing to indulge him. Pollard on the Bramble and Everard Home on the Calliope in 1852 berated

1. Erskine, op.cit., p.212.

2. Journal of Thomas Williams, 29 September 1849; Calvert, extract of letter, Viwa, 25 January 1850 in W.M.M. no.143 November 1850, micro. 163/58, H.L. The vessel was used as neutral ground for an attempted reconciliation of Qaranigiq and Cakobau,

3. Calvert, Journal, 1 October 1849, micro. 163/35, H.L.

him about his savagery and that of his countrymen.¹ The truth remained that these men together with Worth, Erskine and Fanshawe never directly threatened his position on Bau nor intimated any intention of supporting his opponents. On the contrary they treated him with civility and held out the enormous promise that they could be eventually used as allies, allies who could assure Cakobau's legitimacy in unique fashion and thus fundamentally alter the Bauan state.

The Americans were not to observe this pattern though they were to confirm the bewildering power of foreign naval might. In May 1840 Lasike and his fellow Tongan sailors had arrived on Bau in such extraordinary numbers that the host island seemed continually at its ovens and pots. At the height of the festivities for such illustrious bati a messenger from Levuka brought astonishing news. An American fleet of no fewer than six ships had arrived off that island. Nothing like it had ever been seen before.² Tanoa allowed

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1. The Calliope arrived off Levuka on 30 September 1852. The captain, Sir J.E. Home stepped ashore on Bau on 10 October. Calvert, Viwa Record, 8 November, entries for 1, 2, 3 October 1852. Pollard's Journal in Erskine, op.cit., p.285 ff; Calvert Journal, 30 June, 1, 2 July 1850, micro. 163/35, H.L.; Calvert extract of letter, 12 September 1850 in W.M.H., no.149, May 1851. micro.163/58, H.L.
 2. The sloop of war, Vincennes, flagship - Commodore Charles Wilkes; the sloop of war, Peacock - Lieutenant William L. Hudson; the brig, Porpoise - Lieutenant Cadwalder Ringgold; the shore ship, Relief - Lieutenant A.L. Lorey and the tenders, Seagull and Flying Fish. See John Jenkins, Voyage of the U.S. Exploratory Squadron, Auburn, James M. Alder, 1850 p.27 and G.M. Colvocoresses, op.cit., p.135. The fleet made Levuka harbour on 8 May 1840.

a suitable period of time to pass rather than be guilty of unbecoming haste. He then embarked on his most splendid camakau, and with the Tongans as its crew, sailed to see the spectacle himself, the pennants from his yard proclaiming his importance.¹ To complete the lesson in self-control and dignity he waited a day after his arrival at Levuka, before boarding the Vincennes, the flagship of Commodore Charles Wilkes. The Vunivalu dressed suitably for the encounter. His face and beard were blackened, the sala round his head, his maro in generous tail behind, his breastplate, of turtle shell inlaid with mother of pearl, huge against his chest, its size contrasting with the delicate trochus shell armlets that completed his appearance.²

A figure to be reckoned within Fijian military circles, Tanoa came face to face with his vulnerability. On board he saw the might and skills of America vividly displayed. He was breathless at the size of the cannon. Uneasiness qualified this astonishment for he was perturbed at the failure of the visitors to fire a salute on his coming aboard until David Whippy, acting as interpreter, assured him it would be done on his departure. His wounded feelings thus assuaged, Tanoa sat at council with the foreigners accompanied by twelve of his

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1. Wilkes, Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 5 Vols, London, 1845, Vol. 3 , p.46: "its velocity was inconceivable".
 2. He came on board at 10 a.m. on 13 May 1840. Tanoa was sketched by an expedition artist (see illustration opposite page 78) Wilkes, ibid, p.56 ff. Colvocoresses, op.cit., pp. 140, 141; Journal of T.R. Peale, Library of Congress, Washington, 13 May 1840. The observations of these men are interesting examples of how outsiders disagreed as to the ages of the Fijians they described. Wilkes thought he was about 65 years old (p.56), Colvocoresses thought him about 70 years old (p.141) and Peale thought him 60 years old, (p.60).

chiefs together with Lasike and Tupou Toutai.¹ The Vunivalu agreed to adopt regulations drawn up by his visitors to govern the relationships between him and visiting ships. It was his first major experience of the codification of such rules and the recognition by a foreign power of his right to govern and control. Seru would find himself at a similar table before the same power on future occasions in much less happy circumstances.

For the moment however it was innocuous fun and rather grand. After the formalities were completed, Visawaqa was treated to a display of the marine guard performing their manual exercise. This he enjoyed but the firing of a salute terrified him, for the third gun thundered forth a massive volley of grape. The fear vanished in the excitement of the gifts bestowed on him. Of all these the most thrilling was a Hall's patent rifle. He immediately determined to lend this to his youngest son, Raivalita. In this way he could prevent Cokonauto exercising his vesu rights and begging it from him.² Pleased by the whole affair Tanoa left to return two days later without ceremony to see what other gifts might be offered.³

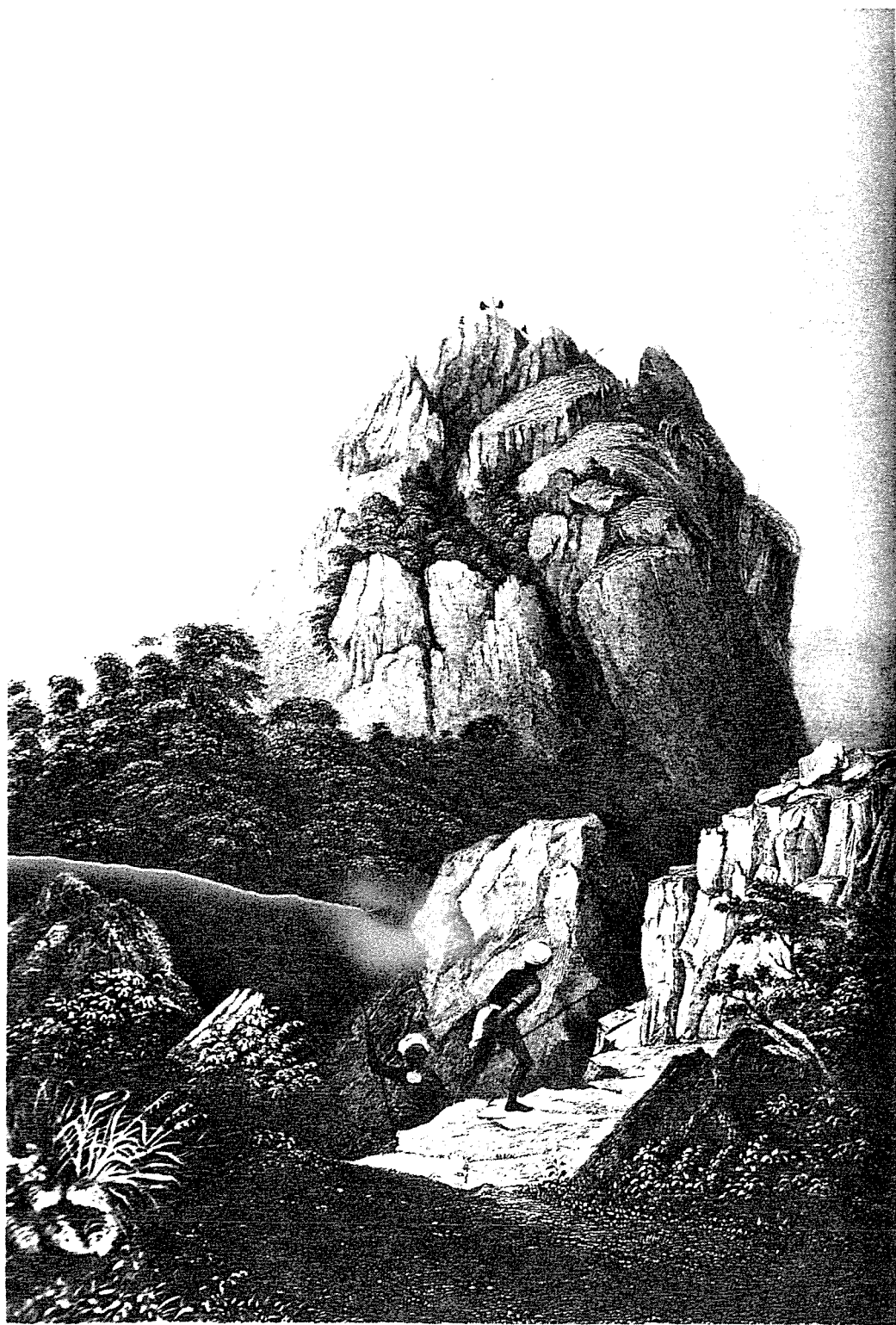
Seru made his appearance four days after Tanoa's second visit.⁴ The impression made on him by the sight of the assembled fleet was less forceful than that his father had experienced. The

1. Wilkes, op.cit., Colvocoresses, op.cit.,

2. Wilkes, ibid, p.77

3. Peale Journal, Friday 15 May 1846.

4. Colvocoresses, op.cit., p.148, 29 June 1846.



Observation Point, Ovalau, 1840. [Wilkes, 1845]. The scientists of
of the Wilkes expedition are on the peak. Cakobau, as son of the
Vunivalu, Tanoa, climbed the peak to observe proceedings in May 1840.

sloop of war Peacock had already left for Rewa. The might of what confronted him was nonetheless obvious. This like the visit of the Victor was qualitatively different from the activities of the traders. Here was tangible proof of foreign power on a hitherto unimagined scale. They were a potentially dangerous adversary whose presence had to be acknowledged and dealt with. He was not noticeably intimidated by what floated before him but made the shore dressed like his father had been in sala and maro. Seru's hair and beard however were naturally black, the pride of his manhood, combed and twisted with painstaking care. A large whale's tooth pendant on a powerful chest and armlets of simple pandanus were all the decoration he desired to set off his tall athletic figure as he climbed the precipitous approach to the observatory the Americans had set up.¹ The instruments there stimulated his curiosity and admiration. The engineering and technical skills involved had a particular interest for him, designed as they were to chart the same stars that guided his canoe at night.² He descended to be treated on boarding the flagship to the same honours paid Tanoa. Seru wandered over the ship, his mind taking in the strangeness of it all.³ Not all of it was new of course. Given a musket as a gift he demonstrated his familiarity with the weapon by taking it to pieces, reassembling and firing it with the dexterity of a gunsmith.⁴ The prevailing mood throughout was one of friendship and concord.

1. Colvocoresses, op. cit., p.145. See illustration opposite page 179

2. Wilkes, op.cit., pp. 66, 67.

3. All were impressed with his size and appearance. Wilkes, ibid., Colvocoresses, op.cit.

4. Wilkes, ibid.

The mood changed abruptly during another visit to the ship a day later. Unlike the change in atmosphere caused by the informality of Tanoa's second visit, this was the result of the nervousness of his hosts. Commodore Wilkes had been anxiously awaiting news. It had just arrived. His second-in-command, Lieutenant William Hudson, had successfully inveigled Veidovi aboard the Peacock and imprisoned him for the murder of the crew of the Charles Doggett six years before.¹ It had not been until Paddy Connel, a resident white living on Batiki, had come aboard that Wilkes was informed of Veidovi's part in this massacre.² On hearing this, Wilkes had Connel convey a message to Rewa ordering Veidovi's capture.³ To effect this, Kania, Cokonauto, Qoliwasawasa and other notables were kept hostage on the Peacock until Qaraniqio brought Veidovi to the ship. There he had been put in irons amid scenes of shock and grief. Qaraniqio alone had remained unmoved.⁴

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1. Wilkes, op.cit., p.103 ff; Colvocoresses, p.143 ff. A newspaper account of this was given in the Salem Gazette, 16 February 1841. R.G. Ward, op.cit., vol. 2, pp.464, 465. James Magoon was wounded in this struggle (Salem Gazette, 17 June 1842, Ibid., p.467). James Housman managed to swim to safety and at Huson's visit in 1840 was a man-servant in Kania's household; Wilkes, op.cit., p.115.
 2. Wilkes, op.cit., pp.68,69,70. Connel had lived at Rewa and had gone to Batiki when expelled from Levuka by other whites.
 3. Wilkes, op.cit., pp. 122-126.
 4. There is a very affecting account of this in Wilkes, op.cit., p.136 ff. Veidovi was probably the best choice though it was obvious that Kania and Qaraniqio were implicated in the murders. Veidovi was the first such chief forcibly removed from Fiji, though not the first man. (The Manila man deported in the Spy in May 1833 may hold that dubious honour; P.M.B. 205, Eagleston on the Emerald, 10 May 1834). He died a pathetic and desperately lonely death after his removal. On board the Vincennes he was relatively content in the company of Benjamin Vanderford who had traded in Fiji often and spoke Fijian. He was thus Veidovi's only real human contact and when he died on the return voyage, Veidovi suffered, in Wilkes' words, "a fatal melancholy" (vol. 5. p.418). On making New York in June 1842, Veidovi was placed in the Naval Hospital but died soon after. As a postscript to this sad affair, Jessie Poesh, editor of the Journal of T.R. Feale, found the cranium of Veidovi carefully stored among the ethnological collections of the Smithsonian Institute, listed as Item 30 in the catalogue of collections of the expedition, originally prepared in 1846, (Journal, p.84.)



Veidovi, 1840. [Wilkes, 1845]. The Rewan chief was forcibly removed from Fiji by the Wilkes expedition. His beard has been shaved as a sign of grief. He was to die alone in New York city.

It had been a terrifying display of foreign power. They had come into the heart of Rewa to punish one of her most influential sons and done so with efficiency and ease.

Wilkes was on shore when this news was brought. The Commodore was warned by Whippy that there was the real possibility of a Bauan attack on the expedition in order to capture Wilkes as ransom for Veidovi. Wilkes informed Tui Levuka of events and he, only too pleased to win the favour of such a strong ally, promised to warn him if he heard of any movement that might presage an attack.¹ The Commodore then determined to make Seru a hostage. He sent a message to that effect to the ship. Cakobau was invited to stay on board, where he was pandered to, hand and foot. He bided his time and made no objections to his light handed ship arrest. It was a situation calling for calm. On the third day he was allowed to leave when the fear of surprise attack had proved groundless. Cakobau had already experienced a suggestion of the power he faced. Now he had it confirmed.² He sailed immediately to Bau to learn more. The last four days had convinced him that it would be unwise to provoke these men. One had a choice with the vutu rakaraka. One could use its fruit seed for net floats or the outer portion of the fruit as a poison. Seru had decided that, like his bati, they were better as floats than as poison and he would court them

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1. The Tui Levuka was only too pleased to embarrass Bau if he could do so safely. Any government from there was onerous. Tui Levuka was described by Colvocoresses (op.cit., p.135) as "a middle-aged man of good height, strong and well proportioned", anxious to please and assist them. Given his conflict with Lovoni and Bureta, the disdain with which he was treated by Bau and Verata, it is hardly surprising that he threw in his lot with the whites whenever he could.
 2. Wilkes, op.cit., p.141 ff. Seru left on the morning of May 22nd. for Bau.

as he would the warriors of his own matanitu. Accordingly he gathered pigs and yams throughout Bau to present to them. When he had collected a sufficient quantity of food to offer his visitors Seru sailed back to Levuka two weeks later and made the presentations to the Americans.

For the Bauans at least the first encounter with the Americans had been unsettling but cordial. An official presence soon changed that. Cakobau had readily agreed to the informal requests of traders for an English Consul in the belief that his dealings with that power would be facilitated. He was confident that he had the measure of the English. The American, John Brown Williams, did not inspire such hopes. Williams had arrived in Fiji from New Zealand in January 1846 and commenced his duties as United States Commercial Agent at Levuka in February.¹ He himself was quite unremarkable. Like any of the Americans on Viwa or at Nawaido, Vanua Levu, he lived with Fijian women and involved himself in money-making schemes. His only exceptional characteristic was that he was rather more avaricious than most outsiders.² He had transferred from Levuka to the mainland after the supposed purchase of Laucala Bay and Nukulau Island from Cokonauto, a kindred spirit, and had negotiated for thousands of acres of Namosi land.³ There was soon

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1. See J.C. Dorrance, "Yankee Consul and Cannibal King", P.M.B. 27, p.2. J.B. Williams born 20 September 1810 in Salem was appointed as U.S. Consul at the Bay of Islands, New Zealand, on 10 March 1842. In January 1846, he left for Fiji and sent a dispatch to the Secretary of State on 13 February announcing the commencement of his duties as U.S. Commercial Agent at Levuka with David Whippy as his assistant.
 2. Calvert, Viwa Record, 15 April 1850. The Levuka whites had been expelled from Levuka by Cakobau in 1844 and settled at Nawaido.
 3. Laucala cost him \$50 to \$70 in trade goods while Nukulau cost him \$30. Fiji Executive Council Minutes, 1879-1880, pp. 148, 149.

trouble. When Williams built a house at Laucala the Vutia people burnt it down in disgust. Quite understandably they rejected Cokonauto's authority to sell their land to an American adventurer who did not have the simple good manners to approach them, the rightful owners.¹ Williams was a type Seru had been dealing with successfully for years but his official status made him a greater potential trouble maker.²

Williams rebuilt his house on Nukulau only to have it accidentally burnt down during a celebration. As it burnt Beqans and Rewans on the island helped themselves to his property. This was no immediate concern of Seru's for at the time the stolen goods and the offenders were Cokonauto's responsibility. Indeed Williams had asked the Rewan for one hundred bags of bicho do mar as compensation. Yet there was always the possibility that the man might complain to his superiors and Seru did not want the added complication of American involvement in the delta. The British could perhaps counter the French if the need arose but the Americans were an unknown and unpredictable quantity; thus best kept at bay. There was some comic relief at the news of Williams' growing estrangement from Cokonauto however. He had developed a liking for Williams' concubine and had taken to sleeping on the opposite side of her to the bemused consul.³

1. Calvert, Viwa Record.

2. A letter appeared in the Salem Register, 4 May 1849, dated August 1848. It sung the praises of J.B. Williams and stressed the need for United States warships to visit the group, R.G. Ward, op.cit., Vol. 2, p.444.

3. Calvert, Viwa Record, 15 April 1850.

A disastrous biche de mer expedition to New Caledonia further strained a friendship with Cokonauto already shaken by sexual jealousy. When Williams had recuperated from a bout of dysentery under missionary care he arranged with the Bauan chief Vukinamualevu to shift his consulate to Tagali, a small island which he had yet to see off Moturiki. This was Bauan territory and Cakobau, heartily tired of the man's meanderings, refused permission until Williams assured him he would reside there. Seru must have been hardly surprised that Williams' sojourn there was brief. The island was remote and the anchorage dangerous. Cakobau himself exacerbated Williams' discomfort by pursuing Marama, the Consul's beautiful concubine. The Consul turned quite naturally to Namosimalua who recognized a fellow schemer and welcomed him at Viwa. He quickly established himself as an enemy of the missionaries by negotiating for the supply of attractive women to supply visiting traders with the comforts of Manila. Moreover his dubious associate, a Mr. M^CDonell, had received a thrashing on Viwa at the hands of a resident white, Charles Pickering and had falsely accused Calvert of inciting the attack. Rather grandly he had threatened the wrath of the United States Government for this affront to his dignity.¹

In March 1851 the Consul's activities were lifted above the level of the absurd. The rumour reached Cakobau that Commander Petrigru of the recently arrived United States sloop of war, Falmouth, had been incited by Williams to hang him from the yards of the ship. Cakobau was naturally determined therefore to avoid a meeting until he received assurance from Calvert that he would

1. Calvert, Viwa Record, 15 April 1850.

be safe. When this was given he travelled to the ship moored off Nukulau (with Calvert as interpreter) to face the charges the Consul had levelled at him.¹

To his astonishment Williams was demanding of him goods to the value of \$17 000 for injuries and losses sustained by himself and other American citizens in Fiji.² Cakobau dismissed the claim made against him for Williams' losses on Nukulau and Laucala with contempt. He had known nothing of the Consul's plan to shift to Rewa and any supposed injuries he suffered there were the responsibility of the Consul and his former protector, Cokonauto. He asked Williams to count out straws representing the muskets, powder and other valuables he claimed to have lost and denied that they ever existed. When asked to produce a written account of his losses Williams told the assembled men he had left his books at Viwa, which only confirmed Seru's opinion that the fellow was a bald-faced liar. Petigru too was

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1. The Falmouth arrived at Ovalau on 21 February to search for the son of a wealthy American who had jumped ship in Fiji previously. It had not come in response to Williams' complaints to the State Department but the Captain decided to investigate after Williams pressed him. Petigru had asked Cakobau to come to the ship while still at Ovalau but Williams did not pass the message on and the Captain went to Nukulau on 10 March thinking Cakobau's failure to come was proof of his guilt. By 7 March in fact, a messenger had come for Seru but by this time the rumour was that Petigru intended violence; Calvert, Viwa Record.
 2. This sum included a claim of \$3006 for the original burning of his house at Nukulau, \$1067 for the burning of the rebuilt consulate on 15 August 1850, compensation for the brigs Tim Pickering and Elizabeth, and losses to the firm, Wilkinson and Company.

unconvinced. He decided any losses at Rewa were to be paid by the next Roko Tui Dreketi while other claims would have to await the investigations of his superior, in the U.S.S. St. Mary's.¹ Seru may have felt that Williams had been exposed for the rogue he was and slipped into the comfortable assumption that he would be finished with this outrageous demand after Magruder's visit.

When Captain Magruder dropped anchor off Viwa in July of the same year, Seru went aboard as he was anxious to clear up the trouble Williams had caused. If the air was not cleared, at least the mists of doubt settled more round the person of Williams than Seru himself.² Magruder was no arrogant chauvinist but a reasonable if somewhat ardent christian interested in getting at the truth of the matter.³ Seru made his case as before and Magruder, unable to reach any firm conclusions himself, asked Calvert and Whippy to investigate further.⁴ Seru however was satisfied that the American

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1. Calvert, Viwa Record. This was not the end of Petigru's investigations. When the consulate was burnt in August 1850 a man called Foster had died after receiving an accidental blow to the head. A Fijian, Koroi Mokuwata, was tried on board on a charge of murder, found guilty and hanged from the yards. Almost certainly this act was unjustified. See Viwa Record and compare the newspaper version of the same incident which appeared in the New York paper The Independent, 10 July 1851, Ward, R.G. op.cit., Vol. 7, p.474.
 2. Viwa Record, 7 August 1851. The U.S.S. St. Mary's arrived at Ovalau on 21 July, anchored off Viwa on 26 July and left on 31 July.
 3. Viwa Record, 7 August 1851; Calvert, extract of letter, Viwa, 31 July 1851 in W.M.P., May 1852, Micro. 163/58, H.L.
 4. Magruder decided that the sacking of the Elizabeth was the responsibility of Tui Levuka; Viwa Record. If Petigru and Magruder's decisions had stood the American debt would have become a minor issue. Boutwell, however, was to change all this.

captain would not unjustly force upon him the responsibility for the Consul's extraordinary claims. Had he known that Calvert was too busy to help in the research and that Whippy would be left alone to conduct the investigation, he would have been less complacent. Whippy stood to gain thousands of dollars in compensation if Cakobau was found culpable.¹

Cakobau had been consistently stunned by the technological capability of Western warfare. He had seen the French burn Viwa unopposed, the Wilkes expedition pluck Veidovi effortlessly from Rewa, the Calypso shell targets with frightening ease and effect. He decided that his own chances of enhancing his prestige or even maintaining the influence he already had depended in part on his attainment of this technology. When a hurricane wrecked Mataiweilegi in 1848 he had hired a white stonemason to lay the foundations of a stone house that he meant to erect as a permanent structure on the site. It was never completed but demonstrated Cakobau's preference for the new tools and techniques.²

He was also no longer content simply to view foreign ships. He had a powerful desire to own one himself. Cakobau was extremely interested when Mr. Albert Doolittle, a Sydney businessman, offered to sell him a twenty-three ton ship, the Pearl, for three hundred

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1. By 1855 his claims stood at \$6000, a considerable part of the \$43,686 then demanded.
 2. Lyth to Williams, Viwa, 29 August 1848, in letters to Thomas Williams.

piculs of bicho do mar and thirty-five tons of oil. He agreed to pay the price if the vessel was delivered to him from Australia in the condition promised.¹

His determination to own a foreign ship grew to an obsession. In his impatience he accepted an offer of Captain Wallis of Salem to send a schooner from New Zealand despite the fact that he had placed similar orders with both Doolittle and the shipowner, Owens of Sydney. The schooner Thakombau from Salem arrived first in June 1851.² Seru was mesmerized by it. He committed himself to obtaining a thousand piculs of bicho do mar which was its purchase price. The schooner promised him unmatched status as its owner and the chance to mount modern weaponry. He was impatient to learn the art of sailing it and prevailed upon Captain Goodrich to take him to Lakeba. His high spirits after a smooth crossing were further lifted by the Lakeban response to him, a self-conscious and successful attempt by Tui Nayau to impress Cakobau with the island's readiness to fulfill traditional obligations.³

Within two days of the St. Mary's departure, Albert Doolittle arrived, not in the Pearl as arranged but in a schooner, the Esther. Seru was appalled at its filthy state and refused to take it.⁴ Two weeks later, in August 1851, a more tempting sight

1. Calvert, Viwa Record, May 1850. One picul = 133.3 lb.

2. Lyth Journal, 23 June 1851, ibid; Calvert, extract of letter Viwa, 31 July 1851, W.M.N., May 1852, micro 163/58, H.L.

The news of the schooner's arrival in Fiji was reported in the United States press. See R.G. Ward, op.cit., Vol. 2, p.458.

3. Lyth, Journal, 25 June, 1, 2 July 1851. The visit this time was only for 10 days.

4. Viwa Record, July 1851.

presented itself in the shape of a forty-six ton ketch, the Abolus, which arrived in company with Owen's brig, the Packet.¹ Seru ignored all the practicalities and agreed to take it. His blindness laid the foundation for his near ruin.²

He had already had fair warning of heavy winds before the Abolus came. Varani had returned from Macuata whence he had gone to request Ritova to make three hundred piculs of bicho do mar. He had met with a blank refusal. Ritova felt he had paid any debt he owed to Cakobau and was not willing to risk his own overthrow by forcing his men into the monotonous task of fishing for the sea slugs.³ The Abolus and Thakombau however danced tantalizingly before Seru's eyes deadening his instinct for survival. It was a serious lapse in the political judgement of a man whose whole adulthood had trained him to feel the stresses of resentment as readily as he could feel the tension in the rigging of his drua.

Cakobau's efforts centred on the mustering of another force as large as that which he had led against Verata. His initial concern, now that Qaraniqio had resettled there, was to burn Lomanikoro and then sail with his army to Macuata to fish for bicho do mar. In the process he hoped to bring Ritova back into line and to attain the goods necessary to take possession of the vessels.

1. Viwa Record, 20 August to 9 September 1851.

2. Ibid. Cosks, who captained the ship and Owens, the owner, intended that the ship would first be under Cosks' command while he took on dri, oil and turtle shell as payment before handing it on. Cakobau was never able to pay for it.

3. Ritova had successfully carried out the assassination of Roko Mamaca, the Tui Macuata and was now anxious to consolidate his own power base. Wallis, op.cit., 26 August, 10 November 1845.

The attack on Rewa proved to be a disaster for amongst the besiegers shot dead in the unsuccessful attack was Koroi Wainiu, the Tokatoka ambassador to Bau and the islet's staunchest supporter in the village. To maintain the shaky loyalty of the Tokatokens, Seru personally supervised the burial arrangements.¹ This failure was an unwelcome prelude to the voyage to Vanua Levu. It was some consolation that Lovcni tribesmen agreed to join him on his expedition as did Varani with four canoes from Viwa.²

In January 1852 with over eighty canoes he headed for Macuata, the lure of two European ships before his eyes. For the first time in years his talent for anticipating trouble had deserted him. His single-minded desire to own ketch and schooner had made him dangerously myopic and vulnerable.

The awesome size of Cakobau's fleet did not intimidate the inhabitants of the Macuata coast. Ritova's supporters avoided a major confrontation while Bete's men fished the reefs with a conspicuous lack of enthusiasm equalled only by the barely concealed disgust of Seru's own followers. This expedition promised them nothing but bent backs. There was little chance of plunder, love affairs or feasts to soothe the disgruntled warriors, no apparent glory to be gained for themselves or Bau. The only man who stood to gain was Cakobau. He was thus dangerously exceeding his demands on the state that would choose the next Vunivalu.

1. Viwa Record, 24 November 1851.

2. Ibid, 17 December 1851. Calvert Journal, 22 February 1850, micro 163/35, E.L. Lyth Journal, 13 July 1851. B539, M.L.

As the resentment grew and festered his hopes for the one thousand piculs needed to purchase the Thakombau faded. His fetish for the ships had warped his judgement, severed him from his men and left him exposed. The antagonisms which he had been careful to monitor, channel and redirect spread like a canker. There were over 10 000 warriors present to observe and report on this humiliation.¹

Seru's pride refused to allow him to accept that he could not obtain the bicho do mar he needed. He launched yet another expedition to Macuata in March of the same year, an expedition as disastrous for his prestige and popularity as the earlier effort. He harvested more hostility than dri by the time the fleet returned home.²

The final negotiations over the Thakombau continued the downturn in Seru's fortunes. When the owner, Captain Wallis, arrived from the New Hebrides in the Maid of Orleans, Cakobau was unable even to meet his demand for a further two hundred piculs, the nominal bottoming bond. Seru had exhausted both his own ingenuity and the patience of the confederacy in obtaining five hundred piculs over the previous twelve months. After a series of acrimonious meetings in which his pride took a further tumble he secured his ship but at considerable loss of face and influence.³

1. Journal of Thomas Williams, 13 January 1852.

2. Viwa Record, 29 March, 1852.

3. Ibid, 10 December 1852, entries for 24, 25, 26 November. He also failed to secure the Abolus as he managed to collect only 150 piculs for it. It was repossessed by Owens; Calvert Journal, entry for Tuesday, 15 May 1855.

It was no coincidence that when Kaba rebelled after Tanoa's death the sails and ships stores of the Thakombau were housed there. It added an ironic touch to their actions; it also served as a measure of Cakobau's ineptitude in the handling of the whole affair.¹

By 1854 Bau had been exposed to foreign mariners for forty-five years. Initially they had been present in the most vulnerable form as beachcombers, translators of the new technology.

The traders were more welcome. They brought the technology the beachcombers had stimulated a craving for in much greater quantity, and were willing to exchange it for local produce - sandalwood, turtle shell, bicho do mar, pork and yams. The Bauan desire for their imported tools and techniques went beyond the musket, the cannon and trade goods to embrace the ships themselves.

This eagerness and the presence of resident and transient whites encouraged the arrival of a more ominous maritime presence, which was not to be trifled with. The American and British navies reversed the rules. They dictated terms as the Bauans had with the beachcombers and traders. A test of naval superiority was unnecessary. The Bauans assumed they had no chance and so followed the only course of action open to them in the circumstances: the leadership courted the support of the least bellicose power and supplemented this approach by pursuing a vessel which could conceivably become a ship of war with mounted cannon. In his stubborn attempt to do the latter Cakobau jeopardized his chances of becoming Vunivalu.

1. Joseph Waterhouse, The King and People of Fiji, p.204.

CHAPTER TEN: The Lotu: new answers to old questions.

Cakobau was resting in his bure, (Mataiweilagi, soon after the return of Tanoa from exile in December 1837. Tanoa was absent at the time testing the levels of his support elsewhere. Outside two cooked corpses of rebels were being eaten and two more victims were in the earth ovens. The islet was heavy with suspicion and anxiety. A few rebel families were making self conscious steps to rebuild on their family sites. Others, less assertive, frightened of treachery, kept to the mainland. In this potentially explosive situation, the Wesleyan missionary, William Cross, had made his way from Lakeba in Peter Dillon's ship, the Jess. He crossed from Kiuva to Bau, entered Seru's bure, and introduced himself.¹ He asked to live on Bau as other whites had done. Unlike these others, he wanted to teach the Bauans of the Christian God, as the Lauan, Josua Mateinaniu, had already taught the people of Somosomo and Rewa while Tanoa was there.²

It was an inopportune time for Cakobau to indulge his new guest. Moreover the Bauan had grave doubts about the wisdom of allowing such a man to settle on the islet. Cross threatened dangerous foreign interference at a politically delicate time. Cakobau had no doubt heard from Lau that some white sailors off the wrecked missionary schooner, Active, had been murdered a year before his father's return. These killings had resulted in the arrival of a British warship, the Victor, which had threatened to

1. J.W. Davidson, Peter Dillon of Vanikoro, p.275.

2. Memoirs of Mrs. Cargill, pp. 125 ff; W.M.N., March 1838, no. 267, extract of letter, Cross to Cargill, Lakeba, 15 September 1836, micro. 163/57, H.L.

destroy the Lakeban village of Tubou in reprisal.¹ The missionaries had therefore already demonstrated the possibility that they were precursors of outside political pressure.

Cakobau was also the son of the Vunivalu, heir to the mana of Cagawalu, the war god. He was in effect the executor of his father's wishes, a killer, the man of retribution, the supplier of feasts. In the circumstances of the return of Tanoa from exile the rebel corpses were the focus of the state's expectations. Aside from the danger of political interference, Cross's religion idealized peace and love. Mara and Qio were at that time still at large. The religion also demanded monogamous relationships. As a high ranking warrior whose potency had just been so tellingly demonstrated, Cakobau's adherence to such a creed would be a form of emasculation. He informed Cross therefore that he was pre-occupied with his duties and that he could not assure the man of any safety. Seru then politely rebuffed his unwelcome request for a base on his islet and the man left for Rewa.²

1. Memoirs of Mrs. Cargill, pp.122, 123.

2. Cross to Secretaries, 9 January 1838, Rewa, FM 43043, M.L.:

"He said it would be most agreeable to him if I thought well, for me to take up my residence with him but that he would not hide it from me that at present he is engaged in war and could not attend to the things about which I came or assure me of my safety."

See also Hunt's "Memoirs of Cross", January 1838, micro.

163/41, H.L. and Memoirs of Mrs. Cargill, p.164 ff. Dillon charged him the healthy fee of £125 on 18 December 1837 (written wrongly as 1838 in the Memoirs). He was at Kiuva two days later. He therefore reached Bau on 30 or 31 December 1837.

Cakobau's reservations about the new religion, the lotu, seemed to be confirmed on a visit to Bau by Kania, the Roko Tui Dreketi, in May 1839.¹ Cross and John Hunt had been attempting to consolidate the work of Josua Mateinaniu who had helped popularize the movement amongst the Rewan Tongans. The dimensions the lotu had assumed there were troubling. The Roko Tui Dreketi was painfully aware of his extreme vulnerability in the tensions of Rewan politics and thirsted for peace. In this he had been consistent since his installation as paramount. The Christian ethic of concord and harmony was appealing enough for him, his wife Qoliwasawasa, and their eldest daughter, to become among the first scholars at the missionaries' day school.² Kania wanted to read. Literacy seemed one obvious difference between him and the whites and it might provide a tool for control of his kingdom. Immediately Qaraniqio and Veidovi identified the religion with Kania's party and opposed it vigorously.³ His own priest told him that he must become a Christian to read, a step Kania was unwilling to take at the time. He left the school for the risks seemed greater than the promises of greater control.⁴ Still he continued to afford protection to the fledgling faith for the possibilities it suggested.

Like any leader, Tui Dreketi was trying to maintain and strengthen his rather tenuous control over Rewan affairs by any

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1. Journal of James Calvert, 6 May 1839, micro. 163/35, H.L.
 2. Hunt's "Memoirs of Cross", micro. 163/41, H.L.
 3. See Memoirs of Mrs. Gargill, p.251 ff, for Qaraniqio's attitude, and Journal of John Hunt, 28 June 1839, Vol.1, H.L. for Veidovi. Cokonauto and Bativuaka were on the other hand, affable and friendly. Journal of John Hunt, 15 April 1839.
 4. Hunt's "Memoirs of Cross".

means at his disposal. Yet to a young warrior groomed to fight in a brutal society, Kania's stance must have seemed perverse and pathetic. Conflict was ultimately resolved by violence, or the threat of it, a fact as unavoidable as childhood yaws. There was nothing in Seru's experience to suggest the contrary. The Englishmen who had come in the Victor had merely emphasized that point. The missionaries brought tempting trade goods and medicine to complement Fijian herbs.¹ Yet they posed in Cakobau's eyes a threat to the viability of any matanitu. The Rewan experience seemed to confirm that truth.² Old hatreds congealed on new lines and fickle allies could choose the option of a new religion detrimental to Bauan interests. Subject islands and villages on the mainland might look to foreign power for succour. To encourage such a movement seemed as fatal as the strangling cord and Seru had no urge for self destruction.

While Kania was on this visit to Bau, the white missionaries themselves arrived for an interview with Tanoa, among them the unfamiliar faces of David Cargill and the newly arrived James Calvert.

1. See Journal of Thomas Williams, G.C. Henderson, (ed.), 8 August 1845. The mission store stock was itemized as follows:

Calico, 2673½ yds., print 1115½ yds., 26 shirts, 36 suits of clothes, 31 broad axes, 34 other axes, 24 wedges, 152 hatchets, 12 adzes, 259 plane irons, 264 chisels, 139 gouges, 283 gimlets, 56 iron pots, 20 frying pans, 34 lamps, 17,000 fish hooks, 1194 butcher's knives, 478 scissors, 126 razors, 96 looking glasses, 546 yards of dungaree, 24 dozen lead rings, 7lb. of beads.

All this was for three years trade in the circuit.

2. As did that of Lakeba from information he received. See for example, Journal of John Hunt, 29 April 1839.

They had come to request Visawaqa to allow one of their number to live on Bau. The request was answered with the presentation of a large pig and promises of a house to be built for them in the future.¹ They were recognized as men of undoubted courage and sincerity, and were thus listened to.² Changes in religious observances after all were common on Bau, as were visits from men representing different gods. The changes implicit in the preaching of these men however required a fundamental change in the direction and preoccupations of the Tui Kaba. Other religious changes had heralded a new pattern of paramountcy and subjection. Adherence to this creed with its messiah could do the same. They were thus given respect and a hearing but not a house. When Cross attempted to press the issue two months later, Tanoa politely enumerated the reasons why, despite promises to the contrary, he could not accommodate them. Foremost of the objections was the opposition of Seru who refused to consider such a step. There was also the lack of firewood and water. Cross nevertheless persisted and an embarrassed Tanoa was forced to breach etiquette and refuse his request. They therefore shifted to Viwa.³ Seru was still far from satisfied at the outcome of the talks. He did not like their proximity and when plans were made to erect a christian chapel in

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1. Journal of James Calvert, 6 May 1839, micro. 163/35, H.L.
 2. The caricature of the missionaries as blind bigots destroying Fijian culture by their intolerance and stifling guilt replaced an equally absurd stereotype of them as faultless heroes fighting hideous depravity. This seems to be slowly being replaced by a more realistic appraisal, although polemical writing continues. (See D. Scarr, Viceroy of the Pacific, A.N.U. 1980: He implies they were all psychotic). The worst feature of the anti-missionary hysteria, is that it denies Fijian culture its own imperatives, its own ability to make choices and cope (or fail to cope) with change. Fijians were active participants in a dialectic they often controlled.
 3. Hunt's "Memoirs of Cross".

Viwa, he had his opportunity to kill this growth. He ordered that the chapel not be built.

To his confusion and humiliation, a superior in the matter contradicted him. The Tunitoga, Koroi Wainiu, had been to Viwa, listened to a sermon and enjoyed it. As state match-maker, the tutor of the paramount household and former instructor of Cakobau, he advised that the temple be constructed. Just as at the concluding of peace on Tanoa's return when his wishes had been unfulfilled, Seru was reduced to silence. The chapel was built.¹

Four months were to pass before Seru's curiosity about the lotu overcame any anger he might have felt over the matter of the chapel. His interest in the novel eventually overcame his aloofness and he visited Cross with the intention of investigating the strengths and weaknesses of the lotu ideals.² He plied the missionary with questions as to the nature and intent of his religion. When Cross assured him that his children would turn Christian, Cakobau in a mixture of seriousness and frivolity, promised he would if need be command them on his death bed not to. Warned of the indescribable pain of hell awaiting the unrepentant he countered with a tribute to the pleasures of a fire on a cold day. Despite the baiting Cakobau had come for, the lotu creed that Cross expounded so vehemently was provocative, in contrast to Cakobau's own concerns, inimical to his perception of self, of life, of death. Yet the nominal adherents of this

1. Cross, extracts letters and Journal, B686, M.L. and Cross to Secretaries, extract from Journal, no.40, 1839, FM 4/3043, M.L.

2. This first visit to Viwa was on 22 November 1839.

religion were as grasping, violent and rapacious as any others. Their behaviour was the reality Cakobau confronted daily. Their ridiculing of his beliefs challenged him to doubt the efficacy of his own gods without leading him to accept an alternative. There was obviously power in a community which could produce cannon, musket and the written word, but if Christianity was the source of this power, how did the violence it apparently engendered accord with its ideals? It was a perplexing issue and Seru's reaction to it mirrored his confusion.¹ One thing was certain however. A nominal profession of the lotu seemed very attractive to those who were vulnerable and exposed, unable to cope with life.² Such a one was Tui Veikoso. When he had relinquished his position as Vunivalu at Tanoa's return, he had become a Christian. It was a timid profession for he knew Cakobau's opposition to it. For a while, at least, Seru indulged his uncle, allowing him to have teachers with him at Bau. Eventually, his patience at an end, Cakobau ordered him to apostasize and send the teachers back to Viwa or he would have him clubbed. Veikoso seemed to be simply clothing his weakness in an expedient adoption of a foreign belief.³

Despite this uncompromising attitude to Tui Veikoso, Cakobau's fascination with the lotu did not wane. During the war with Cakaudrove in 1840 Cakobau had crossed to Viwa and for the

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1. Seru on a visit to Viwa over two months later actually invited the missionaries over to fix on a site. They came on 12 February 1840 and did so, but they were not confident anything would come of it. Cross to Secretaries, 17 July 1840, extract from Journal, entries for 6, 10, 12 February 1840.
 2. Ibid, extracts from Journal, entry for 27 November 1839.
 3. Ibid, letter of 17 July 1840, entries for 23, 24, 28, 31 December 1839.

first time had listened to a sermon in the chapel whose erection had caused him some humiliation. Afterwards he had requested Cross to prevail upon his colleagues at Somosomo to flee lest they be hurt in what Seru believed was to be an impending Bauan attack. He had assured Cross then that he would listen more attentively to his religion when the current war was over.¹ The response had been an evasion. The chances of that war being the last were as unlikely as his adoption of the women's skirt, the liku, as his clothing. Nor did he appreciate Cross's continual failure to comply with accepted etiquette and grant him as a gift any item which caught his chiefly eye. Thus he was in an unfriendly mood when on a later occasion he was awoken whilst lying on his mat with Adi Samanunu. Into his bure, Mataiweilagi, had come Cross and his superior, the Reverend John Waterhouse on a visit to the group. They had just come from Tancoa's recently built house where they had been graciously treated and kindly indulged. Seru had shaken hands absent-mindedly with the visiting dignitary and determined to be contrary. When asked if his wars would ever cease he had replied they would be unending and that the ideal conclusion would see everyone dead. He knew this to be a suitable time to embarrass Cross and accused him of hating him. Cakobau then switched to a discourse on the glories of war. His attitude had the desired effect. They had left him to his mat and his wives.²

1. Cross to Secretaries, 23 August 1840.

2. Cross had good reason for his refusal to give Cakobau gifts.

Cakobau wanted them free and had given little or nothing to them in gifts of food in the time they had been on Viwa. Their trade goods kept them from starvation. Cross to Secretaries, entry for 16 February 1840, in letter of 15 March 1841.

The lotu itself could not be dismissed so lightly. The sudden death of Cross from chronic dysentery in October 1843 forced Cakobau into a consideration of what impact his faith had made.¹ The Fijian response, complex as it was, had to date been understandable. Those who had embraced it with varying degrees of fervour had perfectly sensible reasons for doing so.

The most readily discernible appeal of the lotu appeared to be the promise of better health. Given the cataclysmic blow of the lila and cokadra epidemics this was hardly surprising. Tui Nayau's beloved daughter, Adi Tagici had embraced the lotu after a dangerous illness which defied the best efforts of the priests. The exotic medicine and the religion of its dispensers went logically hand in hand.² In similar fashion sickness had encouraged the priest, Rai of Koanaicake, Nadi, Vanua Levu to adopt the faith.³ The inhabitants of Ono Levu, southern Lau had also embraced the lotu for the same reason. A stranger from Nomuka who had seen Tongan Christians, had given them a garbled lead. Knowing that one day in seven was held sacred, those professing belief in the lotu blackened their faces and upper torsos, adorned their legs and arms, put on their best finery and spent the day marching about

1. Cross died on 15 October 1842.

2. Journal of James Calvert, 28 May 1842, micro. 163/35 and 11 July 1842, ibid. Journal of Thomas Williams, 30 June 1842. She was taken to the missionaries only after an immense quantity of food had been presented to the gods. The efforts to restore her to health had Tubou in a commotion.

3. Journal of John Hunt, 17, 20 May 1845, micro. 163/40, H.L.

armed with clubs and spears. On Bau itself the same impetus was revealed. Cakobau's own family including the Vunivalu himself, soon adopted the practice of augmenting herbal remedies with the missionaries' medicine.¹ This pursuit of health was no radical departure from tradition. It was an organic part of the fertility cult which had been dealt a numbing blow by disease.

The wish for power to mitigate the course and effects of disease merged readily with a desire for control of other tools of the lotu which appeared to be at the root of a culture whose technological capability was beyond that of Bau. One of the most outstanding differences between the lotu and traditional religious practice was its emphasis on a bible and thus literacy. The word of ancestors and the wish of the gods were revealed through the medium of possessed priests. The word and wishes of Jehovah were revealed through the bible. Whoever mastered the necessary skills had access to the word and whatever truth might therein be revealed. This fact had important implications. The mana of the Christian god, unlike the exclusivity of the gods of the leading families, could be tapped and exploited by anyone, chief or slave, man or woman. This fascination with literacy and the power that might be derived from it had won Cakobau's nephew, Ratu Ravulo to the belief in May 1840 just as it had temporarily attracted Kania and Qoliwasawasa. It would win many more.²

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1. This has been much discussed. See Memoirs of Mrs. Cargill, p.181 ff; Journal of Thomas Williams, 4 January 1842.
 2. Ratu Ravulo, the grandson of Tanoa, was the son of the Roko Tui Suva and Adi Kauona. He turned Christian on 17 May 1840. (Memoirs of Mrs. Cargill, s.d.) Literacy had fascinated the Ono Christians also (ibid, p.181) and the reaction to the press when it started operations gives some indication of the power of this appeal (ibid. pp.205,206.).

The spread of the lotu through Lau was hardly surprising. Oneata for example had long been influenced by Takai, a Fijian sent to Nuku'alofa when Malani, Taliai Tupou's predecessor, was Tui Nayau to seek instructions in the lotu.¹ The Tahitian catechists who had preceded the white missionaries and the ubiquitous Josua Mateinaniu had added their strength to that of Takai. More surprising was the phenomenon acted out on Oneata and visibly in Tuvuca, Moce, Yadrana, Yaro and elsewhere, of disaffected priests who encouraged and led the lotu. Faced with agnosticism after the epidemics some of the priests saw the lotu as a potent spiritual force which they could tap and thereby regain their lost standing in the community.²

The growth of the lotu was more complex than a desire for better health or literacy. There were those who professed allegiance to the faith to spite relatives or friends, at the death of loved ones, to avoid the effects of witchcraft, to avert

1. Journal of Thomas Williams, 11 April 1842.

2. For Tuvuca see Journal of Thomas Williams, 1 March 1841.

At Yadrana on Lakeba the priest Galulu "informed the Yadrana people that the lotuing of the people was not at all displeasing to the gods, and further that all the Gods had of late turned Christians!" (ibid, 24 September, 20 December 1842). See also the comments of Tukuna, head priest at Tubou, Calvert Journal, 2 November 1841, micro. 163/35, H.L. A priest at Moce told Calvert that "the gods of Mothe would join them at Lakeba, and they - the gods - would go in company to search fresh lands to the leeward"; ibid, 20 October 1841. In what way they perceived it more effective is a moot point of course. No doubt while some believed in the truth of the christian doctrine, others wished to boost the weak influence they had. (See Jackson in Erskine, op.cit., p.471). This priestly leadership in the spread of the lotu seems never to have been discussed.

the anger of chiefs: others who hoped to gain wealth, to rid themselves of wives they had tired of, others again who simply believed in the truth of the Christian message.¹ More typically of course, conversions, both short and long term, were a combination of these and other causes, the complexion of the lotu coloured by the patterns of rivalry, friendship and antagonism peculiar to each island.² The civil war which had developed in the Ono group was an expression of this: old envies were simply acted out along new lines.³ On Vanua Balavu, Tui Mavana was reluctant to allow the lotu to spread under Tawasi's protection in Yaro for he saw it as patent political expediency by an ambitious rival.⁴ On

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1. For the unkindness of a relative as a cause for apostasy as well as for turning Christian see Journal of Thomas Williams, Vol. 2, 13 August 1849. The desire to turn Christian to throw off an unwanted spouse was common. Calvert to Hunt 12 April 1842, micro. 163/38, H.L. Journal of John Hunt, 23 February 1842, micro. 163/40, H.L. It was no small thing to abandon a wife whom one married in traditional manner. When Varani married and later abandoned Tui Bua's daughter, he caused a good deal of tension. Mary Wallis, op.cit., 24 April 1845. Conversely refusal to give up many wives kept many chiefs nominal christians only. See Calvert, Journal, 22 August 1849, micro. 163/35, H.L.; R.B. Lyth, extract letter, Viwa, 6 January 1849, in W.M.N., no. 131, November 1849, entry for 16 November 1848.
 2. Calvert Journal, 29 July 1841, micro. 163/35.
 3. Journal of Thomas Williams, 22 January, 1 March 1843, and see Calvert Journal, 6 March 1844, micro. 163/35.
 4. Journal of Thomas Williams, 2 December 1842. At Bua, the interest of Raitono, the matanivanua of Tui Bua, encouraged the lotu there, an interest cradled and developed by Josaiia Mateinaniu: W.M.N. May 1844, extract of letter, Hunt, Viwa, 6 June 1843. In Vanua Balavu, the Lomaloma chief, (Joseva) Bukarau showed an interest in the lotu as early as 1839 (Calvert, Journal, loc.cit., 11 August 1839). Its spread into Yaro may have been via the Onoata Christians who had relatives there; ibid, 6 March 1844.

Lakeba there was evidence that the non-lotu - lotu contingents could exist amicably: the men of Waciwaci village assisted the Waitabu Christians build their temple.¹ On Moce a non-lotu group offered a portion of the first fruits of arrowroot to the Christians there. All this was evidence of the complexity of the movement and its adaptability to many traditional demands. Nevertheless it seemed no more suitable now for Bau or for Cakobau himself than it ever had. The primary objective was to maintain internal unity and strength. Like Tui Kilakila, Cakobau saw the lotu as a threat to this objective.² His role as agent provocateur had a traditional if somewhat ironic antithesis in the attitude of his father. Both men were concerned with the successful conclusion of fighting should it break out. Their standing in the community depended on this. Tanoa, however, as installed Vunivalu, was more

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1. Calvert, Journal, micro. 163/35, 15 August 1841. The spread of Christianity was an enormously complex phenomenon. Naturally there were groups who turned Christian and by so doing insured that their rivals would not. (Later the Catholic-Wesleyan antipathy would be tapped. The classic case of Ritova, Tui Wainunu, and Ratu Qolenavanua was to be an instance of it.) But this does not explain the much more variegated patterns obvious in any area one chooses to research that make nonsense of an attempt to explain events by a simple "Christian" versus "Heathen" dichotomy.
 2. Tui Kilakila had effectively smothered the activities of the missionaries in Somosomo by his unequivocal opposition. He had further threatened the Christians on Vanua Balavu with death. Any who embraced the lotu did so, he believed, for ulterior motives and he would not indulge them. Calvert, Lakeba, Note, 18 March 1846, micro. 163/38, H.L.; The Journal of Thomas Williams, 19 September 1843.

conscious of the dangers of conflict on too many fronts. Like Cakobau, Tanoa's attitude to the lotu was ambivalent but the Vunivalu was inclined to think of it in a more favourable light - as a potentially positive political force. Cakobau did not have his father's diplomatic maturity or sensitivity. Nor as potential incumbent could this be expected. Their positions encouraged different stances.

Yet his preoccupation with violence did not necessarily debar him from membership of the lotu. His Tongan guests, some of his most ardent supporters, were nominal adherents to the belief in one God. It seemed no impediment to their enjoyment of war or women. It appeared to demand little fundamental change of personality or behaviour. Apart from their refusal to eat human flesh and the cloth some wore in preference to the malo, they were hardly distinguishable from any others. Indeed they were often the most unruly of groups. Like their predecessors who were basically transients they were arrogant, irresponsible, argumentative and belligerent towards all whom they considered their inferiors.¹ Cakobau was of course aware that their behaviour was not acceptable to the white missionaries who lectured the Tongans continually about what they saw as the immorality of their ways.² The problem

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1. In a refrain which was re-echoed again and again, by all the missionaries, Cross remarked about the Tongans on Bau at this time, "Their whole conduct has a very pernicious influence upon many of the Feejeans and tends to increase their natural hatred of Christianity". Cross to Secretaries, 23 August 1840.
 2. Journal of Thomas Williams, Vol. 1, 11 April 1842. Lasike had tired of the lotu and given up attending class. He threatened even to make a canoe house of the chapel; ibid, 8 March 1842.

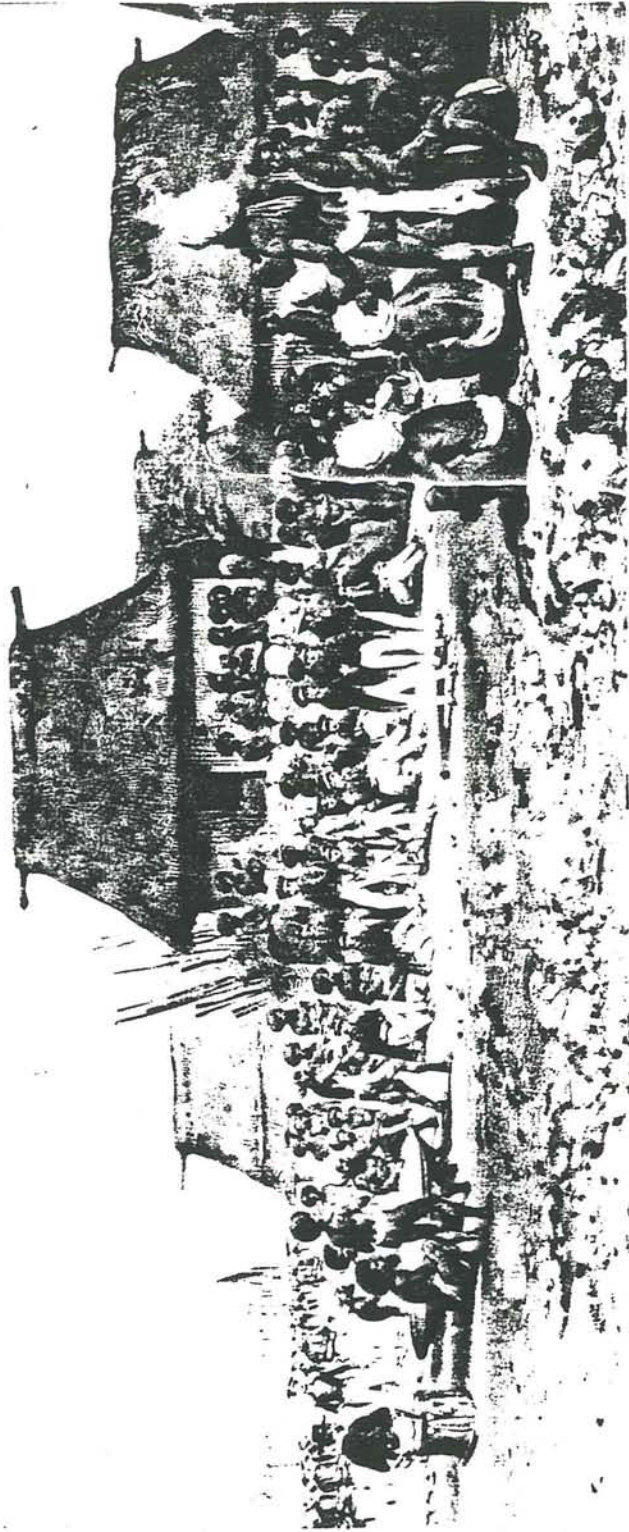
with the lotu remained much more basic, beyond the vagaries of imperfect votaries.¹ Violence was acceptable if the end was peace. This seemed to be not only impossible but undesirable. As son of the Vunivalu the attainment of some lasting peace appeared a form of political suicide.

The lotu was a complicated issue with only the Wesleyans to deal with. It was further complicated by the French. Bau's first experience of the French navy did little to enamour her of this power. Hard on the heels of the peace conference of 1838, Dumont D'Urville, captain of the Astrolabe, had arrived in Bauan waters and proceeded to attack and burn the Viwan capital in revenge for the part the Viwans were reputed to have played in the taking of the Aimable Josephine.² It had proved something of a melodramatic affair since the Viwans vanished after being forewarned. Nonetheless the attack was enough to frighten Namosimalua into an expedient adoption of the English lotu.³ Cakobau himself had just cause to feel extremely apprehensive when the French visited Bau since he had been as guilty as any Viwan of having conspired to take the brig.⁴

1. In 1840 the Tongan chief, Nuibalavu had two sons, one of whom, Savea was to become a prominent opponent of Taufa'ahau as a Catholic. Both had sailed to Tonga but drifted back. In fear of drowning they embraced the lotu. On their return their father made them apostacize; Journal of Thomas Williams, April 1842.
2. Dumont D'Urville, Voyage Au Pole du Sud et dans l'Océanie sur les corvettes L'Astrolabe et la Zélée. Histoire du Voyage, 10 vols. Paris 1842, Chapter xxxii.
3. Memoirs of Mrs. Cargill, p.214 ff.
4. Hunt's "Memoirs of Cross", micro 163/41, H.L. D'Urville, op.cit., p. "Le fils de Tanea, bien noirci et bien luisant, se tient avec sa garde en première ligne à son poste de combat. Il a la reputation d'être un vaillant guerrier".

Cakobau must have been standing there with mixed feelings. In the light of his actions, D'Urville's last comment is ironic.

FIGURE 31



The French on Bau, 1838. [D'Urville, 1846]. This is the green before Na Vatanitawaki. This temple of the Roko Tui Bau had been burned down prior to the French arrival. The structure illustrated was a temporary replacement. Note the size of the fanoa bowl. The tapa cloth headwear (sala) of the spectators, the attendants and cup-bearer, and the longer tail of the loin cloth, indicate chiefly rank.

Fortunately for him his part in the murder had remained undetected.

It was not merely that the French were yet another maritime threat to counter. They brought with them a more divisive force in the form of Roman Catholicism. The Tongans were the first to reflect the dangers that the lotu problem could pose with this added ingredient. When Tui Nayau had come to Bau in 1844 he had brought with him the usual complement of Tongans. Seru was displeased with this group who were arrogant and belligerent towards their hosts.¹ Catholicism seemed to be at the root of the problem. It had been spearheaded by a Tongan two years before and then was directed and controlled by French priests at Lakeba.² Cakobau was not pleased with this turn of events. It was likely that the Taufa'ahau-Tu'i Tonga antipathies of Tonga would spill over into Fiji and it was probable that they would find themselves acted

1. Journal of Thomas Williams, 25 September 1844.

2. Of course Catholicism had been around at the very outset of white contact. However it was given its major proselytizing thrust in the 1840s and after. In June 1842 Bishop Pompallier returning from Futuna, attempted to drop off Father Chevron at Lakeba but was refused permission to land. Instead a Tongan teacher was left at the Tongan settlement of Tarekitai (Journal of Thomas Williams, ibid, 30 June 1842). In August 1843 Father Bataillon of Wallis headed a new vicariate of Central Oceania and in August 1844, three white missionaries, Father Joseph Francois Roulleaux, Father Jean Baptiste Breheret and Brother Ammeti, together with two Wallesian catechists, Pako and Apolonia, started work in Namuka after they had been refused landing at Lakeba. They soon moved to Lakeba and stayed. See Brother Peter, "A survey of the Catholic Mission in Fiji", T and P of F.S., 40-44, December 1953. Calvert, 11 October 1844, micro. 163/35, H.L. and Calvert to Hunt 1844, micro. 163/38.

out in a Wesleyan-Catholic conflict. Jamesi Banuvi, the son of Laufilitonga, the Tu'i Tonga, lived in Tubou. The fact that Tui Kilakila was himself related to the Tu'i Tonga meant that many of the Somosomo Tongans were sympathizers of Laufilitonga.¹ Seru did not want entanglements with the French and was uneasy about the new development. If it spread the question of the lotu would be considerably more complicated. His initial feelings of unease about the spread of Catholicism amongst Tongans in Lakeba were increased when he learnt of the arrival of a French vessel there and the growth of adherents to the Catholic version of God. The converts as expected were adherents of the Tu'i Tonga.²

Cakobau was alert to the dangers of Catholicism and the French and was quick to distinguish the different attitudes of two nations to secular might and sacred activity. Where the English drew a recognizable line between them the French were not so punctilious. When the French took over Tahiti, largely through the instrumentality of their priests' demands, the news spread rapidly through the islands. It was a pattern which conceivably could be repeated in Fiji.³ Cakobau had been disgusted at Namosimalua's pragmatic adoption of the English

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1. Mary Calvert to Mrs. Hunt, Lakeba, 31 October 1845, micro. 163/41, H.L. 'Lakeba Note'; October 1845, p.11, micro. 163/38.
 2. Journal of Thomas Williams, 29 December 1846; Watsford to Williams, Ono, 6 November 1846, Letters to Thomas Williams; Watsford to Hunt, 10 December 1846, micro. 163/41, H.L.
There were real fears that the spiritual tyranny of Sailasi Faone at Ono had alienated so many that the place was ripe for catholicism. He had men beaten for the most trivial offences and had attacked Calvert from the pulpit because he had stopped his accumulation of property on the island.
 3. Calvert Journal, 1 October 1849, micro. 163/35, H.L.

lotu but he was not unwilling to pursue a similar course of action when circumstances suggested the wisdom of such a move. As a long practised diplomat Cakobau, confident that the English had no designs on Bau or its surrounds, decided to flirt with the Wesleyans and by implication the English government. This called for a lowering of the club, the substitution of a smile for a snarl. He commenced his bid for support by sailing to Viwa in March 1847 to assure the missionaries he was perfectly satisfied with the English lotu and that he intended to adopt the belief some time in the future. He sweetened the conversation with the assurance he wanted absolutely nothing to do with France. To convince his listeners of his sincerity and as a symbol of his rejection of the French he sent to Viwa the following day commanding English flags to be flown.¹

A further opportunity to encourage English support as a buffer to the French presented itself in September the same year when Walter Lawry, the English missionaries' superintendent, arrived in the group. Cakobau visited him at Viwa and assured him of his goodwill towards the lotu by promising to persuade Tanoa to allow a missionary to live on Bau itself. During the talk he requested Lawry to write to Governor George Grey asking him to visit Fiji in a war steamer as an ally and friend.²

The French did nothing to alter Bauan prejudices against them or to endear themselves to the Bauan leadership. The

1. Wallis, op.cit., 15, 16 March 1847.

2. Ibid, 25 September 1847: Lawry Journal, extracts, 24 September 1847 in W.M.N., November 1848.

identification of Catholicism and the French flag was shown to be complete four years later in September 1851. The French brig, Etoile du Martin, Captain Cooney commanding, with Bishop Bataillon and a party of priests, anchored off Bau.¹ Seru went on board to see what excited such panic in the hearts of Calvert and his colleagues and to take the Frenchmen's measure. The presentation of two muskets was welcome. The request to land a missionary was not. The following day Cakobau listened to the Bishop at Mataiweilagi without enthusiasm. He accentuated his distance by then refusing to join him when he went to Tanoa at Muaidule. His aloofness had the desired effect. The Frenchmen did not press him further. Seru then stood back to watch the drama that unfolded on Viwa.

John Brown Williams was deeply involved in plots to land the Frenchmen on this island. A confirmed enemy of the Wesleyan missionaries, he had written to Tahiti and offered accommodation to priests should they wish to come, a move supported by other white residents who, like Edwin Heritage, objected to the Wesleyan refusal to educate and baptize their children. The Viwans did not share their views. When the boat with the Bishop and priests attempted to land it was pushed back and forced to return to the ship. The indignant captain claimed his flag had been insulted in the incident and that the Viwans had been armed. The possibility of violence spilling over to Bau was real enough for Cakobau to go aboard and disclaim any responsibility for the Viwan reaction. After considerable deliberation, the Frenchmen,

1. Calvert, extract of letter, Viwa, 31 July 1851, W.M.N.

On 13 September the brig anchored off Bau having landed two priests at Somosomo and having attempted to land two at Levuka.

chagrined as they were, decided the time was not opportune to force the issue and sailed back to Ovalau. Here they proved more successful. Tui Levuka wanted to keep his options open and did not oppose William Valentine's sale of land at Totogo to the Catholics. Their landing was aided by the Bauan chief, Nayagodamu, who Cakobau believed did it to spite him.¹ It was all proof to Seru that his rivals would use Catholicism to embarrass him whenever possible.²

Cakobau's perception of the extent of English-French antipathy and the way this could be exploited to Bau's advantage was confirmed even when he was the recipient of English abuse. Everard Home stepped ashore on Bau in October 1852 not prepared to mince words. In a reversal of previous policy he refused to

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1. Viwa Record, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 30 September 1851.
 2. An interesting example of precisely this phenomenon is the case of Sovea, the son of Niubalavu, who had adopted Catholicism, returned to Tonga from Lakeba and attempted to land at Nuku'alofa. He had boasted while in Lau that he would spread Catholicism there. Taufa'ahau recognized an enemy and forced him to sail to Pea. He eventually joined the enemies of Tupou at Houma; Richard Amos, extract of letter, Nuku'alofa, 7 November 1851, in W.M.N. January 1853, micro. 163/58, H.L. On Lakeba itself Tui Nayau's son, Puamau had adopted Catholicism a year before and had caused an uproar when he injured Lyth with a club. The incident put Tui Nayau in a very embarrassing position and exposed the thinness of his commitment to the Wesleyans; Lyth Journal, Lakeba, 23, 24, 25 December 1850, B536⁻¹, M.L.

shake Cakobau by the hand or to allow him to board his ship, the Calliope. Instead he subjected Cakobau to a scathing criticism in a remorseless attack on Bauan custom and Seru's part in the endless savagery. Nevertheless there was some relief in the Captain's warning to him about the spread of the Catholics. Seru could still count on the English-French antagonisms to divert attacks on himself and as insurance against a head-on confrontation with either nation. Indeed soon after the Captain left his bure, two French priests entered and demanded that the Vunivalu's son replace property stolen by Bauan subjects on Ovalau. The priests were angry that the Wesleyans were attempting to re-establish themselves in Rewa after a long absence. Father Mathew had established a mission there ten months before and considered the area a Catholic field. He felt the Rewans had allowed the return of a native teacher only out of fear of the Calliope.¹ Seru refused to accept responsibility for the loss at Totogo and had no control over the situation in Rewa. It seemed best to be a spectator rather than a participant in the jealousies and resentments of contending missionaries there.

It was concern of a different nature that revealed Cakobau's ambivalence to the lotu. The chronic illness of one of his daughters by Adi Samanunu had caused him increasing stress.² When traditional medicines proved unsuccessful he did what Taliai Tupcu had done in response to Tagici's illness - he allowed his daughter

1. Viwa Record, 8 November, entries for 1, 2, 3 October 1852.

2. I have been unable to ascertain whether this is Adi Kakua or Adi Kawanavere, both of whom died young.

to embrace the lotu.¹ The medicine would be efficacious only in concert with the power who gave it its healing qualities. Seru's response was a measure not only of his love for his daughter but of his willingness to accept alternatives. It was also an expression of his continued questioning of the validity of his father's beliefs and the doubts he had long harboured about his gods. They were doubts not of their potency, which had after all been reaffirmed by his many victories as a warlord, but of their preoccupation - the destruction of one's adversary and the affirmation of one's ancestral legacy of mana. As the Vunivalu's adult son in the thick of war this focus was only logical. As the father of a critically ill daughter it was less so. Even when the child died Seru had no nurses strangled with her. More significantly he had made a major concession to the lotu during the Natewa campaign. He had not fought on the Christian sabbath.

Ironically the death of loved children was to show the lotu in a light Cakobau found appalling. It was on Viwa, cornerstone of Bau's bati, that the drama unfolded. The worry for Cakobau was neither Namosimalua nor his son Maisapai. Seru knew the extent of Namosimalua's profession of the lotu and his recent brutal beating of two of his wives in February 1845 confirmed his suspicions.² It was rather the change obvious in his most trusted and reliable military commander, Naqaravi, which was cause for concern.

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1. Extract of letter, Hunt, Viwa, 26 February 1844; extract of letter, Hunt 15 May 1844 in W.M.N. September 1845. Taliai Tupou did the same thing when his son, Matawalu fell ill. See Calvert, "Lakeba Note", October 1845, micro. 163/38, 5 February 1844.
 2. Wallis, op.cit., 24 February 1845.

Naqaravi was a nephew of Namosinalua and had played a major role in the taking of the French brig, the Aimable Josephine in 1834, a feat which earned him the name Varani (France). He had been the ideal fighting companion for Cakobau. Like many, he was young, courageous and ruthless. Unlike most he was loyal and dependable to the chief to whom he was allied. It had been he who had warned Cakobau of Koroi Wainiu's attempts to win Viwan support and who had been instrumental in the plot which ensnared the Namenans on Viwa in 1841. By 1845 Varani was showing a much greater depth of sincere interest in the lotu than Cakobau would have liked. He spent much time mastering its most noticeable feature - reading and writing. Varani's faith in the old gods had been greatly eroded by the deaths of two of his children despite the construction of a spirit house.¹ The deaths had shattered the warrior. In his grief he turned to the lotu for comfort and found it in the belief of a messiah. For Seru the possibility of the man embracing the lotu was an anathema. Yet so obviously engrossed was he in the doctrines of Hunt and the others that Seru felt obliged to speak to him at length. He requested Varani to wait for a more opportune time.² If Cakobau was willing to reason with a greatly respected friend he was less willing to indulge others. When a wife of Tanoa, who had lotued at Viwa, returned to Bau, Cakobau forced her to apostasize. He was sure her conversion had been inspired by her desire to avoid strangulation at Tanoa's death. He was determined she should die as befitting her rank and the demands of custom and legitimacy.³

1. Wallis, op.cit., 28 March 1845.

2. Ibid, 24 March 1845.

3. Ibid, 19 February 1845.

He could not dictate to Varani in such an arbitrary manner. Indeed after long and careful deliberation the man decided on a public acceptance of the lotu. It was for him a momentous step for he stood to lose a great deal. Unlike Namosimalua who had clung on to his wives to satisfy his own desire and political pressures, Varani planned to marry one and send his other three away. Such a step, he knew, could be disastrous particularly in the case of Tui Bua's daughter whose father would be deeply offended at her seeming rejection and the apparent slight and humiliation attendant upon it.¹ He also stood to lose the great influence he had developed as the master fisherman of the Viwan nets of support. Most of all he compromised his friendship with Cakobau, the friendship of warriors founded in blood and struggle against mutual enemies and sealed with the club, a friendship whose nature and pertinence was at no time more vital than at what then seemed, in May 1845, the final throes of the Rewan war. Yet it was a step he felt compelled by conscience to take. He was convinced that the death he had been instrumental in inflicting was wrong, that the preoccupation of his society with violence he had known all his life was unnatural, that his energies had been misplaced.² It was a major irony that only minutes after bowing to the new belief those same energies he had decided to redirect burst out in two murders of men under his protection - the Lasakauan chief, Nalila, and his father.

1. This was the case in fact; Wallis, op.cit., 24 April 1845.

2. Varani lotued on Good Friday, 21 March 1845. Watsford Journal, 21 March 1845 in E.M.N., September 1846, Wallis, s.d.; Watsford to General Secretaries, Viwa, 30 June 1845, entry for 21 March, FM 4/3044, M.L.

For Cakobau the murder of Nalila was an irrelevance dwarfed by the shock of Varani's action. It was a catastrophe. He had pleaded with his friend to desist and both knew the military implications of the move. Still he had persisted. If such a one had the personal strength to disobey him others for less lofty motives would follow in his train using the lotu as an expression of personal malice and contempt. Despite similar warnings to desist, a Namara chief soon imitated Varani's example.¹ The fears Seru had long entertained about the divisive potential of this new religion confronted him. Indeed when the news of Varani's action reached Somosomo, Nayagodamu, who was visiting his vasu land, wished Raivalita to join him in a similar adoption of the faith.² Seru had no illusions about these men and their hatred for him. Varani's conversion was disturbing apart from this. The man's deep conviction and compelling determination to lotu left him uneasy. The frustration expressed itself in a petulant anger. He sent a message to Varani never to visit Bau again or seek any favours. Henceforth he must go to his new God for food since he would receive none from him. It was the reaction of a man who felt at once deeply betrayed and confused.³

It was not to be an overwhelming triumph for the lotu however. Ratu Yavala of Cakaudrove had sent a woman as a new wife for Tanoa, partial payment for future aid. Namosimalua was, for his part,

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1. Hunt to Williams, Viwa, May (obscured) 1845, Letters to Thomas Williams.
 2. Hunt, Journal, 14 May 1845, micro. 163/40, H.L.
 3. Hunt to Lyth, 28 March 1845, letters to and from Lyth, A836, M.L.; Wallis, op.cit., 27, 28 March 1845.

obviously terrified at the anger he felt might be directed at him over the recent conversion. Mindful of Nalila's end he was instrumental in supplying ten corpses for the celebration feast. They were corpses he personally presented. Soon after this, Maisapai, his son, threw off his profession of the lotu and returned to the old beliefs. He had been offered one hundred fathoms of tapa cloth to do so.¹ Seru contented himself with visits to Viwa where he frightened the converts there with threats of impending destruction in the event their support was not forthcoming in future conflicts.² In this resolve he had a major problem. It was difficult to eradicate with the club something which was almost impossible to define.

By 1849 Cakobau's attitude to the lotu had softened. The missionary, John Hunt, had made a considerable impression on the Univalu's son. He was the gentlest of his kind and the most accomplished Fijian speaker. His premature death in 1848 completed the upheaval in the missionary camp begun when Thomas Jaggard had proved that missionaries had normal human appetites. His affair with a Lascar girl which ended in his disgrace, had been at the time, the gossip of the islet.³ After Hunt's death Seru allowed the lotu freedom of movement but stopped short of allowing a resident missionary on the islet. Increasingly it was women who attended the services he allowed at Sebi, Bau's wood and watering place.⁴ Adi Samanunu herself made a habit of attending the

1. Watsford, extract of Journal, W.M.N. September 1846.

2. Hunt, Journal, October 1845.

3. Lyth to Williams, Viwa, 29 August 1848 in Letters to Thomas Williams.

4. Women like Adi Samanunu played an important role in spreading Christianity.

preaching there. She was an undoubted influence in her husband's tolerance of the Christians.

Tui Nayau was aware of this Bauan forbearance towards the lotu and of Cakobau's dislike for Ratu Mara Kapaiwai. In October 1849 he decided to gamble on this. To the shock of the resident missionaries of Lakeba the seemingly obdurate and immovable Taliai Tupou made a public profession of Christianity to be followed the next day by his priest, Tukana, Tubou and others. It was soon clear what had encouraged this profound change of heart. A day before his miraculous transformation a canoe had arrived with the frightening news that Mara and an army of three hundred from Gau, Totoya and Moala were bearing down on the island. Apparently the slights and insults he had suffered at the hands of Lualala with the ready connivance of the Vatuwaqa incumbent had become insufferable and he meant to make his outrage more tangible.¹ Tui Nayau's adoption of the faith had the desired effect. Josaia Lausi'i, Tevita 'Unga and Tu'i Pelehake headed the powerful Tongan community which immediately espoused Taliai Tupou's cause.²

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1. See Calvert Journal, 15 January 1848, micro. 163/35 H.L. After yet another dispute with Lualala, this time at Mualavu, Mara had ordered the Yaro people of Vanua Balavu to close up their town and not permit Tongans to land. He had subsequently attempted to enlist Taufa'ahau's son, Tevita 'Unga to have certain Tongan chiefs killed; Lyth, copy of the letter to Brethren, Lakeba, 29 October 1849, B531⁻¹, M.L.
 2. Lyth considered the conversion of Tui Nayau as the end result of a long process of thought. The Reverend John Malvern was rather less naive. He was certain that Mara's invasion was the immediate cause; Lyth, extract of letter, Lakeba, 31 January 1850; Malvern, extract of letter, Lakeba, 23 March 1850, in W.M.N., no.144, December 1850. The canoe with the warning of his impending arrival came on Thursday, 18 October 1849. Tui Nayau lotued on the 19th. and Mara came on Saturday, the 20 th.

As Mara anchored his canoe, the Uluilakeba with six others a mere musket shot from the shore, he was blocked by a mass of men both Tongan and Fijian more menacing than his own warriors. Only Mara and his companion, Koro i Toa, were allowed to enter the Bauan village of Levuka while 'Unga ordered the others back to their canoes at the risk of their lives. There they stayed all night hungry, cold and miserable before the heavily guarded beach while their mortified leader sought shelter with Koroiradinibau, the Butoni head. The next day he had to beg for his life before being taken to Tui Nayau's house, Vatuwaqa, and rebuked by Tu'i Pelehake. Taliai Tupou was delighted with the success of his plan and could afford to be magnanimous. Indeed he made a point of softening the blow for now his primary concern was to avoid a Bauan backlash with Cakobau directing the sting. He made immediate plans to send a scro to Seru assuring him of his loyalty. To protect his flanks he sent a strongly-worded letter to Taufa'ahau in which he claimed heathen persecution. In a straight forward bid for military support, Taliai Tupou also beguiled the Tongan King with promises of increased influence.¹ Defensive fences were also erected should the worst occur.² Mara, as pathetic as a drenched puppy, quietly took his leave two days after his aggressive arrival. The snarl had faded to a barely audible whimper.

1. Tui Nayau to Taufa'ahau, 5 November 1849, in Lyth, Journal, B536⁻¹, Mitchell Library. This letter was composed in Tongan by Lyth and since his Tongan was not fluent it is replete with mistakes which at times obscure the meaning.

2. Lyth to Williams, Lakeba, 22 November 1849, Letters to Thomas Williams, M.L.

Tui Nayau need not have worried. Cakobau smelled Namosimalua's brand of the lotu and recognized the conversion for what it was.¹ The entire episode was merely a rejection of Mara and therefore a source of amusement, not disquiet. When Mara sent a tabua from Moala requesting help Seru did not even go to the trouble of calling a meeting. Instead he requested Calvert to take a message of goodwill to Lakeba assuring the islanders of his happiness at their conversion.² He had permitted another of his sick daughters - this time by Adi Qalirea - to adopt the new faith. He listened attentively to Adi Samanunu's opinions; he supplied Calvert with a drua for his Nadi circuit and talked often and at length about the power of the faith and the apparent certainty of its spreading.³ His reaction to the Lakeba affair was the natural consequence of all this.

A crisis in Bua forced Cakobau into a reassessment of the pose he had struck. The complexion of the lotu was particularly complicated in this notoriously unstable region. After Rawaike's death in Bua, Makutu of Nadi (Vanua Levu) had been installed as Tui Bua and lived at Tiliva. His authority was disputed and then rejected by Tui Muru, Rawaike's son, who had occupied the other

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1. Namosimalua's wife, Vatea, had attempted to commit suicide in March 1849 by a traditional method of leaping from a precipice (rika i savu). She recovered from her injuries and shifted to Bau where she lived with Ratu Ravulo refusing to be reconciled with Namosimalua; Wallis, op.cit., 23 March 1849; Calvert, Journal, 22 December 1849, micro. 163/38, H.L.
 2. Calvert, Journal, 19 November 1849, ibid.
 3. Ibid. 20, 22 December 1849 and 7, 31 January, 7, 27 February 1850.

bank of the Bua river opposite Tiliva, at Vaturua. Warfare ensued. Tui Muru managed to drive Tui Bua and his sons, Bati Namu, Pita Tamai Vunisa, and Ra Masima out and occupied Tiliva himself. Vunidaga, Tui Bua's eldest son, had been raised by Tui Muru and sided with his uncle in the warfare. A temporary peace had been patched up when Lieutenant Hudson had visited during the American visit in May 1840, but warfare had broken out again a month later. Varenani had been invited up by Tui Bua to help. An inducement for his active support was the promise of Tui Bua's daughter as a wife, a reward he was to find an embarrassment when he adopted Christianity. The fighting however remained inconclusive. This was partly due to the complexity of the political environment there. The ambitions of the chief of Dama and those of interested Macuata chiefs further bedevilled any chances of a resolution of the conflict there in Bauan favour.¹

The incessant inter-village squabbles between Navavi, Raviravi, Vuya, Wairiki, Tavuloma, Dama, and Nasau, saw a bewildering array of alliances from which it was almost impossible to extract the lotu element.² When the Tiliva chapel had been built, food was sent from numerous non-lotu sources. After the murder of Batinamu, his brother and successor as Tui Bua, Pita Tamaiyunisa had adopted a much more accepting approach to the Christians so that in the heart of Bua tensions were not marked.³ It was in fact to the south in Dama that the reality of the

1. See Wilkes, op.cit., pp. 212 ff., p.222, p.306; Wallis, op.cit., entry for 27 July 1849.

2. Wallis, ibid, 6, 11 March 1849; Journal of Thomas Williams, 20 February, 14 March, 3 May 1849.

3. Batinamu was shot dead by a chief who took offense at his making too free with his pigs. Ibid, 12, 17 October 1849.

situation was most readily approached and where the key to the crisis lay. Here lived the insane lotu chief Ratu Joji Nala and his uncle, another Tui Bua.¹ Dama was involved in a war with Nasau, a neighbouring village when, suddenly and unexpectedly, Tui Bua lotued.² He did so for perfectly logical reasons. He wished to use his Christianity as a platform to gain hegemony over his old enemy, Werekoro, the chief of Navavi, and he wished to entrap and murder Varani. The old man reasoned that by adopting the lotu he could gain Christian aid without losing his traditional support as well as avenging the death of his men who had fallen at Varani's hands years before.³ The fact that Varani was himself now a Christian did not deter him in the least.

To achieve this second objective he arranged for Nawaca people to ambush Varani at a meeting supposedly convened to negotiate a peace. The plan misfired badly. A nervous Nawacan fired prematurely and Varani's party fled suspecting treachery. Ratu Joji however marched madly at the astonished conspirators waving his walking stick at them and was butchered for his efforts. His uncle, horrified at the debacle his plot had become, fled away in dismay.⁴ When he regained his composure he set in train his

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1. This is not Pita Tamaivunisa. Tui Bua was also the title of the paramount of Dama. For Joji Nala's insanity, see Journal of Thomas Williams, 18 November 1849.
 2. Ibid; Walter Lawry, "A Secondary Missionary Visit", p.204 ff. in W.M.N., August 1851, micro, 163/58, H.L.
 3. Thomas Williams, extract of letter, Tiliiva, 21 February 1851, in W.M.N. December 1851, ibid; Journal of Thomas Williams, 8 January 1859. Joji Nala himself was suspected of trying to kill Varani because his own brother had been murdered by Varani in the 1845 wars in Bua; Journal of J. Hunt, Journal III, 27 May 1848, micro. 163/40, H.L.
 4. Journal of Thomas Williams, 13 December 1850.

first objective. Still posing as a Christian he prepared to launch an attack on his old enemies.

It was at this point that Seru was brought into the affair for Werekoro was related to Bau through the Roko Tui Bau and sent to him for advice. Seru recognized the use to which the lotu was being put and felt he had no option but to retaliate. He sent an assurance that he supported any Navavi counter attack and promised safety to those who wished to apostasize. Seru was immediately confronted by a frantic Calvert, who having received word the Dama-Navavi storm centre had spread, accused Cakobau of masterminding a concerted persecution of the lotu. Seru saw it in an entirely different light. He was simply supporting a related village against an opportunist enemy. The Dama chief may well have clothed traditional conflict in the sulu of the church but the political expediency of the move was as transparent as it was despicable. Others who had done the same would reap the same consequences. He therefore refused to supply Calvert with a canoe to go to Bua despite his threats of future punishment by the next man-of-war should a missionary be harmed.¹ After considerable hesitation he did allow Calvert to sail with Josaia Lausi'i who had arrived at Bau the previous month.² Seru had no quarrel with the Tongans living in the troubled area and was perfectly willing to afford them the protection of Lausi'i's warriors.

1. Calvert, Journal, 24, 25, 28 December 1850, micro. 163/35, H.L.

2. Ibid, 31 December 1850; Lyth Journal, 23 November 1850, B539, M.L. Josaia Lausi'i and Sisilo Tu'ipelehake were the most prominent and influential of the peripatetic Tongans at the time. Josaia had come to Bau in September 1848 to take the body of his daughter Mary from Viwa to Tonga. He was back at Bau in March 1849; Lyth Journal, 9 March 1849, B536⁻¹, M.L.

In the event the build up to the fight was more terrifying than the clash itself. Tui Kubulau's forces left Nasavu alone; Tui Levuka himself a recent shock convert to the lotu used his influence to keep Nawaido quiet; Pita Tamaivunisa maintained a strict neutrality and the violence was localized at the nerve centre - Dama.¹ Tui Bua of Dama, rather than a persecuted Christian chief resisting the merciless heathen, welcomed the fight. He had laid his plans for an assault on Navavi. Bau's intervention cooled his ardour; the death of two Tongans killed in a skirmish with Nawaci was the climax of the action. Seru agreed to a request to enforce a peace and sent Roko Tui Bau's man, Koroi Cokonauto to Bua. He convened a meeting and achieved an uneasy truce.² Seru had risked his long courtship of the English to fulfill a traditional obligation and had won on both fronts. When the crisis was over the missionaries were as receptive as ever to his offers of friendship.³

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1. Calvert Journal, 2, 3 January 1851. Tui Levuka had been hostile to the arrival of a teacher to instruct the kai loma (mixed blood) children of whites on Ovalau but soon embraced the lotu himself and requested a permanent missionary. As was soon obvious, his motive was political expediency; Calvert, extract of letter, 12 September 1850, W.M.N., May 1851, micro. 163/58, H.L.
 2. Ratu Isikia Vunidogo, (the former Tui Bua's eldest son) Ratu Werekoro of Navavi, the chiefs of Na Gaga, Tavuloma and Nasau met. Tui Bua of Dama was a noticeable absentee. Calvert Journal, loc.cit., 4, 10, 12 January 1851; Journal of Thomas Williams, 8, 10, 11 January 1851; Calvert, extract of letter, 29 March 1851, micro. 163/58, H.L. This conflict is completely misunderstood if viewed as an example of a heathen-christian conflict. See Journal of Thomas Williams, 11 November, 31 December 1851.
 3. Calvert, extract of letter, loc. cit.,

Cakobau's decline in fortune was of his own making. He had determined in late 1851 to gain possession of a European ship which he could use as a military vessel. By successfully attaining such a goal he would demonstrate to the state his mana, his ability to possess and master that portion of foreign technology that the Bauans as a maritime state prized over all else. He would consolidate his claim to the title his father's death would leave vacant and perhaps assure himself of mastery within the Bauan domains. With more of the same vessels he could attempt to extend Bauan power beyond those limits imposed by kinship and dependence on the Lauan hardwoods. In this design he made a fundamental error: he failed to win Bauan approval for his quest for a vessel and so threatened all of his considerable gains prior to 1851. Not content with one disastrous expedition to Macuata to fish for the bicho do mar needed to pay for such a vessel, he ventured forth a second time to highlight his misjudgement of the Bauan mood. He compounded his neglect as provider of feasts on this second voyage by antagonising that group of men who insured his continued success in Bau - the bati, men whose approval he had carefully nurtured and cultivated.

The delta war with Rewa assumed threatening proportions not least by its very longevity. The dangers of a prolonged feud with high vasu sharing a common border had been clear before the outbreak of war in 1843. The murder of Kania in 1845 had not seen the resolution the Bauan leadership had hoped for. On the contrary, the debauched Cokonauta was replaced by the awesome Qaranigio who had managed to enlist wide support despite attempted reconciliations

from both sides. Cakobau had made a serious tactical error when he had refused Buretu's soro on Qaraniqio's behalf and lost a major Bauan village to the opposition. He had promised Adi Loaloakubou to the paramount Nakelo: he had then given her to Gavidi and alienated large sections of support in Rewa's most fearsome bati vanua.

Cakobau's treatment of Mara had not been unreasonable: he was an obvious threat as a disgruntled rival. Mara's endless humiliations at Tongan hands in Lau were Seru's indirect method of control. However, in his frustrating attempts to gather dri in Macuata he inflicted a petty humiliation on Mara by ordering him to collect arrowroot, a demand which sent Mara into Qaraniqio's camp and which strengthened the enemy hand. The final negotiations over the schooner, the Thakombau, a mortifying display of his recent poor judgement, did little for his status despite the fact that he had his vessel.

Notwithstanding these lapses, Cakobau had established himself as the prime contender for the title at his father's death. He performed the strangulation of Tanoa's widows in a state of near hysteria and thus fulfilled the final expectation of the state which would install him. He faced immediate opposition in the form of a Kaba rejection of him. Ironically the ship stores of the Thakombau were housed in that very village.

The leading chiefs of the Yavusa Kubuna, of the Bauan mainland, of the Butoni and Kai Levuka of Lau did not share the Kaban attitude and accepted Cakobau as a suitable candidate for installation as Vunivalu. He attained the three titles, Tui Kaba,

Vunivalu and finally, Tui Levuka to achieve a lifetime ambition. Immediately an attack was launched on Kaba. It would be an example of the new Vunivalu's power. It was a dismal failure, a failure Cakobau compounded by alienating the Vusaradave chief, Koroi Ravulo. This chief fled to Ovalau where he was able to fortify a front against Cakobau made up of Tui Levuka, Mara, the Lovoni hill tribesmen and the Levuka whites.¹

This front was not in itself to pose a grave threat for it was torn by dissension. It was nonetheless to remove Cakobau's most loyal ally. When Ritova had decided to join his forces with

1. The Levuka whites had incurred Cakobau's wrath in 1844 by protecting Charles Pickering, a prominent European resident who had been suspected of enlisting Lakeban support for Kania and Qaraniqio. Despite a soro from David Whippy, Cakobau evicted the whole community of thirty whites and one hundred and twenty-seven Fijians. They settled at Nawaido, Vanua Levu, where they remained for some years before returning to Levuka. (Hunt, extract of letter, 29 July 1844, 21 May 1845, micro. 163/40, H.L.) In their absence Levuka was plundered by a Lasakauan force against Cakobau's orders. (Hunt to Williams, 28 February 1846, Letters to Thomas Williams; Jagger, extract of letter, Viwa, 7 October 1846, W.M.N., September 1847, micro. 163/35, H.L.) In October 1853 an unknown incendiary lit a fire which destroyed a large part of white property in Levuka. Cakobau was blamed for he had recently cut off all resident white trade with Bau after the whites had attacked Malaki island to avenge the seizure of a cutter, the Wave, (Joseph Waterhouse, The King and People of Fiji, p.210 ff.). The whites gave Tui Levuka property to win the Lovoni tribesmen from their allegiance to Viwa.

those of Qaraniqio in May 1853, Varani had come to Cakobau offering his total support as a conciliator and negotiator.¹ Cakobau's anger over his conversion eight years before had evaporated and he accepted his old companion as a man free of artifice, a stark contrast to the deceased Namosomalua and his changeable son, Maisapai.² Varani had remained loyal to Cakobau even as his success had turned to failure. The Viwan had the greatest confidence that he could win back the allegiance of the Lovoni people to Bau. He sailed to Ovalau in October 1853 in an attempt to do so.

Varani arrived in the highlands to an almost deserted village; the bulk of the people had gone to Levuka to present a corpse as a symbol of their turning. He was welcomed and a messenger sent to the coast to receive instructions. Against objections of the Lovoni paramount it was agreed he should be murdered the following day. The party of assassins from Levuka was headed by a man who offered muskets and women as inducement and arrived in the highlands before daylight. As the sun rose, Varani with his party of six, walked innocently into the village and were set upon. The assassins were treated to an example of the Viwan chief's martial skills. He disarmed a would-be killer with ease and threw the captured club to the ground. His plea for sanity fell on deaf ears. The others merely shot him dead and

1. Viwa Record, 3 May 1853.

2. 'Isikeli' was the lotu name of Maisapai who had apostasized a number of times. Mara slipped in and out of nominal professions of Christianity as easily as he changed his malo. He lotued with Wetasau in 1846 after two or three earlier attempts, before abandoning it again. See Lyth, Lakeba Note, 18 March 1846, micro 163/421, H.L.

butchered the others of his party.¹

Cakobau had lost many friends and relatives in his lifetime. Nailatikau, his maternal brother, died prematurely. Tubuanakoro, his paternal half-brother, was murdered when Tanoa was exiled. His daughter had been cut down by sickness. Hunt, Lasike and Tupou Toutai were all dead. But these losses paled in comparison with that of Varani. An age-mate who had shared so much of his life, the most trustworthy and courageous of friends had been brutally murdered in his service, after a reconciliation with him, killed when Seru's mastery of his environment was weakened, a tragic symbol of his declining influence.

Taufa'ahau's brief visit soon after this murder was a timely reminder of the success the neighbouring lotu chief had achieved as champion of Christianity in Tonga.² The priests did nothing to counter this impression. Since 1851 assaults on Rewan villages had enjoyed little success although there had been many promises to the contrary by the mediums on Bau. After an abortive attack in August 1851 Seru had been so furious he had refused to send them the food always given to them on return from battle.

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1. Four of the bodies were secured by Joseph Waterhouse at Levuka, including that of Varani. All were buried in a common grave. See Robert Young, Southern World ..., p.319 ff. Joseph Waterhouse, The King and People of Fiji, p.210 ff.
 2. Siaso did not attempt to persuade Cakobau to lotu, but he did have a word with Tui Kilakila who was still at Bau after Cakobau's installation as Vunivalu four months before. His efforts were wasted. Tui Kilakila argued with impeccable logic that "the lotu was very good for bad men but it was unnecessary for him as he possessed a good disposition and a heart quite right". Robert Young, op.cit., p.304.

Instead he had confined himself to the madrali, the act of thanks for his safe return.¹ Repeated attacks on Kaba after his installation were prefaced by promises of glorious victory which were not fulfilled. Cakobau's previous disillusion with the prophecies of his once reliable mediums hardened to disgust. When his fleet had returned from another failed attack in August 1854 he had refused even to remove his sala in the temple.²

The last vestiges of his belief in their promises had faded to vanishing point. He was now willing to allow for the first time a resident white missionary on Bau. Joseph Waterhouse arrived on the islet soon after Varani's death. Seru was willing to give the lotu a chance to prove itself in the vacuum of the priests' failures. Nonetheless he exposed Waterhouse to hardship for three months before he commenced the building of a mission house on the Bauan summit, largely at the urging of Adi Samanumu.³

As his health declined in adversity he became more receptive to the urgings of both Calvert and Waterhouse to embrace the lotu. His sickness and the failure of the gods were a powerful combination, pushing him in a direction he had contemplated and rejected so many times before. It was not a matter of despair. Cakobau had lost considerable ground it was true, but he commanded greater strength than what confronted him. Viwa, because of Varani's

1. Viwa Record, 7 August 1851.

2. Ibid, 2, 3, 4, 5 August 1851.

3. Calvert Journal, 14 December 1853; Calvert, extract of letter to William Boyce, Ovalau, 8 March 1854, in H.M.N., September 1854, micro. 163/59, H.L.

death, was with him as never before. Vugalei, Namara and Dravo were his loyal supporters as was the vast bulk of the matanitu; Tokatoka, incredibly, had remained in his camp while there was no mortal threat readily discernable among the Lasakau or Soso nor those of chiefly rank in the Yavusa Kubuna. Tui Nayau could be relied upon to keep Wetasau out of any plots against him; most of Lomaiviti was hostile to Ovalau -- even lowly Moturiki was exhausting Tui Levuka's military capacity and Nagalu of Namena was as vigorous in Cakobau's cause as was Seru's trusted confidant, Lolohea. His feelings were more the result of a growing conviction that Varani had made the right decision, that the lotu, its God and bible, might provide the path to better health, a rebirth of his former dynamism, a renaissance of his ability to inspire men and to control his life. There was no immediate military or political advantage to be gained by such a move. The enemies whom he faced were, with the exception of Qaraniqio, led by Christians whose enmity would be neither lessened nor increased by his adoption of the belief. If anything he would be risking his influence within the matanitu should the bati leaders take exception, a danger he would forestall by consultation with them should he decide to lotu. As Vunivalu he was both obliged to seek their agreement to such a step and in a unique position to gain their approval, a position he had not been in nine months before. A letter and a news clipping helped the non-literate Vunivalu make up his mind.

Mafile'o, a messenger sent by Ma'afu, arrived in April 1854 with a letter from Taufa'ahau and a news clipping from a Sydney newspaper.¹ Seru sat in his house and listened first to Tupou's

1. Lyth Journal, 20 April 1854, B542¹, M.L.

letter read by Calvert. The letter urged him to become a Christian and advised him that Tupou would come for his canoe after the next yam planting. It ended with the rather ambiguous concluding hope that the disturbances in Fiji would be settled before his arrival. It was an opportune time for such a message. The request to lotu was in harmony with his own inclinations. Should he need it Tongan help would probably be forthcoming. The obligation had already been created in the shape of the canoe. It was nonetheless plain that Taufa'ahau's rise to power had been most dramatic after his conversion to Christianity. He was a model Cakobau could hardly ignore.

The letter from the Sydney Morning Herald written by Consul Williams was a source of less content. It was an unrelenting condemnation of Bau as the most degraded spot on earth. Williams recommended that the whole of its inhabitants be obliterated by the guns of a ship of war.¹ Seru may have been furious that the man had the audacity to level such a verbal barrage. Yet it remained a fact that if any foreign power should so wish to level Bau he could do little to stop it. Like Taufa'ahau, the captains of foreign warships stood high in Cakobau's regard. Their continual exhortations to lotu probably had a greater effect upon him than any sermon.

The most startling example of this had been four years before. In July 1850, when Cakobau was assisting in the collection of firewood for a welcoming feast for Tui Kilakila, H.M.S. Bramble had appeared. Seru was about to go out to the vessel as was

1. Viwa Record, 1 May, entry for 25 April 1854.

his custom when Captain Pollard sent news he would not be received on board unless he gave assurances that no human victims would be killed to feed the Cakaudrove visitors. Seru had pondered the matter that night. His guests from Somosomo expected human flesh to be provided as it had been in the past but his deep respect for naval captains and his awareness of their repugnance at this custom were more compelling considerations. His own uncertainty about the value of the sacrifices was a raw nerve that they touched unerringly on every visit. This latest threat of complete rejection was sufficiently strong to push him into a unique decision. No-one was to be butchered. The only human flesh would be that sent from other dependencies. It was a shock order but he had the power to enforce it. After capitulating on this point he had boarded the Bramble to a nine gun salute.¹ With the strangulation of his father's widows behind him and his installation as Vunivalu a fact, a great barrier to adhering to the wishes of the captains for him to lotu was swept away.

Of the missionaries who had entreated him for years to join them, Hunt had left the most powerful impression. Calvert had built on this to become a trusted adviser, a reliable friend in his own right. Cakobau spent long hours with both him and Waterhouse as he wavered at the edge of conversion. By his side Adi Samanunu provided her own unique inducement to lotu. Eager for her husband to follow his children into the church, she exerted a

1. Pollard's Journal in Erskine, Journal of a Cruise ... p.285 ff. Calvert Journal, 30 June, 1, 2 July 1850, micro. 163/35, H.L. Calvert, extract of letter, 12 September 1850 in W.M.N., no.149, May 1851, micro. 163/58, H.L.

gentle but persistent authority over his mind and actions. They had turned to the Wesleyans in ill-health. The same logic now worked on him. His eldest son, Nailatikau, had been the latest and most significant member of his immediate family to be converted. This was a vital consideration. To be Vunivalu without prospective heirs was in itself a death. Should he as incumbent become a Christian his son's future and that of his progeny might well be assured. Cakobau could define the parameters of a new orthodoxy that could have a degree of permanence his forebears would not have thought possible.

He had been conspicuously successful as a warrior by propitiating his gods. This was no longer the case. Failure had followed failure. The adoption of the lotu offered the possibilities of reversing this trend. He faced a problem here. He had mastered certain techniques needed to manipulate his peers and inferiors within the Fijian social milieu. To function successfully in an environment dominated by a new sacred paramount he would need to devote a good deal more of his energies to the mastery of reading and writing than he had to date. Literacy might well provide the key to complete understanding of the new ideology and its attendant technology. Yet the effort would be worthwhile for the new God united both the functions of Cagawalu and Ratu-maibulu in the one deity. As its most prominent convert, Cakobau might undermine totally the prestige of the Roko Tui Bau as Taufa'ahau had done to the Tu'i Tonga.

Cakobau had been nurtured to appreciate one view of life. He had had this sorely challenged by the world view of outsiders.

It had been a challenge which had set up a mental conflict he had failed to resolve. He appeared surrounded by avarice, lust, deceit and vindictiveness. A leader had to accept the consequences of this, to predict and control. Seru had done so for years. His inability to reconcile opposing forces, to achieve a satisfactory compromise, had taken its toll.¹ The habitual apprehension, mistrust and subterfuge which he had learnt to handle with finesse had become increasingly cloudbanks that obscured his leader's vision and distorted his judgement. He had been born into a society not recovered from the nightmare of shattering epidemics. They had torn at the fabric of social life. The survivors were intimates of suffering and loss. Intertribal and intra-family hostilities were channelled into a preoccupation with violence and death. The responsibilities that this preoccupation engendered devolved on the Vunivalu. The intense strains, the extreme psychological demands in this stifling atmosphere of duplicity, suspicion and hatred had remained unrelieved. The pressures for Cakobau in success had been manageable --- he had been instrumental in fomenting these emotions. In failure they became insufferable.

The decision he now made was built upon the desire for power. He had to develop a workable synthesis of his own and of a foreign culture which maintained and extended this power. He decided to lotu. It was not the act of an opportunist. It was the culmination of a lifetime's experience, an act of faith.

1. Ratu Sukuna, his son by Adi Qalirea was another of his children who had lotued for this reason. Viwa Record, May 1850.

a purposeful and bold act like that of Varani. He would incorporate a new paramount in the echelon of his beliefs while maintaining due recognition of his ancestors. He convened a council on Bau of all significant chiefs and informed them of his intention to lotu the following sabbath.¹ The bose, prepared for such an announcement, promised to support the move. Seru was ready.

The day before was spent preparing a huge feast of celebration. Bales of Tongan tapa were distributed among those chosen to lotu with Cakobau. The cloth symbolized the new status as Christians. As the former death drum, Rogorogo i valu, was beaten, a select group of three hundred, representatives from all parts of the matanitu and from each of the chiefly families of his own yavusa, assembled at Ulunivuaka. Cakobau entered, preceded by his grey headed family priest, his long white beard a contrast to the many freshly shaven faces looking on. The old man led Seru to the left of the massive bure. There the Vunivalu stood with his male attendants, his children in front of him, his wives and concubines standing with the other women to his right. At the appropriate moment in the ceremony, Seru publically acknowledged the lotu, an act repeated by all those present who had not done so before. The agonizing was over. The step had been taken. After the feast had been consumed children and adults flocked to the mission house for reading lessons, the key to the bible, to understanding and control of the new religion. Cakobau's request for a

1. Viwa Record, May, entry for 27 April 1854.

2. Ibid, 30 April 1854; Calvert Journal, Viwa, 6 May 1854, micro. 163/35, H.L.; Calvert, extract of letter, Viwa, 20 May 1854 in W.M.N., January 1855, micro. 163/59, H.L.; Joseph Waterhouse, extract of letter, Bau, 1 June 1854, in W.M.N., May 1855.

demonstration of the matanitu's allegiance met with an enthusiastic response. His action was followed by a flood of conversions as thousands in the confederacy displayed their loyalty and fidelity.

Seru had a number of duties to perform before he could consider his conversion complete. It was essential to demote his old war god in a fitting manner. He therefore summoned the head priest of Cagawalu. The yagona he prepared for him was a farewell to the deity he had represented and ministered to.¹ Cakobau warned the man his privileges were at an end, that he must plant his own food, sit and drink like all others from this time on. Seru then requested the many tabua he had recently given the temple and the breastplate of turtle shell he had presented as a token of homage before the Kaba attack. He also advised the man to lotu immediately. The new religion was not, he cautioned, a dream which would vanish in the morning light but would be permanent. Jehovah was the new supreme deity.² The admonition having been delivered, he and the bete serving other gods were given a few days to absorb the bitter news before their temples were stripped. In the act most expressive of the new order, Seru ordered the chopping down of the ancient ironwood stand near the Bauan shore. Some of the carpenters responsible for that felling trembled while they worked, terrified of the evil that might befall them.

Seru however was not about to be intimidated by disgruntled

1. The farewell in the Fijian sense was a leave-taking with permission rather than an irrevocable severance of ties. Cagawalu was to be debased, not totally abandoned. The word tatau captures the spirit.

2. Calvert Journal, 6 May 1854, micro. 163/35, H.L.

gods or resentful bete. When the same head priest, in a desperate last attempt to frighten him into apostasy, threatened him with a horrible death for his rejection of Cagawalu, Cakobau grabbed a stick and flayed his back mercilessly. Quivering with pain and mortification the terrified man ran to Roko Tui Bau. The Vusaratu head had remained, naturally enough, Ratumaibulu's adherent, but could give the dejected bete little consolation. The Roko Tui Bau reasoned that the Vunivalu was their superior: the votaries of the war god had no option but to accept his will or suffer further whippings.¹

Cakobau's fears of quarrelling allies were greater than any qualms he still entertained about the vengeful nature of his old gods or the vindictiveness of their ministers. He had suspected that his conversion would have little effect on the old antagonisms both within and outside the matanitu and his suspicions soon proved correct. Roko Tui Veikau had again fallen out with Roko Tui Namata whom Seru was beginning to view as a trouble maker, a potential ally of Qaraniqio. He did nothing to antagonize this man whose turning would be catastrophic but applied all the pressure he could bring to bear on the antagonists to prevent an explosion between these two crucial bati leaders. To Seru's relief the Namara head resisted the desire to wage war. Instead he followed Cakobau's own lead by accepting the lotu.²

1. Calvert Journal, 7 June 1854, micro. 163/35, H.L.

2. Ibid, 24 May, 11 June 1854.

If the bati saw no contradiction in fighting for a Vunivalu turned Christian, the Lasakauans were confused as to the most appropriate course of action to take. Koli i Visawaqa sent his men to Cakobau to voice his uncertainty. Did his new religion mean they were obliged to cease their battles on his behalf? Seru had no intentions of losing their support nor of allowing his opponents any more latitude than they already had. Calvert had assured him the lotu did not forbid a leader defending his interests against his enemies. At Cakobau's request he repeated the sentiment to the Lasakauans. It was moreover, he argued, desirable that they lotu themselves and then be increasingly concerned to safeguard the Vunivalu against his foes. The Lasakauans accepted this. They fell in behind Cakobau for the moment.¹

It was as well he had their support at this point for Koroiravulo, who had moved from Sawakasa to Cautata, presented him with the greatest crisis to date of his brief tenure as Vunivalu. The Vusaradave chief's standing there was sufficient to bring the village not only into an open renunciation of Cakobau's authority but also into an alliance with Qaraniqio.² This was a threat far exceeding any Kaba posed, for Cautata stood shoulder to shoulder with Bau, accessible at low tide. The opportunities given his enemies by this calamity were considerable. It gave Roko Tui Dreketi a beach head for an attack on the islet. It became instantly a sanctuary for any who had any score to settle with Cakobau, a breeding ground for offensives against him, an attraction for the unsteady and ambitious on Bau itself.

1. Calvert Journal, 24 May 1854, micro. 163/35, H.L.

2. Ibid, 8 July 1854.

This repercussion was immediately obvious. Seru was told of rumours that Nayagodamu had agreed to lead a coup by killing him and set guards at his door to prevent assassination. If any proof were needed that the lotu had left old jealousies intact Seru had it now. Both men appeared at the sabbath service with heavily armed men, the atmosphere electric with latent violence.

The tension was unrelieved when Cakobau ended it by a bold naval sortie. Enemy canoes were confident the Vunivalu was preoccupied and boldly ferried warriors to Cautata, amassing a considerable army. Seru decided urgent action was called for. He upset their calculations by ordering twenty canoes to make a lightning raid on them. The attack was a brilliant success. It scattered the enemy and destroyed their leaders' hopes of a quick victory over the Vunivalu. The victory was doubly important for it led Nayagodamu to back off.¹

Seru had no time to be complacent. One rival being subdued another joined the opposition. Savenaca Naulivou had been sent to oversee the turning of a Nakelo village. Instead he united with his half-brothers' opponents.² His behaviour was even more alarming for he took with him some of Koli i Visawaqa's women, thus threatening a new crisis in the Lasakauan quarter. None of this anxiety did anything to improve the ulcers which continued to sap Cakobau's energies.³

1. Joseph Waterhouse, Vah-ta-ah, p.87 ff.

2. Joseph Waterhouse, The King and People of Fiji, p.266 ff.

3. Lyth Journal, 14 July 1854, B542⁻¹, M.L.

It was fascinating if slightly disconcerting to see the shape the lotu assumed in all of this. Koroiravulo had pressed Qaraniqio to become a Christian without success. Davawaqa reasoned that if all of Cakobau's enemies were to lotu it would be absurd to continue the fighting as it would be unseemly for men worshipping the same deity to fight each other. Nevertheless he himself had welcomed the missionary, Moore, to Lomanikoro. He showed him a kindness and hospitality he had never extended to his predecessors. It appeared as unreasonable to Qaraniqio as it once had to Cakobau to abandon his gods when they were proving effective and equally unreasonable to hinder the movements of the lotu which seemed if anything, a positive advantage to have around. Koroiravulo, unlike Qaraniqio, saw no contradiction in fighting as a Christian against the Vunivalu. He was vigorously campaigning for the strengthening and spread of the lotu block against Cakobau and urged the necessity for a teacher at Kaba.¹ Mara for his part was ambivalent. He too solicited Christian aid by claiming Cakobau was hypocritical in his profession but was worried that he might end up playing into the Vunivalu's hands. If the converts put a pacifist interpretation on their faith they might decide to stop fighting. Worse, they might develop an affinity for Cakobau and turn on Mara.²

1. Calvert Journal, 25 September 1854, loc.cit.

2. Ibid, 19 October 1854. Mara became increasingly concerned about this at Kaba. Waterhouse claimed that a murder plot against him at Kaba was only foiled by the intervention of Adi Vatea, who had come back into the church again and was living at Kaba with her new husband, Koroiravulo. Mara was suspected as the head of this plot. He resented Waterhouse's support of Cakobau and feared it would be contagious amongst the lotu community at Kaba. See Joseph Waterhouse, Vah-tah-ah, pp. 94, 111.

It was lotu adherents who precipitated a new crisis for the Vunivalu. His hopes that Cautata had represented the ultimate in shocks, were dashed on the shores of Muridua. The activities on the mainland seemed unimportant in comparison to the threatening stance that Koli i Visawaqa assumed. Seru, perhaps with a feeling of déjà vu, was informed that the war fences were to go up: the Lasakauans were to declare war on the Bau section of the islet. The Lasakauan head felt deeply aggrieved that the Bauans had made no attempt to recompense him after Naulivou's actions. His injured pride made him particularly open to the rich bribes of Mara and Qaraniqio which flowed in his direction daily. Cakobau realized that an internal struggle would prove fatal for him but there was very little he could do. He had already given Koli i Visawaqa a daughter and considerable property to ensure his loyalty. He felt his last chance to avoid bloodshed depended on whatever pressure the missionaries could exert. Calvert did not fail him. With Ratu Luke Matanababa of Viwa by his side, he matched the other bribes with an offer of many hatchets and buttressed this enticement with the threat of punishment by a ship of war if war broke out. The approach worked. The Lasakauan head concluded his interests were best served by remaining loyal.

The present crisis had been averted but Cakobau had no idea how long this would be the case.¹ Waterhouse attempted to convince him that he should institute a series of political reforms to win over his opponents, reforms which would seriously limit the powers he enjoyed as Vunivalu. Cakobau was grateful for Calvert's successful intervention on his behalf but found the suggestion

1. Calvert Journal, 23 October 1854, loc.cit.

repugnant. He refused to compromise his leadership in such a fashion. It seemed to him a negation of everything he had striven for. His enemies would interpret it as a sign of hopeless weakness, not largesse. If need be, Cakobau would die a chief.¹

Seru had in fact justifiable cause to feel increasingly confident that he would not buckle under the pressure. Mara's failure to complete the seduction of Koli i Visawaqa was a major blow to his opponent's hopes. Time was on the Vunivalu's side. It rotted the bow string of the opposing forces whose leadership was naturally inclined to loosen their arrows at each other. The internal emergency had put him on the back foot. It was time to take the initiative, to widen the gap separating Mara and Qaraniqio.

Using Koli i Visawaqa and Calvert as intermediaries he decided to attempt a meeting with the Bauan defectors. The presence of the British surveying ship, the Herald, in the group made the moment particularly opportune.² Its captain, Henry Mangles Denham, was the ideal man to act as conciliator. He was uninvolved but naturally inclined to press for law and order, an inclination likely to work in Seru's favour. Cakobau's two emissaries persuaded Denham to act as mediator. He left his ship at Levuka to arrive in a long boat at Bau a day before Dunn moored

1. Waterhouse, The King and People of Fiji, p.276 ff.

2. A nautical survey of the Fiji group had been recommended to Earl Grey by the Governor of New Zealand. The scheme won Government approval and was adopted by the Duke of Newcastle. The vessels selected were the 28 gun, H.M.S. Herald and a tender, the steam vessel, Torch. Captain Henry Mangles Denham, Fellow of the Royal Society, was placed in over-all command of the survey. W.M.N., August 1852, micro. 163/58, H.L.

off Viwa in the Dragon. Cakobau charmed his visitor and impressed him with the sincerity of his conversion. The captain returned to Levuka conscious of the need to investigate the whole situation and end the strife.¹ Koli i Visawaqa in the meantime felt insecure in his realigned loyalty to the Vunivalu and, eager to clarify his position, sailed to Kaba where he met with Mara and the Nakelo chief, Ragata. With Dunn's influence he prevailed on Mara to sail to the Dragon where he could discuss terms for peace. Mara's confidence of success had faded sufficiently to make him open to such an offer. He proceeded to the ship. Unknown to all the chiefs, Koli i Visawaqa included, Dunn had invited Cakobau aboard also. Both men were unaware of the others' presence on board until they stood face to face. Cakobau was shocked at the unexpected confrontation on neutral ground and maintained a stony silence. Seru finally broke the impasse by offering Mara his hand, a custom which had spread as rapidly as the broad axe. When Mara accepted the proffered hand both men sat down to a long discussion of their differences.²

Mara left the Dragon ready to bury his dispute with Cakobau. At the Vunivalu's request he went straight to Koroiravulo and asked him to join him on the Herald for a peace conference. Before making their decision they consulted with Qaraniqio. The Roko Tui Dreketi's total rejection of the idea was decisive. His clear-minded enmity was too powerful an argument in the face of the Bauan's doubts about the wisdom of these negotiations. He assured them it was nothing but a ploy to murder them all.³

1. Calvert Journal, 26, 28, 29 October, 1 November 1854.

2. Ibid., 1 November 1854.

3. Ibid.

The Court of Enquiry Denham conducted on the Herald therefore became a coconut stripped of most of its meat. It was not, however, a complete failure. Messrs. Whippy and Hunter, representing American and English interests at Levuka, promised not to continue their hostilities against Cakobau, so apparently realizing Seru's hopes of an end to the added complication of white involvement in his quarrels with older antagonists. As he expected Tui Levuka kept his distance.¹

Cakobau could now focus his energies on the mainland. Qaraniqio's gains of the Bauan villages of Buretu, Kaba and Cautata remained the most serious threats to his leadership and future influence.² These losses were undeniably severe blows but they had not been followed by a mass exodus of his allies. On the contrary, Kiuva was keeping Kaba fully occupied while Dravuni was proving a worthy adversary of Cautata.³ Cakobau's policy of sending the bodies of slain enemies that arrived at Bau back to their homes was a source of considerable confusion in the villages receiving the corpses. The new custom tended to lessen the deeper hatreds cannibalism had spawned and left Qaraniqio with the problem of finding a way to regain the initiative he had lost. Cakobau's mistakes had placed him within an arm's swing of his adversary's club, but by December 1854 he had recovered his balance.

1. Calvert Journal, 3 November 1854.

2. Nayagodamu in the meantime was kept too busy to brood. He was sent to the island of Koro to subdue rebel villages there. Ibid, 30 November 1854.

3. Ibid, 4, 6, 7, 10 December 1854.

CHAPTER ELEVEN: 1855.

Qaraniqio must have sensed the mood in Lomanikoro shifting rapidly to a desire for rapprochement with Bau. Eleven years of intermittent warfare accentuated by mind numbing defeats more memorable than any victory, had left the surviving leadership drained. It was largely the enormous charisma and single-minded resolve of the Roko Tui Dreketi that held the capital of the delta back from suing for peace. His dramatic gains of Kaba and Cautata had paradoxically worsened the crisis of confidence for the tantalising promise of success these advances portended had inspired fresh hopes that had not been realized. The resulting frustration ran deeper than mere disenchantment with Qaraniqio. It seemed that the people of the delta, like the Bauans, had had enough of the killing, the insecurity. The Vunivalu was alert to the possibilities these feelings engendered and had launched his own offensive by commencing a series of calls for peace through the missionary, Moore, appeals to lotu that were reaching an attentive audience.¹ Qaraniqio was not willing to prevent the spread of the lotu even if he had been able to. He was taking medicine from Moore for his own declining health and he needed lotu support. The major thrust he was planning would, moreover, bring him victory that would make the threatened change more welcome than repugnant. A lasting peace following success would leave him triumphant. In this he trusted not to Jehovah but to his gods. He had two large temples erected to ensure their support. The bete promised him that Bau would fall.

1. Calvert Journal, 18, 26 January 1855, micro. 163/35, H.L.

They were wrong. Qaraniqio instead suffered a massive stroke in January 1855, lay speechless on his mat for many hours and died.¹ It was perhaps fortunate for Cakobau that his old foe could make no dying requests to continue the planned attack, for had he done so, those who survived him would have been under a considerable moral obligation to comply. As it was the immediate response was a meeting at which it was agreed to open negotiations for peace with Bau. An end to the hostilities and the commencement of a new era of peace was the fervent wish of many at Lomanikoro. Others like the grizzled old chief of Nakelo were more cynical. He had spent a lifetime fighting Tokatoka and more recently his own nephew who had won Nakelo villages to Bau's side.² The result of the peace talks was for him unimportant. Whatever the result, life was drudgery, hardship, brutality and sorrow. Nothing would alter the brute facts of existence.³ The consensus was nevertheless for an end to the struggle.

The arrival of Rewan matanivanua must have been a moment of considerable satisfaction for Bau. Their own ambassadors were sent with an agreement to end the fighting and with a request to the Rewan leaders to lotu and thereby ensure a lasting peace. The hostilities were formally ended when the Rewans' presentation of property at Bau was accepted.⁴ The Vunivalu had good reason to be happy with the results of his diplomacy but he was not naive enough to expect that his hard core of opposition would simply

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1. Calvert Journal, 26 January 1855. He had been seriously weakened by dysentery: Toganivalu, An Island Kingdom.
 2. Calvert Journal, 11 May 1855.
 3. Ibid, 3 February 1855.
 4. Ibid, 5, 8, 9 February 1855.

vanish. There were those like Koroi Tui Viti, the chief of Naselai who felt strongly that the Vunivalu's lotu profession was motivated purely by political considerations. Others, including Ratu Rabici, the young chief of Lomanikoro believed that the missionaries had first seduced Cakobau by their medicine and then poisoned Qaraniqio. Joined by others who shared their feelings and by men who felt that the traditional gods were being mortally threatened by foreign interference they expressed their disgust by burning down the houses of both Moore and John Brown Williams, the latter absent on leave in the United States.¹

Mara arrived from Ovalau to find his primary source of support, Qaraniqio, gone. Having failed to persuade Qaraniqio to open talks with Cakobau on the Herald, he had abandoned ideas of friendship with the Vunivalu and totally committed himself to the attack on Bau which the Roko Tui Dreketi had promised to organize. His plans were now in tatters. Mara found himself left out on a limb: Koroiravulo and Naulivou were certain that the Vunivalu would have him put to death if he was captured. This certainty made Mara desperate but it was not this alone which now drove him on. After a brief liaison he had become deeply infatuated with Adi Loaloakubou, but knew Cakobau had control over her choice of husband and would never let him have her.² Before Mara had stood in the shadow of a great leader. With Qaraniqio dead, he had become the logical leader of resistance to Cakobau.

1. Calvert Journal, 9 February, 13, 14 May 1855.

2. Calvert to Waterhouse, copy of letter, Viwa, 29 May 1855, Methodist Church Overseas Mission, 323, M.L.

In this crisis he proved himself an accomplished diplomat. He could count on the covert co-operation of the whites, who despite assurances to the contrary, continued to nurse their quarrel against the Vunivalu. He could rely on the help of Tui Levuka because their mutual distrust was buried in a stronger fear of the Vunivalu, and on the Ovalau tribes who remained loyal through rich bribes. Buretu, which had never been defeated since it renounced Bau, had no doubts about the potency of its gods. The village was Mara's most powerful ally.¹ Kaba would remain in the anti-Vunivalu camp strongly influenced by Buretu and the belief they had no other option. Koroiravulo would keep Cautata's allegiance while miscellaneous villages of Sawakasa, Verata and Vugalei would add to Mara's support. Within Rewa his greatest hope lay in Nakelo. The villages still under the control of Tui Nakelo and Ragata his son would provide warriors if only to annoy Tokatoka. This strength would be augmented by a small contingent from Lakeba, fruit of his vasu rights, by those lotu adherents in Rewa whom he had persuaded would be better serving their interests by fighting on his side, by those many non-lotu individuals in Rewa who refused the lead of their superiors and were prepared to fight beside him.² He could also expect willing co-operation from Verata, ever ready to challenge a Bauan Vunivalu. Eleven years of killing had left the Vunivalu many uncompromising enemies who would dance to the one lali that gave them the greatest chance to vent their feelings. It did not matter that it was two Bauans, professed Christians, who sounded the drum so long as the beat was provided.³

1. Calvert, Journal, 11 May 1855.

2. Ibid, 10 March 1855.

3. Many Rewans who fought on Mara's side at Kaba had as their ultimate objective an attack on Lomanikoro for having settled their differences with Bau. Ibid, 7 April 1855.

The Vunivalu was not intimidated. His conclusion of peace with Rewa had rekindled his optimism. It had renewed faith in his own judgement, confirmed the wisdom of his conversion and neutralized a central area of enemy strength. His feeling of mastery was reinforced by the decision of the major chiefs of Lomanikoro in March 1855 to lotu. Their decision, after long consultation, to choose the Wesleyans rather than the Catholics was also gratifying. Catholicism in the delta would have signalled enmity in a new mould.¹ He may also have felt relief that it was Mara he now faced rather than the redoubtable Qaranigio. If Mara's latest failed attempts to buy over Koli i Visawaqa were an example of his leadership, Cakobau would have been justified in believing he had little to fear.² The peace with Rewa had in fact tightened his control on the islet. It had won the confidence of those who doubted he could function as a Christian, lifted their morale, stilled discontent. Even the Lasakauan head had been caught up in the prevailing mood and recommended immediate attacks on Kaba and Cautata. Seru however was anxious to apply peaceful pressure again. It was unlikely that the Lomanikoro lead would be followed by more unyielding enemies but Cakobau was willing to take his time to reach a non-violent settlement.

The appearance of thirty-six canoes from Tonga a few days later altered the complexion of the affair. Taufahau had come to collect the Ra Marama and familiarize himself more thoroughly with the group he knew only by report and two very brief visits. As was customary with such distinguished visitors, Tupou

1. Calvert Journal, 21 March 1855.

2. Ibid., 10 March 1855.

was requested to rest at the island of Moturiki while preparations were begun to receive him in fitting style. The King took the opportunity while there to comply with a request made of him by the French Governor of Tahiti who had recently paid him a visit at Nuku'alofa to pay his regards to the priests on Ovalau and deliver to them letters from their colleagues in Tonga. Taufa'ahau also thought it would be an appropriate gesture to send a kava root and tabua to Tui Levuka, expression of his pleasure that the man had lotued. A small canoe with twenty men set off to fulfill these objectives, ignorant of the danger they were exposing themselves to.¹

Mara had been informed long before that the Tongans were coming to Fiji. They had caused him much anguish and humiliation. Before, he had felt himself too weak to do much about it. Now he could avenge the innumerable slights he had suffered at their hands by appealing to the xenophobia of uncommitted or wavering tribes. He might thus strengthen his hand against the Vunivalu and deliver a long-dreamed of blow to both his enemies. If he could muster sufficient support on this basis he might negate any advantage the Tongan numbers would give the Vunivalu. If he could force a confrontation he would appeal to potential allies by posing as the centre of resistance to the Tongans and perhaps discredit Seru as a puppet of Tupou.² The canoe which neared the

1. Calvert Journal, 24 March 1855.

2. The whites on Ovalau were hostile to any suggestion of Tongan power. They may have feared for their security as landholders if the Tongans took over Ovalau; ibid, 10, 24 April 1855. Anti-Tongan feeling was no small thing. In 1862 when the situation was quite different, traditional enemies of Cakobau offered to fight with him if the threat of Tongan invasion was realized.

shore at Totogo was the ideal bait to set the trap. As the men took in sail, musket shots were fired at them. Tawaki, a near relative of Taufa'ahau, who was standing at the mast, was hit by a stray ball and mortally wounded. The Tongan crew held their fire. As they left the scene they saw Mara's canoe approaching. Its crew beckoned them to accompany him to Levuka. Luckily it was to leeward. They outran him and sailed directly to Taufa'ahau with the news. The King was furious. A peaceful mission had ended in the murder of his kinsman. He sailed immediately to Bau to inform the Vunivalu of the outrage. There the two men heard reports that confirmed Mara's guilt. He had presented tabua to various tribes asking them to join him against the Tongans.¹ Cakobau realized that Taufa'ahau would fight with him if he wished but he had avoided open violence recently and did not want a major battle if it could be prevented. Messengers were sent to Mara on consecutive days desiring a meeting. He not only refused to come but also exacerbated the situation by throwing out a challenge to meet both of them at Kaba.² As he had hoped his numbers had been swollen by anti-Tongan forces anxious for a fight. All of his allies had agreed to concentrate the bulk of their strength in one strong defensive position and there force an engagement with the enemy. Mara's one regret was that he had not been able to persuade them that Buretu was the most suitable place. The majority were for Kaba with its network of outer and inner protective fences that promised to contain any attack.

1. Calvert Journal, 24 March 1855.

2. Ibid, 26 March 1855.

Cakobau could not permit Mara's provocations to remain unanswered. Nor could he deny Taufahau his right to take part. The hostilities were preceded as always by appeals for supernatural guidance and strength. For the first time Seru's request for victory was to his new God. The new priesthood, the missionaries, led the prayer.¹

The Vunivalu had no wish to muster his entire strength for the approaching attack on Kaba. He had heard rumours that Verata and Ovalau forces would make raids on Dravuni, Viwa and Moturiki to coincide with the Kaba battle. Cakobau had no intentions of leaving these areas unprotected. He therefore chose to leave Namara and Namata at full strength and use Lasakau and Soso sailors to make a thrust against the long northern fence. His Bauan mainland warriors with his Rewa allies would advance on the western defences.² Taufahau agreed to lead the main body of the Tongan fleet from the south, force a beach head and commence a siege while his Vava'u sailors would attack from the east. The entire fleet sailed first to Kiuva where they waited for four days as the inland warriors assembled and the plans were laid to co-ordinate the offensive. The waiting left all on edge. The Vava'uans in particular were very impatient to start.³

The fleet advanced on Kaba in the early light of an April morning. As the canoes closed on the peninsula on three fronts,

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1. Calvert Journal, 2 April 1855.
 2. The situation in Namata was a fascinating example of the reaction of a Bauan bati area to Christianity. See Appendix 5b
 3. To avoid the accidental killing of allies it was agreed that the password "Ra Marama" would be used by the besiegers. The Tongans were likely to be confused as to the identity of those they encountered during the battle. Ibid, 3 April, 12 May 1855.

the defenders opened fire from the outermost fences. At the firing of a cannon, the attack was opened. Tauaf'ahau's Ha'apai and Tongatapu men gained the southern shore with the loss of one man. Adhering to agreement, he ordered his warriors to commence chopping down trees to construct their own protective fence, preliminary to the proposed siege. The Vava'uans on the eastern shore, however, having lost a number of men, abandoned thoughts of starving the defenders out, breached the first line of fences and rushed on the small village that constituted the Kaban defenders' primary outpost. Despite the deaths of several attackers in the open land before the village the defenders did not break the Vava'u advance. Instead they found themselves in desperate hand to hand fighting. The men holding the long northern fences were horrified to find their backs to the Tongans and were forced to abandon their positions. Some rushed to the aid of those under the immediate threat; others retreated inside the massive inner fence walls that surrounded the main village. Before the large body of warriors in Kaba had time to collect their wits, the Vava'uans had made a breach in the fence and were streaming through. Hard at their heels were Taufa'ahau's forces who had quickly adjusted their plans to suit conditions, followed by the Bauan and Rewan mainland forces. At such close quarters, the village thick with combatants, musket, club and spear took a fearful toll of men, women and children equalled only in recent times by the fall of Rewa when Kania was murdered. The defenders fought frantically and held the attackers successfully for over two hours before their position became impossible. In the uproar and pandemonium Mara escaped through a gap left by the Lasakauans on the northern fence.¹

1. Calvert Journal, 7 April 1855.

Koroiravulo was less fortunate. He was captured, bound and dragged to the canoes with over two hundred other prisoners as the village was pillaged and burnt. Those still at Cautata, Vatoa and Waicoko saw the smoke, lost heart and fled to Buretu. The attacks on Moturiki, Viwa and Dravuni were also repulsed. It completed a striking victory for the Vunivalu and the Tongan King.¹

It had also been a stunning demonstration that the new God appeared to favour the Vunivalu rather than the Bauan rebel leaders. Although the battle had not been fought as a lotu-non-lotu confrontation, it was scarcely surprising that the lotu was now viewed with renewed respect throughout Bau and Rewa. Many of those on Cakobau's side who had harboured grave doubts about the new faith, pushed them aside. Elsewhere the victory seemed an affirmation of the lotu's potency. For Buretu in particular the defeat had been a calamity. They had built a magnificent temple to ensure success which on past experience they had every reason to expect. The loss at Kaba had shaken their faith profoundly and inclined them to the lotu.² When Tui Nakelo set foot tremulously on Bau with his soro he was overwhelmed to find his captured son still alive and the rest of his men protected from the sun by a large sail. The only signs of true hostility were the bindings which cut cruelly into their flesh.³ So staggered was he by the change that he turned Christian on the spot. The Vunivalu, consistent with his behaviour before the attack, decided that an act of clemency was more appropriate than an act of vengeance. He pardoned Koroiravulo.

1. Calvert Journal, 7 April 1855.

2. See Calvert's comments, ibid, 15 May 1855.

3. Ibid, 9 April, 12 May 1855.

It appeared the Vunivalu had gauged the temper of the times to perfection. His conversion and his subsequent adherence to its principles had proven to be a social and political tour de force. The widespread desire for an end to hostilities after Kaba opened exciting new horizons for Cakobau. If he could persuade others to adopt Jehovah as their god new loyalties might be created, loyalties which he could appeal to now as a proven lotu warrior chief. It could be the means to break through the seemingly insuperable barrier of tribal jealousy, to create webs of support broader than the matanitu. This might be the base upon which he could substantiate the title, Tui Viti. Taufa'ahau was living proof it could be done.

The Verata strongholds of Kumi and Naloto stood out against Bau even after Na i vuruvuru had made its soro. Mara had fled inland to re-emerge at Kumi when he was unsuccessful in attempts to resurrect any Buretu and Makelo support. Here he was given a canoe to escape to Ovalau. Cakobau was increasingly confident in his friendship with Taufa'ahau and requested him to lead the fleet to subdue these villages. When the one hundred and forty canoes appeared off the Veratan coast six days after Kaba, the defenders lost heart. They complied with Cakobau's instructions to vacate their villages which were then burnt by the Tongans.¹

The Vunivalu had no intentions of remaining so deeply in debt to Tupou. He expressed the deep gratitude he felt for his ally's assistance by presenting the greatest gift he was able to offer: the Thakombau. It had nearly led to his ruin. Now it would be a symbol of his success.²

1. Calvert Journal, 13 April 1855.

2. Calvert to Waterhouse, copy of letter, Viwa, 29 May 1855.

Alluring as the prospect of increased power was, there was an aspect of lotu morality which Cakobau found great trouble coping with. The prospect of a monogamous life, which he would eventually have to face was no cause for joy. The thought of life without the familiar company of his formal wives, or the numerous lovers he had enjoyed, had little appeal. His latest infatuation made his love life particularly complicated. He had become obsessed with Adi Tagici who had returned to Lakeba after Tanoa's death. Seru sent a messenger to Lakeba requesting her to sail to Bau. He stilled the missionaries' disquiet by persuading Taufahau he intended simply to farewell the woman and had Siaosi join in the invitation to her to come.¹

Before she arrived Cakobau and Tupou agreed to sail the full Tongan fleet up the Wainibokasi to Lomanikoro both to formally accept the offer of peace and push for a more widespread acceptance of the lotu. Cakobau was looking for a peace he could exploit throughout the Rewa dominions including Kadva. Forty canoes paddled, sculled and sailed up the circuitous passage cut in the delta, led with consummate skill by Taufahau who commanded the Ra Marama. They docked first at Buretu.² The Vunivalu accepted the tabua and food offered by the Buretu people who were terrified at the unprecedented numbers of unruly and boisterous Tongans. The fleet then proceeded to Nakelo and reached it as night fell.³ The next day the Vunivalu and King Taufahau walked to the village

1. Calvert Journal, 17 April 1855.

2. Ibid, 11 May 1855. See also Appendix I.c.

3. Ibid, Tui Nakelo and Ragata came personally at night to make their offering to Cakobau.

of Tui Nakelo. Here the horrors that had been warfare in the delta were grimly displayed. The village was remarkable for the astonishing numbers of small sharpened stakes which thrust out from the numerous protective moats that surrounded the town. Its pond had seen scenes of notorious brutality. It was studded with ominous longer sharpened bamboo stakes. On these the corpses of Nakelo's Tokatoka enemies had been traditionally impaled. The response here was the same as that at Buretu. The delta was tired of death.

At Tokatoka Cakobau urged the paramount to sail with them to Rewa. The dangers this man had exposed himself to fighting on Bau's side against Nakelo and Lomanikoro were etched permanently on his face. One cheek was deeply scarred by a musket ball. Fearless in his opposition to Rewa he was petrified at the thought of accompanying Cakobau there, certain that the wizards in the capital would destroy him. The strains in the Tongan camp were also obvious here. Tupou was hard pressed to maintain discipline amongst his men who rushed an immense pile of sugarcane cut as a presentation.¹

When the fleet arrived at Lomanikoro Cakobau spoke at length with the lotu chiefs whom he enjoined to spread the faith, a desire he repeated at a meeting of the matanitu's leading men three days after his arrival.²

To ensure that the lotu would be accepted as readily in the south the canoes left the delta and headed for Kadavu.

1. Calvert Journal, 2 May 1855.

2. Ibid, 13, 14 May 1855.

Unfavourable winds took most to Beqa where Cakobau took the opportunity the presence of a large Tongan contingent afforded him to force the inhabitants of eight mountain villages to resettle on the coast and be reconciled with their lowland enemies.¹ This forced removal was followed up by militant proselytizing which resulted in one thousand nominal conversions.² Unpredictable winds continued and forced a large number of canoes, including Tupou's to Vatulele where the astonished inhabitants embraced the lotu in mortal horror with even less resistance than on Beqa. Cakobau for his part made a landfall at the Nabukelevu district of Kadavu and found similar ease in persuading thousands at Daveqele and Tavuki to lotu.³

The perimeters of the Rewan confederacy had displayed the same behaviour as the centre. The conclusion to be drawn was inescapable. Fijians had discovered, as Cakobau had, a way to correct the violent imbalance which had permeated society since the ravaging epidemics. In the process he had found a tool to transcend kinship loyalties. He had not abandoned the folk wisdom of his culture however. During his absence, his favourite son by Adi Qalireia, Ratu Sukuna, had died despite his lotu profession and the missionaries' medicine. If there was any anomaly in this

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1. Kuruduadua of Namosi had taken advantage of Rewan weakness to expand his own power on Beqa. It was his turtle and pigs that the visitors ate on their first night on the island.
 2. This was not of course, the end of old hatreds. Josaiia Lausi'i who arrived at Beqa a few days after Cakobau and Tupou had left, found that the mountain chiefs in league with Kuruduadua were plotting the murder of the coastal chief, Tui Sawau, and the teacher left there; Calvert Journal, 22 June, account of events, micro. 163/36, H.L.
 3. Ibid.

it was quickly resolved. Cakobau found that one of his son's female attendants had cared for the boy while she was pregnant. The presence of such a woman was, of course, enough to destroy all healing powers. Hence the death.¹

Nor could he bring himself to forget Tagici. She had come after receiving Taufahau's promise he could protect her and showed no enthusiasm in the face of Seru's overtures of affection. Waterhouse was appalled at what he considered such a serious lapse in Cakobau's otherwise impeccable behaviour and lectured him on the obligations his conversion placed on him. Unfortunately he broached the subject after Seru had had yet another request for her company unequivocally spurned and he was not in a fit state of mind to accept criticism on the matter. In his anger he insulted the missionary and sent Tagici fleeing to Taufahau for protection. The Tongan king, less frantic than Waterhouse, sympathized with the Vunivalu's predicament. Although he had grown accustomed to the company of Queen Salote who was with him on this visit, he knew the difficulties of adjusting to the principle of monogamy and the strains it could place on a man accustomed to great freedom in his choice of women. He convinced Seru that he was obliged by assurances given in the first instance to harbour the woman. To soften the blow Tupou offered Cakobau a double-barrelled fowling piece and a fine mat. Seru accepted this and was forced to accept one of the least palatable facts of his conversion:² his sweet days

1. Calvert Journal, 19 June 1855.

2. Ibid, undated fragment, after entry for 25 June 1855, micro. 163/36, H.L. At this point it was still only a principle. Cakobau was not baptized until 1857 when he formally accepted a monogamous marriage.

of dalliance were to be severely limited.

There was more encouragement for him with the news of Mara's movements. Captain Dunn had arrived at Ovalau from Tonga while Seru was still at Kadavu. He had talked Mara, Tui Levuka and the Ovalau whites into attempting a reconciliation with the Vunivalu. Before this had time to mature, Verata sensed a way to make the Vunivalu's life less comfortable and sent an agent provocateur, Tui Vau to scuttle the plan. This man informed Whippy that Mara was plotting to murder Tui Levuka hoping thereby to ingratiate himself with the Vunivalu and win pardon. Tui Levuka confronted Mara with the report which he denied absolutely.¹ The suspicions however poisoned relations enough to delay the proposed voyage to Viwa in the Dragon.

Both men felt increasingly insecure about their futures, and, unknown to Seru, began a flirtation with the Catholic priests. They focussed their charms on Bishop Bataillon. The chance of French protection was too attractive a possibility to ignore. Before their advances had gone very far however, they buried their mutual suspicions of each other, mustered their fears and sailed to Viwa. Whatever misgivings they may have held about Taufa'ahau the reports of the Vunivalu's leniency persuaded them there was hope for a safe settlement. In the event neither the Vunivalu nor the Tongan king had returned when the Dragon arrived. The meeting which ensued achieved nothing solid in the way of proposals being more an expression of good will.² It was enough to satisfy Cakobau when he was informed of the negotiations he had missed by only a few

1. Calvert Journal, 29 May, 15 June 1855.

2. Ibid, 18 June. Cakobau returned on 22 June.

days that the last obstacle to Bauan unity was about to be bridged.

He was to be disappointed. After returning to Ovalau from the meeting off Viwa, Mara and Tui Levuka had second thoughts about the wisdom of a repeat performance. They decided instead to reverse Cakobau's familiar game and use France against England with the expectation that one of these nations would give them succour or at least severely embarrass the Vunivalu. They visited the priest's home before Bataillon went to Sydney and promised him that they would both turn Catholic as soon as the Tongans left, on condition that he would send a French frigate to prevent a Bau-Ovalau war.¹ After the Bishop had sailed in the Dragon they approached Captain Denham of H.M.S. Herald, warned him of the French interest and offered to cede the island of Ovalau to Britain. Denham was unaware he was being used in a power play and was the ideal man to accept such an offer. He was markedly anti-French having seen them take New Caledonia and the Isle of Pines while he was surveying there. He sent an invitation to Cakobau and Taufa'ahau to attend the hoisting of the flag at Levuka.² Seru sent word to Denham that he would be only too happy to have

1. Calvert Journal, 17, 26 July 1855.

2. Ibid, 17 July 1855: Denham letters 1852-1856, under heading 'Hydrographic Notices', no. 2, 16 February 1856. Denham had sent a plan of the harbour at Levuka and of Ovalau, together with a brief account of British interests there. He was obviously anxious even at this date to have his government think seriously about annexation. On 24 July 1855, he drafted this letter:

"My dear Washington,
I trust you will be successful in moving the government to adopt Fiji as a British group".

These notes are in the possession of Dr. John Young, Adelaide University, South Australia .

British protection if it would bring peace but he would not consider such a step until such time as the six villages belonging to him on Ovalau were restored. Nor would he contemplate for a second the idea of British control of the land or its people. Anything more than the occasional visit of a British ship to ensure peace was unthinkable. When Denham realized he was being used he reversed his decision.¹

Mara's attempts to erect such protective fences of foreign support notwithstanding, the Vunivalu and King Taufa'ahau were still willing to attend a peace conference at Ovalau. Cakobau was anxious to see the outcome of the Somosomo uproar at first hand. Since Tupou was planning to return to Tonga within the month, Cakobau with Taufa'ahau's agreement suggested they travel first to Ovalau and from there to Cakaudrove before the king departed for his homeland. They therefore sailed with eleven canoes and the Thakombau to moor next to the Herald off Levuka in July 1855. The Catholic priests and David Whippy joined the apprehensive Bauans, Mara, Naulivou and Dranibaka together with Tui Levuka, as the grievances of every participant were aired. When all the speakers had finished, undoubtedly aware he was being listened to with utmost suspicion, the Vunivalu made a long conciliatory

1. The rashness of his initial reaction now came home to him. Not only would his superior, Captain Freeman, censure him if he took such an unauthorized step but he would be dangerously exceeding his instructions simply to report on affairs in Fiji. Eighteen years later, Goodenough and Layard also exceeded their instructions to report, forcing the issue of annexation by their actions. Boutwell's actions helped lay the groundwork for this.

speech. He begged all to bury their past differences and pledged he would punish no-one. His repeated assurances of goodwill were so credible that his listeners' fears of treachery faded. The final agreement reached was that the rebels would present their soro after Cakobau returned from his northern trip.¹

As the fleet left the Herald bound for Cakaudrove the Vunivalu had just cause to be brimful of confidence in his and Bau's future. Since his conversion all his major antagonists had been overcome; Qaraniqio by sudden death, Koroiravulo by force of arms, Mara and Naulivou by diplomacy. Similarly Cautata, Kaba and Buretu had been defeated; Rewa and Verata had sued for peace. His greatest threats had proved to be Bauan in origin, threats he had to meet to remain Vunivalu. The rewards of his victory promised to be considerable. Unlike his predecessors who had no respite from mortal danger before or after their installations Cakobau had the opportunity to formalize his power, to secure his and his children's position within the comparative safety of the lotu. With his public recognition of Adi Samanunu as his sole wife he could effectively disbar many of his sons by other women who would traditionally have challenged the next likely incumbent with every hope of success. The rivalries might never be stemmed but he and his sons by Adi Samanunu could appeal to a new orthodoxy. The meaning of legitimacy would be redefined. The change would constitute a veritable revolution in Bauan society.

If the Vunivalu needed any reminder of the destructive consequences of the old political mode he received it when the

1. Calvert Journal, loc.cit., 25 July 1855, micro 163/36, H.L.

fleet made Taveuni. He and Taufa'ahau discovered on arrival that the bloody internecine struggle that Seru had set in motion had resolved itself in favour of Adi Nabiri's children. Ratu Raivalita, younger brother of the murdered Ratu Vakalolo, had been duly installed as Tui Cakau, his capital at Wairiki. Cakobau and the King were welcomed with the greatest hospitality. Their hosts were at pains not to exacerbate a still tense situation by inviting hostilities from this direction. Raivalita chose to make allies of his illustrious guests and divert any hostile energies they might conceal into solving a problem of his own. The islanders of Rabi were completely unimpressed with the new regime and showed this by killing and eating Tui Cakau's men. Raivalita was able to interest Tupou in Rabi for it was believed that a canoe with twenty Tongans on board had drifted there eighteen months before where all had been butchered and eaten.

The Tongan response was evidence that adherence to the lotu did not diminish the wrath of warriors avenging an act of treachery nor lessen the respect with which an enemy needed to treat their leader. Taufa'ahau sailed the Thakombau to Rabi and sent seven men on shore to request a meeting. The islanders in turn sent a Tunuloa man out to the schooner, ostensibly to parley, but in fact to assassinate Tupou with a club hatchet. Losing courage he returned to shore at which point the seven men were slaughtered.¹ At this outrage Raivalita formally presented the island to Taufa'ahau and asked him to destroy the inhabitants.

1. Calvert Journal, 22 September 1855, report of events at Somosomo. Those who were murdered included Saimoni Sara, a local preacher who had gone with Tupou to Sydney, Galeb Gonedau, the Tongan ambassador to Bau, Vuna, a Tongan chief, Samuela Funaki and three others.

Seru felt that the murders had made it entirely a Tongan affair and he had no objections to Tui Cakau's offer. Instead he joined the expedition which bore down on Rabi. The attackers took a terrible revenge. They killed over three hundred. A further sixty drowned in their attempts to swim to the mainland.

This was the end of Tongan military involvement in Fiji for the present. When Taufa'ahau left Wairiki for Tongatapu his stay with the Vunivalu in Fiji had developed into a five month visit. Cakobau must have been conscious of the risk he had run by involving such a man in the struggle with Kaba and the subsequent operations in Rewa, Beqa, Kadavu and Cakaudrove. His enormous talent left even Ma'afu in his shadow. Tupou's unfailing attention to protocol however, his refusal to accept an offering from a defeated enemy unless sanctioned by the Vunivalu or until he had made it clear he was acting on Cakobau's behalf, may have allayed Seru's suspicions that the man's undeniable ambition extended as far west as Lau. The Vunivalu had seen with the unruly Vava'uans that Taufa'ahau had more than enough to occupy his attention at home. Furthermore, the Ra Marama and Thakombau were superb prizes for the assistance rendered. Further relations with Tupou built on the foundations of this extended encounter, promised to be amicable. He was a leader to be emulated.

Any tranquillity of mind born of success was, however, shattered in the furore that enveloped Cakobau on his return. He had been long accustomed to sharp reversals of fortune but the vehemence of this blow caught him completely unawares. In September, while Cakobau was returning so blithely home from Cakaudrove, Consul

Williams stepped ashore at Bau with a lieutenant from the United States ship of war, the John Adams, and formally demanded 30,000 dollars of the Vunivalu for losses suffered by American citizens in Fiji - to be paid in local products within twelve months. With them they carried two highly threatening letters from the bellicose captain of the United States warship, Commander Boutwell, a Catholic and a Southerner, a man absolutely determined to exact the sum demanded no matter what steps were necessary to do so.¹

To Williams' delight the grave doubts both Petigru and Magruder had entertained about him found no place in Boutwell's mind. He ignored his superior's instructions to emulate his predecessors and to investigate the complaint with impartiality and strict care. Instead he saw the issue with the perfect clarity of the extreme chauvinist, untroubled by doubts or misgivings. He would teach the savage that he could not insult the American flag with impunity nor destroy the property of its citizens.² With such a man behind him Williams discovered a new found confidence and attempted to bully Nayagodamu and other chiefs into signing a paper admitting the justice of his demand. Nayagodamu objected and instead gave his visitors women that night in the hope that this sort of payment might be enough. It did not work, for next morning they were equally strident in their demands. The two departed with a letter the chiefs had drafted the previous night that denied Bauan responsibility for any losses.

1. Calvert Journal, loc.cit., 29 September 1855.

2. Ibid. Consular Despatches from Laucala, Volume II, National Archives, Washington, cited in Dorrance, "Yankee Consul ...".

Seru must have been staggered by the resurrection of a demand he had considered buried. The irony of the situation was obvious. Just as he was feeling confident in his ability to extend his influence in the group sufficiently to give some solidity to his title, Tui Viti, an American Commander, on the basis of this label given to him prematurely by foreigners, was suing him for damages incurred years before in areas over which he had exercised minimal or no control. There appeared to be no basis for discussion as in the past, no opportunity to present his case or argue his innocence. The inflexibility and rigidity of Boutwell's position made him totally unresponsive to appeal from any quarter but Williams. He was no more likely to warm to Methodist intermediaries than to Cakobau and he would not be diverted from his course by any stratagem for protection that the Vunivalu might pursue such as the hoisting of the British flag. Should Denham unfurl the Union Jack, Boutwell would pull it down.¹

The one hope for relief vanished as quickly as it arose. Captain Bailey, Boutwell's immediate superior, arrived in the U.S.S. St. Mary's for a fleeting visit. Bailey was alarmed at Boutwell's belligerency and reprimanded him for exceeding his instructions. Unfortunately he left him in command of events with the command that he stick to his orders.² This censure did nothing to cool Boutwell's ardour. He refused to back off until he accomplished his objective of forcing the Vunivalu to accept liability for all American losses.

1. Consular Despatches, Volume II. Boutwell had been sent by his superior, Commander Mervine, with instructions to be just and to investigate American complaints with impartiality and fairness.

2. Despatches, Volume II .

Three weeks after his return Seru felt he had little option but to face the Commander on board the John Adams. With Joseph Waterhouse as his council he met Boutwell and his Board of Arbitration, made up of two of his own ship's officers, to hear the log of claims against him. The sum had mushroomed to over \$42 000, a sum he was made ultimately responsible for by virtue of his supposed claim to rule the whole group.¹ Despite the intense pressure to make him admit his liability, Cakobau disclaimed any responsibility for the debt. Four days later he was ordered on board again under threat of instant attack should he fail to appear. He stood before a table as his father had when Captain Wilkes had come fifteen years before. Then Seru had been aware of the threat these people posed and courted their friendship. That threat had materialized in the form of an uncompromising, unapproachable adversary. He had to agree to pay all the claimants through Williams, the sum adjusted to \$45 000 in local products within two years, and to consult the Consul if American interests were involved. If he failed to meet the clauses of the treaty he was to resign the government of Bau and to be extradited to the United States on the next visiting American ship of war.²

Cakobau refused to sign it. Repeatedly Boutwell rose as Seru sat at the table and threatened to take him to America immediately. The prospect of permanent removal from Fiji, the terror of disappearing without trace like Veidovi, was too

1. Consular Despatches, Volume II.

2. Ibid; Waterhouse to Mary Ann Padman, Huntsville, Bau, Fiji.
5 November 1855.

harrowing for Seru. The intimidation worked: he signed the treaty.¹ To show that he was capable of carrying out a threat, Boutwell shelled Vutia and other villages Williams claimed had injured United States citizens. He then sailed from the group.²

It was a devastating check to the advances the Vunivalu had made since Kaba. The paradox of his achievements lay before him. He had spent his adult life struggling for power and when it seemed he might well lose that struggle he had triumphed so completely that he had left his enemies gasping in his wake. Now it looked as though his very success had made him only more vulnerable to an outside power like the United States whose representatives could accuse him of failure to control his countrymen.

Unless he was willing to accept that the mastery he was developing in the group was illusory, Cakobau needed his friendship with Britain as never before. His first hope was that the American government would not endorse Boutwell's actions. Calvert therefore left for Sydney to try to persuade the United States Consul there that the claim was immoral. The other option was one the treaty suggested. If any great power annexed Fiji that nation would pay the debt. Should the Americans return to plague him, the Vunivalu would consider the possibility of approaching Britain to establish a protectorate. In this way the debt might be paid, and in the ensuing peace, free of the Americans, he could build on his status

1. Letter from Captain C.W. Hope to Sir J.B. Thurston in Thurston, J.B., Letters 1865-1874, T.I.

2. The account of the bombing appeared in the New York Observer, 21 February 1856, R.G. Ward, American Activities..., p.471, 472.

as the most prestigious Fijian chief negotiating with the foreigners, to extend his Bauan power base into areas in Fiji which would never have recognized him or Bau before.

APPENDICES

The Appendices are arranged thematically in five groups:

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- (a) "Canoe Building", Deve Toganivalu, Transactions of the Fijian Society, Suva, 1915. 277
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- (c) The Ra Marama under King Siaosi Taufa'ahau's command, Journal of James Calvert, Journal III, 11 May to 19 July, Vewa, Feejee, micro. 163-36, H.L. 295

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- (a) Putting on the masi, Memoirs of Mrs. Margaret Cargill by her Husband, John Mason, London, 1841, pp 115,116, 299
- (b) The buli yaca (the naming ceremony), Journal of John Hunt, 3 October 1840, micro. 163-40, H.L. 299
- (c) Marriage, Mary Wallis, Life in Feejee or Five Years among the Cannibals (By a Lady), Boston, 1851, pp 239-244, 303
- (d) Death, Memoirs of Mrs. Margaret Cargill by her Husband, John Mason, London, 1841. 306

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- (ii) Tokatoka, Rewa, Ibid, p.459. 311
- (iii) Vanua Vatu, Lau, The Journal of Thomas Williams, ed. G.C. Henderson, Vol. 2, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1931, p.380 ff. 311
- (iv) Bua, Vanua Levu, Journal of William Lockerby, eds. Sir Everard Im Thurn and L.C. Wharton, Hakluyt Society, London, 1925, p.27 ff. 312
- (b) Warfare in Bua, Ibid, p.41 ff. 314
- (c) The Bau-Rewa War, extract from the Journal of William Jagger in Missionary Notices of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, micro. 163/58, H.L., January to June 1844, 317

- (d) Cannibalism, William Endicott, Wrecked Among the Cannibals in the Fijis ... , Marine Research Society, Salem, Massachusetts, 1923, p.58 ff. 326

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- (a) Lolohea's narrative of events at Bau, Rev. R.B. Lyth, 7 September - 20 February 1850, B536⁻¹, 1101-1111 348
- (b) The Lotu in Namata, Journal of James Calvert, 12 September 1855, micro. 163-36, H.L. 353
- (c) Solevu of 1846, account of Thomas Williams in Mary Wallis, Life in Feejee or Five Years among the Cannibals (By a Lady), Boston, 1851, p.212 ff. 356

Group One: The Sea.

(a) "Canoe Building".

In this paper I will describe the building of, and all things connected with, Fijian canoes. There are four classes of Fijian canoes (1) the Takia, (2) the Waqā vakataū, (3) the camakau, (4) the waqā drua. I will give a description of each.

TAKIA

The takia were built in the hill country of the Rewa River, that is at Naitasiri, Nawaidina, Wainimala and Wainibuka; they were also built at Waimaro and Suva. The term takia is derived from the language of the hill country people; it consists of two words joined together, ta and kia; kia is the name for an axe in the hill country, and so they called those canoes takia because they were chopped (ta) with axes (kia). The takia were not built by the carpenter clans only, as other canoes were; all the hill people could make canoes. Canoes were made from many kinds of trees, they were made from hardwood and also from soft-wood; and the length of time they could be kept in use depended on the timber they were made from, if it was good hardwood they would last for a long time, but if it was softwood they would not be very long in going bad.

The takia were paddle-canoes, the hollowed out interior was not covered over, they were used as river-canoes and had no sails. Their paddles were regulated by the length of the canoe; if a long canoe it would have six or eight paddles; the outrigger was a light timber and floated on top of the water. The hill people use a vine called midri and other creeping plants from the bush as cord for the takia (that is, for tying the parts together) as there is no sinnet in the hills; they used bamboos for balers.

The people of the coast towns used to go and beg or buy takia for themselves from the hill people, to make use of in going about on the coast and in fishing. There are not so many takia nowadays, as they use flat-bottomed boats for going about in the river, on the coast, or in fishing.

WAQA VAKATAU

The takia is often made into a waqā vakataū. The coast towns,

or the fishermen, often bring takia from the hills, and then hand them over to the carpenters to vakatau them; that is to pare down two broad pieces of timber two or three spans wide to raise up the sides of the canoe, these are then bound on to the edges of the canoe with sinnet and are called the bava; then two pieces of timber are chopped for coverings for the ends and are called the tau. When the cross-beams to the outrigger are attached and the deck put on, it is called a waga vakatau. It is fitted with a sail, and two kinds of sails are used for the waga vakatau; one is the vakasave sail, which has a mast and halyards after the style of large canoes; the other is the dumu sail, which is not hauled up; it is lifted and pushed up spread out by the mast, and the mast of it is called the idumu. Sails such as these are used by the fishermen of Lasakau and the people of Bau. Two persons can sail the canoe with the dumu sail; but not so the vakasave sail as there is a lot of work about it.

CAMAKAU

The camakau is a large canoe and is built for sailing; they are built by the carpenter clan, or by Tongan carpenters. The whole canoe is cut out of one tree; except that some camakau which are intended to be long and large canoes are cut out of two trees, which are joined together at mid-length to be one canoe and are called veikoso. The outrigger is a single piece of timber which floats light.

If a chief, or a clan, or a town, desire that a canoe be cut for them, they will first take some whales' teeth, or other property, and present it ceremonially to the carpenters, to request them to build a canoe; and this is called the butabuta. When the butabuta has been performed the carpenters proceed to go and cut down the tree, and when cut down they drag it to the place where the canoe is to be built. The owners of the canoes always provide food for the carpenters, and when the canoe is finished a presentation of property is made. No ordinary man can originate the building of a canoe; the chiefs, men of energy, clans or towns can do so, as they are able to provide food for the carpenters and also to make the presentations of property.

The work of the carpenters depends on the provisions; if food is provided regularly they will put vim into their work and the canoe will be finished quickly; but if food is not provided they will not work, or only work a little. The carpenters have a proverb, "a

tata tu i kete", i.e., "the chopping is in the belly." The meaning of it is, if the belly is kept full the chopping can go on.

The camakau is used for sailing about to countries or islands when they go to make a feast, or go visiting; it was also used in war.

WAQA DRUA

The waga drua is an aristocratic canoe and consequently has conferred on it the name waga tabu. The building of a waga tabu originates with the high chiefs and wealthy chiefs; all the work of it and the food for the carpenters are levied. If a certain chief intends to have a waga tabu built, he will first prepare the butabuta for it for the carpenters; when that is done the various carpenter clans will assemble together to talk it over, and they will detail the property which the chief has presented as the butabuta for the canoe; then when their talk is all clear they will proceed to go and cut the takele (this word is mutatis mutandis, applied to the keel of an English vessel, and rightly so although the English word "keel" cannot be applied to the corresponding timber in a canoe). The waga tabu is generally cut from the vesi tree; it is not made of a single tree, like small canoes and camakau, it is a canoe built of planks fitted together. On the day on which the takele is cut, the chief makes a large feast for the carpenters which is called "the feast for the felling of the takele" or "the feast for the stripping off the yalu" (the yalu is a species of vine which adheres to large trees) because the vesi has fallen and the yalu then stripped away from it. There are two takele, one for the large end and the other for the small end. When it is cut it is taken to the place where the canoe is to be built, and when laid on logs both the takele are joined together. On the day when the takele is fitted together the chief makes another great feast, and a man would be killed for the feast of fitting together the takele. When the takele has been fitted together logs are placed under both ends and these cross-logs are called na i lagotu; it is prohibited for anyone to step upon, or step across, the ilagotu, and if anyone trod upon those logs he would have to pay a forfeit by making a feast.

When the takele is finished two planks are cut to be fitted to it, which are called the yono tabu or the ivatui, one to this side of

the canoe and one to that side; these planks are to hold together the joint of the takele. On the day when the vono tabu are fitted in place the chief makes another feast. When the vono tabu have been fitted, they go and cut other planks; all the planks have names, two are called the laulalo, and another two the vono bati ni waqa, and so on; the vono bati ni waqa are the planks forming the upper edges of the canoe, and to which the bava are tied. The outrigger is also a plank-built canoe like the hull, but the ends are different, both ends of the outrigger being small. I will explain later the fashion of the ends of the canoe.

The joinings of the planks were very carefully pared down with an adze, so as to fit well to each other; they had no measuring rule as carpenters in these times have, they simply looked at it and then marked with charcoal the part to be pared off. We think highly of the wisdom of the carpenters of those times, seeing they had neither proper tools nor rules. When about to fix a plank in place, the edge of the one already fixed was first smeared with the gum of the breadfruit tree and then thin native cloth such as is used for turbans was stuck to it all along and then the plank was placed in position and then tied with sinnet; the cord of the planks did not appear outside the canoe, and when a waqa tabu was finished it appeared as if it were one single tree as the cord of it could not be seen, we could only see the cord in the interior. When all the planks of the hull and of the outrigger have been fitted together the bava is then cut, it would be about three feet in breadth, but the length of the canoe; the bava of the outrigger always the broader of the two so as to exceed the height of the hull; the bava was tied onto the edges of the canoe, and when tied, all the gimlet holes through which the cord passed were caulked and then covered up with the gum of breadfruit trees, so that water might not get inside. When both the bava of the hull and the outrigger were tied on they were joined together by cross-beams, there being one beam of vesi across the mid-length of the canoe, which was called the kasotu (which might be translated "stiffening beam"; compare the use of suitu for the vertebral column in men and animals). For this the wiser carpenters met together and consulted about the placing of the cross-bars, and they determined the distance between outrigger and hull that it should stand right; if the bars were badly fitted or if the spacing at one end of the canoe differed from the other,

it would be slow. The fitting of the cross-bars being completed, ribs would be fitted inside. After that the tau would be made, i.e., the covering of the ends; it is then decked and a house made on the deck which is called the valevale, or vale waga.

The building of a waga tabu was very slow, taking two or three years, caused perhaps by the searching for the timber suitable for the various parts of the canoe; it also resulted from the inferiority of the carpenters' tools. How difficult must have been canoe-building and what a long time it must have taken in the ancient days before the white man's axe arrived in Fiji.

When a waga tabu was completed, and was about to be launched, a man would be killed to serve as a log (to slide on). The gear of the canoe, i.e., the mast, yards, sail, ropes, and other gear are not dealt with by the carpenters; the chiefs and men experienced in rigging canoes have charge of the splicing of the yards, sewing the sail, and twisting the ropes.

When a waga tabu is launched the outside is well polished with imasi draudrau, which is the leaves of a certain tree which grows in the bush and is like sandpaper; the outside of the canoe has a good shining appearance and looks like one whole log. When the sail has been sewn and all the gear finished the halyard is run through what serves as a sheave in the mast-head, in order to up-end the mast to test her sailing so that those wise at rigging may inspect it. If they observe anything wrong with either the sail or the yard or any other of the gear of the canoe which they think might cause her to be slow in sailing, they would direct it to be done over again.

When all the gear is right she is then sailed about to various places to have a cere done; every place which they arrive at the women cere, (it is called "the cere for the new canoe") that is they bring from the land, property, cloth, mats, whales' teeth etc., and the party of the canoe race for it. He that is quickest takes the property which he likes for his own, and the remainder is taken aboard the canoe to be distributed among the party under the direction of the chief.

The waga tabu are built by the carpenter clan and also by Tongan carpenters. The Tongan carpenters have great judgement in

the building of waga tabu. They used to come from Tonga to Lau to build canoes to take to Tonga, as there are no yesi trees in Tonga; all the large canoes which were in Tonga in ancient times were built at Lau. The Tongan carpenters used to remain a long time at Lau while building canoes, and consequently many of their descendants are there now. At the time when Tupou, the supreme chief of Tonga, came to Fiji to assist Ratu Cakobau in the war at Kaba, his warriors embarked on forty double canoes; and I think all those double canoes were built at Lau.

There are not carpenter clans throughout the whole of Fiji, but one in certain places in Bau, Rewa, Naitasiri, and some others: but where they do exist, they make the canoes. The waga tabu was a war canoe; they were used in sea fights for ramming the enemy canoes, and when they were in collision, they speared and clubbed, as they had not got white men's guns. In times of peace they were made use of to sail to various places to make feasts, or pay visits.

The sailing of waga tabu was difficult and heavy work. For some waga tabu, forty or fifty of a crew were sufficient, if very large they required a hundred, as the work was heavy, that is the sail-hoisting; hauling-in the sheet, putting-about, steering, etc. If the wind was fresh a large quantity of water entered the hold which required four men to bale, two in the hull and two in the outrigger, or four to bale the hull; and the sheet would perhaps require ten men to deep hauling on it as there were no blocks. The steer-car was a very heavy affair, and strong energetic men were always chosen to steer when the wind was fresh; some got strained by it and either died or became hunch-backed. There is a Fijian proverb referring to this "dua nomu waga levu dua nomu vusi levu", which means if one has a larger canoe his back will be hunched through shouldering the steer-car.

They of ancient times regulated well their sailing; they knew the times of good wind to sail about in; they also understood certain signs which served for a compass when sailing at night. When the time for bad winds or hurricanes arrived they hauled the canoe ashore to be protected in its shed; and the shed of a waga tabu was very well built, to properly protect the canoe and all its gear, and the sail was well dried and then wrapped up to await the time of good winds.

The hurricane months were called "the months of sails being wrapped up." When the hurricane months were finished they again launched their canoes to resume sailing.

IN MEMORIAM.

Waga tabu were frequently built as memorials of the dead. If a high chief or lady died a waga tabu would be built to be named after him or her, and would be called "na lawa ni mate". The great British man-o'-war recently finished and named the "Queen Elizabeth" we call "na lawa ni mate kei Kuini Elisabeci" (the memorial of the death of Queen Elizabeth). There are special customs connected with the building of canoes for memorials: if a canoe is being built as a memorial of a chief or lady it is prohibited for anyone to eat or smoke on the canoe while building. Every day when the carpenters rest from their work the lali is beaten, and when the sound of the lali is heard in the town it is known that the carpenters are resting, and it is at once prohibitive for any noise of "beetling" to be heard, or any work to be done while the lali continues. When the building of the lawa ni mate was complete, a feast would be made for it; the chiefs who caused the canoe to be built would make the feast in honour of the relatives of the dead chief or lady, and at the same time present to them the canoe.

A MUSU WAQA

(I have left this heading untranslated: the word musu literally means "cut off" but is used metaphorically in several ways. A girl betrothed by her friends would be referred to as having been musa to so-and-so; here "dedicated" seems to suit fairly well if not exactly, and I propose to use it when convenient).

Canoes were often made use of as presents, and this was called musu waga; if a canoe was built at Cakaudrove it would be musu to Bau, if built at Lau it would be musu to Cakaudrove; they would follow the way appropriate to their mutual relationship or allied countries. If the owners of a canoe wished to present it to their relatives at another place they would take the canoe and some whales' teeth to be presented ceremonially to those of the place to whom the canoe was being given, and these whales' teeth were called "the token of the dedication of the canoe", and when they were presented they would take the canoe for their own. If they had a canoe they

would give it to those who went and dedicated the canoe to them, and this would be called "the return present for the hull," and if they had no canoe they would make a present of property instead. Through this custom canoes were acquired by lands which had no carpenters of their own to build them. There is a Fijian proverb referring to those who gave away their canoes and had none remaining for themselves, "Solia nomu waqa mo rogo kina tamu nuya na kada i namonamo"; the meaning of which is that one gives his canoe in order that his name may be heard or that he may be praised, but he does not think of the sailing in quiet water inside the reef, because "it would be better business" [this is a very free translation for "sa uasivi"] for us to sail in a Fijian canoe in quiet water, where there are no waves.

THE ENDS OF CANOES

The style of the chopping of the ends of canoes was diverse. (1) The ends of the camakau had two forms, one was broad and it was called "the large end", the other rounded [like the forward end of a waggon-pole] and was called "the small end". (2) The tabilai had both its ends chopped thin. (3) The vakadranibalawa had both ends broad like the large end of the camakau. (4) The tovuga had both ends rounded like the small end of the camakau. (5) The ends of the karia were neither broad nor rounded but were small like the form of the stern of white people's boats.

THE CORD AND THE GUM OF CANOES

The cord for canoes was sinnet. It was not the business of carpenters to plait the sinnet for canoes; it was the duty of the owner of the canoe to supply the sinnet for his canoe. The plaiting of sinnet for large canoes such as camakau or waga tabu would be levied. The gum for canoes was also levied; it was the gum of the breadfruit tree and gum from other trees. The gum was used for gumming the various joinings of the planks, and the holes through which was passed the cord of the bava; after being caulked they were gummed. When about to use the gum to gum the joints of the planks it was boiled first to become liquid.

THE GEAR OF CANOES

The mast, yards, sail, ropes, steering-oar, poles, sculling-oars and some other things are called the canoe's gear. I will

describe each item of gear which I have mentioned:-

The Mast. For the mast of a canoe a damanu tree is cut down, as it was strong timber and springy and could yield when the shrouds were being drawn fast; but it had a piece joined on above, made of vesi, about 6 feet long, or if a large canoe 12 feet, which was called the domodomo. There were two classes of domodomo; one called the tagaga was branched somewhat like the horns of a bull to pass the halyard over it, and then there was also a hole below the horns to pass a second halyard through; the other was the vakaseni-yabia and was chopped broad at the upper end but without a fork, and there were two holes in it to pass the two halyards through, this kind of domodomo was used in small canoes and camakau, but not in waga tabu: the place where the mast and its domodomo joined was where the shrouds and the stay of the canoe were tied to it and was called ai sodali.

The Yards. The yard was not one piece of timber only, like the yards of the white men's vessels, but of three joined together; the first, the vakavu, was the joint at the foot of the yard and was about 3 feet long, it was hardwood; but the yard was of damanu and was called the loco, and at the upper end of the loco was another joint called nai sukui, it was about 6 feet long, or if a large canoe about 12 feet, it was hardwood and was chopped with a slight curve; there were two other timbers of makita bound together with the loco to strengthen it, they were called nai roroi. The lower yard is made, and directions about it given, by either the owners of the canoe or the riggers.

The Sail. The sail is woven by the women from the voivoi [the leaves of the pandanus] from which mats are woven, but the sail is woven with narrow strands and each piece is about 2 feet wide. It is the business of the owners of the canoe to sew the sail and the needle for it is the shin-bone of a man, which is called saulaca [i.e., sail-needle] and the sewing-twine for it is sinnet. There are also woven some very narrow sails, about a foot wide, for flags or streamers for the sail, the waga tabu, and for its ensign, that is the long flag whose place is at the end of the yard.

The Ropes. There are two kinds of rope used in Fijian canoes, one is made from the vau (Hibiscus tiliaceae Indiensis) and the other from sinnet; they are made by the owners of the canoe; they

go and chop down the vau and strip off the bark and sun it, and when dry it is twisted into rope; they also twist sinnet for ropes.

The Poling Sticks. The poles of the canoe are of makita and are for poling the canoe in shallow water; makita with a good even surface is selected for canoe poles, and when cut in the bush they are roasted over fires to get rid of the bark; they are never used without the bark being shed by roasting.

The Sculling Oars. If a canoe is going in a place where the water is deep, the poles would be too short, then the sculling-oars are used. These oars are cut similar to the oars of a boat and canoes are sculled with them in deep water, or in the ocean if the wind has gone down.

The Steer-Oar. The steer oar is cut from yesi; the end which goes down into the water is cut long and broad, and the other end is cut small to be the handle of it; there is a hole in the side of it to fasten a rope in and the other end of the rope is tied to the canoe to prevent the oar getting dropped; the name of that rope is the uso. If the wind is fresh, and the steering of a waga tabu becomes hard, and the canoe does not steer well, a small rope would be put down from the outrigger to assist, and it is called nai vakararavi.

(b) "Fishing".

There are many kinds of fishing practised in the various places in Fiji and the customs are diverse. Those who reside on the coasts have one mode of fishing, those living on the banks of large rivers another, those in the hill-country another, and the "fishermen" (na gonedau) have quite different customs, that is those whose work it is to catch fish or turtles.

I will describe in this paper the fishing customs practised by the fishermen clans who reside on Bau, and those practised by the Bau ladies. There are two fishermen clans residing on Bau, the people of Lasakau and the people of Soso. I will describe first the fishing of the Lasakau fishermen, afterwards that of the Soso fishermen; and finally the fishing of the Bau ladies.

THE FISHING OF "THE FISHERMEN".

The Lasakau fishermen. There are five modes of fishing practised by them, the names of which are "Daulawalevu, Volavola, Dau-uwea, Dauoma", and the "Dauqeqe". The "Daulawalevu" is a mode of fishing common to all; the net for it is the sukau, that is "vau" (a kind of hibiscus) planted for the purpose of making into nets, but the ends of it are made of sinnet. This fishing is done in fishing waters, and large fish are obtained by it, for instance "Kawago, saqa", etc. They have separate fishing waters which are owned by the different clans, just as the land-owners own their pieces of ground. Their lands are their fishing waters, as from them they obtain their food and property, as they sell the fish obtained by their fishing. The people of one clan cannot go fishing at random in the fishing waters of a different clan, unless they ask beforehand.

The "Volavola".- This fishing is done by the clan "Tunidau", and the nets for it are also the "sukau". The fish obtained by this fishing are the "ta", the "saqa", and sometimes they get "Kanace". And this fishing is done during the months of "cukicuki" (that is the months for digging the yam grounds preparatory to planting).

"Dau-uwea".- In this fishing nets are not used. They cut down the aerial roots of the mangrove and scrape off the bark,

then split them and weave them like a large basket, having small openings for the fish to enter at. When woven the bait is thrown inside, consisting of roasted "dairo" (a kind of sea slug) and other things; and they then put it aboard their canoe and sail away to the shoals at sea, and let it down there for the fish to enter it. When it is let down, there is a cord tied to the "uwea" (as this fish-trap is called) and a stick of bamboo tied to the other end of the cord, to drift about to indicate its situation. They then sail back to the town. Next day they sail back to go and see, that is to go and look at their "uwea" and they dive to it; if they dive and see that there are fish in it they then draw it up and take the fish to the town, and throw the "uwea" back into the water. A great quantity of fish are obtained by "dau-uwea" such as "Babaloa, kawakawa" etc. Their sailing to sea to go and look at their "uwea", is called either the "rai" or "vuevue", (that is the "seeing" or the "lifting up"). If their "uwea" is pretty full they have a talk among themselves about stringing, that is, that they may take some of the fish and formally present them to the chiefs of Bau. The "Dau-uwea" is usually done at the time of yam-planting, that is when the yams for the harvest season have been planted, about the month of September, and it continues to be done right on till December. During the time of "dau-uwea" the Lasakau men sleep in the "bure"; it is prohibited for them to sleep with their wives, lest their "uwea" should not be filled. Possible this prohibition is not observed now-a-days.

"Dauoma".- This fishing is done in the months of "kelikeli" (that is the months of digging the mature yams) and they go fishing on the sea-weedy places in shallow waters. For this, nets are not used, but they drag a "walai" (that is a creeping plant as thick as a rope) to which banana leaves are tied; then at one end of it is a net of sinnet, woven with very fine meshes and like the inside of a basket, and when the "walai" is dragged the fish enter into it. By this there are obtained a large quantity of small fish. At this fishing the Bau ladies frequently follow them to sea, that they may get some of the fish. The name of this custom is the "muri" (i.e. following). Those who follow always take some food or "yaqona", to give to the "dauoma"; and when they drag their net, they give the followers some fish.

There is a chant belonging to this fishing as follows:-

Mati ka sa di ki sawana, mana o,
 mana e.
 Tavo na waqa me ra sa kara, mana
 o, mana e.
 Era sa kara cake ki delana, mana o,
 mana e.
 E biu na lawa me ra sa yara, mana
 o, mana e.
 Me ra sa yara cake ki matana, mana
 o, mana e.
 Na vutia erau sabelaka, mana o,
 mana e.
 Na oma ka rau tabaeceraka, mana o,
 mana e.
 Tuitui ka'u bara isa, i

"Dauqeqe".- This fishing is the same as the "dauoma", except that they do not go to fish on the seaweed-flats, but they fish about in water which is somewhat deep, and they generally obtain by it larger fish.

When the fishermen of Lasakau are preparing for a fishing expedition they make beforehand a "yaqona" party that they may meet together at it and drink together, so that no one may be going about ill-tempered. The name of this custom is the "Vakamomoli" (that is the conciliating). If two are ill-disposed to each other, the fishing will not get on well, and fish will not be caught; and for that reason the "vakamomoli" is performed, that they may be in concord and then do the fishing. When the Lasakau men return from the fishing, they hang out their nets on stakes planted in the water near to their part of the town to remain there; they do not bring them ashore. Those timbers are called "na isasau", that is the drying poles of the nets. Each clan has their own "isasau". The fishermen of Lasakau do not fish for turtle; they only catch fish to sell, to procure thereby food and goods for themselves. They do not plant; the fishing is their planting. In these times they do some planting, and perhaps do not altogether carry out well all the various fishing which their ancestors did. Their women do not fish; their share (of the work) is only to take the fish obtained by the men's fishing, and sell them in the towns.

The Fishermen of Soso.- The only work of these fisher-clans is erecting fish-fences; they do not fish with nets like the fishermen of Lasakau. There are two kinds of fish-fences made by them,

one the "ba tevu" (i.e. the unfolding fence) and the other the "ba kele" (i.e. the fixed-post fence). The "ba tevu" was very well made, reeds were split in two and then woven (the word translated "woven" in this connection means a process almost, if not quite, identical with the weaving of Japanese blinds or Japanese matting). When woven they are rolled up. Then if there is a day when they wish to go and put up "ba tevu", they ship the fences on their canoes, and pole away to a part of the coast whereon to stake out their fence at high tide, and they then wait for low tide; and when the tide is getting low, they then go and beat the water to chase the fish so that they may enter into the fence. Then when the fish enter into the trapping places, they take a basket called a "Vilawa" and scoop up the fish with it, and empty them into the holds of their canoes. And when the fish in the trapping places are completely finished, they strip off their fence again and roll it up carefully, put it aboard, and pole back to the town. If the wind is aft, blowing towards the town, they will open out their fence for a sail, in order to get quickly to the town. Then, when they arrive at the side of the town, they all anchor together to distribute the fish, and to distribute it equally. The fish generally caught in fences like this are small, such as "Kaikai, matumatu, wailo" and other small fish. These fish are taken and sold, or taken on visiting excursions, that they may obtain thereby food and goods for themselves.

The "Ba kele".- This is also woven, but whole reeds and not split are used; and when they have woven many lengths, they go and cut timbers for its posts, and then they go and fix them in a water where fences are usually erected, to remain there until they become bad. They go and examine every time it is low tide, either by day or night, to take the fish which have entered the traps; both large and small fish are caught by it; at some low tides a very large quantity of fish are obtained. If their fence is well filled, they will have a conversation about stringing, that is that some of the fish may be taken to the Bau chiefs. Each separate piece of water for fencing has its owners, and no one else may erect fences on it at random. Their women do not fish; it is their business to take the fish baskets to the canoes when the men arrive; and it is also their business to go and sell the fish or take them on visiting excursions, to obtain thereby food and property. It is also the

work of the women of Soso to make pots, that is the fish-pots which are called "na ivakariri". But in these times they do not carry out that work, as imported pots are now used.

THE FISHING OF THE BAU LADIES.

The Bau ladies go a-fishing, but they do not sell like the fishermen. They fish to provide a relish (or concomitant) for the food in their houses, or for a feast which they are preparing. They use nets which are made from twisted string (twine), like the imported nets which are sold in the stores now-a-days. Fishing nets made of twine are prized (or valuable) property to those in fishing lands. In some places it is their work to make nets to sell, or to take on visiting excursions, or to feasts, in places where they do not make nets. Fishing nets were a difficult work; but in these times it is perhaps not a difficult thing, as they simply buy from the stores nets ready-made abroad. Perhaps there are some still who do netting, but they buy twine for it at the stores, and it is nothing like the work of netting formerly, when they twisted the string for it, as well as the other work.

There are 12 kinds of fishing done by the Bau ladies; their names being "Veitagavi, Sikawaiwai, Sikamatiruke, Sikakinaqativi, Sikacicibale, Sosomatana, Takaikai, Dukiduki, Yarayara, Saki, Tataga, and Silisili". Each of these modes has its own suitable net; for some, nets of large mesh are used; and for some, small mesh. I will not describe them every one, but I will describe the customs of one, the Veitagavi, as it is a chiefly fishing, a fishing having prohibitions attached to it, and it is a fishing in which all the Bau ladies participate.

The "Veitagavi" is presided over by Radi Bau, and the direction of it is with her alone; if she says that a "veitagavi" is to be done, it will be done, and all the Bau ladies will be in attendance for it. If the chiefs in consultation arrange to make a feast with fish as its concomitant, Radi Bau will order that a "veitagavi" be carried out for it; or if Radi Bau forms the intention to make a "veitagavi", she will tell one of her women, whose duty it is to announce the fishing, to go and call out through the open spaces in the town in the very early morning when it is beginning to be light; and she calls thus:- "Ladies! the fishing! the nets are thrown outside, they

are easily fitted to stretchers." Well, when the ladies hear in their houses, there is not one who will go away, or go to do any work of her own, they will all give attention to the fishing. Then when morning has come they keep looking toward the house of Radi Bau; if they see that her women are fitting stretchers to the nets, the ladies in the various houses put stretchers to their nets; and when Radi Bau's canoe is launched, they also launch their respective canoes and put their nets aboard. And when Radi Bau goes aboard her canoe and poles off to lie at anchor out to sea, the ladies pole off in their respective canoes to lie at anchor together, and wait for Radi Levuka. And while they are thus lying at anchor, it is strictly prohibited for any canoe to pole along to landward, the men stay strictly in the houses, it is forbidden for anyone to go looking about on the beach, or to peep out while the ladies are at anchor on the water. The ladies also who are in the canoes must not sit in contact, and their fish-baskets must not touch each other, nor their nets; they sit in perfect silence, and wait for instructions from Radi Bau. While they are waiting the canoe of Radi Levuka is poled towards them, they then "tama" (this term is restricted to the respective salutations made to chiefs and ladies of high rank) and it anchors close to where they are anchored, and then Radi Levuka asks Radi Bau "Where is the place we are going to get down at?" She then tells the place they are going to get down at to commence their fishing. After this they pull up their anchors to pole away to the place decided on for commencing at. As they are thus poling, it is strictly prohibited for any other canoe to pole across them; it is also prohibited for any canoe to pole across them while they are fishing. But after they have left Bau to go fishing, the chiefs are free to pole along the land, or to go about on the beach.

This fishing is done at high tide, and only "Kanace" (mullet) are caught by it. There is not one net only used, like the drag-net; there are a large number of nets of about two fathoms each in length, and two persons hold each net, who are called the "veitauri" (a reciprocal word meaning "mutual holders"). The net used in the "Veitagavi" is of large meshes, suitable for preventing the escape of the mullet. When they go down into the water, it reaches up to their chests, and they line off in two rows with a wide space between, one row to the right and the other to the left, and they then keep

going forward looking out for a shoal of fish. The forward ends are called "uluisau" and the hinder ends are called "boto" (these terms mean respectively "outer head" and "bottom"). As they keep going on they take their nets with them, but their fishing baskets remain on their canoes. On each canoe there is either a young lad or a girl, who are called the "tokatoka" (meaning something like "those who stay") and it is their business to pole the canoes along after those gone fishing, so as to keep near to them. The occupants of the canoes always give fish to the "tokatoka" when they come up from fishing. Well, when the two who are at the forward ends discover that a shoal of mullet has entered the space between the two rows, they report it at once that all may know, and then those at the hinder end approach each other until they join together, and the leading ends join together also so as to surround the fish which are inside, and it is like the inside of a large fence; their nets are then "bagged" to await the fish going to the inside of their respective nets, and they then lift them up. Then, when it is like that, they keep approaching together to the middle, and they keep lifting up the mullet which have entered their nets. When they get very near together and the centre of the fishing becomes narrow, the mullet begin jumping over them as they find themselves in the awkward situation of having no place where they can get through. Then when the fishing meets close in the centre, they each take the fish they have caught to the canoes and put them into their fishing baskets. But only one of each pair of "veitauri" may take their fish to the canoe, and her mate must not help her. If their fishing has closed together twice or three times, their chief lady will direct to change end for end, those at the bottom to lead and the "uluisau" to bring up the rear.

In this fishing they do not take places at random, their positions are well understood. The chiefly houses and the houses of the heads of clans have their respective positions in this fishing, and the order of precedence is clear. The positions of the house of Roko Tui Bau and the house of the Vunivalu are both the "uluisau", that is the "uluisau" to land-wards and the "uluisau" to seawards; the house of another chief holds the position called the "kele", another the "tadratadrakeka", another the "dakunitadratadrakeka" and so on. When the "veitagavi" takes place each stands in her respective station, and they do not stand at random. Commoners own

no positions in the fishing; they stand in a place called the "sogodogo"; that place is reserved for those who own no position in the fishing. The ownership of positions in the fishing is exactly like the ownership of the ground by land-owners. They give it away to relatives; and it is part of the dowry of a woman who marries into a strange clan; and if she has a daughter, she will hold that position. If such a woman dies childless, they of her own clan will take a "tabua" to be the offering for dropping the position in the fishing, that it may revert to them.

If the "veitagavi" takes place, and any position is vacant through the owner of it not going to the fishing, someone will take it; and when they come up from the fishing, she who held the position will take her basket of fish to the house of her who owned the position, and empty her basket there in order to divide them in two, so that the owner of the position may receive some for herself.

(c) The Ra Marama under King Siaosi Taufa'ahau's command.

May 11. - This morning was fixed for the Tongan fleet going to Rawa with the Vunivalu of Bau. It is now eleven years since the Rawa war commenced. They have not been able to go up the river towards Rawa - Indeed after the death of the Rawa chief, the Nakelans and the people of Buretu resolved not to allow the use of the river. Since the taking of Kambah, however, peace has been sought - and the Bau Chief is now going up with this immense fleet of forty canoes.

I had fixed to have a passage with King George in his new and large canoe - the presentation of which by the Vunivalu was the occasion of King George's present visit, in order to take it to Tonga. It is ... feet long - the hold ... feet deep. The length of the platform is ... the width ...

In going towards the canoe, I found that the tide (for which they had been waiting) was making. Baskets, chests, mats, yams, etc. were being taken on board. While I was yet on shore, I observed the king at one end of the house, attending, apparently, to the reception and stowing of the goods received on board - which I thought was a rather unkingly employment - but thought it was necessary that some one having authority should occupy that position. On a former occasion, several years ago I had marked his promptitude and readiness to work, when leaving Lakemba for the Friendly Islands. In order to get on board I had to beg the use of a Feejeean's small canoe - which was not very readily lent for my accommodation. A Tongan noticing Feejeean reluctance, was about to haul it to me, when the Feejeean came and helped me on board. As I was going the Queen came to the water's edge. We put back, and took her on board. She had neglected to leave a coverlid for an invalid who was left on shore. She hastened to provide one which she sent by the canoe wh. took us.

Not having been particularly acquainted with King George, or seen much of their voyaging, I was desirous to see and learn all I could. I went to see how the king had managed the stowing of the cargo - and was disappointed - as baskets and mats of various sizes and shapes, guns, boxes etc. appeared as if they had been put in accidentally. This did not at all come up to my idea of the king's ability, and gave no proof of anything that had had attention from him. But, when I came to the other end of the house, I found that

the marked and assiduous attention he had paid was to prevent encroachment upon a considerable and very convenient portion of the house which he had appropriated to two young men belonging to his canoe who had been slightly wounded at Kambah. In order to gain his point, he kept his post till all was on board and stowed in different parts of the canoe, exposed to wet, after the part of the house allowed for luggage was filled.

The fleet consisted of forty large canoes. There were about 140 persons on board the king's canoe.

All being ready the anchors were taken up: the king gave orders and took a large pole at the stern of the canoe, so as to occupy the principal place for steering. They at once commenced one of their lively and inspiring naval songs, for which the Tongans are pre-eminent -- which is heard at a considerable distance. This proceeded from all the canoes. Seven suas [long paddles, like oars, which are put through the deck of the canoe in holes prepared for that purpose, of which there were eight in each end, which are plied to and fro by men standing erect, and by pressure onwards have surprising force in propelling the canoe] were used at the forepart of the deck. On the stem ends of the canoe which are . . . inches lower than the deck men were placed with 20 paddles, which is peculiar to Tongan canoes - and 20 long poles were used on the sides of the canoe, and at the stern. All frequently change for relief. After the king and others had poled for some time, they were relieved by others going and taking the poles. He soon went to the stem of the canoe and called on others to join him in relieving the paddlers. When relieved, he went at once to the sua, which is the hardest work. From that he went to the steer oar. What was difficult in the management of a canoe, he was ready to lay hold of. He kept his watchful eye over the whole. The rope of the steer oar was too short - he had it lengthened. The handle was held too low to have full power in steering. He laid hold himself - and the effect was great and immediate. He was sober, yet most cheerful, in all his movements. All revered him - and felt at home with him. By personal effort he stirred up others as well as by exciting remark so that every department of the work went on well. The canoe made but little water - so that I did not see him render any help in baling. When we came to a shallow part, and several had to get overboard, he was quickly in the water - in one place I saw him up to his neck.

The stern end of the platform was occupied by a large square wooden case - the sides of which leaned outwards. This was soon needed. There are persons appointed for cooking, who had made preparation beforehand. The case was covered with green leaves, on which was three or four inches of earth. On the earth one tier of hard stones were covered over, closely packed. On these stones a fire was made, which was seen in the bay smoking from nearly all the Tonga canoes. On the wood many more stones are laid. When the wood is consumed all the stones are hot. The yams, or taro, or bread-fruit, are cut, (bananas, or native bread wrapped up) and then laid on the lower tier of stones, and then piled up, being mixed with the other hot stones in piling. The whole is then carefully covered over with several thicknesses of bread-fruit leaves stitched together. A wet rope is closely and neatly coiled over the whole - which effectively prevents the smoke from escaping. A coarse coconut leaf mat is laid over this to keep the sun and wind from drying the rope.

The passage was circuitous - but he understood it, having been that way once, a few days before, to cut paddles for his new canoe - the Feejeeans not using them in large canoes, so that none were given with the canoe.

Having reached the mouth of the river, the wind was fair. The canoe was anchored to prepare. The ropes were fixed - the mast put up - the sail bent - pulled up - and we sailed along till we came to a narrow and shallow part, where we could not sail without danger. The sail was taken down - some fathoms of the lower and narrow part was unloosed from the yards, and hauled up. Our speed was retarded - but, in order to increase our progress, George went to the forepart, took the seat, and called for paddles - others followed - and we went on merrily and speedily.

The queen again and again manifested her joy in being on board their new canoe. Yet the king and his people appeared to go on as if nothing extraordinary had occurred. No one who did not know would have thought that they were on a canoe which had just been presented to them, which could only have been procured by a large amount of property by any foreigner - perhaps the largest canoe in the world - and that the king had also just been presented with a fine schooner of 80 tons by the same person who gave him the canoe. The Tongans

assume an air of independence even when recipients.

The canoe struck. He was soon in the water.

Everything in the management of a canoe he can do, and does. And he is thorough master in all he does both by superior wisdom and superior physical power.

Group Two: Rites of Passage

(a) "Putting on the masi".

... The sons of chiefs of high rank go entirely naked until they arrive at the age of puberty; at which time the wearing of masi, the name of Feejeean cloth, is deemed necessary. The putting on of the masi of the young Chief for the first time is a ceremony of great importance, and is generally performed in the presence of a great concourse of spectators. Sometimes a human being is slaughtered, that the haughty Chieftain may stand upon the corpse, whilst the Feejeean badge of virility is wound about his body. At the time referred to, the young Chief who was the principal person connected with the events of the day, was a nephew of Tuinayau, the reigning king. The ceremony was performed at a settlement called Nasangkalau, his father's paternal inheritance. Many people assembled from all parts of the island, to witness the celebration of the event, and participate in the hilarity which it occasioned. The ceremony was performed by Toko, the lad's father. One end of the cloth is made to pass between the legs, and is then fastened round the waist in numerous and graceful folds. Extensive preparations had been made for this occasion during a fortnight before the performance of this ceremony. Day and night most of the natives of the island had been practising dances and songs, that they might acquit themselves with propriety and eclat in the presence of the Chiefs and people...

(b) The buli yaca (the naming ceremony).

Oct. 3. We have had a very curious affair to day, but it is very difficult either to give it a name or to describe it.

The old king and a number of his leading men with the priests of the principal gods assembled together in the market place.

The ceremony commenced with singing.

Biu sa biu sa

Biusa a ravuravu

A Tui me ravu a ravu.

This was perhaps a kind of introduction to what was to follow. The meaning of the words can scarcely be given in English. Biu means to cast or throw away, but it is often used in a different sense. They

say when they go to war, they biu the war. One would imagine from the common meaning of the word they meant they had ceased to make war, but they mean the direct opposite. Sa affixed to biu I think is nothing but an affix. Ravu means, either the murdered, or the murderer or the act of murdering.

A tui means a king.

The whole then may mean.

Let us attend to the ceremony of the Chiefs who have killed our enemies.

The old man then called out in a most unnatural tone of voice

O cei o cei a oro a toa leo

Oi au leo

Oi o cei leo

Sa biu ceri vaa vuso sao acaua

O Seru manayala leo

The long and short of which is, that he called for those who had been successful in the war and gave them a new name. This was done to them all.

They all joined in full chorus

Buluta; dre

Buluta waiwai ni Luela i.

Nai yasa

Oatia atia ataali ataali.

They then blew the conk shells, and those who had not shells, responding with their voices. The art of blowing the conk appeared to be to blow as short a blast as possible. When done well it resembled very much the short bass notes in a quick march. Those who responded tried to form a sound entirely different by a shrill short cry something like the squeaking of a door. One sounded u, u, u, as in bull.

The other responded i, i, i, as in bitter.

Four or five of them then each took a vudi leaf; and a person poured water into them, which they held for a short [time] in their hands. They then stood up so as to form a diameter of the circle, and after having exchanged places several times, like boys in a reading class in a country school, they each turned to different parts of the circumference of the circle and poured the water they had in the leaf on the ground.

Those that constituted the ring, and it appeared to me the others too, then sang, Sova i e, pour out. A ratou motu vaaotu, they are all

killed.

Nanai dina e dina e i.e. Amen and amen.

This finished this part of the ceremony.

The heroes were then introduced. One who had not killed any person in war before was first brought forward. He was accompanied by a person carrying a large new dress and others with mats.

The mats were laid on the ground for him to stand on and one of the old men proceeded to take off his old dress, which was soon done, and to put on a new one which was a work of time.

The dress was a long piece of native cloth and about a yard wide, which was folded length way once or twice and then put three or four time [sic] round him, the remainder being tucked under so as to form a large bunch on his back. He did not look unlike a soldier, with his knapsack on his back.

While this was going on three or four parties of females came into different parts of the market place each of them having a small dish made of the stalk of the banana tree with a preparation of oil and paint with which to anoint the heroes.

They continued to sing the whole time in different parties.

By this time the other heroes were come, but as they had killed men in war before, they came clothed.

Each of the heroes had his club on his shoulder, and it appear'd to be considered a privilege to possess a club that he had held in his hand: consequently many brought him their clubs, and took his, I suppose each of them sanctified twenty clubs in this way while the ceremonies were going on.

All being ready for anointing them the females brought their oil and laid on the ground and retired. The man whose work it is to apportion every thing, then divided it to different parties and the heroes were forthwith made red from head to foot.

This being over they all walked down to the sea side and soon returned which with a little more singing closed the ceremony. The heroes have to remain in the market place four days. A small shed is built for them to sleep in, but they are not to lay down, or even take their clubs from their shoulders, or their hands from their clubs. They are allowed to walk about in the koro, and can take what they please, are inferior to none in rank, but they are turaga lealea i.e. short chiefs, chiefs for a short time.

No person is allowed to beat a drum or even to hammer a nail or chop would [sic] or make any noise near them. They are tabu sura, very

sacred these four days, and this seems all the payment they are to have for their services.

Oct. 13 1840. The heroes did not attend to all the conditions of their honourable position, but they did very well. They are now delivered from their honours, and have but little left except their new name, they are however chiefs still i.e. short chiefs.

(c) Marriage.

Mr. W. and myself started about nine o'clock, a.m., for Bau, being desirous of witnessing the ceremonies of a Feejeean wedding in high life. We went first to the house of the bride's father, where we saw the marriage portion and the bride. The latter looked quite modest and rather bashful. We remained here but a few moments, and then passed on to the new house that had been prepared for the bride. We found the happy bridegroom seated on the door sill, his face well be-smearred with dirt, and his dress not remarkable for its cleanliness. He desired us to walk into the house, and be seated near his mother. We observed in front of the building a wall of roasted fish about ten fathoms in length and five feet in height. We did not see the vegetables, as they were in some other place with pigs and turtles. The floor of the house was spread with four or five layers of the best of Feejeean mats; these had been provided by the Lasakau tribe. In one corner of the house, a basket ten feet long, four wide and three deep, was suspended from the rafters, filled with green leaves, and on these were placed pigs and turtles.

The Lasakau matrons (no maidens are allowed to take any part in the marriages) were seated in the centre of the house, leaving a broad space unoccupied near the door. On the right hand of the principal entrance, the mother of Navinde was seated with her "popalagi" guests. The Lasakau ladies all wore old "Lekus", and their persons were oiled with cocoa-nut oil, scented with sandalwood. Each one, the mother excepted, wore a garland of flowers thrown over one shoulder. The garlands were made of sweet-scented flowers. One was offered me, and I threw it over my neck, which seemed to please the company exceedingly. Navinde was ordering the arrangement of the food, and when all was completed, one old man said to the chief, "The food is now ready. We hope that the god will be pleased with your marriage, and that you will live long and happily with your young wife". The speech ended with clapping of hands. The bridegroom then took seven whales' teeth and sent them by four old men to Tanoa, with a complimentary message, and a request that the king would send his daughter to the house where his people were waiting to receive her. Navinde then departed, and was seen no more for the day in that vicinity.

After this, two old Lasakau men and one old Bau man came in and seated themselves near the central door on the left. In a few moments the grand procession appeared, consisting of the bride and the married ladies of her tribe. Her mother was not present. The procession came singly, and moved very slowly. About one hundred preceded the bride, and then the lady herself appeared. She wore a band of "bula-leka" shells around her head, and bracelets of the same on her neck, and in her hands she carried two large whales' teeth. She was arrayed in a new, handsome "Leku", with a bale of marked native cloth attached to it, and a train of some forty yards in length; the latter trailed on the ground, and the former was borne by two women. Oil was dripping from her person. As she entered the house, she laid the two large teeth at the feet of the old men, then turned and seated herself by the mother of Navinde. The rest of them now followed, and all were seated in the unoccupied part of the house. The Bau ladies were dressed in new, handsome "Lekus", and wore flowers in their hair. After all were seated, the old Bau messenger presented whales' teeth to the Lasakau messengers, accompanied with a long speech, enumerating the names and titles of the King, his greatness and goodness, and love for Navinde, which he had now shown by the gift of his daughter, who was of high rank, being his daughter by the queen, who was a woman of the highest rank in Somosomo. At the conclusion of the speech, the Bau ladies clapped their hands. The Lasakaus then took the teeth, and promised for their chief that the young Marama should ever be treated kindly - that they hoped wars would cease, in order that he might not be separated from her - that the winds might be favourable - that she might have plenty of fish to eat, and that yams and all their food might ever be plentiful in their lands, and ended by complimenting the king upon his greatness and goodness, and pronouncing him a god whom his enemies could never kill. At the conclusion of this eloquent speech the Lasakau ladies clapped their hands, and the men departed. I inquired if the men were priests, and was answered that they were not, and that the priests had nothing to do with marriages.

After the departure of the men, the bridegroom's mother and two other aged matrons proceeded to divest the bride of her ornaments. The oil was wiped from her person, her handsome "leku" was exchanged

for an old one, and taken, with all the other ornaments, by the mother-in-law of the bride. The Lasakau ladies had been chanting continually, from the time of their assembling til the present, only stopping while the old men made their speeches. The Bau tribe now commenced, and chanted for the space of an hour or more, when they concluded their music. The Lasakau ladies now proceeded to exchange their "lekus" with the Bau ladies, and began to chat and frolic as though the minister had departed. The garlands were also presented to the Bau party.

After some little time, quiet was again restored, and the singing recommenced. We inquired if the ceremonies were ended, and were informed that the Parties would remain and sing a little longer, and then retire.

The Bau party were to take with them all the mats from the house, and bring the bride's portion in return. Tanoa had given his daughter ten servants, and Navinde had provided five to commence house-keeping with.

Samanunu now came to chat with us, and from her we learned that the bridegroom would not visit at the house of the bride till the next day, or perhaps for a week, or a month. The feast is prepared for the Bau tribe alone, and is divided into portions according to the rank of the consummated, the Bau people are again feasted, and some of the elderly ladies of the tribe proceed to the house of the young married lady, and cut off the woolly tresses from her head; these had hitherto remained uncut from childhood.

(d) Death.

The ceremonies which are performed after the demise of a Chief of a high rank in Feejee, are very numerous... When death is visibly approaching ... his friends present the expiring mortal with whales' teeth, that, according to the tenets of their mythology, he may be furnished with missiles to throw at a certain tree which is supposed to be placed in the centre of the way which leads to the place where the manes of the dead reside. Want of skill or strength to strike the tree with any of the teeth, is considered a very evil omen; and the supporters of this ... assert that the wives of the person who is so unfortunate as to miss the tree are prevented from following and associating with him as a punishment for his ill success in throwing the teeth.

Immediately after life is extinct, and whilst the relatives and domestics of the Chieftain are rending the air with their shouts, messengers are despatched for the grave-diggers, that they may wash the corpse; a duty which it is not lawful for any one but those who province it is to dig the grave, and inter the deceased. The body, being washed, is laid on new cloth and mats, and carefully wiped and dried. It is then dressed and decorated after the manner of a person who is about to be present at a great assembly or festival. Every part of the body is anointed with oil; after which the face, the arms down to the elbows, and the neck and breast, are daubed with a black substance resembling soot. A beautiful white bandage of native cloth is wound round the head, and tied above the temples in a graceful knot. A club is put into the hands, and laid on the breast of the deceased, that he may still hold the rank of a Chief and a warrior. Being thus decorated and equipped, the corpse is laid on a new bier; and then the relatives of the departed Chief, and the principal personages of various tribes, assemble to perform the punctilios of the occasion. Each tribe presents a whale's tooth to the deceased. The tooth is suspended by a string, and whilst the Chief of the tribe, or his principal speaker, is holding it in his hand, he pronounces the following oration:

A neitou boka qoka ki na mate: sa dravudravua ko
kei tou: e segai na yau e kunea: a balabalavu ni
noqu vosa: "This is our offering to the dead; we
are poor, and cannot find riches: this the length
of my speech".

All the persons present return thanks by clapping their hands; and the King, or a Chief of rank, replies, "Ai mumudui ni mate"; which is equivalent to a wish that the ravages of death may cease among them; and then the people simultaneously respond, Mana, e dina: "let it be so; it is true".

The female relatives then approach, and kiss the corpse. Any one of his wives who wishes to die, that, according to what she is taught to believe, she may accompany the spirits, immediately hastens to the house of a brother, or relative, and, seizing him by the arm, says, "I wish to die, that I may accompany my husband to the land to which his spirit has gone: love me, and make haste and strangle me, that I may overtake him". Her brother or relative, applauds her resolution, and directs her to go and bathe herself. Her ablutions being accomplished, her female friends accompany her to the house of the deceased with all possible despatch, and dress and decorate her for the journey which she is about to undertake. Her mother (if alive) spreads a mat on the floor of the house, that she may sit upon it. Her friends then give her a parting salutation and farewell kiss. Whilst all rejoice at and commend her heroism, there are occasionally a few who cannot stop the tear of humanity, and whose feelings recoil at the apparatus of death; and by such persons (but their number is comparatively few) the murderous cord is either touched with a trembling hand, or seized with a maniac grasp. The widow musters all her energy, and surrenders herself into the hands of her murderers. The yielding victim is placed in the lap of another female, and a piece of native cloth is rolled up so as to form a string. This string is then put round her neck. A knot is tied on it, on each side of the windpipe, and the two ends of this instrument of death are made to pass each other in opposite directions; and whilst one woman is pressing down her head, and another holding her hand on her mouth and nostrils, to prevent the possibility of breathing, four or five strong men take hold of each end of the cord, and pull it till the two knots meet, or pass each other. The work of death is violent, brief, and certain. The devoted widow is soon stretched on the mat, a breathless corpse. The fatal cord is left about her neck, and tied in a graceful knot. The body is then rubbed over with turmerick, and laid by the side of the Chieftain. The friends of the Chief immediately present a whale's tooth to the

brother, or relatives of the female, and say, A kenai sere ni wa ni kuna: "This is the untying of the cord of strangling". The cord is then untied, and left loose about her neck.

The grave-diggers then go on with the duties which devolve upon them. They work in a sitting posture, because it is deemed unlawful to stand whilst digging the grave of a Chief. Long sticks, sharpened to a point at one end, are substituted for spades. Before any of the earth is removed, one of the grave-diggers, taking a stick in his hands, puts himself in an attitude of digging, but does not bring the stick in contact with the earth. This is done three times, and the fourth time he thrusts the stick into the ground; and the first handful of earth which is dug up is called "sacred earth", or "the earth of a god". This sacred earth is carefully preserved in a leaf, till after the interment of the bodies, and is then put under a stone, which is erected on the surface of the ground, near the centre of the grave. The grave is from five to seven and a half feet deep. Four leaves are handed to one of the grave-diggers; he alternates them by two and two, from hand to hand, four times. These leaves are then placed at the bottom of the grave, two at each end. The inside of the grave being covered with mats and cloth, the body of the Chief is laid upon them, and is thus deposited in its resting-place; whilst the corpse of a strangled female is placed at each side. The right hand of the female on the right side of the Chief, and the left of her who is at the left side, are laid on his breast. The bodies are covered with the ends of the cloth and mats on which they were placed. After this, a small quantity of earth is put into the grave four times. This part of the ceremonies is executed with the least possible delay. After the grave-digger has trampled upon it, other four leaves are placed above the bodies, two at each end, and then the grave-digger mutters these words, E kila na Kalou, me kua so na mate; a sort of petition to the presiding deity that the people may be preserved from death. Whilst the grave is being filled with earth, and the stone with the sacred earth is being placed above it in the centre, the house of the deceased Chief is set fire to, and burned to ashes, with much of its furniture; a funeral rite which is always concurrent with the interment of the corpse. A mat is spread on the surface of the grave, and the people disperse to bathe.

The grave-diggers, and all who touch the earth of the grave, pass under a branch of a creeping shrub, which has a part of another shrub placed in the centre of it. This is held across the footpath by two men; and as they strike the back of each passenger with a branch of another shrub, which produces smarting pain, resembling that occasioned by nettles. These ceremonies are performed with the design of preventing contamination from the effuvia of the dead bodies and the earth. The people then bathe in fresh water, and rub their bodies with the leaves of the shaddock-tree, or the leaves of fragrant shrubs.

During a period of one hundred nights, the grave-diggers bathe daily, and take with them the club of the departed Chieftain, which had been deposited in the graves. They say, that only the spirit of the club has accompanied the spirit of the Chief into the invisible world. The club is left at the outside of the temple, which is the temporary residence of the grave-diggers. They are not at liberty to return home until after the expiration of one hundred nights. During this period, they are plentifully supplied with food; and at its termination, they are enriched with presents, and sent home.

The women who touched the dead bodies bathe themselves with water, which is heated by throwing hot stones into it, and rub their bodies with aromatic leaves. This process is continued, with short intervals, during the course of four days. They sometimes wash every hour, that they may be thoroughly cleansed from all pollution which may have been contracted by touching the dead bodies. After the termination of four nights from the time of the funeral, a neat and substantial house is erected over the grave.

All who touched any of the dead bodies are supposed to be thereby contaminated, and their hands are tambu; so that it is not lawful for such persons to touch food. They are either fed by others, or have recourse to some awkward expedient in order to convey their food to their mouths without bringing their hands in contact with it. Occasionally some who have not touched any of the dead, volunteer, from attachment to the deceased, to tambu their hands. This restriction continues for several months.

After the death of a great Chief, men and women of all ranks and ages tease and torment one another by performing a most whimsical ceremony, called veinasa. This singular custom is practised during the course of ten nights after the Chief's decease. The men arm themselves with an instrument formed of several longitudinal pieces of bamboos, about a foot in length, and tied together. With these they throw clay at the women, and seldom miss their mark. The women retaliate by lashing their assailants with the supple roots of trees, or the thick tough stems of creeping shrubs. Some of the females are furnished with cords, or small ropes, to the end of which small shells are fastened. They wield these weapons with great dexterity and efficiency, and frequently produce deep and indented gashes in the backs of their antagonists. These amazons face the clayey missiles of the men with fearless indifference, and for once the females of Feejee triumph over their despotic lords. They are so ardent and intrepid in the celebration of this part of the funeral obsequies, that one is apt to think that they are instigated by personal feeling, and that some determined, if possible, during the temporary reign of anarchy and confusion, to redress their grievances, and avenge the wrongs to which on other occasions they are obliged to submit.

Nor are the children of the relatives of the deceased exempt from the tragedy which follows the death of a Feejeean Chief. After the expiration of ten days, a joint of one of their little fingers is amputated. The finger is placed between the sharp edges of two axes, and the part to be cut off is severed from the finger with one blow of a heavy piece of wood on the upper axe. The child's finger is then held in the smoke of burning grass, to stop the bleeding of the wound. This is the only remedy which is applied. From this cruel obsequy the first-born of every family is exempt.

Whilst the children are being thus partially immolated on the altar of Moloch, the adults are shaving their beards and heads, and many of them are burning their cheeks, arms, and backs. Many of the relatives of the dead fast all day, and are allowed to eat only at night. Some are prohibited from eating pork for a certain time; and to others yams are forbidden. All have some part or other, feasting, mourning or rejoicing.

Group Three: Warfare.

(a) Defences.

(i) Natewa, Vanua Levu.

The next day we reached Nateva Matua (old Nateva), a place situated about five miles inland of Nateva Savana (sea-coast Nateva). It was an immense rock, in shape like an old castle, and perpendicular on each side, excepting a small point which came down in a gradual slant, up which was a path only wide enough for one to ascend at a time. On the top it was completely flat, with about fifty large houses in good repair. On the very extreme edge was built a high, thick, stone wall, so as to protect the houses from fire arms, with loop-holes through the walls. In front of each house was a large deep hole lined with stones in shape like a well, and in these holes they had a sufficient quantity of "mandrai" (preserved bread-fruit) to last a four years siege ... Nateva Savana ... was a large town, well fortified with wood and stone walls. Outside of these was an embankment about twelve feet high and almost as many thick, and a deep moat entirely surrounding everything, leaving one narrow entrance, which was approached by a path from the beach, very narrow with a deep ditch on each side full of water. All along the bottom of the ditches were stuck stakes sharpened at the upper end and hardened in fire, so that if you fell into either ditch these stakes would enter the body; but on account of the thickness of the water they would not be observed ...

(ii) Tokatoka, Rewa.

I ... bent my course towards Tokotoko, the place of warriors. I was surprised to see the intricate crooked paths that lead round innumerable moats and ditches, so constructed as to baffle and perplex the enemy. These ditches extend at least four miles round, and beyond the suburbs of Tokotoko, and have taken, I should say, the labour of this last century to complete

(iii) Vanua Vatu, Lau.

[14 January 1847] During this day I visited the heathen town which is in the most difficult place of any I have yet seen. It occupies the topmost point of a honeycombed rock accessible only

in one direction by a narrow footpath buried in the luxuriance of tropical foliage, and so irregular that one might be said to go by stepping-stones. The walk terminates at the foot of an abrupt perpendicular rise at the top of the rock. This, with a low wall of loose stones on the top of it, forms the fortification of the town which is behind and on it. For several yards there was no walk or path. By inserting my toes in the natural apertures of the perpendicular rock, and laying hold of any irregularity within reach, I moved on sideways towards the little entrance through the wall and found myself among the dwellers on the points of the rock, nearly every house seeming to occupy a distinct point....

(iv) Bua, Vanua Levu.

Soon after we received information that the several Islanders had combined, and were making preparations for attacking the King's place and the island of Taffier, the chief of which was the old King's nephew, who would not enter into the league. On being apprised of the storm, the King began to prepare a fort, and sent to the inferior chiefs to assist him, or fortify themselves. I mentioned to the King I thought it strange he had not long before provided himself with a fort: to which he answered, that ever since he had been king, he had been feared and respected, that when at war he had always been the strongest, and never had occasion to act on the defensive, which he observed was the only time a fort was useful. As the construction of their forts is ingenious, and shews the progress they have made in the art of war, I will give you an account of the one built for the King.

The ground he chose for the fort, was a dry spot of rising ground in the middle of a swamp, about twelve hundred yards in circumference. Round the dry parts, logs of wood were placed at equal distances, about ten feet long and one foot thick, which had been collected by four hundred natives in the surrounding woods, where they cut and from thence carried them on their shoulders. Holes were then dug in the ground into which these posts were placed, and afterwards filling earth about them, that became quite solid. About these posts, two heights of small trees were lashed lengthways with vines, the first three, the other six feet from the ground; to

these two heights of small trees they fasten in an upright position, bamboos, about forty feet long, which are placed close to each other all round the fort: the ends of them being buried a considerable depth in the soil, and mould thrown up against them. They form a complete and strong rampart. The fort has four gates, eight feet wide, at each of which they place perpendicularly four cocoa-nut trees, about sixty feet high: on the top of these platforms are erected sufficiently large to contain fifty men, and surrounded by a breast-work so strong and close as secures entirely those upon it, who by their slings and arrows have a great advantage over the besiegers. As an addition to the strength of the fort, they place the plantain tree, which is of a spongy substance, inside of the bamboos that surround it, which completely shelters them from the arrows etc. of the assailants. When attacked in the day time they leave the gates open, but at night they are secured by logs of wood laid across them. This is the manner the fort is constructed, the outer works of which are equally calculated for defence. It is encompassed by a ditch full of water, sixty yards wide, except in front of the gates, to which narrow pathways run through it, six feet wide. In the middle of these pathways they have a gate-way with a flanking barricade, so contrived that a number of men may conceal themselves behind it, and through which they have got holes for shooting their arrows, while they remain quite safe from the attacks of the enemy outside. At the outer extremity of the pathway there is also a barricade similar to that in the middle. This when forced is abandoned, and a stand is made in the inner one, and should this be carried, they retreat into the fort. The ditch, or the different divisions of it, is so planned as to keep it full, and not allow it to overflow, the water being conducted underground by hollow bamboos. Such a fort as the above was completed in less than a month.

The women were no less busy in preparing for the war, than the men. They were employed in grating or rubbing down the plantain, the sweet potatoe and the bread-fruit into a kind of jelly. This they wrapped up in leaves of the plantain, and deposited it inside of the fort in small holes covered over with stones. The bodies of their enemies and this jelly or paste are all they have to live upon in time of war, the provisions outside being generally destroyed by the besieging party.

(b) Warfare in Bua.

The following morning all the fleet was under sail steering towards the isle of Taffier with a fresh breeze. The canoe I was in, was one of the largest kind of double-canoes; it consisted of two single ones joined together by a platform, in the middle of which the mast is fixed. Round the sides of the platform there is a strong breastwork of bamboos, behind which they stand in engaging an enemy. There is also a house on the platform which is erected and taken down as circumstances require. The number of men on board amounted to two hundred. Captain Cook's account of the swift sailing of these vessels is quite correct, however incredible it may appear to those who have not seen them. With a moderate wind they will sail twenty miles an hour.

At 10 a.m. the canoe I was in reached the island of Taffier; the other part of the fleet not sailing so fast as we did, were about four miles astern. The crew of the canoe then got down their sail and house, strung their bows, and prepared for action. Before this was well performed, five small canoes carrying ten men each, came from the island to attack us. A man was stationed at both ends of our canoe, each having a long pole; by this means they kept the breastwork between them and the enemy. The battle was begun by a volley of stones from the slings; bows and arrows were then used, and as they neared each other they fought with spears and clubs. We should certainly have been taken if some of the light canoes of our party had not come up to our assistance, which made the islanders desist from the combat, and retreat into their fort, leaving the canoes in our possession. Several of them were wounded. On our side the chief and some others were wounded; and the canoe struck all over with spears and arrows.

At 4 p.m. the whole fleet of one hundred and fifty canoes had arrived, when the island was surrounded; which was about three miles in circumference, and completely barricaded all round with bamboos, stones etc. On the island there were about six hundred men. In the course of the afternoon the enemy made several sallies, in which many were wounded on both sides. Only one prisoner was taken, who was sent to the canoe I was in. At night all the canoes left the island, and ran over to the main-land, it being distant from it four

miles. Between this and the island there is a number of beds of coral rock. When we reached the main-land fires were kindled along the shore, round which a number of the party slept all night. The man that had been taken prisoner eat some yams that were given to him, and spoke about the war and other matters with great cheerfulness. He had several stumps of arrows in his body. Those who had been wounded were busily engaged in extracting the broken pieces of spears and arrows from their bodies, which they did in a very rough manner, with shells and pieces of bamboos. As their spears and arrows are generally pointed with the bill of the guardfish and other fish bones, it is impossible to get them out of the flesh without making incisions round them. I observed they did not assist the prisoner to dress his wounds: they told me they would be dressed in the morning, which they were with a vengeance, for at daylight he was brought forward by order of the Callow, and by a blow on the head with a club an end was put to his sufferings and existence together. He was about fifty years of age. His body was cut up and divided among the chiefs, who made a hearty breakfast of it. Some of my companions, I am sorry to say, eat a part of it involuntarily, mistaking it for pork, as it was cooked, and resembled it very much.

The attack on the island was continued for three days, and each day about twenty prisoners were taken; and at night they returned to the main land, upon which they always hauled up their canoes, and there they cooked and eat the bodies of their prisoners, packing up in baskets what was left.

In the morning of the 15th. of Octr. at break of day a canoe was sent over to the island the crew of which landed, and finding it evacuated by the natives, they set fire to one of the houses; at which signal all the canoes went over, and the men landed, leaving only two or three in each canoe to take care of them. Those on shore soon commenced to carry away the hogs, plantains, yams, mats, baskets, fishing nets and all the plunder they could get. When they could find no more they set fire to every house, and burnt or cut down all the cocoa-nut, breadfruit, yams and plantain trees which the island was covered with.

About one p.m. preparations were made for leaving the island, when some of the natives by chance went into a long point of

mangroves that projected from the island, where they discovered the retreat of about 350 old men, women and children. It appears that the Islanders finding they would be overpowered by numbers, some got away to the main-land in canoes, and others effected their escape by swimming; but these unfortunate, helpless beings not being able to accomplish it, had betaken themselves to this place for safety. They had not long to remain in suspense, for no sooner were they discovered than a general massacre took place; some were knocked down with clubs and lanced with spears etc. Several of the younger class attempted to run away. These their murderers pursued as they would chase a wild beast, and before they were overtaken had a number of arrows in different parts of their bodies. They were then dragged by the feet and hands over the rocks to the canoes which laid about 300 yards from the shore. Every one strove all he could to make the most prisoners. I saw two men bring down at one time five. Each of them had a pole, at the ends of which were hanging two children, and between them they dragged by the feet a woman of about forty years of age, most probably the mother of those four that were suspended from the poles. When this woman reached the canoe she was not quite dead, although she had been dragged a considerable way over rocks and through water; she had also received a wound on the side of the head with a club. They then placed her upright in the canoe and gave her some fresh water: she I believe might have recovered again, but one of the infernal monsters by one blow with his club, laid her silent for ever. No quarters were given to any but a boy about ten years old, who was remarkably deformed in his limbs and body; he, they said, was a Callow.

The scene of horror that I and my comrades here witnessed, who were all the time naked, with death pictured in our countenances, surpasses conception, and it is impossible for me to convey to the mind of the reader an adequate idea of this terrible scene of human misery. The shrieks and groans of the wounded and dying; the songs, the dance, and the hellish yells of the conquerors; their savage looks and gestures, and when the reader can fancy these, and our miserable situation, he may perhaps form some, though unequal representation of it. On board the canoe I was in, there were forty two dead bodies, and as the sun was very hot, water was thrown at times upon them. Night coming on the fleet left the island and went over to the main-land as usual. That night and next day they spent in cutting up and cooking the dead bodies of their prisoners.

(c) The Bau-Rewa War.

January 22d. This day the Chiefs and people of Rewa, and their dependencies, went to prepare a town by throwing up mounds, and building fences; when a kingdom of some importance, which had heretofore sided with, and in a certain way been subject to, Rewa, rose up against them as an enemy: seventeen men were killed, and the others put to flight. The whole was done by treachery, and the murderers thus declared that they had turned to the Bau party, and become hostile to the Rewa district. Our party burnt their town to ashes, but were obliged speedily to retreat. They appear greatly disconcerted. One of their Chief Priests was shot whilst swimming across the river, and, together with his musket, sank to rise no more. Poor fellow! I knew him well: he called on me two days before his death, to talk about some fowls he wished to sell me. He informed me that his temple had been just prepared, and meat-offerings and drink-offerings, etc., had been presented to the sacred edifice, for success in the war. I gave him a little advice, which he acknowledged to be good; but how far he was sincere in his remarks, I cannot pretend to say. I little thought, or he either, how near he was to another world.

From what I can learn, a plot was laid for some of the Rewa Chiefs to be killed on this occasion; but from some cause or other it did not succeed, though many of the native carpenters were clubbed. The Rewa people seem very much scared by their friends having been killed and the towns turning from them to Bau.

February 1st. The King gave orders this evening for our fence to be taken down, fearing that the enemy would come and take up their abode within it, and fire from thence upon them. I sent to say that it was just as he pleased: he might take it down if he wished it. Some men were sent accordingly, and commenced their work. Nggaraningio, the King's younger brother, disapproved, and ordered the men away. Some supposed that the Chief's youngest brother, who was always very friendly and kind to us, would come and take up his residence with us, and that we should side together, and our fence prove a shelter for him. Nggaraningio said to the people, "If you think the Missionary's fence is erected for the enemy, then go and fire on the Tonguese who

reside in the town, for they erected the fence". The King has since expressed himself as sorry that any part of our fence had been injured.

2d. - This afternoon the dead body of a man was brought here, who was slain yesterday. Our Teacher heard a man of great influence giving orders about the cooking of it; saying, "Let it be roasted quickly: do not throw any part of it away: take care of the entrails, that we may eat them also".

8th. - Since the last date, several of the enemy have been devoured at Rewa. This evening a Chief from the leeward, who has been residing at Rewa for some time past, and who, it is suspected, has been greatly assisting the King of Rewa's youngest brother in his intrigue, was clubbed and buried. The Chiefs ordered him to leave the town; and when the sun was down, he was stepping into a canoe, in order to return to his own town, when a man from behind him unexpectedly knocked his brains out by order of the Chiefs.

15th. - The enemy made a powerful attack this day on a town two or three miles distant from the Mission-station. The discharge of musketry was great. The enemy burnt more than one town, drove the Rewa people before them, and approached near to us, so that we could see the smoke of their muskets when fired; and had the day been long, they would have certainly made some havoc. The King and a select few were at the time drinking cava at the gate of our premises: they were, however, soon dispersed, and great confusion followed; for there is nothing like order amongst them on such occasions. Some were killed of each party.

March 18th. - This day an Ambassador was sent by Nggaraningio to one of the towns which have lately turned against them, with a whale's tooth, to buy them back again, if possible, by secrecy. He went, but unfortunately met some of the enemy in the way, who were going to make war on one of the towns of Rewa. They soon dispatched him. They did not, however, eat the body, but sent it to Nukui, the town where the youngest brother of the King of Rewa is residing: and from that place they called at Rewa, to inform them of it. The body was then fetched from thence by the people, to be buried; but the enemy had taken out his liver, heart, etc., and eaten them. They had also burned the body all over with some

native cloth, which had been worn by some women whose husbands were killed by treachery before this war commenced.

The circumstance of an Ambassador being killed, and his body thus degraded, produced a very peculiar feeling here. He was a fine young man, and much esteemed by the Chiefs. The body was buried at Rewa.

29th. - We have but just got a little quiet from the constant day-and-night beating of the death-drum; and it is again sounded in consequence of six women having this day fallen victims while engaged in catching fish in a branch of the river. They were encompassed by their enemies, and killed. There was a difficulty in carrying off the whole of the prey. Five of them were cut up in pieces with tomahawks, and then piled up together, and left; the other was clubbed, and brought to Rewa, - a young woman about eighteen years of age. I saw the corpse being dragged along the beach, with a multitude of men, women, and children following after, shouting and laughing. The arm of another female was also brought here. The death-drums give us no quiet now; for we are living within a stone's throw of the spot where the drums of Rewa are kept.

April 5th. - This morning the sister of the King of Rewa, the ex-Queen of Bau, brought over one of Nggaraningio's children, a little girl about four years old, for us to consider what her sickness was. I had previously heard that the child had picked a dead man's hand, and had since that lost flesh. I therefore at once asked them whether what I had heard were true. The reply given was, "We did not give the hand for her to eat, because it is unlawful for children to eat human flesh until they have recovered from the thoko" (a disease which native children are subject to, and which attacks them between the age of three and five years): "we only gave it to her to lick!" What an awful confession! And it was made with the most perfect indifference and unconcern. How dark is Feejee, poor Feejee! and how degraded! Cannibalism is a horrid feature in the face of Feejee! But cannibalism is not the only weight which sinks Feejee so morally low. It is evident that much of poor Feejee's pitiable state has been absorbed in that one most hateful and abominable practice, so that much of Feejee's darkness has been lost sight of; for, however dark it has been made by

cannibalism, that darkness has not been lessened, but increased, by other evils. Pity, O pity poor Feejee! Her claims remain with all their force unabated. The Gospel alone can save them even from these evils. We have already living witnesses to the truth of this remark. God grant they may daily increase!

9th. - This morning a white man, who has for some time past been residing at Rewa, called upon me for some medicine for a young lad who had been ill for a few days, and his friends were about to bury him alive; but through his interference the child was given up to him.

25th. - This afternoon about two hundred men belonging to this party brought the body of a man to Rewa, whom they had killed yesterday. On such occasions they go through a ceremony, singing and stamping and running, and flourishing their clubs, filling the welkin with their unearthly whoops of war and demoniacal shrieks. As they principally come from the towns on our side of the river, they very often have to wait for some time before a large canoe is sent from Rewa to take them across. It was so this day; and they brought the dead man and laid him, or rather threw him, down at our gate. He was a young Chief, belonging to a town which has turned to Bau. The corpse was tied to two sticks, and thus carried across the shoulders of men. His skull had been broken in. They threw about the body in a very disgusting manner, by placing their clubs under it, and then throwing it away to some distance; then again placing their clubs under the body, and throwing it into the air, and catching it on their clubs. On such occasions various ceremonies are gone through, which I cannot now enumerate, all of them evidently peculiar to Feejee.

29th. - It was but yesterday that the solemnities of the Sabbath were disturbed by a dead body being brought to Rewa, with all the noise and confusion attending such affairs; and this afternoon, as I was going to hold a prayer-meeting in our little chapel, a dead man was being taken into a canoe. They placed the body in a sitting posture at the end of the canoe, and kept it from falling by means of the poles with which they propel their canoes. I hastened from such a detestable scene, and could have wept over them. I lifted up a prayer to Almighty God to have mercy upon them.

30th. - Some Rewa men found a sick man in the bush, who was evidently abandoned. He was an enemy: they therefore made no scruple to club him. They brought him here: they did not eat him, for human flesh is not now so scarce that they should devour the sick; and bury him they would not. This evening, while I was standing on the bank of the river, within a yard or two of our fence, the corpse was floating down the stream.

May 1st. - This evening, by moonlight, some of the enemy from Nukui entered a small town near Rewa; and whilst those who were watching therein, or rather pretending so to do, were busy preparing ashes to daub their heads, according to a Feejeean custom, suddenly rushed upon them, killed six men, wounded two others, put the remainder to flight, and carried off the whole prey.

8th. - Today twelve of our party were killed and carried off, without the enemy being disturbed. The latter were returning from Nukui, and fell in with these of the Rewa party in the bush. Those who fled escaped with difficulty.

18th. - Two boys belonging to a small town near us went today to catch eels: they were discovered by the enemy, clubbed, and carried away. A foraging party also this morning killed a man belonging to the enemy. I myself witnessed some little naked boys dragging the dead body along the edge of the river on the Rewa side, by a string tied to the foot. They seemed quite delighted with the employment assigned them, and were singing and shouting merrily. They were dragging it away to the place where dead bodies of men are prepared for the oven. The Teacher was at Rewa at the time, and saw a man waiting on the bank with his bamboo knife to embowel the corpse, and others to prepare it for being roasted. The man killed was of middle age, very powerful, and, I believe, a Chief of some importance. You will perhaps readily credit us when we tell you that we are sick of such sights, notwithstanding we are somewhat inured to them.

26th. - The Rewa people, with their fishermen from some other towns, lay in ambush on the coast, and on some uninhabited islands near Nukui, to see if they could intercept any of the enemy who may be travelling by land or by water. It unfortunately happened that some canoes were returning to Nukui from one of the enemy's towns on the

coast, whither they went yesterday for the purpose of procuring bread-fruit, etc. They were ignorant of the plans of their opponents, and were entrapped. One canoe which was captured passed between two islands on which the foe lay concealed, so that they were in the midst of it, and ignorant of it until the enemy shouted over them as conquered: it was then impossible for them to make their escape. There were one woman and four men in the canoe. One man jumped overboard, and escaped by swimming to a great distance; the other three were caught: of these, the female and two men were clubbed, and the remaining man taken alive and bound. He was with some difficulty brought here; for he was a strong, well-made young man, six feet high, and perhaps thirty years of age. When brought ashore he was placed bound on the ground, and forced to chew dried cava for Feejeeans who wished to drink it. He was quite naked, having been stripped even of the little native cloth the natives wear round their waist. In this state he remained several hours, exposed to all kinds of malice and ill-treatment of the people, who are greatly exasperated on account of those lately cut off at a town near Rewa, and belonging thereto. Men, women, and children assembled in hundreds; and no one hindered them from torturing him according to their brutality and revenge. He was truly a lamentable spectacle to every one but the Heathen, who seemed in a state of general rejoicing. The others who were killed when he was taken, were laid out just before his eyes, to aggravate as much as possible his circumstances, and to keep him every minute in remembrance of what his fate would be. Some stoned him, others speared him, others struck or bit him, some pulled his hair, others fired arrows into his body. Some menaced, jeered, and laughed at him; others derided him with an assurance of being set at liberty. One of our lotu people made his way among the Heathen, and oiled the poor fellow all over: he said that he longed for them to put him quickly out of his torture, for he was sure that he would be killed; and the sooner they did it the better. He seemed to envy the speedy removal of the other three. In the afternoon he was brought in triumph, with the three dead bodies, to be presented, as trophies of success in the war, to the Chiefs of Rewa, by those who killed them. The canoes passed before our premises, and landed across the river just opposite our little town. I saw the poor fellow, truly in his enemy's power, and in the most painful and unenviable situation. My heart bled for him, and I felt assured that God Almighty would signally visit for such things. He walked into the middle of the kore, and was made to sit down in the open area, where the Chiefs and people assembled. After remaining there a certain time, he was taken to the bank of the river and clubbed.

Among the many hundreds assembled together on this occasion, he alone seemed dejected, and he alone seemed to feel the awful situation in which he was placed. The Captain of a little schooner, which was here at the time, offered to give two muskets, to which some white men were willing to add four large whale's teeth, (which are most valuable in Feejee, and for which individuals and towns are often destroyed,) to the King of Rewa, if he would spare the life of the poor man: he also promised, if they wished it, to take him away in his vessel out of the country: but they would not spare him, they would not yield; their revenge had not been satiated on their victim, and for his blood they clamoured, for his flesh they lusted. It was considered by them giving up their enemy at too easy a rate. "Implacable, unmerciful". Much as they love property, yet in this instance, when they were called upon to make such a sacrifice, they would not look at it.

The King said, in reply to the request of the white men, that the man had been wounded in the head, and that he would die if they bought him, and that such a thing as that would be bad, so that he had much better be clubbed. Some of the Rewa Chiefs were very angry because any foreigners interfered with them so as to intercede for the life of their enemy, and said that it was the practice of Feejee to kill and eat their foes when they could catch them. The King's reply was merely an excuse. A sister of the young man who was clubbed is a professor of Christianity; and another relative is a member of our society here.

The dead body of the female was a very horrid spectacle. Her skull had been cleft in two equal parts. The man who was taken alive had been living with Thokenauto, the King of Rewa's youngest brother; and when residing at Rewa was frequently at our house with his Chief. The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel; but this account, horrifying as it is to us, is most lenient in comparison with the means which are used on some occasions to torture men. I was, however, much affected when I witnessed the poor creature's situation, without having it in my power to help him out of it. The lotu people who are residing in our little town were also greatly moved by the scene. All else seemed elated with glee; and every little occurrence which added to the misery of the victim added in a proportionate degree, or to a greater extent, to their savage

hilarity and barbarous merriment. Some of the Heathen, as they passed by, spake of the poor fellow as being a fine turtle and a fat pig. Do not think that all the horrid evils of Feejee have been told you.

June 1st. - This day a town belonging to Rewa, but which has turned to Bau in this war, was burnt by some of our allies, and thirty-six persons of the enemy and of this party killed. They had, however, to retreat with all speed, and were only able to obtain the body of a child of three years old, which they brought to Rewa to be cooked and eaten.

I would here just mention, that some canoes, which were returning from Kandavoo to Rewa, a short time since, and who knew not that the King's youngest brother had been driven to Nukui, were unexpectedly attacked by a Bau canoe, which had come from Bau to Nukui, and nearly thirty individuals were shot, or clubbed, or speared to death. Some of the bodies sank; but most of them were carried to Bau. Men, women, and children, lost their lives on this occasion. Some of the Bau party were wounded, and one or two killed. Two or three escaped by swimming. One man got free in rather a curious way. When the two canoes struck, the mast of that from Kandavoo fell, and the poor fellows were entangled in the sail, and thus clubbed. When they were all dead, as was supposed, the party who had conquered threw the sail into the water, and, having taken what things they more particularly wanted from the canoe, permitted it to drift away to sea, thinking, perhaps, that they had better escape as soon as possible, as the shades of evening were gathering around them. One man, however, managed to conceal himself in the sail, and, when it was thrown overboard, floated away with it. Some of the enemy again wished the sail to be secured, others opposed it. He heard them talking about it, and knew, if they again obtained the sail, he would be discovered and be killed. They did not, however, take the sail. He said that he was almost dead with fright, but that he prayed to his little god, and he saved him. When the enemy were out of sight, he swam to the canoe, which was afloat, although filled with water. He then called out with all his strength to know if any of his friends were yet alive by swimming; after some time had elapsed, he saw two men making towards the canoe. When they reached it, they commenced baling the water out of the canoe by

taking off their native dress, and soaking up the water and then squeezing it out; and thus in time she was fit to be propelled. They then got ashore, climbed some nut-trees, and made a sail from some of the leaves, and thus were able to reach Beugga, an island about twenty miles from Rewa, and were thus saved. It was some time after this happened before it was known that any were saved. I have conversed with this young man since his return to Rewa; and received the above-mentioned account from his own lips.

(d) Cannibalism (Macuata)

The bodies of the three dead savages were carried in front, lashed on long poles in a singular manner. They were bound with wythes by bringing the upper and lower parts of the legs together and binding them to the body, and the arms in a similar manner by bringing the elbows to rest on the knees, and their hands tied upon each side of the neck. Their backs were confined to poles which were about twelve feet long. One was lashed on each pole, with six men, three at each end, to carry it.

Those who carried the bodies walked with a limping gait, bending their left knees almost to the ground, but doing it in exact time with the war song they were singing.

They proceeded immediately in front of the Boore (a large hut to be used only on public occasions) and threw the dead bodies from their shoulders with the most savage triumph. Two of them were untied from the poles while the third and smallest one, was by the order of the King, sent to some particular friend of his belonging to a neighbouring tribe, from whom he had received similar tokens of friendship.

This was a great day at Bona-ra-ra. A day of great rejoicing. This tribe had not only been successful in securing the slain. Little credit is given to the warrior who kills his enemies if he does not obtain their bodies; much more is thought of the savage who kills one man and carries him home, than of the individual who may kill a hundred and let their dead bodies fall into the hands of the enemy. Their chief glory consists not so much in killing, as in eating their enemies.

I noticed that a very particular interest was taken in one of the dead savages, and there were none present who talked louder or expressed more vehement gestures, or savage feeling, than an old woman. This matter I could not understand. I asked a young savage who stood near me, what was their particular interest in that man more than the other? He told me that some time previous this tribe had made war with the Andre-getta [Dreketi] people, and the son of this old woman was a young chief in the fight and was slain; and

it was believed that this individual had killed him. Whether it was so or not, the old woman believed it and the priest believed it, and wished to wreak their revenge on some savage, though it were a dead one. I had seated myself on the large roots of a cocoanut tree in front of the whole ceremony. After it was satisfactorily settled that this was the savage who had killed the young chief, they proceeded systematically to fill up the measure of their revenge.

This old female savage went to her hut and brought all the property of her late son; such as sleeping mats, tappa, i-fow carlic, angona-dish, and some other little furniture which make up the necessaries of a chief's dwelling. The angona bowl was placed near the head of the dead savage; a bamboo of water was brought and laid by his side, when several young men after well rinsing their mouths, were employed in chewing and preparing a bowl of angona. After the drink was made ready this old savage after a short speech from the priest, who had continued to make low guttural sounds and shake himself through the whole ceremony, took her small dish full of the liquor and presenting it to the lips of the dead savage bade him drink. No sooner was this done than a general yell ran through the tribe - "Amba cula boy thu-ie", he is a stinking dead man. She then dashed the liquor in his face and broke the dish in pieces upon it. She then took up her bamboo of water and removing the tuft of grass from the end placed it also to the mouth of the dead man and again bade him drink. A repetition of the same ceremony was gone through with, when she poured all the water upon his face and then broke the bamboo in pieces upon his head, and told the men to take it to cut him up with, bamboo, split to a sharp edge was called by the isulic (a term applied to knife), which instrument alone they allowed themselves to use in cutting to pieces a dead body.

The old woman had now gone her way knowing that her orders would be executed, and well aware of the strict prohibition against her, or any of her sex either to assist in preparing, or eating human flesh.

The head of the savage on whom this ceremony commenced was first cut off and laid aside, then the furniture that was brought by the old woman was broken up and placed around it; and set fire to it so that the whole was entirely consumed about the head, and

rendered thereby in a fit state for cleansing; and hair being burnt off and the flesh so singed that it was scraped perfectly white.

As soon as this affair was ended a dance commenced as it is customary on all such occasions. As the warriors who were engaged in the fight, and some aged men who staid at home, had now prepared themselves for this savage expression of joy. The Feejeeans wear but little clothing on ordinary occasions and on this they were in a state of complete nudity. They were painted in a most frightful manner, as great diversity of painting, or marking was observed by them as could be devised, each one attempting to outdo the other in the most loathsome obscenity and savage appearance. They use but three kinds of paint upon their bodies which are black, red, and yellow. The black is made from a small nut which grows upon the ground, it is burnt to a coal and pounded up between flat stones, and prepared by mixing it with cocoanut oil. The red and yellow paint used by them is a mineral similar to our ochre, if not precisely the same in substance. The yellow is held by them in high estimation. It is mixed with cocoanut oil, scented with sandalwood and fragrant herbs, and is the first dressing received by the new born infant. It is called by them re-ringer.

There were about one hundred dancers who came upon the ground at once and the same time with terrific yells. Their dance was made up of the most violent and distended motion of the limbs, often prostrating themselves on the ground upon their backs, and springing again instantly to their places, without however for a moment ceasing to chant their war song in a very low but distinct manner. Their only instrumental music on this occasion was that of two savages beating upon the end of a hollow log four or six feet in length, which is always heard on such occasions, and also as an alarm for war.

Within the ring of dancers had the old woman's command been promptly executed.

They commenced in their usual systematic way of cutting up a dead body. The heads of both savages being now taken off, they next cut off the right hand and the left foot, right elbow and left knee,

and so in like manner until all the limbs separated from the body.

An oblong piece was then taken from the body commencing at the bottom of the chest and passing downwards about eight inches, and three or four inches wide at its broadest part. This was carefully laid aside for the King, it being strictly prohibited for anyone else to eat of it.

The entrails and vitals were then taken out and cleansed for cooking. But I shall not here particularize. The scene is too revolting. The flesh was then cut through the ribs to the spine of the back which was broken, thus the body was separated into two pieces. This was truly a sickening sight. I saw after they had cut through the ribs of the stoutest man, a savage jump upon the back, one end of which rested upon the ground, and the other was held in the hands and rested upon the knees of another savage, three times before he succeeded in breaking it.

This ended the dissection of the bodies.

While this was going on, the lobu or oven was prepared which was made as follows. An excavation is made in the earth of a concave form about six feet in diameter and a foot and a half deep in the centre, and smoothly lined with small stones. A large fire is then made in it, with small stones placed among the burning fuel for the purpose of heating them, and as the bodies are cut to pieces they are thrown upon the fire, which after being thoroughly singed are scraped while hot by savages, who sit around the fire for this purpose. The skin by this process is made perfectly white, this being the manner in which they dress their hogs, and other animal food.

To show their excessive greediness for human flesh, and their savage thirst for blood, I need only to relate a particular circumstance which took place at the time. The head of the savage which was last taken off, was thrown towards the fire, and being thrown some distance it rolled a few feet from the men who were employed around it; when it was stolen by one of the savages who carried it behind the tree where I was sitting. He took the head in his lap and after combing away the hair from the top of it with

his fingers picked out the pieces of the skull which was broken by the war club and commenced eating the brains. This was too much for me. I moved my position, the thief was discovered and was as soon compelled to give up his booty, it being considered by the others he had got by far too great a share.

The process of cleansing and preparing this flesh, occupies about two hours. There was no part of these bodies which I did not see cleansed and put in the oven.

The stones which had been placed upon the fire, were now removed, the oven cleaned out, the flesh carefully and very neatly wrapped in fresh plantain leaves, and placed in it. The hot stones were also wrapped in leaves and placed among the flesh, and after it was all deposited in the oven, it was covered up two or three inches with the same kind of leaves, and the whole covered up with earth of sufficient depth to retain the heat.

It was now about sunset; the oven was completely covered, and a new dance commenced around it which continued for some time. I ascertained by the natives, that it would be past midnight before they would open their oven, and being desirous of seeing the end of this affair, and recollecting that I had no anchor watch to stand that night, I resolved to go to the beche-le-mer house which was on the opposite side of the village, and spent part of the night, caring only to get on board the ship next morning in season to turn to with all hands, in washing the decks. I therefore proceeded on my way across the village, when I met with Sina-beatee, a chief with whom I was well acquainted, who asked me to go with him to his hut, and take something to eat. I followed my host to his cabin, and made a good supper, after which I left him and renewed my way across the village to the ship's house.

I turned out about midnight, sauntered about the beche-le-mer house until nearly daylight, and then made my way back again to the Boore.

I soon found on nearing the house, by seeing the torches about the oven, and also by the scent of their cooked flesh, that their feast had begun; and on my arrival I found they were nearly done.

It was soon reported to the chiefs that a white man was at the door, and after some enquiry I was invited to the feast. Being well acquainted with the King, as well as Sina-beatee with whom I had supped the evening previous, I felt somewhat at home and took a seat beside the last named personage. It was not yet daylight and there was no light in the house except a small fire kept burning at each of the three doors to keep out the mosquitoes, which served for little or no other purpose. I had been seated but a moment or two when I heard the Chief Sina-beatee (who was kept on board the ship as a hostage for the men on shore who were getting a cargo for the ship, but who had been released by the Captain on this occasion the evening previous), say to the King "Had we not better give the white man something to eat?" "Yes," said the King; "you can send and get him some yam, for he will not eat our meat". Sina-beatee replied, "I know he will not, but I consider the meat by far the best and as a token of good will, having received presents from him, I wish to present him some". The King after a mute silence of a moment, told one of his ki-sees or slaves to give the white chief (allowing me that title in consideration of the respect shown me by Sina-beatee) the best piece which was left, it being nearly all eaten up. He went to the centre of the Boo-re where lay some unbroken bunches of meat, the savages being placed generally on the sides of the room, and selected a piece, telling the King what it was before removing it. The King said it was "slave's meat", which he regretted, saying to Sina-beatee, he wished it was a better piece and ordered the slave to give it me. It was accordingly brought carefully wrapped in a plantain leaf as it had been placed in the oven. I unwrapped it and found it to be a part of a foot taken off at the ankle and the joints of the toes. I made an excuse for not eating it, by saying that it had been kept too long after it was killed, before it was cooked, it being about thirty-six hours. The King replied, it was not half so long as you white men keep your bullum-a-cow! meaning salt beef, a name derived from bull and cow, by American seamen. Salted meat was considered by them the most unhealthy and loathsome food that could be eaten, and was the means of creating a strong prejudice against the whites for eating it. I had no desire to discuss the question of diet with this old savage and cannibal, knowing that I could not convince him of the base impropriety of eating human flesh, and well aware that he could not prevail upon

me to exchange the cured flesh of a well stalled ox for the jackall food of his murdered victims.

As the light of day shone into the hut, it revealed a sight seldom witnessed by civilized man. Around the hut sat sixty or seventy cannibals, more frightful than ever if possible; their paint being rubbed together in many instances, gave their bodies such an appearance as for a moment to lead one to doubt that they were human beings. Before one savage, would lay a human head, save that part which would be in possession of another. The bones of these bodies were well distributed among them, showing conclusively that none had failed to get their share. I had understood by them that the oven was opened about midnight, and that they had now done their feast; what was left was to be given to the boys; the women, as I have before stated, were not allowed to taste of it though they frequently got it by stealth, as some of them did on this occasion after the bones were broken meat was given to the boys. My attention was directed to an old Tonga ta boo savage, whom I had seen, however, frequently before, who was a Ma-ti or mechanic among them, whose particular business it was to manufacture sail needles from the shin bones of their cannibal victims. The sails to their canoes, being made in a triangular form, of thick mats sewed together with sennet, renders it necessary to have long and crooked needles, and perhaps there is nothing among them from which this article could be so well manufactured as from the shin bone of a man. This old savage sat near the King, with four shin bones between his own, and feeling himself entitled by his peculiar occupation to those parts of the victim, never failed to have his share of the spoils. I had heard through my whole stay at this place that he was the most notorious cannibal in the tribe; and his whole appearance conformed well with his acknowledged character.

Group Four: Foreigners

(a) (i) Fijian and Tongan Interaction.

Fijian contacts with Tonga are recorded in traditions as early as the reign of the eleventh Tu'i Tonga, Tu'itatui (circa 1200). During this time a Fijian chief, Tu'i Motuliki, was reputed to have settled near Mt. Talau, Vava'u and become a matapule (as Tu'i Talau) in the Tu'i Tonga's Falefa, playing an important role in the ceremony and politics of Tonga (Gifford, Tongan Society, p.13, p.64 ff.). The matapule of the Falefa were alleged to have been instrumental in the assassinations of various Tu'i Tonga as their foreign blood protected them from the curse which would fall on Tongans who performed such a murder. Fijians became related by blood to the Tu'i Tonga line when Sinaitakala I, sister of the thirteenth Tu'i Tonga, Fatafahi, married the Fijian chief, Tapu'osi (circa 1620). The children of this union, Fonokimoana and Fonomanu, were the first female Tamaha and first Tu'i Lakepa respectively. The former was the highest ranking individual in Tonga, the latter the founder of the Fale Fisi with its titles Tu'i Ha'ateiho, Malupo, Tu'i Ha'a Ngana and Tu'i Afitu (amongst others). Fijians became part of the very powerful and later supreme, Tu'i Kanokupolu family when the third of the line, Mataeletu'apiko, gave his daughter, Toafilimoe'unga, to the Lakeban chief, Baleisasa. Their child was the first Lasike. It was Lasike's daughter, Kavakipopua, who married Ma'afu'otu'itonga. Their son, Mumui, founded the Tupou dynasty. Also in Mataeletu'apiko's time, Tui Soso of Nukunuku, Lakeba, arrived and was given the Tu'i Kanokupolu's son as his own, he himself beginning the Tu'i Vakano line. Fijian blood flowed also in the Ha'a Ngata Tupu line, the family of Finau Ulukalala. When Rasolo was Tui Nayau, his sister, Vuturogo, became a wife of Ulukalala I. These examples of course are only a leaf of a forest of contacts including Vuna's relationships with Pea and Tu'i Cakau's relationships with Mu'a. (See Hocart, Northern States of Fiji, p.65, p.86). What is certain is that Fijian influence in Tonga was very significant, a marked part of the complexion of many leading families. What is also certain is that the reverse was equally true. Tongan blood flowed in veins throughout Fiji. Just as Vuturogo became a wife of the Vava'u head so too, Laufiti became a wife to Rasolo. Their son, Malani, (see genealogy of Navuanirewa) eventually overcame Mataiwalu to become Tui Nayau through Tongan help (A.C. Reid, "The Fruit of the Rewa",

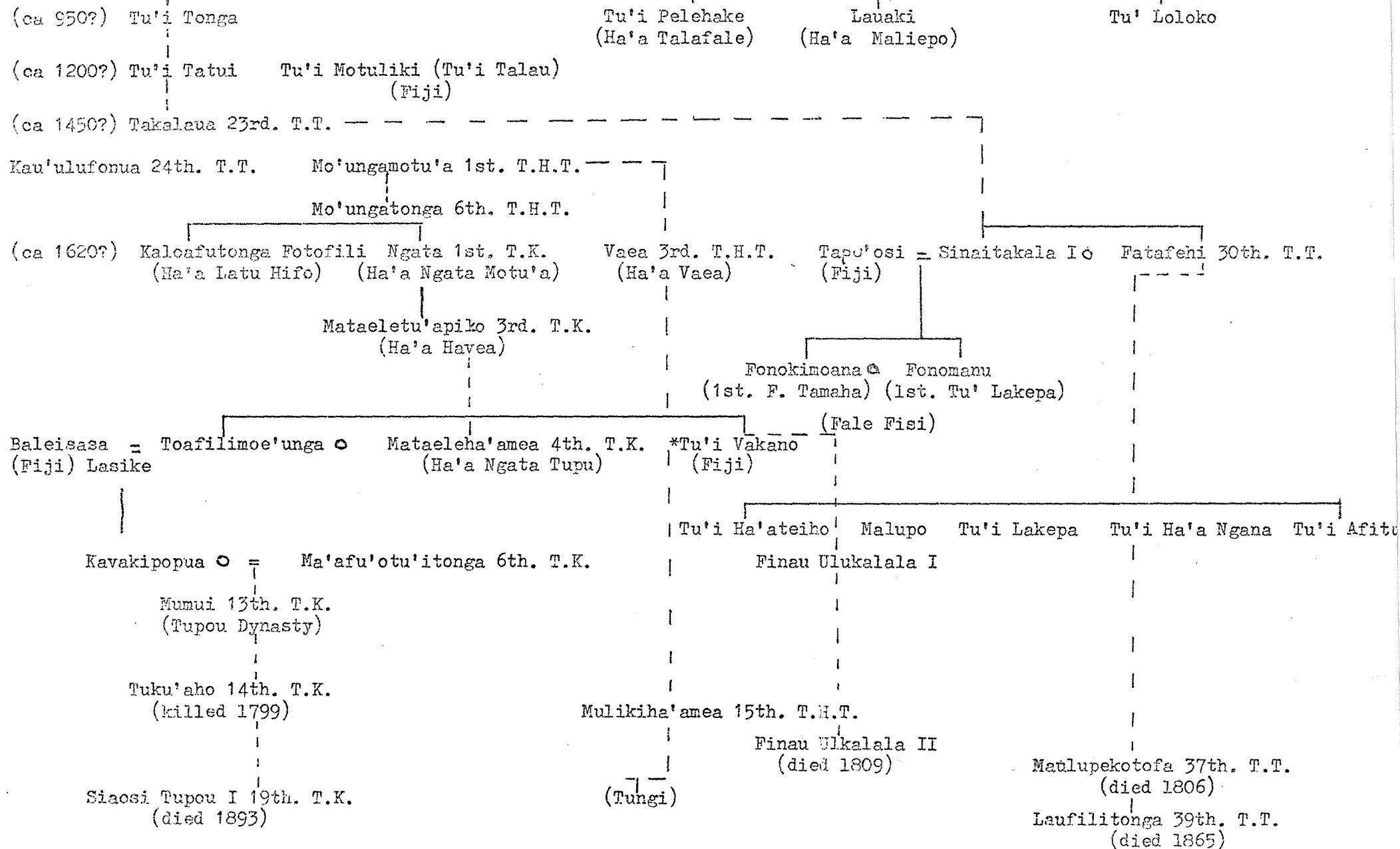
p.18). Thus, when the sons of Tupouniua, half brother to Ulukalala II, came to Fiji in the thirties, they were amongst relatives, and when Lualala fled Tonga in 1837 he came to his own family, he being the son of Ulukalala Ma'ufanga and Vuturogo.

Fiji was by the late eighteenth century, frequented by groups of peripatetic Tongans who took part in Fijian wars, acting as mercenaries for various chiefs in return for wealth. Typical of such men was Tu'i Hafa Fatai, who went to Fiji with 250 men for two and a half years before returning home, (Mariner, Volume one, p.73ff.) Kau Moala, who returned home with a canoe "laden with sandalwood", (Ibid. p.317), Finau Ulukalala I, who went for war, women and drua, (A.C. Reid, op.cit., p.15) and Tupoumalohi who spent much time in Fiji before returning to become Tu'i Kanokupolu (Hocart, op.cit., p.92). In myth at least, the link is even more basic. "Kubunavanua", the ancestor hero of Bau and elsewhere, may well have been a Tongan. It was he whom the Tui Kaba acknowledged as their war god (Kubunavanua, → Komainayavucecere → Cagawalu). The speaking chief of the Tui Kaba, the Tunitoga, was also reputedly of Tongan origin. It was within this tradition that Lasike and Tupou Toutai fitted, mercenary sailors for the Vunivalu of Bau. Apart from the transitory visits of young bloods, communities of Tongans were established throughout Fiji and there were Tongan craftsmen and sailor groups in Cakaudrove (the turtle fishermen of Welitoa, for example), in Rewa (the matai and sailors of the Na Sigatoka) in Bau, Nadroga (the Kalevu, Wakanimolikula was reputedly a Tongan) in Bua, Macuata, throughout Lau, Lomaiviti and Kadavu (at Wailevu, Namalata, Matanivanua and Yavi; see R.B. Lyth, Day Book and Journal, B539, Sequence B). Tongan influence in Lau was so widespread in fact that the Tongan language was the lingua franca of the group by the 1820s (see Peter Bays, The Wreck of the Minerva,)

These groups were by no means homogeneous. The diversity of opinion and allegiance amongst the various Tongan groups in Fiji by the 1840s was a reflection of the antipathies at home as Taufa'ahau struggled for control. Up until 1848, the major thrust of Tongan military activity was pro Bauan, as Lasike and after his death, Tupou Toutai, fought for the Vunivalu in his wars. They resented any attempts by Tupou 'Uluaki to extend his influence into Fiji (he being for one thing, the son of the man who killed their father). After their deaths, the power of the Tu'i Kanokupolu

exercised by Siaosi's lieutenant, Ma'afu'otu'itonga, replaced that of the Vava'u family, as collaboration slowly shaded into confrontation. The hostilities of the Tongan scene were still acted out however, amongst Tongans in Fiji. Tu'i Tonga adherents opposed Tupou Uluaki's interests as did members of the Ha'a Ngata Tupu and any other families with interests antithetical to Taufa'ahau's.

- (a) (ii) Fijian influence in Tongan noble lineages.
(After E.W. Gifford and A.C. Reid)



KEY: T.T. = Tu'i Tonga
 T.H.T. = Tu'i Ha'a Taka laua
 T.K. = Tu'i Kanokupolu
 *Tu'i Vakano = Mataeletu'apiko's son given to Tui Soso (Fiji), the first Tu'i Vakano
 ○ = Female

(b) Early European activities in Fiji.

From 1804 to 1811, the height of the Sandalwood trade, at least thirty ships came to Fiji. Many in this earliest period came from Port Jackson, some from the New England ports of Nantucket, Salem and Boston and a few from Calcutta. This early period of European contact has been well documented and fully discussed. [See for example Doug Munro, "Fijian Sandalwood and beche de mer", M.A. (Qualifying) A.N.U., 1973, which has valuable Appendices listing the ships involved, their captains, ports of registration and cargoes taken. It is the fullest list available though not complete. (See R. Gerard Ward, American Activities in the Central Pacific, vol. 2, p.375)]. The Port Jackson interest arose partly from the fact that Fiji, Samoa, Tonga, the Cooks, the Society and Tuamotu groups were recognized as part of New South Wales under Phillip's original Commission. [Margaret Steven, Merchant Campbell, 1769-1846, p.146]. By 1806 official support was given to Colonial traders by Governor King to help them in competition with Americans (Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol. 6; 10 June 1806, Memorial of John MacArthur to Governor King). There is also a good discussion of this period by E. Im Thurn and W.C. Wharton in their introduction to The Journal of William Lockerby. Beachcomber activities are also fully discussed in Dr. Ian Campbell's, "European Transculturists in Polynesia, 1789-ca. 1840," Ph.D. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1976. Dr. Campbell and Dr. Peter France (The Charter of the Land) have provided the necessary antidote to the thesis which may be termed the "Savage" school of historiography which sees Europeans as the reason behind Bau's rise. Popularized by the Reverend Joseph Waterhouse in The King and People of Fiji, (p.26 ff.) and reaching its climax in Basil Thomson's South Sea Yarns (p.288 ff.) it still lives on (see J.C. Orr, Savage of Bau, Sydney, 1977).

(c) (i) Epidemics.

The accounts of the epidemics are as fascinating as their interpretations are confused. The Commission of Inquiry set up to investigate the reasons for the decline in the Fijian population in 1899 (pp. 34-36) claims that the lila was probably introduced in 1791 by Lieutenant Hayward of H.M.S. Pandora. He had been despatched to Fiji by Captain Edwards in a Tongan canoe hired at Namuka to search for the Bounty mutineers. The Commissioners suggest he may have landed at Lakeba. But as Basil Thomson points out in a footnote to George Hamilton's journal (surgeon of the Pandora) the reference to Fiji [Voyage of H.M.S. Pandora, p.132] is a mistake (although Thomson himself makes the same mistake in his South Sea Yarns, p.289 ff.) It is nevertheless true that the tender of the Pandora was lost in a storm off Upolu on 22 June 1791. [Report of Capt. Edwards, Voyage ..., p.51.] It reached an island in the Fiji group (probably Matuku) where the nine men on board lived for five weeks before sailing west. [E. Im Thurn and L.C. Wharton, The Journal of William Lockerby, p.xx ff.]. Conceivably the lila could have been introduced then. Traditions from both Noco and Nakelo [Commission of Inquiry ... p.35] indicate that sufficient time elapsed between the lila and the cokadra epidemics to allow some recovery of population to take place. The Commissioners also claim that Nalila, the Lasakau chief, clubbed in 1845, ["Komaibole"] who had been named in memory of the first sickness, was 50 when he was murdered. This would allow a 1791 date if he is allowed a few more years. When attempting to date the second epidemic, however, the Commission's inconsistency is slightly bewildering. Quoting Ilai Motonicocoka as their authority, they claim the comet of 1803, marked the coming of the cokadra when Motonicocoka clearly states that the comet of the tradition [included as an Appendix in the Commission's report] was contemporary with the lila not the cokadra. (Motonicocoka's source was an early meke composed by two women captured at Buretu and taken to Bau). Furthermore they suggest that the total eclipse at Naulivou's installation might be that of 7 September 1802 while suggesting the Argo wreck, which they claim brought the cokadra, might have occurred as late as 1803. If so, Naulivou is being installed before Banuve died, before the epidemic hit. In addition the account of the Argo wreck the Commission used is that used by Messrs. Im Thurn and Wharton, (p.xli) namely that of Lavenia of Vatutuva, Oneata, published in the October issue of Namata, 1893. In her account the

disease is described as lila not cokadra. Now Messrs. Im Thurn and Wharton reject the 1791 (lila) - 1802-3 (cokadra) timetable, and suggest 1800 (lila via Argo) - 1801 (cokadra via El Plumier) in its stead. Their case would be convincing were it not for several anomalies. Firstly, Lavenia's account mentions lila and diarrhoea almost in the same breath. If this ship, the Argo, (which certainly would seem more correctly dated at 1800 than 1802-3 given their impressive evidence) was the source of lila, why did it not kill Banuve? After all, the Levuka men on Oneata, according to Lavenia, travelled with the foreigners and spoils to Bau, infected men, as the mortality on Oneata testifies to. This is what the Commission, quite logically (at least on this point) claims happened. Im Thurn and Wharton claim the dysentery came with a second ship (Their evidence for this ship comes from a meke provided by three sources [Nemani Dausiga, Ilai Motonicocoka and Seru, wife of a Buli of Moala in the 1890s]) and that this killed Banuve. This is possible but unfortunately they fail to explain why some traditions give time for repopulation between epidemics, nor do they consider the 1791 date which needs rebuttal if their own case is to stand. Neither is Nalila's case considered though they could have claimed his age was 45 when he was clubbed giving a 1800 date for the lila!

When it comes to dating by comets neither case is very convincing. The 1799 comet may well have been that mentioned in Motonicocoka's account of the lila (an omission of five lines in this account of the meke confuses the issue somewhat, lines included in Basil Thomson's South Sea Yarns, p.293) and it is true Lavenia talks of lila in her account of the Argo wreck. But her account must be suspect for she also mentions diarrhoea. It is a late source for an early period and I believe inaccurate on this point. There was certainly a comet in 1803 which the Commission used to date the dysentery but which Im Thurn and Wharton fail to comment on. If there were a comet in 1791 of significant size to be remembered, I would incline to the 1791 date as that for the lila and 1800 for the dysentery by the second ship, perhaps the El Plumier, a year later. If Lavenia's account is accurate concerning the taking of Europeans from Oneata to Bau after the Argo wreck, Banuve's death probably occurred in 1800. If by some chance he survived this contact the second sickness of 1801 may have killed him.

That there were two epidemics seems certain and that they were appalling in their effects seems equally certain. Beyond that, the account of Lavenia of Vatutuva, the later transcriptions of earlier traditions, and their interpretations by European commentators have so many discrepancies and inconsistencies that the dates of the epidemics and of Banuve's death are uncertain.

(c) (ii) The story of the "Lila Balavu", Ilai Motonicocoka.

Only two things are known about the year in which the "Lila Balavu" attacked our ancestors; it was the year in which the first European ship came, and it was the year in which the comet with three tails appeared. Our ancestors knew that the "Lila Balavu" attacked them at the time they saw the first European ship. This was the first ship they saw, but a number of others came later.

Now, our fathers have told us that when they caught the lila their legs felt light to them, and when they walked they reeled about, and fell down, and where they fell they lay. And they also said, "Not many died of the disease, but only those who were strangled (yateba) by their friends". And it is said that from the time of the lila the practice of strangling persons who had lain ill for a long time began, and it was called yateba, but the practice of strangling widows to the 'manes' of their husbands (loloku ni mate) was a very old one. The loloku is quite distinct from the yateba: they are in no way the same. Thus it became the custom of our ancestors in Fiji to strangle those who had been long suffering from some infectious sickness, and the custom only ceased with the introduction of Christianity.

It is quite certain that in the year when the lila attacked our ancestors a fearful portent appeared, namely, a forked star.

As for the lila, it is said that they did not nurse the sick, but that they followed the customs of an ignorant time, and this was the reason they died. It is also said that when the lila reached Naitasiri they suffered excessively, and so they came to drink a herb as medicine when they were attacked, and the herb cured the chiefs of Naitasiri, and quite extirpated the lila from that State, so they called the herb Vueti Naitasiri (the healer of Naitasiri), and the name has remained even to this day. Perhaps they named it so as a reminder to them that the herb had cured the men of Naitasiri of the lila. Now I have read in Na Mata a meke concerning the lila, and I shall now give the origin of that meke, and the closing stanzas. The poem was composed by two women who were captured in war from Buretu, and brought in captivity to Ratu Mara (ko mai Vavalagi), the grandfather of Ratu Jope, Native Magistrate of Serua, when he was living at Soso, in Bau.

It runs as follows:-

VUNIVASA

The great sickness sits at the masthead,
 Their heads are like food-baskets (for size)
 Their voices sound hoarsely.
 They fall and lie helpless and pitiable,
 Dengei¹ is now put to shame.
 Our own sicknesses have been thrust aside.
 The strangling-rope is a noble thing,
 They fall prone: they fall with the sap still in them.

MAI VUNIVIA, AU NANUMA

What is the sickness that afflicts them? au nanuma,
 The lila is spreading far and wide, au nanuma.
 The sira² is the pot in which their frogs are cooked.
 They go and sprawl among the rushes, au nanuma e.

KURA

The old men feel listless, au nanuma.
 The sickness is terrible, au nanuma.
 We do not die: we do not live, au nanuma.
 Our bellies ache: our heads ache, au nanuma.
 Hark to the creak of the strangling-cords, au nanuma.
 The spirits flow away like running-water, au nanuma.

 We have fallen upon a new age, io e.
 Infectious disease is spreading among us, io e.
 We lie down and grow torpid, io e.
 Many die: a few live on, io e.
 Many die by the strangling-rope only, io e.
 The malo³ round their bellies rots,⁴ io e.
 Our women are in despair, io e,
 The liku⁵ knotted round them they do not loose, ra tau e.
 We whistle with wonder⁶ as we look at it.
 What can be its meaning? uetau,
 Can it be a sign to the chiefs?⁷ e e.

THE DYSENTERY

Now some time after the lila, the Great Sickness, another

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1. Dengei was the chief of the Fijian Thearchy.
 2. A small clay pot used in Vanualevu.
 3. The malo was the suspensory bandage that formed the only dress of the man.
 4. Signifying the long duration of the sickness.
 5. Liku, the grass petticoat worn by the women. They were too weak to undress.
 6. Vidikalu, to whistle and snap the fingers, - a gesture of astonishment.
 7. "Lálá ni turaga" must not be confused with "Lála ni turaga". The former means a sign that a chief is about to die.

great visitation of sickness, - a bloody flux - afflicted our ancestors of the old time.

There were five great events in the old time of which a tradition has been handed down by our ancestors, -

- (1) The great Lila.
- (2) The Comet with three tails.
- (3) The Dysentery.
- (4) The Eclipse.
- (5) The Tidal Wave.

There remain to-day only a few in each province who know of these five things.

Now the dysentery, too, was a great sickness, and many were stricken by it, and many died. When the measles came upon us, in 1875, some of the old chiefs said that it was insignificant beside the lila and the dysentery which afflicted our ancestors of the old time.

It is said that a European vessel, sailing from the direction of Lau, brought the dysentery; and the places at which this vessel called are known from the meke which I give hereunder: from this you may know at what islands the vessel that brought the dysentery touched. It is certain that at that time there were two ships only that had been seen by our ancestors, and it was the second of these that brought the dysentery. From the words of the meke it is evident that they had seen but two ships, for one of the verses runs, -

"Captain has anchored for the second time,

The origin of our sickness is again among us."

Now the words "baci" and "baki" have the same meaning, namely, that the event spoken of has occurred before. The meaning is that they remembered that the vessel which they first saw brought a sickness, the lila, among them; and they concluded that the second vessel would also bring sickness. Not long after this our ancestors were afflicted with the dysentery, and Banuve, the Vunivalu of Bau, died of it. It was for this reason that he is called Bale i Vavalagi ("He who died of the foreign sickness"). This was in accordance with the Fijian custom that when a man was killed they called him by the name of the place at which he was killed, as -

Bale-i-Kasavu, Bale-i-wai, Bale-i-Naloto, etc.

It is certain that when our ancestors were attacked by the dysentery they were in the most pitiable state: no one can say how horrible was the thing that had befallen, nor how many of them perished. But it is said that from the time of the dysentery our villages began to be empty of men, while in the time before the dysentery came every village was crowded with men; there was no space between them, so crowded were they. It is not known who was the captain of the first ship that came to Fiji, for our ancestors called him by only one name - "Captain".

Isa. Yauyau ka'u bau,
 The waves of the trade-wind are roaring,
 The rollers are chasing one another in quick succession,
 They burst right to the end of the canoe shed,
 They shake off the berries of the vetau,
 They shower down in the doorways,
 Tinani-Tokalau is picking them up and carrying them.
 Carry them into the house to me,
 They will do for playthings for Buatabakau.
 Put him on my back that we may go out;
 His mother will stay to prepare the food.
 The prow of our canoe is bearing off to leeward.

The neap-tides run out quickly,
 They are relating a new report,
 A ship is appearing from the ocean.
 They are disputing as to what she is,
 Masivola gives his consent, they go and launch the
 "Vosa ni turaga" (Chief's command - a canoe).
 Bend the ropes, the canoe is to sail.
 They sail towards the Kabara Sea,
 They lower the sail at the stern (of the ship),
 Selema let us go and clasp hands,¹
 You who travel about over the ocean,
 There is Rotuma and Galagala,
 The surf boils on Cakauryawa (distant reef - the Hades of
 the Rewa chiefs),
 This land is the land where the canoes anchor, e.

1. "Wrestle or clasp with the hands". Handshaking was unknown to the Fijians.

The foreigner's ship is hove to,
 "Captain" is sailing her,
 She is freighted with our sickness,
 She goes and anchors at Nukumasi.
 Her flags are fluttering in the wind,
 The women in the house are inquiring,
 Has "Captain" again anchored here?
 Let us then flee to the bush, e.

The land-ship has anchored,
 The master of the ship is preparing,
 Preparing to land on the shore,
 Two kusakusa (rapid things) are made ready,¹
 They row and anchor at the landing-place,
 The Fijians run for the bush,
 The cause of our death has arrived among us, e.

The foreigners have come again,
 He is anchored at Nukucagina,
 The people of Nukucagina are running to see.
 The wash she makes is absurd,
 Launch the canoe and I will go and look at her,
 I go on board and sit there,
 Let us go and trade while it is still daylight,
 He dragged down the shrine,²
 And held it to their faces to look into,
 The sickness which is reported is really come,
 Every district is emptied by it,
 The warriors are bound by it,
 They wither and droop their heads like the daiga,³
 They are buried in the place of the dead (Naicibaciba).

The foreigner has sailed,
 He has gone to seek an empty land,
 Their chief gave the order,
 Let one climb to the look-out (crow's-nest),
 Look out for land to which to steer the ship.
 Nairai is to windward,
 Koro is on the lee beam,

-
1. Whale-boats.
 2. A mirror.
 3. An arcid plant that droops at sunset (Amorphophallus).

The ship is sailing towards Vuya (Bua).
 The foreigners are bold spirits,
 They keep following the open channels, e.

The foreigner sails on,
 The Vuya Sea begins to appear,
 He hugs the reef to see the land,
 He is obliged to keep outside the reef,
 The look-out speaks from the fore-castle,
 Lift the anchor, let us go back,
 The trading ship has appeared, and the land bristles (with
 its masts).

The foreigners drag their vessel off,
 The wind is still strong,
 They sail towards the Tongan Ocean,
 Load the guns, and I will stand by,
 Laucala is disappearing,
 I am tired of staring at the land,
 We are sailing in the Gulf of Makogai,
 The look-out speaks,
 The point of Naicobocobo is in sight,
 We are sailing through the water of the dead,
 The village of Bau is in sight, e.

Biauniceva goes out,
 He wonders at the height of the waves,
 Which burst right into the harbour,
 The foreigner is hove-to,
 A sickness is reported among us,
 The men are swept away; the women are swept away,
 They are like the plantains that have withered.
 Sirivakaceva gives this order,
 "Let Nukuseva be emptied, and deserted".
 They heave up their anchors,
 They lay them on the fore-deck,
 They keep her away towards Bulebulewa, they go and anchor
 in the harbour, e.

(d) The Musket in Fijian Warfare.

Rather than increasing mortality, the writer believes that the musket actually decreased the death rate in Fijian warfare. In the same year that the Eliza was wrecked off Nairai, a Bauan attack on Tavea had seen the massacre of 350 men, women and children (E. Im Thurn and L.C. Wharton, (eds.), The Journal of William Lockerby, p.43) who were clubbed, speared and killed by arrows. (Thomas Smith in ibid, p.193 ff.). The ferocity of the resistance here and later at Tacilevu (200 killed in merciless hand-to-hand fighting, ibid, pp.55,56) is powerful evidence that mortality did not increase with the advent of the musket. In the space of a week, over 500 were killed using traditional weapons. This is one quarter of the estimated 2000 killed in the Bau-Rewa wars (1843-1851) fought over a period of eleven years and often described as the bloodiest war on record. In the same engagement at Tacilevu, Europeans, long familiar with their muskets, were singularly unsuccessful in their long range shots at the enemy ("... 30 shots were fired but only 3 fell. This made the natives on our side think our muskets were of little use", ibid, p.56). They only managed to kill the enemy at point blank range, no more than an expert clubsman could do, and much less than a throwing club (ula) expert could achieve. The difference was that the expertise of the clubsman could be cancelled by the meanest musketeer at close range. The death rates of the bravest warriors of course would have initially climbed but such experience immediately altered the nature of combat to avoid this. Aggressions as expressed in the ritual, protocol and ceremony of Fijian warfare could persist substantially unaltered, but the open hand-to-hand, prolonged pitched encounters became untenable. Tactical sorties and retreats, careful probes and hasty withdrawals, already a part of the rhythm of warfare, now became an essential method of survival and insurance against the humiliation of death by musket ball. Canister and grape shot on the other hand could be very destructive (Ibid, p.55), but this would have increased the tendency to vacate fortifications vulnerable to it and many fortifications were built in places no canon could approach. All the major matanitu quickly developed arsenals of muskets cancelling any advantage anyone might have gained, so that the relative military prowess of confederations underwent no dramatic change.

Group Five: Miscellaneous

(a) Lolohea's narrative of events at Bau.

Lolohea is a son of the Mua Chief, Tugi, who with his people lately embraced Christianity, for some years he has been living with Tui Viti, as his Tongan attendant and has been privy to much that passes behind the scenes.

We began to talk over Bau affairs, Tui Viti etc. which elicited the following particulars.

Nailatikau's Bloody Feats.

Nailatikau is Tui Viti's son, a boy about 12 years of age. When the one hundred slain who were massacred at Lokia, were brought to Bau two young persons were both alive, a young woman and a boy about the age of Nailatikau; the young woman was begged by Lolohea himself and given him by Tui Viti. The boy was presented by the chief to his son saying as he gave him to him "A nomu bokola, Nailatikau", Your bokola Nailatikau. Almost immediately after Lolohea saw the young murderer beat out the lad's brains with a stone. It was his own and the people's minds otherwise, if he had chosen, he could have spared him alive. Such is the training of the son of a Chief in Cannibal Feejee.

Murder of Natoga's Messenger.

Natoga the Chief of Nakelo and a vasu to Bau, sent a messenger one day to his friend Roko Tui Kiuva, to say that he wished to beg masi/tapa of Tui Viti; "Very good", said the Chief to the messenger, "Let us go to Bau". On arriving at Namataiweilagi, Tui Viti's house, he found him from home, having gone a walking to the town of Ovea on the large land, accompanied by Lolohea.

Natoga had long before been addicted to use bad expressions against Tui Viti: such as "I will eat that thief some of these days". It was this kind of boasting that incensed Tui Viti, and that cost the life, first of his messenger and then his own.

"Kakua ni tagi, o sa kauti Natoga ni sa bogi". Koroi Tui Kiuva then came up, clapped his hands (according to custom) and said "Au tara ga oqo, a mate ga ko Natago". Tui Viti and Lolohea wound up with "Mana edina". Word was sent to the Chief who at once returned

to see his visitors. The messenger then in due form delivered Natoga's message and request. Tui Viti replied, "Have you two forgot your challenging me to fight". "Ia saka" said the man respectfully. Take him out and kill him was the order of the chief. Two men instantly led him out as a sheep to the slaughter, an oven was prepared, and Waqa Navunivalu, one of Tui Viti's minions, at his command hit him with a club, and the poor wretch was cooked and eaten. He was struck several times to torment rather than to kill him till at length death was more kind than cruel, man was relenting, and the man expired.

Natoga's Fate - treacherously murdered at Kiuva.

When Tui Viti and his fighting men made an attack on Kuku, Natoga shewed himself and cried out to Tui Viti, "Tui Viti e vei ko Tui Viti;" "Koi au". "Ia sa waraki au me daru vala sa noqu bai ni mua na matasawa levu"; Tui Viti replied, "Sa vinaka waraki au nikua, me daru vala".

It was Natoga's challenging Tui Viti then that led him to plot against his life.

On the morrow Tui Viti accompanied by Lolohea, went over to Kiuva, to secure that place in his interest against Nakelo. They remained all night. In the middle of the night, Tui Viti awoke. Lolohea, he arose and saw Tui Kiuva and Koroi Raivalita standing outside the Bure. Tui Viti whispered to Lolohea, "Go" says he "to my box in the canoe and bring a large whale's tooth". When it was got he, Tui Viti, presented it to them and thus addressed them. "A tabua ogo kemudrau na turaga, drau kila me mate ko Natoga e vaka drau rawati Natoga, sa nomudrau na yau e tu e noqu vale, kei na yau e kau mai na veivanua, drau kila me mate na nomudrau turaga kivei au, kevaka drau lomani au drau vakamatea, kevaka drau sega ni lomani au, veitalia ga; a sa balabalavu noqu vosa, sa oti yani". After sitting silent for a short time Koroi Raivalita advanced, struck the ground with his hand and made the reply.

On the following day Koroi Raivalita went over to try to entrap his friend, pretending that the town of Kiuva wished to fall to him, and desiring him to come over to vuki them i.e. to turn them. Natoga fell into the snare, he said in so many days I

shall be at Kiuva. Koroi Raivalita hastened to report his good success to Tui Viti. Before the day arrived all the necessary arrangements were made. The chief of Kiuva and Koroi Raivalita declined to be the executioners of the plot, but requested that some greater chief than they might despatch Natoga. Probably fear was the motive that occasioned this. However the application ended in the appointment of Tawaki, the younger brother of Tui Kiuva and the companion of Tui Viti to be the assassin. Tawaki and the Kiuva people were ready for their work on the day appointed, and Tui Kiuva ready to do his part, to give Natoga, the reception as of a real friend. The canoes arrived with the unsuspecting Natoga and a few attendants - in the meantime Tui Viti had arrived at Kiuva and for some time waited in the chief town whilst the tragedy was performing in another town, Kiuva i ra. The town in which Tui Viti waited was nearly empty and the two or three that remained told Tui Viti that Kiuva had joined Nakelo. Too perfect was the plot that the Kiuvaans, excepting the initiated, fully believed that it was so. And even Tui Viti himself, after waiting some time began to fear there might be truth in it, and at length accompanied by Lolohea made a hasty retreat and stole away in his canoe to return to Bau. Whilst on their way cannibal drums sounded in their ears-- the bloody deed was done. Natoga and 8 out of 9 of his men were killed. It was done as follows: Natoga and his party were received in due form by Roko Tui Kiuva, "Sa mata vinaka mai na turaga mai Nakelo". The usual forms were gone through. Tui Kiuva consented to join Nakelo to fight Bau and all was concluded. Tui Kiuva called after Kiuva persuaded him that he was not going to be killed when Tawaki and his party came from their retreat. Tawaki came up but was afraid of the club hatchet held in [Natoga's] hand (he was a very powerful tall man, 6ft. 6). So he gave a signal to a Lasakau man who was behind Natoga to fire, the bullet went through his chest. Tawaki then finished the work by Natoga's own weapon. The body was taken to Bau one night. It was laid on a new canoe as its sevua, two nights exposed outside the principal god house; the tongue was then sent for by Tanoa, the liver by Tui Viti and the body afterwards sent to Nukui to the Thokonauto. He in his time sent back portions of the cooked bakola to his different friends at Bau.

Ngavindy's conspiracy against Tui Viti's life and his own fate.

Lolohea has narrated to me all the minute circumstances connected with Ngavindy's conspiracy and its consequences from which it appears that Ngavindy was actually shot by Tui Viti's orders, but, if the account be true, only in the way of self preservation. The following is the substance of his account.

1. With Ngavindy who was at the head of the conspiracy were associated Yagodamu, Ko mai na Ua, Adi Qoliwasawasa, Ravulo, Ratu Vuki, Dakuwaqa and Namosimalua also Koroi Cokonauto.

2. Tui Naitasisi was applied to but instead of joining the conspirators reported to Tui Viti what was going on. Tui Viti said very well keep quiet only.

3. When the Bau army went to take Verata, the principal conspirators went with Tui Viti, and on the night that Verata was burnt, Koli i Visawaqa, Ngavindi's brother, went privately and told Tui Viti he was a dead man, his reply was the same as before. It was on this day I think that Mr. Calvert went to the scene of action.

4. On the following day in the afternoon Ngavindi, who it would seem had some understanding with the Naloto people, had ordered them to come out of the town to attack the Bau party. Ngavindy ran towards Tui Viti and passed him a few paces, and for a moment stood with his back towards him. It was then that Tui Viti told Tui Naitasisi to fire at him. Felling, Tui Viti cried out they have shot him from the town. Ngavindy dug a pit and fell into it.

(Ratu Ilaija of Vewa says that Ngavindy was shot by a Naloto man - a friend of his - who assured him that it was he, and he only, who shot the chief and not any of the Bau party. At the same time Ratu Ilaija believes that Ngavindy had conspired against Tui Viti's life.)

The Punishment of the Soso Murderer - Extreme Barbarity.

In my journal the murder of two Soso women by a Soso man is recorded and the punishment of their murderer, but without the particulars. The horrid tragedy was witnessed by Lolohea. All the people of Bau were assembled to see the horrid sight which took place in the rara - or public area at Soso. The punishment was that of flaying alive. Tui Viti of course was there as the

King and judge - Lolohea was there and near the criminal and was a witness of the whole. He was mutilated and tortured as follows:-
Being first bound.

1. One eye was hooked out by a fish bone and his nose cut off.
2. The hair of his head was singed off.
3. A burning firebrand was applied to the extremities of his fingers after which women the friends of the murdered women came and gnawed the ends of his fingers cursing him.
4. His fingers then of both hands were cut off, votaed, portioned out, grilled and eaten before his eyes.
5. His arms were then cut off near the shoulder.
6. Then his legs - the toes having been first disposed of as were the fingers. Up to this part of the process Lolohea asserts that there were signs of life.
7. His inside was then opened and he was afterwards beheaded. The whole was laid on the fire grilled and eaten without further ceremony.

Cannibalism.

On this subject Lolohea gave me the following particulars.

1. Naming most of the principal chiefs he said they are all cannibals, but Roko Tui Bau exceeds.
2. The mode of preparing, preserving etc. It is first scorched and skinned, baked clean of bone, made into parcels using the banana leaf for a bag (one bakola making from 7 to 10 large bagfuls) then boiled or rebaked, producing a rich red gravy, the vegetable preferred to be eaten with it tarow and breadfruit, keeps by re-cooking from 5 to 10 days, by salting which is sometimes done at Bau, 20 days.
3. The flesh of women is considered the best.
4. Bakola or rather certain parts as the heart and liver are occasionally put into their bread pits with the bread. Lolohea saw it done at Tanoa's place but this he says is only done to great chiefs or powerful and noted enemies, for the sake of example.

(b) The lotu in Namata.

Sep. 12. [1855] Went to Bau - preached. I called upon Roko Tui Namata and his family, who escaped to Bau yesterday in a Lasakau canoe, with the Teacher. I spoke to, and prayed with them.

Last Sunday - after the morning service - the Chief kept the people and addressed them. He complained of their inattention to the services. In his address he referred to their past conduct, and accused them of things in which they said he was mainly to be blamed. He swore at them, and said they were as slaves to him. They refused to lotu any longer - and brought up many causes of complaint against him. He was informed that they wished him to leave them. One of his sons - Vasu to Rasavu - joined the people in opposition to his father.

On Monday, he sent his two daughter[s] to Bau, who were accompanied by the teacher's wife. The Bau teacher, Abraham, went over to Namata to talk to the people - and found them in a very angry state of mind. They assembled together, had their faces blackened, had only their heathen dress on. Priests began to prophecy - and the people danced as formerly.

On Tuesday morning several Bau chiefs went to Namata - one party to the people, and the other to Tui Namata. The differences were hushed and peace and the lotu were to [sic] established. The Bau chiefs returned to Bau. Some Lasakauans remained with Tui Namata, for whom he ordered that plenty of food was to be provided. They agreed to do so - but were very unwilling, as one great cause of their complaining was having to give their food to many parties on Bau. While grumbling on this score, yet preparing to take their offering to Tui Namata, his son, Seru and Tanoa, a vasu to Bau, went and killed a pig of the vasu to Rasavis, for the Lasakauans. This aroused their subsiding anger. They thought of leaving Namata: but resolved first to have a fight. They were immediately armed. One ran to the oven which was preparing, and said that the king and others would be killed. Tui Namata and Seru jumped into the water, and got to the canoe. The queen and infant were got on board. The people came up armed - and several guns (perhaps 10) were fired, but no injury was done. The canoes with the refugees got safe to Bau.

Today, a messenger was sent by Adi Samanunu to enquire the teachers goods and books - and they wish him to go to-morrow for them.

The Chief has been most arbitrary in his rule. He has made encroachments - taking their food and women for trifling offences - which the people have feared to resent, for fear of losing their lives. When the Bau chief lotu'd - the Namata people, it is said, wished to follow - but Tui Namata objected. He has long been acting a double part - while professedly adhering to Ba, and asking for a young Bau lady to wife, he has had intercourse with the enemy. After Kambah was taken, he lotu'd - and peremptorily required every person to follow him - and has evidently intended to carry on the same iron rule as heretofore. But the chafed people have at length, under the new state of things, dared to refuse subjection. They ordered him to go away - but that he refused - He could not brook being so degraded. So they were determined to kill him. However, he mercifully escaped and has been taught a painful lesson which many Feejeean chiefs will have also to learn. I hope some will be more peaceful (?) and docile in receiving instruction.

I thought it advisable not to interfere much. I went and shewed my sympathy with the Chief. Also saw the Lasakau chief, and desired him to not be hasty in doing anything against his refugee's people who had become his opponents, and who had certainly acted improperly in firing at him. I also saw the Bau chiefs, and found that they were fully alive to the hardships which Tui Namata had laid upon his people, and of the right of the people to resent. They sent a messenger to Namata, telling the people to be quiet, and that Tui Namata should not be allowed to punish them.

He appeared much humbled - but is exceedingly mortified at being driven from his town, where he has sat as a powerful king, none daring to contradict him. He feels most at the probability of losing his life by unknown persons.

On the 16th. a Teacher went to preach. A pig had been cooked - and was divided and eaten in a temple - all the priests being present, and having portions. This was considered as a honourable way of giving information to the gods that they were now abandoned. The Chief had compelled them to give up their gods - who were abandoned

without becoming ceremony. Now the people said that they became Christian of their own minds - having cast away the dresses which Tui Namata had supplied them, they now of a willing mind became Christian - and made prudential and full arrangements for a complete divorce from their former deities. After the eating the drum was beaten - when the place was filled with willing hearers - combs taking out of heads - and becoming deportment was notice[d]. Though the people wish to be Christian they don't like to be compelled as they were.

This Namata movement will be of great importance in Feejee. The Rawa Chief fears that it will be followed: and that Chiefs of other parts will be cast aside also. At Buretu, the lotu drum had been put aside, and the Teacher there fears lest evil should also arise at other places.

(c) Solevu of 1846.

The Somosomo people have long been waiting for the promised assistance from Bau against their enemies. About the 12th of June, Tuilili, the chief, received certain intelligence of the near approach of his friends and allies, and the following preparations were made for them. Five of the best "buris" were first built, and then five "bolo buris" were added to them, and several other large houses are to be vacated for their use. Thirty-eight thousand yams, besides large quantities of arrow-root, are interspersed among the buildings, and many thousands more of yams are in store for their use. Sixty large turtles are secured, and fishers are continually adding to them. On the opposite land, many pigs are in reserve.

About forty huge bales of native cloth, and hundreds of head-dresses are ready to excite the strangers to deeds of valor, also a completely equipped new canoe, a lot of yanggona brought from Rambe in five canoes, which, when piled, formed a wall thirty-five feet long and seven high.

June 18. It was reported that all the warriors had assembled at Vuna. On the 13th, Tuilili with forty of his chief men, joined the Bau party at Vuna to perform the ceremony, when the chiefs were presented with one large bale of masi, forty dresses, and fifty large whales' teeth. The Vuna people prepared food, danced, and presented a quantity of native cloth that excited the surprise of the receivers. Thakombau told Tuilili that he should remain at Vuna during the Sabbath, and on Monday proceed to Somosomo. Tuilili returned to Somosomo with his people on Saturday, and on Monday Thakombau arrived with a fleet of sixty-six large double canoes, and sixteen single ones.

The canoes had scarcely reached the shore, when a succession of shouts from behind the settlement announced the arrival of hundreds who came inland from Vuna. We are informed that the Lasakau people burned several towns on their way to this place, and some natives were killed at the lowering of the masts of some of the Bau canoes. When the Bau chiefs had landed, the ceremony of Qalova was performed, when they received about one hundred dresses, twenty whales' teeth, and a quantity of baked yams, tarro and pigs. On Monday night, the inhabitants of Somosomo, with those of many other towns, were employed

in preparing food. On Tuesday, two hundred people were employed till noon in piling food. The warriors passed their time in shouting and in blacking themselves.

The accumulated labors of the cooks were seen in the shape of one large heap of ground tarro puddings, four heaps of baked tarro, and yams covered with arrow-root puddings, and turtles. Seventy turtles were placed by themselves in another heap. These hills of food were flanked on the left with a wall of yanggona, thirty-five feet long and seven high. On the right was a fence of uncooked yams, numbering thirty-eight thousand.

After the food was set in order, a large bale of cloth was brought and placed opposite, leaving a space of two hundred yards between. This was followed by twenty others laid side by side, which elicited from the warriors a shout truly deafening. After a space, a Somosomo chief came to the fence with a train of "masi" sixty yards in length. A stout man had brought a marked dress thus far for him, and then assisted in placing it upon his shoulders. After being thus equipped, the lad marched manfully across the open space to the place where the Bau chiefs sat, when he tossed off his dress, and marched back again amid the shouts of the multitude. He repeated this ceremony five times, leaving a dress each time.

After this, the warriors retired to form themselves into a procession, which entered the western avenue to the arena. Two young chiefs, sons of Tuilili, came running from the town by different ways, raising their fans on high, and kicking up a great dust with their trains of sixty yards in length. They were followed by their father, whose train measured one hundred fathoms. His squire came behind him, bearing an immense dress, and was followed by two hundred men, each bearing a dress hanging in immense folds. Two men came next, with bamboos on their shoulders, from which were suspended four large dresses hanging in bunches. These were followed by one hundred men bearing bales of cloth, who took their seats on and about the cloth, and were joined by one hundred and fifty men, all bearing cloth. The sons of Tuilili, commenced running again, shortening their distance, however, each time as the procession of warriors approached the arena by the easterly entrance. They came in the following order:-

Thakombau and Tuilili, bearing beautiful spears and clubs.

One hundred men bearing spears and clubs.

Five with two muskets each.

Ten with one musket each.

Five with one musket each.

Ten with two muskets each.

Sixty-eight with one musket each.

Six with two muskets each.

Fifty-one with one musket each.

Two with two muskets each.

Thirteen with one musket each.

Two with two muskets each.

Sixty with one musket each.

Twenty carpenters with American axes.

Sixty men with clubs and spears.

One man with bow and arrow.

Twenty-eight with muskets.

Sixty with spears and arrows.

One bearing bows, and a large bundle of arrows.

Thirty with clubs, spears and hatchets.

Sixty-one with muskets.

Forty with clubs, spears and hatchets.

Twenty with muskets.

One hundred with clubs, spears and battle-axes.

Eighty-five with muskets.

Twenty with spears and clubs.

Six with two muskets each.

Twenty-one with muskets.

One old man with a large bundle of spears closed the procession.

The warriors of Bau formed a line four deep in front of the provisions, the musket bearers forming the right, and the club and spear men the left wings. These had scarcely formed in order, when our ears were saluted with the most frightful yells, with clanking of arms and axes. On looking in the direction from whence the sounds proceeded, we observed a large company of the common fighting men, who, after shaking their spears awhile, rushed "en masse" into the open space, some through it, and others over the fence. After these had run, capered and shouted till they were tired, they retired to the seaside, behind the Bau chiefs, waving a white banner whereon

were painted several marvellous figures. The enormous bales of cloth were then removed and the shouting again commenced. Tuilili took a hundred whales' teeth upon his shoulders, (he is almost a giant in size, and quite one in strength,) and approaching Thakombau, stooped and made a speech. When he had finished, he arose and returned to his place, bearing the teeth with him. Thakombau then commenced the "mbole, mboling," (thanking) and was followed by many of the chiefs singly, - then by companies of eight and ten each. As the respectability of the company decreased, the numbers increased, all endeavoring by their gestures and words to evince their valor. A Bau chief now took the whales' teeth from Tuilili, and other Bau men took about twenty bunches of spears, and laid them at the feet of Thakombau. Several ceremonies connected with welcoming the Bau warriors to Somosomo were then performed, after which the multitude dispersed with yells, and shouts, and firing of muskets. Thakombau is accompanied by Tubo, the Tonga chief, and his tribe. It is said that the army of Thakombau numbers about three thousand, including the Tonguese.

CONCLUSION

The American demand in September 1855 had come as a heavy blow. In October 1858 the blow was repeated when Captain Sinclair of the U.S. corvette, the Vandalia, forced Cakobau to sign another agreement to pay \$45,000 in local goods within twelve months. With few options left to him, the Vunivalu decided to use the newly appointed British Consul to Fiji, W.T. Pritchard, less than eight weeks in the group, to take a formal offer of cession to Britain, an offer signed on 12 October 1858. This action was a logical progression of past behaviour, Cakobau had urged the appointment of a British Consul since 1844 to facilitate relations with a benign power. The Vunivalu formally declared himself Tui Viti and offered full and exclusive sovereignty over the group together with 200,000 acres of land in return for the discharge of the American debt and an assurance that he would head a newly created Native Department.

The offer was consistent with the initiatives Cakobau had pursued since Kaba in April 1855. He was giving little away as he had never contemplated a show of strength against any of the foreign navies. Instead, within the framework of a British protectorate, he might satisfy the Americans and within a country policed by the British navy he might establish Bau as supreme among the Confederacies. Cakobau would be the paramount Fijian in a new Fijian nation.

Despite a growing Tongan threat in the person of Ma'afu who had attained the position of de facto paramount of Lau and Vanua Levu, the Vunivalu proved as adept as ever in diplomatic manoeuvring. When Pritchard returned on 1 November 1859 with the news that the offer was to be favourably considered, Cakobau set about marshalling support and undermining his opposition. He prevailed upon Pritchard to force a

reluctant Ma'afu and his minions, Tui Nayau, Bete and Tui Bua, to be signatories to a ratified offer of cession on 14 December 1859. This was a document that demonstrated political acumen and influence as great as the offer of cession itself for Cakobau managed to supplement the document of a single signatory with one signed by twenty-four chiefs. Twelve came from the Bauan Confederacy while others included the Roko Tui Dreketi, the Veratan paramount, Joji Nanovo of Nadroga, Ritova and most significantly, Ma'afu and those under his influence.

The Vunivalu had thus achieved a unique standing and influence in Fiji's turbulent history. Every major confederacy head had given his approval to an offer of cession which promised to consolidate Cakobau's claim to the title, Tui Viti, a title the bestowal of which had no precedent in tradition. The document gave ample proof that Cakobau had the ability to win the support of former enemies in a matter of general concern. This triumph was complemented by the news that a wealthy Sydney merchant was prepared to discharge the American debt should the offer of cession be accepted.

The commissioner appointed to inquire into the offer, Colonel W.J. Smythe, began his work in Cakobau's house, Mataiweilagi, on 27 July 1860. It seemed an auspicious beginning but it ended in enormous disappointment. Smythe recommended the offer be rejected on a number of grounds not least of which was that since Cakobau had no rights to the title Tui Viti, Britain might incur a large expenditure in its attempts to control a potentially explosive situation. That Smythe was wrong on all points and had ignored the ratification of the offer, was little comfort to a disconsolate Vunivalu. On 11 July 1862, weakened by dysentery, he boarded H.M.S. Miranda to be officially informed by Captain Jenkins that the offer had been declined.

This refusal was a dreadful disappointment. It also called for a new approach to Fijian affairs but it could not detract from Cakabau's achievement. He had been born into a society savaged by epidemics, younger brother of the younger brother of the Vunivalu, a title which had been the Bauan paramount title for less than twenty years. He learnt to master club, spear and canoe, consanguinal and affinal kin, demanding allies, reluctant subordinates. He mastered also the intricacies and complexities of the hazardous Bauan political environment to attain the illustrious title himself. As leader he assimilated a new technology and a new religion. As incumbent he faced the dilemma of all his predecessors since Banuve: how to consolidate what he had already gained, to resist internal overthrow and counter external threats. The outside pressures assumed an unequalled importance but he rose to the considerable demands of his time and fully justified the faith his Confederacy had placed in his leadership.

By 1862, the refusal of the offer of cession notwithstanding, Cakobau had emerged as the most effective and influential Fijian leader of his day, a man capable of dealing with old antipathies and new, at every level. The youth who had proved his manhood with the assault on Naigani island thirty-two years before had emerged as the founder of the modern Fijian nation.

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Genealogies have been basic to the writing of a thesis centred on a kinship-based society. Most of those given to me in Fiji were given in confidence from a variety of Fijian and non-Fijian sources. Since I have not managed to get permission from my informants to reproduce the genealogies in full, I have confined myself to abstracts. The considerable variation in the genealogical records was elucidatory not confusing for it exposed the major interest groups and provided an insight into the mechanics of Fijian political wrangling.

The Tongan genealogies are readily accessible at the Palace Records Office, Nuku'alofa, through the kindness and forbearance of Maketi Tongilava, Keeper of the Palace Records. The following proved useful in my study:

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- (iv) Ko e Tohi Hohoko 'a 'Ene 'Afio ko Kuini Salote Tupou (ko e hako 'o Tongotea), ko e hiki Taipaleti 'e he komiti Tala Fakafonua 'o Tonga 'i Siulai, 1961.
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