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THOMAS WILLIAMS
From the etching by Lionel Lindsay

THE JOURNAL OF
THOMAS WILLIAMS
" "
MISSIONARY IN FIJI, 1840-1853

By
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Fiji and the Fijians 1835-1856*

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PREFACE

In his book on *The Fijians: a Study of the decay of native custom*, Sir Basil Thomson says that Thomas Williams is "the principal authority upon the state of society among the Fijians when Europeans first came upon them." My examination of the original evidence in England and Australia for a study of the Fijians in the first half of last century, supplemented by investigations on land and sea in the Fijian Archipelago has left me with the conviction that Sir Basil's tribute is well placed; though the voluminous manuscripts of his scientifically trained colleague, Richard Burdsall Lyth, M.D., has sometimes raised a doubt in my mind. Both men had the seeing eye. Lyth had better academic training; but Thomas Williams had rich intellectual and artistic endowments, and he applied himself more thoroughly to a study of the life and customs of the natives.

If Sir Basil Thomson's estimate of the value of the work of Thomas Williams in Fiji is correct (and all things considered I believe it is) historical and anthropological students will require no further reason for the publication of the most original and important of his manuscripts; but in the interests of the general reader another may be offered. In the Mitchell Library, Sydney; the Methodist Missionary Society buildings, Bishopsgate, London; the Admiralty section of the Record Office, the British Museum and in sundry private collections in the possession of descendants of the old missionaries living in England and Australia there is a vast amount of original material for a study of the life

of the Fijians in the first half of the nineteenth century, and, in my judgment, the time has come when the most important evidence contained in these collections should be organized and presented in a concentrated form for the benefit of those who are interested in the subject, but have not the time or the opportunity for the study of original documents.

This I have tried to do. In my book on *Fiji and the Fijians 1835-1856* which was published six months ago I have given the results of my researches into the subject, and set out what appeared to me to be the truth about the Fijians and the missionaries of this period. The Journal of Thomas Williams with the footnotes in explanation, elaboration and criticism of the statements made in the text reveals the missionary's attitude of mind in this period, and some of the footnotes will, I hope, serve to indicate the reaction of the native mind on the teaching and policy of the missionaries.

The native point of view is, in my opinion, exceedingly important; far more so than any of the missionaries ever realized, especially on religious subjects. I have tried to understand it, and, even at the risk of transgressing the limits of editorial responsibility I have ventured to suggest what the natives may have thought and felt about the conduct and utterances of the missionaries when they spoke of their heathen gods in the language of contempt and ridicule.

I know quite well how difficult it is for any white man to understand the mind of a Fijian; but in the past five years I have been at some pains to view things and people foreign as the natives did in the first half of last century. Under "Sources of Information" at the end of the second volume will be found a list of the manuscripts and original publications which I have read in order to write my book and elucidate the Journal of Thomas Williams; but I had not proceeded far in my academic researches before I realized that it would be necessary for me to make frequent and pro-

tracted visits to the islands of the South-west Pacific and more especially those of the Fijian Archipelago to get into touch with the natives in the more remote districts and islands where something of the old life is still preserved; and also to clear up uncertainties and contradictions in the evidence, as far as possible, by investigations on the spot. The advantages which I have derived from this part of my work have been far greater than I had, at first, dared to hope. Because of the kindly interest taken in my work by well-informed and influential people in Fiji, I have been able to visit all the districts in which Thomas Williams worked from 1840 to 1853; and nearly all the far-off inhabited islands of the archipelago.

These visits to Fiji and other parts of the South-west Pacific have given me a confidence in the handling of my subject which I feel sure could not have been acquired had my researches been restricted to libraries and archives. Knowledge comes not only by intellectual apprehension; but also by living contact with men, and experience in the particular environment in which they work and live.

My indebtedness to people who have assisted me in my studies in Australia and England, and in my itineraries and investigations on land and sea in Fiji is deeper and wider than I am able to express within the limits of a preface. I can only mention by name those without whose aid I could not have carried on my work in a manner satisfactory to myself.

Of those who have helped me in *Fiji* I desire to express my gratitude to His Excellency Sir Eyre Hutson, K.C.M.G., Governor of Fiji and High Commissioner for the Western Pacific; the Hon. A. W. Seymour, Acting-Governor of Fiji in 1929; Commander R. H. De Salis, D.S.O., H.M.S. *Veronica*; Captain J. Mullins, F.R.G.S., H.M.C.S. *Pioneer*; the Hon. Islay McOwan, Secretary for Native Affairs; Mr

Arthur Leopold Armstrong, Acting-Secretary for Native Affairs in 1929; Mr H. H. Vaskess, Secretary to the High Commissioner; Ratu Dave Tonganivalu, I.S.O., of Mbau; and Mr J. A. Savou, of the Colonial Secretary's Department. In *Rotumah* to the Administrator Dr W. K. Carew, and Father Griffon of Sumi. In *England* to Rear-Admiral Henry Percy Douglas, C.B., Hydrographer to the Admiralty, Commander Jackson, Superintendent of the Chart Room, and the Curator, Mr. F. MacKenzie; Mr F. D. Walker, Secretary to the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, Bishopsgate, London; Mr Leonard C. Wharton, of the British Museum; Mr E. Heawood, M.A., Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society; the late Mr William Gordon Perrin, O.B.E., and Mr Smith of the Admiralty Library; the late Mr F. P. Sprent, M.A., and Mr R. S. W. Flower, M.A., of the British Museum; Mr C. T. Flower, M.A., F.S.A., Secretary of the Record Office; Dr J. C. Lyth, of York; and Mr H. Carlton of Horncastle. In the Mitchell Library in *Sydney*, where I have been at work on original manuscripts for the past three years, I have been treated with unfailing kindness by the trustees; Mr W. H. Ifould, O.B.E., Principal Librarian; Mr Hugh Wright, Mitchell Librarian; and members of the staff. I desire also to tender my thanks to the Right Hon. Stanley Melbourne Bruce, P.C., and Mr J. G. McLaren, C.M.G., B.A.; Mr Lionel Lindsay, Sydney; Mr Benjamin Williams, Caulfield, Victoria; Mr David Hazlewood, Epping, New South Wales; the Rev J. W. Burton, M.A., General Secretary, Methodist Missionary Society of Australasia; and Mr H. V. Leckie, Sydney.

Dora Creek,
N.S.W.

G.C.H.

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* Taken from *Fiji and the Fijians 1835-1856*.

ABBREVIATIONS

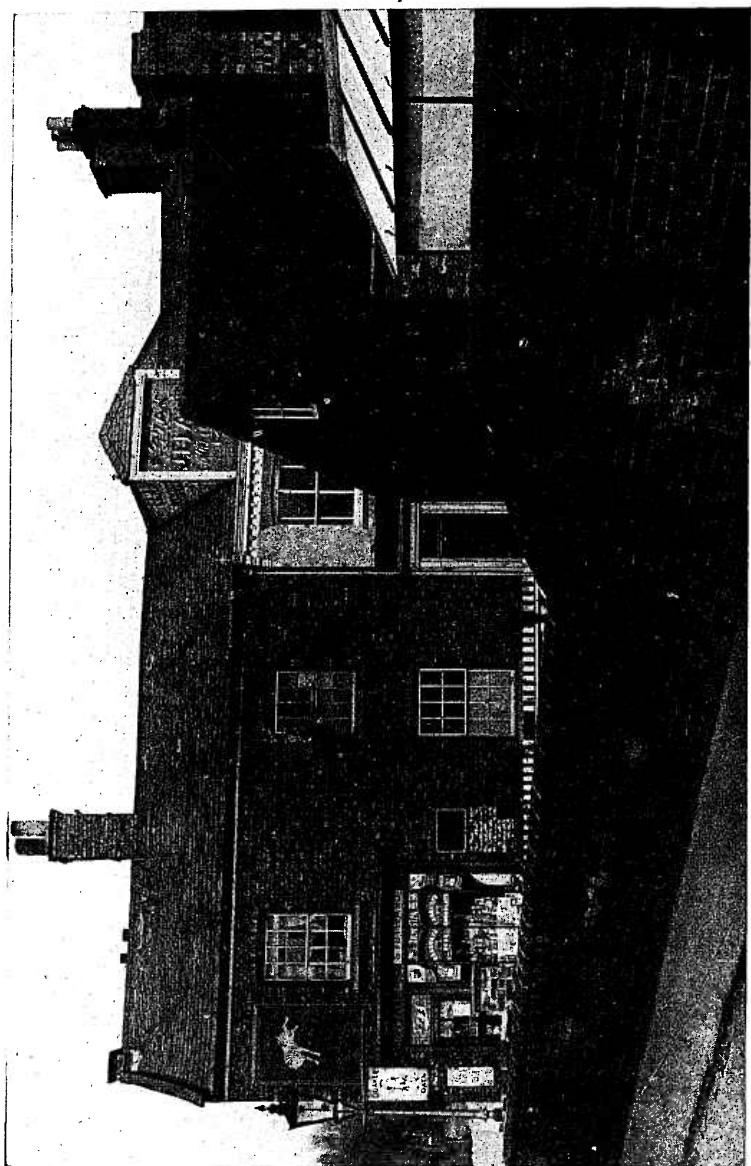
M.M.—Mitchellian Manuscript, Sydney.

M.M.S.M.—Methodist Missionary Society Manuscript, Bishopsgate, London.

F.F.—*Fiji and the Fijians*, by Thomas Williams and James Calvert.

H.F.F.—*Fiji and the Fijians 1835-1856* by Professor G. C. Henderson.

N.O.F.—Williams's "Notes and Observations illustrative of Fijian customs, manners, superstitions, etc., etc."



HOME AND WORKSHOP OF JOHN WILLIAMS, HORNCASTLE

INTRODUCTION

As my book on *Fiji and the Fijians* was written with the object of elucidating the Journal of the Rev. Thomas Williams, nothing further is needed here by way of introduction than to give an account of the environment and training of Thomas Williams before he left England for Fiji in 1839; to explain the orthographical and other peculiarities in his Journal and to indicate the plan and principles I have followed in editing it.

Thomas Williams was born on 20¹ January 1815 at Horncastle, Lincolnshire, England. He was the third child of John and Jane² Williams who had married on 19 February 1811. The house in which they lived was situated on the north side of East Street, on the way to, and not far from Ease Chapel in whose yard lie the remains of several friends with whom Thomas Williams corresponded while he was in Fiji. It was a brick house divided into two dwellings; the Williams family occupied the eastern half.³ Im-

¹In his Journal on 29 January 1842 Williams writes: "My birthday." He found out his mistake later and made the necessary correction in the years that followed the receipt of a letter from his father containing a copy of the family register.

²Mrs Williams's maiden name was Jane Hollinshead, sometimes spelt Hollingshead. I follow the spelling in the family register. Jane was the daughter of a Mrs Hollinshead who kept a girls' school in Horncastle near Bow Bridge. Her first child, Ann, was born on 23 February, 1812; George, the second, on 2 June 1813. He died the following year on 11 May. The second daughter, Jane, was born on 16 March 1817. Next year twin boys, Benjamin and John, were born on 2 September, and Mrs Williams died nine days later at the age of 35.

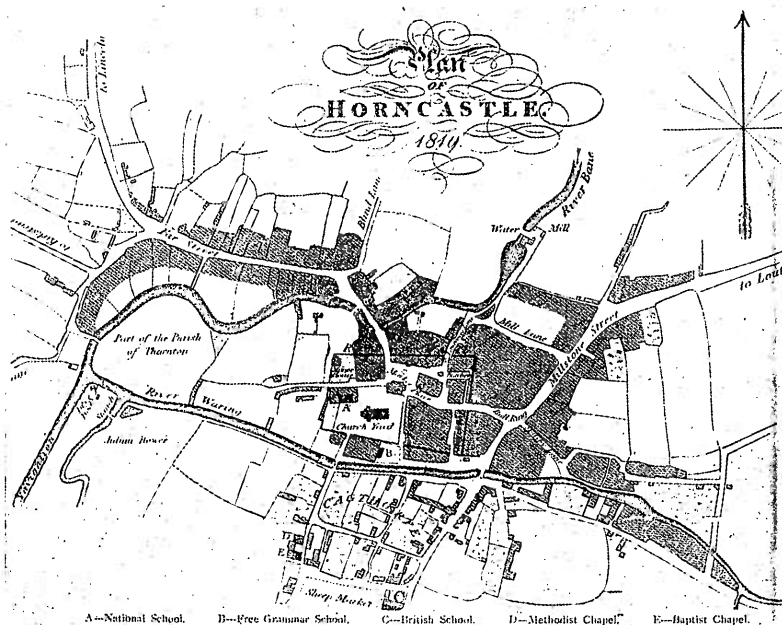
³The house and workshop were pointed out to me by Mr Herbert Carlton of Queen's Street, Horncastle, on my visit to the town in 1929-30,

mediately opposite, on the southern side of the street, was the workshop in which John Williams, carpenter and joiner, made his living and trained his son Thomas. John was a capable and conscientious workman. Specimens of his handicraft can still be seen in several houses in Horncastle including that of Mr Carlton, and they leave no doubt of the tradesman's efficiency and the care he bestowed on minute detail. Under him Thomas acquired the virtue of thoroughness in his work.

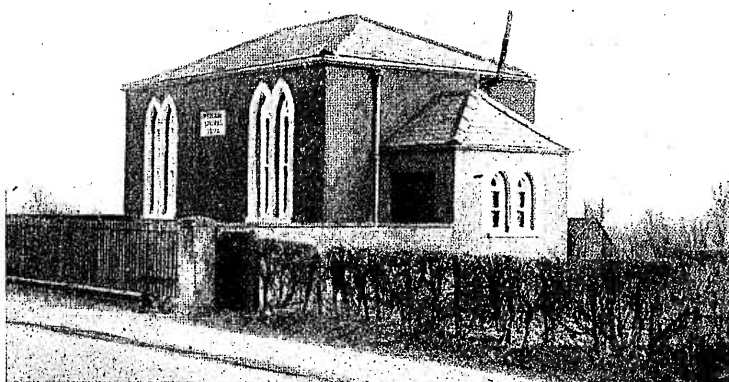
Horncastle is a sleepy town, going back commercially and industrially rather than moving forward. When Thomas Williams lived there it was a very busy, sometimes bustling manufacturing and market centre. The tanning industry was in full swing, providing a good quality of leather for a number of local boot factories. An annual fair was held lasting over two and sometimes three weeks, and buyers from every capital in Europe attended it. Business was brisk, and in their excitement people got a thirst and slaked it. No man needed a licence to sell strong drink while the fair lasted; that privilege was granted by special charter to every citizen who cared to exercise it. There were some inconveniences: children could not walk about the streets with safety then, and accidents were numerous. John Williams and his son sought no profit by grog-selling, and they had no horses or cattle to dispose of; but they shared in the general prosperity of the town. There was always money enough in circulation to keep them busy at their trade.

Horncastle had attractions of quite a different character which did not fail to impress the observant mind of Thomas Williams. Within the town there were monuments and relics recalling every period in English history, and reaching back as far as the days of the old Britons before the Roman

and since my return to Australia he has written to say that there is no doubt about their identity. The workshop is the small building on the right-hand side of the photograph.



HORNCastle IN 1819
From J. C. Walter's *History of Horncastle*



METHODIST CHAPEL, HIGH TOYNTON, BUILT in 1840

occupation. The name, Horncastle, is compounded of two words, one Saxon, the other Roman: *hyrne* means a corner; castle is derived from the Latin word *castrum* meaning a camp. The literal meaning of Horncastle is, therefore, the camp in the corner; and that, as far as it goes, is a correct geographical description: the old town, once enclosed within walls, is situated on a piece of land at the confluence of the Bain and the Waring. Both these names are British. *Bain* means bright or clear, and *Waring* means rough. They, too, are descriptive. I found on looking over the little bridge that spans the meeting-place of the two streams that the Waring pushed the water brought down by the Bain to the opposite bank more by reason of its velocity than its volume. There is little doubt that the Britons had a camp in that corner, for two British urns have been dug up in the vicar's garden.

Evidences of Roman occupation are numerous. Coins of nearly all the emperors from Augustus to Honorius; remains of pottery, especially Samian ware; coffins of lead containing a mixture of tin, and two wells from which the Roman soldiers drew their water have been found within the walls of the old town. The remains of the walls that one sees to-day are not Roman; they belong to a much later date, probably the twelfth century; but the five highways that radiate from the town were made in the centuries of the Roman occupation.

The settlement of the neighbouring district by Saxons and Danes is indicated by the last syllable of the names of towns and villages. *Ton* and *ham* indicate Saxon settlements; *by*, Danish. Within easy reach of Horncastle are Toynnton, Roughton, Haltham, Mareham; Ashby, Enderby, Moorby, Coningsby. The beautiful little village of Thimbleby is only a couple of miles away, and there, in a row of thatched cottages near the church, is one with a high-pitched roof that

must surely have come into Williams's mind when the *mbures* of Fiji caught his eye. The Saxons and Danes fought for many years and then, like sensible kinsfolk not too closely related, made up their minds to intermarry and live together in peace.

The plan of Horncastle drawn in 1819 shows the position of the manor house which, in all probability, was built on the same site as the manor house of feudal times. That building has a special interest for Australians. Joseph Banks who accompanied Captain Cook on his first voyage of discovery in the *Endeavour*, and did so much to persuade the British Government to found a settlement at Botany Bay, took a lease of it in March 1803, and renewed the lease in June 1811. It passed from him to his relatives the Stanhopes who have left their mark on the history of Horncastle, more especially Mr Banks Stanhope who died in 1904.

The great struggle between the King and Parliament in the seventeenth century interested Williams more nearly. It was recalled by monuments and relics in the town, as well as by the sites of battles in the countryside not far away. The battle of Winceby was fought in fields $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 miles eastwards from Horncastle. A clump of trees in one of the valleys marks the place where the most stubborn fighting raged. In St Mary's Church (see the building on the land marked "Church Yard" in the 1819 plan) a number of scythes, two of them with straight handles, are displayed on one of the walls. They were almost certainly used in the fight at Winceby. In that church, too, is an inscription over the place where the remains of Sir Ingram Hopton who was killed at Winceby, were buried. He and Cromwell met—so the story goes—and engaged in mortal combat. Cromwell was unhorsed, but he continued the fight, and eventually slew his brave antagonist. After the battle had been won the great



SIR JOSEPH BANKS

From the original in the Mitchell Library, Sydney

Puritan rode into Horncastle, called upon Mr Hamerton, the churchwarden, and instructed him to see to it that due honour was paid to "that brave gentleman Sir Ingram Hopton." The inscription contains no reference to the gallantry or magnanimity of Cromwell. It runs thus: "Here lieth the worthy and honourable Knight, Sir Ingram Hopton, who paid his debt to nature, and duty to his King and country in the attempt of seizing the arch-rebel (Cromwell) in the bloody skirmish near Winceby Oct. 6 1843."⁴ There is one other reminder of this battle in Horncastle. In West Street stands a conspicuous two-story building called Cromwell House. It is a modern structure, built, it may be, on the site of a dwelling in which Cromwell is reported to have slept on the night after the battle.

Thomas Williams was richly endowed by Nature with gifts of observation and inquiry, and the historic interests of Horncastle were not wasted upon him. One of the first books he sent for after leaving England was a history of his native town and county.

But the historic movement which exerted far and away the most powerful influence over his life was the Methodist Revival of the eighteenth century, an important episode in the Romantic Revival which was destined to arouse several European countries from the lethargy of a drowsy respectability to a pitch of strenuous and even heroic endeavour in the reconstruction of a new and bigger world. The Romantic Revival stirred England to its depths, and released forces which, in a remarkably short space of time, raised her from a third to a first-rate power among the nations of the world. Under the influence of imagination and enthusiasm men found themselves living in a wondrous and wonder-provoking world. The desire to know more about it took hold of

⁴ As James Conway Walter has pointed out in his scholarly *History of Horncastle* Winceby was an important battle, not a skirmish, and the date on which it was fought was not the 6th but the 11th of October.

them, and drove them across the seas to make conquests in the interest of their religion and their country. The prospect of strange and unexpected happenings did not daunt them; it attracted them, for of such is the kingdom of Romance. The spirit of enterprise and daring was abroad, and under its spell men went forth with diverse purposes into the great Beyond recking little of comfort, commodity and, sometimes, of reasonable discretion. The era of expansion had arrived.

There are few contrasts in any century of English history as striking as that which the eighteenth century presents in nearly every department of life. Political England under William Pitt's guidance was almost wholly unlike the England of Walpole and Pelham; the Evangelical Revival led by Wesley and Whitefield had little in common with the religion of the Latitudinarians; the poetry of Coleridge, Wordsworth and Shelley differed essentially from that of Pope and Johnson both in form and matter. This is not the place to elaborate the contrast. Lecky has done that in his *History of the Eighteenth Century in England*, and every good textbook in English history discusses it. Every school-boy knows something about the policy *quieta non movere* of Walpole and the Pelhams; and how different it was in its nature and effects from the heroic policy of the elder Pitt which found expression in the daring exploits of Wolfe at Quebec; of Clive's successors in India and of Admiral Hawke at Quiberon Bay. Anybody who has compared Pope's *Essay on Man* with Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner* must have realized how great the change in literature was. But these things must be taken as read.

It is the contrast in religion that calls for special treatment here because of the profound influence exerted by the Methodist Revival on the mind and soul of Thomas Williams.

Looking back from our own time we see in that revival one of the most important events in the history of England in the eighteenth century. At the beginning of the ninth chapter of the second volume of his great book Lecky says:

Although the career of the elder Pitt and the splendid victories by land and sea that were won during his ministry form unquestionably the most dazzling episodes in the reign of George II, they must yield, I think, in real importance to that religious revolution which shortly before had begun in England by the preaching of the Wesleys and of Whitefield. The creation of a large, powerful and active sect, extending over both hemispheres, and numbering many millions of souls, was but one of its consequences. It also exercised a profound and lasting influence upon the spirit of the Established Church, upon the amount and distribution of the moral forces of the nation, and even upon the course of its political history.

These observations made by the master historian of the eighteenth century will serve to explain the importance of the movement. Another extract from page 545 of the same volume indicates the character of Methodist teaching and its immediate effect on the society of the Church of England:

That in such a society a movement like that of Methodism should have exercised a great power is not surprising. The secret of its success was merely that it satisfied some of the most enduring wants of our nature, which found no gratification in the popular theology; that it revived a class of religious doctrines which had been long almost wholly neglected. The utter depravity of human nature, the lost condition of every man who is born into the world, the vicarious atonement of Christ, the necessity to salvation of a new birth, of faith, of the constant and sustaining action of the Divine Spirit upon the believer's soul, are doctrines which in the eyes of the modern Evangelical constitute at once the most vital and the most influential portions of Christianity; but they were doctrines which during the greater part of the eighteenth century were seldom heard from a Church of England pulpit. The moral essays which were the prevailing fashion, however well suited they might be to cultivate the moral taste, or to supply rational motives to virtue, rarely awoke any strong emotions of hope, fear, or love, and were utterly incapable of transforming the character and arresting and reclaiming the thoroughly depraved.

In this illuminating extract we have in a condensed form much that the reader will find in the teaching and exhortations of the early Methodist missionaries in Fiji. They went to the Pacific not with any thought of imperial expansion, but solely to save the "lost souls" of the natives, by their interpretation of the Gospel of Christ. From his earliest years Williams had been under the influence of teaching and preaching such as is here described by Lecky. The atmosphere of his own home was saturated with it; the whole country was stirred by it. Before Thomas Williams left England Methodism had gripped Lincolnshire, and at the time of his departure the grip was tightening.

Let us look at the movement through its leader.

John Wesley was born at Epworth, not far from Gainsborough, Lincolnshire, in the year 1703. He was educated at Oxford, and paid a visit to America; but although profoundly interested in religion up to the time of his return to England, he had not yet attained to the illuminating experience that gave him a definite assurance of his own salvation. It came, somewhat unexpectedly it would appear, at 8.45 on the evening of 24 May 1738 at a meeting in London of which he has left a definite record in his Journal:

In the evening, I went very unwillingly to a Society in Aldersgate where one was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change that God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given me that he had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death. I began to pray with all my might for those who had in a more especial manner spitefully used me and persecuted me. I then testified openly to all what I now first felt in my heart.

This was the day and hour of John Wesley's conversion. Those who have made a study of his life and watched the development of his religious thought and feeling up to

this time will not, perhaps, be able to see so much of the cataclysmic in this supernatural illumination as he and his followers did. The light which shone so brightly and warmly in his soul at that meeting had been smouldering for years, and was ready to burst into a blaze as soon as the truth which he had been half blindly seeking was revealed to him through the words of Luther. He saw because, by that time, he was ready to see. His experience at that little meeting was as much the final stage in a process of progressive illumination as it was a sudden revelation.

But on the other hand it would be a mistake to under-rate the importance of the crisis. It made a profound impression on his followers. They, like him, were accustomed to look back to a definite day on which their souls found rest in the consciousness of a change of heart. About the period of spiritual preparation when their souls were in labour for the coming of the great event they say comparatively little. It was the day and hour of conversion or new birth on which they placed nearly all the emphasis.

There is something in this sudden, unexpected, fateful happening that overtook Wesley in Aldersgate Street which forcibly reminds the literary student of the turning-point in the history of the Ancient Mariner's life on the ship. After the shooting of the albatross and all the sequent miseries and horrors which the Mariner endured alone, all, all alone on that wide, wide sea he reaches a point at which an unexpected appeal effects a sudden and beneficent change in his heart and fortunes. It comes at the time when beyond the shadow of the ship, he sees the water-snakes moving in tracks of shining white. He marvels at their rich attire as they move on, coiling, swimming and leaving flashes of golden fire behind them. The spell of beauty is upon him, and lo! of a sudden, a spring of love gushes from his heart

and he blesses them *unawares*. Sure his kind saint took pity on him and he blessed them *unawares*.

It was the hour of the Mariner's salvation; for that self-same moment he could pray; and from his neck so free, the albatross fell off, and sank like lead into the sea. Then it was that gentle sleep slid into his soul, and the fair breezes blew. Onward sails the ship until he beholds the lighthouse on the hill and the Pilot coming out to take him across the harbour bar. What Luther's Preface had done for Wesley, the romantic appreciation of the beauteous forms and colours of living things had done for the Ancient Mariner. Coleridge and Wesley were children of the Romantic Revival. Both knew and felt the power of ecstatic moments in the life of the soul when the heart is strangely warmed, the lips move to bless and pray and the burden of sin and sorrow rolls away.

The accounts of the religious revivals in England under the preaching of Wesley and Whitefield must be read in the light that is thrown upon them by a study of the Romantic Revival. There were some strange happenings at these meetings, especially among the poor and uneducated—violent emotions and brain storms; and it is clear from what he wrote at various places in his Journal that Wesley expected and welcomed these outward manifestations of inward conflict; just as the missionaries looked for them in the religious revivals at Vewa, Ono, Lakemba and Mbua Bay. The more wicked the conscience-stricken one, the more violent did they expect the disturbance to be before a genuine conversion could be effected. Did he turn red or black in the face, bellow and roll upon the floor in agony, so much the better: sore travail of the soul was the prelude to spiritual new-birth.

In the opinion of the orthodox there was something vulgar and even repulsive in these sensational scenes which con-

flicted jarringly with their own predilections for respectability and rational orderly development. People who were disposed to look with suspicion on enthusiasm, viewed such exhibitions of high-wrought feeling with disgust. The result was a sharp cleavage in the ranks of the Church of England. Wesley saw this, but held on his course, passing from one innovation to another without any serious thought of severing his connexion with the Established Church: he made his itineraries through England and Wales, preached in the open air and organized his followers in districts known as Circuits.

In 1743, five years after the fateful meeting in Aldersgate Street, there were two circuits in Lincolnshire. Lincoln was the head of one; Horncastle of the other, though Horncastle remained, in some sort, subject to Lincoln up to 1786. There was much excitement in the towns about the new religion, and still more in the country villages. It was soon evident that the Evangelical Revival was destined to exert a more powerful influence over the poor than the well-to-do. This was due in great measure to the emphasis laid by Wesley on repentance and a change of heart rather than on intellectual attainment as the true way to salvation. From the earliest days he had counselled the teachers and preachers who worked under him to speak cautiously about opinions and forms of worship; but, on the other hand, to give free rein to their zeal in advocating repentance, faith and holiness. Repentance came much more readily to the uneducated than to the mentally trained, and the poor had more need of faith than the well-to-do. But, besides that, people in the country were more closely in touch with elementary things, and realized their dependence on the Giver of all good and great things more easily and readily than people in towns and cities. It was in the country villages, and among the poorer people in the towns and cities of England

and Wales that Methodism flourished in the early days.

Wesley paid his first visit to Horncastle in the year 1759, and preached in an open yard, close to the block of masonry which is now the most conspicuous remainder of the stone walls that once enclosed the town. He was too busy to come again more than once every two years; but there were plenty of followers to carry on the work. Progress was slow till the end of the century; but in the year of Thomas Williams's birth there was a little Methodist chapel, not in Queen Street as now, but outside the town proper, not far from the sheep market. Its site is indicated on the 1819 plan of Horncastle. In appearance it was, in all probability, much more like the unsightly little chapel at High Toynton built in 1840 than the modern building in Queen Street. That was the sanctuary attended by Thomas Williams in his boyhood; but it was in his own home that he learnt most of what he knew about Wesleyan Methodism. There was no family in all the county in which the discipline of the revival was more strictly observed than in that of John Williams. From his earliest days Thomas lived and moved in the society of Methodists.

His conversion came when he was but a youth, and in early manhood much of his leisure time was spent in the preparation of sermons which he delivered in the neighbouring villages and, on rare occasions, in Horncastle itself. Preaching was for him in those days a healthy and agreeable occupation. Walks along the country roads helped to build up his strength, and the sight of the many beauteous forms of nature, direct from the hand of God, stimulated rare thoughts and happy feelings in his artistic soul. He was gifted with a seeing eye, and Lincolnshire can be very beautiful in the springtime, summer and autumn. The country in the neighbourhood of Horncastle is gently undulating, and recalls many a descriptive passage in Tenny-

son's poems. Hedgerows, trained over railed fences, run in all directions over the slopes and summits of the hills. Brooks babble over their pebbled beds, beneath flowering banks, on their way to join the Waring and the Bain; and many a copse and stretch of wood listen to their music as they go. Cottages with roofs of thatch stand out in clear outline against the sky, or nestle together cosily in the valleys below. Ploughed fields of grey and yellowish soil stretch for miles and miles.

The distant views are drear enough in the winter, and bleak are the winds that sweep over the fields from the east; but when the springtime is sufficiently advanced the countryside breaks into blossom, and from that time right on to the autumn the gardens round about the halls that dot the landscape are radiant with colour. Mixed farming prevails now as it did in the days of Thomas Williams's youth. Sheep and cattle wander homeward in the evening time, and during the day fowls scratch and run about the hayricks near the homesteads. The soil is richer than it looks: no better barley can be harvested in England than in this part of Lincolnshire.

The climate though severe enough in the winter is bracing and healthy, except on the low-lying patches of ground where the dank air irritates the throat. Time was, and not so many centuries ago, when all the countryside was thickly wooded and alive with game. Men hunted the wild boar there as late as 1620. But the forests are cleared away now, and the more savage animals have disappeared. Foxes may be seen close to Horncastle yet; but the hunters generally range farther west; so do the anglers, though I have seen plenty of trout in the Waring close to the town. In fishing and hunting Thomas Williams took little or no interest; in the hours of leisure that were not devoted to

study of the Bible, or local historical investigations, he loved to ramble over the countryside with or without a friend.

Among the men who exerted more than ordinary influence on his life, before he left England and for many years afterwards, three call for special mention.

William Watson was a lay preacher who married Thomas Williams's sister Ann. He was a spiritually minded man, and had an impressive personality. Some of the letters which he wrote to his brother-in-law in Fiji make interesting reading. There are times when he speaks as only a man is likely to do who lives habitually in the presence of his Maker and relies upon Him for guidance. He was convinced that God could make known His will to those who waited upon Him, by exerting an influence on their minds either for or against a contemplated course of action. In 1840 he writes:

Oh, my dear Tom, in connection with all your efforts which, at the best, are but human lay hold of God by prayer and faith. Ever, my dear brother, cultivate the heart. You will need divine wisdom, special wisdom, to direct you. You will in some measure be left to your own resources, and your success, under God, in a great measure depends upon the plan of operations you may adopt. In all your ways acknowledge Him, and He will direct thy steps. I need not remind you that it will be well for you to carry the spirit of prayer into all you do; and you will find that, although you may not have an audible answer to your petitions, God will, by His spirit, influence your mind to the adoption of those measures that will be most likely to ensure success. . . . You will also see that it is necessary to be a student of human nature. Unless you become well acquainted with it, your success will be greatly retarded.

This advice was much to the liking of Thomas Williams who, at the time the letter reached Fiji, was realizing through very painful experience that his surest support in times of affliction and danger was an assured belief that Providence was guiding and protecting him; and was also applying himself to a study of native life and custom so that he might

the better understand the nature of the people whose souls he had come to save. Between these two men there was a companionship of soul from which Thomas Williams derived much profit in more ways than one.

William Watson gave his brother-in-law some candid criticism as well as good advice. Williams was just a little too ready at finding fault with other people. In one of his letters he criticized a friend of Watson's, and got back in reply a rebuke severe enough to cause estrangement between them for a time. But the bond of affection was too strong to be cracked by one unfortunate mistake. The little child who died at Somosomo, three days short of a year old, was named after William Watson. Another little fellow arrived somewhat prematurely on 12 January 1845. He, too, was called William Watson Williams.

A man of wider reputation was Thomas Jackson who married Ann Hollinshead, sister to Williams's mother. He was in charge of the Horncastle circuit⁵ from 1838 to 1840; and in 1838, the year before Thomas Williams left for Fiji, he was made president of the Wesleyan Conference, an honour which was conferred upon him a second time in 1849. A sketch of his career is given in F. Ross's book on *The Celebrities of Yorkshire*. It will suffice here to say that he was the son of a farm-labourer and mole-catcher at Sancton, and after tending sheep and working on a farm Thomas turned to carpentry, devoting all his leisure time to the preparation and delivery of lay sermons. After some experience as an exhorter and local preacher, he was appointed itinerant minister. In all the years of his life thus far, he had been fighting hard against poverty, and the lack of an ordinary school education. But he was a prodigious worker, and so far overcame these limitations that he was made editor of the Methodist periodical publications. He was still en-

⁵ Another Methodist minister who served in the circuit was Rudyard Kipling's grandfather.

gaged on that work when the position of theological tutor at the Richmond Institute was offered him. He accepted, and in the years that followed published a large number of books⁶ on religious subjects.

Thomas Jackson was too busy to write letters to his nephew; but Williams, who had held him in high esteem before leaving England, read several of his published works. That, however, did not prevent nephew Thomas from drawing attention, in one of his letters to the London Committee, to an erroneous statement made by his uncle concerning the alleged training of the Fijians in the arts of civilized life by the Methodist missionaries.⁷

But the influence exerted by William Watson and Thomas Jackson on the mind and heart of Thomas Williams cannot compare with that of his father, John Williams. Sincere, deep and entirely wholesome was the affection between father and son. Separation drew their souls closer together. John Williams was a man of rare consistency, industry and integrity. There was no weak sentimentality in his nature; but plenty of robust kindliness. The discipline of his home was strict, and, if need be, severe; but he loved justice: "Never ask your child to do anything that is not fair; but having given due thought to this, insist on obedience, and brook no defiance of your authority." So he wrote to Thomas in Fiji, and Thomas knew that it was true to the rule of his own upbringing.

Nothing impresses one more in the letters of John Williams than his thorough-going sincerity; his detestation of shams, pretences and ostentation, and his unfaltering conviction that the things of the soul were infinitely more important than the commodities of this world. No Methodist ever proclaimed more unequivocally than he that the greatest of all achievements was the salvation of a human soul; and the

⁶ A list of these publications is given in Ross's book, pp. 86-8.

⁷ See H.F.F., p. 230.

manner in which he lived and worked at Horncastle made him a shining example of that which he would teach. In the evening of his days his children begged him to apply his little savings to the building of a home in which he might spend his last years in comfort, and Thomas was one of those who pressed him to do so. His reply was characteristic: he had gone through life as a sojourner in this world, and so he would travel on to the end. What little money he had could be used by his children to increase their own comforts, if they so desired, after he had gone. As he wrote these lines he was thinking mainly of his far-away son in the Pacific who, notwithstanding all his efforts to make his wife and children reasonably comfortable, had, nevertheless, been forced to live under conditions that most of his friends in England would have found unendurable.

So sincere was John Williams in his honest strivings to live up to the essentials of his teaching that he found it almost impossible to work with people who, in his severe and perhaps somewhat intolerant judgment, made a mockery of their religious professions by tricks of vanity and inconsistent practices. In one of his letters to Fiji he intimated his intention of retiring from the Sunday school committee on which he had served with zeal for many years, because he was finding it increasingly difficult to refrain from reproving the circuit minister for dining out with the well-to-do when he had no time to visit the sick; and the minister's wife for spending too much money on fashionable dresses for her children. Thomas wrote back begging him not to resign, and, after further reflection, the old man decided to carry on; but not without an emphatic pronouncement that the prattle of religion without the practice was in his judgment contemptible hypocrisy. John was a severe man, but true to the core.

John Williams was proud of his missionary son, the

ambassador to the Heathen as he called him, and in every letter that he wrote to Fiji there is evidence of sane and deep affection. The parting in 1839 had been a wrench. On 30 August of that year there is an entry in the family register in these words: "Parted from my son and his wife this day. Painful." From the time of the missionary's arrival in Fiji, letters passed between father and son by every mail. Those written by Thomas contain more about the manners, customs and life of the Fijians than his correspondence with the London Committee. Knowing how pathetically his far-off son and daughter yearned for letters from home, John Williams not only pressed the members of his family to write frequently, but also induced the minister to announce from the pulpit that his son would be delighted to receive letters from his old friends in Horncastle and the neighbouring towns and villages. Scores were posted to him, and many of them are preserved in the Williams collection of manuscripts. Some were written by poor uneducated people who hardly knew how to express their thoughts and feelings; but the burden of them all is—God bless and keep you, and make you instrumental in saving souls. They are of little use to the historian beyond the fact that they proclaim the supreme importance, in the opinion of these early Methodists, of the salvation of a human soul. Every one of them helped to sustain the missionary and his wife in their lonely lives among the cannibals and widow-stranglers of Fiji. They were too precious to destroy.

But among these letters the ones most eagerly sought for were those from his father. Williams read them over and over again, not only to absorb the contents, but also to keep his soul in touch with his father's spirit, and drink deeper and deeper from the outpourings of the old man's tender but virile solicitude. The joy which the son experienced in his heart on mail days was not a whit more fervent than that of

the father when letters from his son reached Horncastle. The day's work over he would hie him home with steps quick as the beatings of his heart; seize the bundle of letters and sit himself down in a chair. Nothing could induce him to leave it till he had devoured the last line. "John, dear, do come to dinner," his second wife would say. "Let those have dinner who want it," was his pardonably brusque reply, "I have food enough here."

John Williams was sincere, strong-minded, industrious, thorough and full of sane and robust kindliness. All these qualities were inherited by his son Thomas. On my visit to Horncastle in 1929-30 I asked an old resident who had met Thomas Williams frequently on his visits to England what he thought were the missionary's leading characteristics. "Energy and thoroughness," he replied. "He seemed to me to display the qualities of a man of action to an unusual degree considering that he was a preacher. But I was also impressed with his extraordinary ability and the wide range of his interests." All these observations appear to me appropriate, the last as much so as any of them. Thomas Williams was not a cultured man; but he was richly endowed by nature with a wide range of gifts. Before his death he attained to the highest distinction that Australasian Methodism could confer upon him: he was the last president of the Australasian Conference; but he was a born artist and a born anthropologist too. I am not qualified to express an opinion on the merits of Thomas Williams's artistic work; but several of his grandchildren have won distinction as painters in Australia to-day, and I believe they have inherited their gifts from him. The book which he published in 1858 contains the best original account we have about the Fijians of the forties of last century, and is, in itself, sufficient evidence of the high value of the service he could have rendered to

anthropological science had he applied himself exclusively to that.

After teaching for a quarter of a century in institutions where at least 50 per cent of the students are trained beyond the limits imposed by nature on their capacities, it is refreshing to find a man whose natural abilities far outstripped his academic advantages. It is here perhaps that we touch the secret of Thomas Williams's dislike and even detestation of everything that savoured of sham and pretence; and, on the other hand, of his splendid appreciation of meritorious work and workmen. For polish without grit and ability he had little or no respect. But to the man of solid worth who was too shy to push himself either by advertisement or the use of superficial arts he could be a very loyal and helpful friend, just as he was to David Hazlewood, his colleague at Somo-somo and his neighbour at Mbua Bay. One of the most attractive characteristics in the nature of Thomas Williams was his unstinted admiration for men who tried to do their work honestly and thoroughly, abjured affectation of all kinds and strove to be true to the best that was in their natures. He sought them out and honoured them however obscure they might be.

It was, then, a young man of imperfect academic training, but of great ability and promise who with his brave, patient, capable wife left England for Fiji in September 1839. The severe mental and spiritual discipline through which he was destined to pass in the first three years of his ministry there, brought much of that promise to fulfilment, at least in the spiritual part of his nature; and prepared him, though he did not know it at the time, for the work with which we are specially concerned in editing this Journal. That discipline was, on his own confession, far more severe than he had anticipated. He had some conception of the trials and

dangers that awaited him in Fiji before he left Bristol; but no man, he says, could possibly understand how searching they really were without actually living through them. The strain was so severe that it drove him back deeper and deeper upon himself until he found a task that was thoroughly suited to his tastes and capacities; and also a spiritual conviction that was to sustain him amid all the afflictions, difficulties and disappointments of life until 1850 when the hurricane blasts of war wellnigh swept him off his feet into the abyss of despondency.

His first year in Fiji was one of acute suffering, and to some extent of disillusionment. Having hardly any furniture of his own on his arrival, he was obliged to share the home of the Calverts. Such living was not in accord with his masterful temperament, and he worked from morning till night, building a house for himself, till he was exhausted. Mission work had to be carried on in ways that were strange to him, and the process of adaptation to a new environment was, as usual, painful. Travelling overland he was exposed to the inconveniences and perils of tropical storms that turned streams into torrents; on the sea he had to make voyages in frail canoes at greater risk of his life than he was, at first, able to encounter without dread. Myriads of stinging mosquitoes irritated him in the daytime and sometimes banished sleep at night. Far more distressing were the domestic afflictions that overtook him. His wife fell dangerously ill, and at one time he despaired of her recovery. Then his child took the tropical fever. Success in his work would have buoyed him up despite all his suffering, but there was little of that, even at Lakemba, in his first two years. The natives were shy of his religion, and to his amazement he found that the Christian Tongans, who formed the principal part of his congregation, instead of being really "saved" were more dissolute and wicked than

the heathen Fijians. In his secret heart he began to doubt whether he had done right in coming to Fiji.

The strain of suffering reduced him almost to silence, partly because he was too much of a man to inflict upon others a tale of his woes. The London Committee expected three or four letters a year from their missionaries; Williams wrote his first of three pages only, in large handwriting, on 7 November 1840. The next is dated 7 July 1841 and he tells the Committee that there is nothing in his Journal worth sending on to them. But even in this letter there are indications that, though still in the valley of the shadows, he was fighting his way to higher spiritual ground: "The painful dispensations of Providence through which we have been caused to pass," he says, "have not, I trust, been entirely lost upon us. They have taught us more clearly our entire dependence upon God, not only for success in our labours, but also for health and ability to labour. We feel at this time more than we ever did, the absolute need of our will being lost in His will, and our hearts being filled with His love." Williams was finding out in his own way the value of one of Dante's great contributions to human wisdom: "In His will is our peace."

But he was not out of the wood yet. Adaptation to his new environment came slowly, and the work for which he had left home, friends and occupation was dragging. He and his colleagues made few converts, and those few were merely nominal Christians attracted by extraneous aids principally the use of British medicine. The Gospel of Christ was beyond their comprehension. Doubts continued to assail him; disillusionment haunted him like a grinning spectre; but he held on, performing faithfully his daily duties until, in the year 1843, the dawn of a brighter day broke and he felt, at last, that he could write to his father and tell him frankly not only what he had suffered, but also what he had gained

in the period of his second and more searching conversion.

The letter was begun on 20 January 1843, but not finished till April:

You will rejoice to know that I am getting on a little better in spiritual affairs. What I passed through during my first two years in Fiji is not to be told. Wind and tide seemed set against me. My heart was overwhelmed within me. In the anguish of my soul I often asked with the royal Psalmist "Is His mercy clean gone for ever? Doth His promise fail for evermore? Hath God forgotten to be gracious? Hath He in anger shut up His tender mercies? It was the hour and power of darkness. Hell seemed at many times let loose upon me. I was on the edge of desperation; all but gone. O, how deeply am I indebted to God's grace for His preservation. Preserved, perhaps, in answer to your prayers; for, at times, I seemed unable to pray. But, for some months past, I have been in widely different circumstances. The candle of the Lord has again shone upon me, and I know Him to be my reconciled Father through Christ Jesus my Saviour. My murmurings, ingratitude, mistrust and backsliding of heart are forgiven, all forgiven, freely forgiven. Bless the Lord, O, my soul. My will is becoming subject to that of my blessed Master. I want it to be lost in His. I wish not only to endure, but cheerfully acquiesce in every dispensation of His all-wise providence toward me; to *feel* that good is the pleasure of the Lord. Lord I believe, help Thou my unbelief.

You may feel a degree of surprise that I did not disclose the state of my mind to you before. The fact is I thought the statement of our bodily afflictions would be enough for you to have to reflect upon for some time, and I can do it more cheerfully now the Lord has given me to sing a deliverance. Peace of mind is a blessing of untold worth, especially to us who live in the midst of war and cannibalism.

His peace of mind was to be rudely disturbed once again when a war, partly of his own making, broke upon him in 1849: the war between Heathenism and Christianity. For three years he saw his Christian followers despoiled, exiled, murdered, and he could do little to relieve them of their sufferings. He tried hard, very hard, to tame the wild spirits of the Heathen, but soon discovered that his overtures for peace

only encouraged them to commit more terrible crimes. Brought to a standstill among the thorns and dangers of his little world, he suffered, agonized and began to think that his life in Fiji had been wasted.

The seed of the trouble was in his own mind as well as in his star. There was a flaw in his teaching which new and painful experiences were now revealing. The pacifism which he had contended for against Tuikilakila of Somo-somo was too superficial, abstract and visionary to be applicable to the turbulent conditions that prevailed in the Windward Islands of Fiji where cupidity, jealousy and treachery made war an ever-impending menace. Williams clung tenaciously to the cherished belief that God would take care of His children; but the logic of fact, hard cruel fact, was relentless; and he had to learn at Mbua Bay, more thoroughly than he had ever known before, that in the midst of wars and rumours of wars men must not only trust in God but also keep their powder dry. It was war that had put rancours into the vessel of his peace; and it was only by men trained for war on a British battle-ship, that the rancours were dispersed and replaced by the sweets of an abiding peace.

The history of these three years of warfare at Mbua Bay from 1849 to 1852 is full of instruction for those who think that peace can be attained in this world of conflicting interests and passions simply by pacifist teaching. Among other things it proves that, in the middle of last century in Fiji, British naval officers with their fighting ships, big guns and marines were emissaries of peace quite as truly as the missionaries with their Bible, creed and native agents; and that in times of great suffering and danger their help was indispensable to the missionaries. The developments, events and revelations of this period are explained in H.F.F., Chapter

XV, on "The Break-down of Pacifism." It would be superfluous to describe them in detail here.

But apart from his experiences at Mbua Bay it would appear to me almost certain that the faith to which Thomas Williams had attained when he wrote to his father at the beginning of 1843, strong and comforting as it was, would not have brought him enduring peace, had it not been that kindly Fortune was bringing in her hand at that very time another gift of priceless value to men constituted as he was—the blessing of an absorbing occupation for which Nature had provided him with unusual gifts. In his Journal under date 10 April 1844 he writes: "Commenced the first of a series of chapters on the customs, etc., of Feejee. I labour in concert with Bro. Lyth." This is an important entry. It marks the beginning of a course of careful investigations that ended in the publication of *Fiji and the Fijians* fourteen years later. Up to the date of this entry Williams had displayed a lively interest in native customs and beliefs, and many valuable observations had been made in his letters to his father, and recorded in his Notes on the Fijians; but it was from April 1844 that he became the man whom Dr Lyth described as "my observant colleague who is always all-eye and all-ear."

The born anthropologist soon realized that he had found congenial work, and every year after this up to the time he left Somosomo found him more and more absorbed in it. That was a piece of rare good fortune for Thomas Williams coming, as it did, so soon after his arrival at Somosomo. There was little chance of doing effective religious work in that Circuit. The natives almost to a man declined to abandon their heathen worship; and had Williams found no other outlet for his energy, his spiritual acquiescence in the will of God, sustaining as it was, would not of itself have saved him from chafing, disappointment and discontent. To

be at peace in his mind Thomas Williams needed not only a spiritual conviction, but also a definite lasting work on which he could exercise the gifts that Nature had bestowed upon him. There was nothing of the dilettante in his nature; the urge to do and to do well was strong within him. Work, continuous work, was necessary even for his bodily health. His medical practice, translation of parts of the Bible, philanthropic work and the voyages he made in canoes helped to fill in time; but intermittent work was not enough. What he needed was some absorbing occupation that had in it the quality of permanence and the prospect of success. Such an occupation he found in anthropological research. It was the work that lay nearest him at Somosomo. He clutched at it with both hands, and applied himself to it with shining eye and eager thought. In the break-down of the more strictly religious work of the mission he found in this another way of doing God's will. It was a task in which he took increasing delight; and he did it well enough to win for himself a distinguished place among the pioneers of anthropological research in the Pacific Islands.

The mission at Somosomo was abandoned in 1847; but there were several offsets against the failure. The most important by far was that every one of the men who lived and worked in that place of horrors and disillusionment came to himself by the discovery of a specific line of work for the execution of which he was specially endowed and equipped. Dr Lyth became the true founder of British medical practice in Fiji; to John Hunt belongs the chief credit for the translation of the New Testament into Fijian; David Hazlewood compiled the best grammar and dictionary of the Fijian language that has yet appeared, and Thomas Williams is the best original authority for the beliefs, customs, characteristics, and occupations of the Fijians at the time when they were coming under the influence of the white

man's civilization, but had still preserved at Somosomo and Mbua Bay nearly everything that was characteristic of their old heathen life.

From the beginning of 1844 every line that Williams writes on the Fijians and their customs, in his letters, scrap book, sketch book, notes on Fiji as well as his Journal is worthy of careful consideration. The pains he takes in detailing the various subjects that come under his notice is sufficient evidence of a genuine desire to make himself master of his subject. His description of the ceremony of welcome to Thakombau in 1846 shows that he was unwilling to lose sight of a single fact that would help to bring the complete spectacle clearly before the mind of the reader. I have not found elsewhere among the records of Fiji anything to compare with this description for wealth of detail and fidelity to fact. And it is well that he took pains with it, for that particular ceremony was carried out on the most majestic scale ever witnessed in old Fiji. Not that Williams had ever been careless about detail. He had not. It was in the year 1842 that he wrote his description of the caves of Nasangkalou. I have followed him there as in many other places, tested his observations and found them accurate. But from the beginning of 1844 his work on the customs of the Fijians is more carefully organized; the passion for accuracy and fullness of detail grows upon him; his eyes and ears are at a stretch to take in and commit to writing all that is worthy of record.

But that is not the only satisfaction to be derived from a study of Williams's account of things Fijian. He also displays commendable caution before committing himself to a definite opinion or judgment on disputed problems, or doubtful information. He had not been in Fiji two years before he had his doubts about the worship of idols by the natives. For seven years he refrained from committing himself to

any decisive judgment on the matter. Then in February 1849 with the *matakau* (idol) on p. 67 chiefly in mind he says: "I am now where such things are not uncommon. I have inquired carefully into the subject, and have come to the conclusion that nothing of this kind is worshipped by the Fijians." In another place he admits that people who have visited parts of Fiji he has not seen may have reasons to differ; and I think Dr Lyth would. His hesitation in accepting unconfirmed news about important events is equally commendable. After the murder of Mbatu Namu, he hears stories of the revenge taken by the chief Wainunu; but a doubt as to their accuracy has been expressed, and he refrains from giving the details until he has had a conversation with Wainunu himself, and extracted from him information on all the uncertainties. Then he commits a full account to his Notes.

After 1847, as though conscious of his increasing mastery of his subject, he expresses more positive opinions about the Fijians, some of them directly the reverse of those he has given at an earlier date. In the first years of his ministry in the archipelago he, like his colleagues, declared that the Fijians were "without natural affection," and because of their inhuman practices he found it very difficult to shake off that impression; but by 1850 he knows that though they are treacherous, cruel, revengeful, murderous, the natives have plenty of natural affection: "Fijians are greatly wronged," he says, "by being supposed to be a set of rough untutored brutes. They can feel as keenly, weep as sincerely, love as truly and laugh as heartily as any European. White men who call them brutes, devils and such-like find on better acquaintance that they have an elaborate system of etiquette, and that among themselves none but the very lowest are ill-behaved." Williams had learnt by that time what an extra-

ordinary compound the Fijian was of diametrically opposite characteristics.

Any explanation he offers, especially after 1850, on the very difficult subject of the inner working of the mind of a Fijian is particularly valuable. That was a matter on which the greatest caution was not only desirable but necessary. All the most reliable authorities were agreed about that. They realized how exceedingly difficult it was to get at and understand the native point of view. They knew how frequently they had made mistakes in formulating conclusions on insufficient knowledge and experience. Williams was well aware of this too. He has much to say in correction of his own earlier views, and also in criticism of the observations made by other writers, including Captain Wilkes of the United States Exploring Expedition. But after going to Mbua Bay and especially when he has been ten years or more in the archipelago he speaks out with the assurance of a man who has studied the native mind long enough to feel confidence in his own judgment; and where he expresses that judgment with emphasis the reader will be well advised to pause and reflect carefully on what he has to say. It is almost certain that his conclusions will be highly illuminating.

One of the best examples which I can quote will be found, not in the Journal, but in the correspondence which he sent to the Missionary Society in London. In a letter dated 19 February 1853, 12½ years after he had arrived in Fiji, and only six months before he left, he tells of an experience he had with some fishermen at Mbua Bay. He says:

The other week they set their nets without offering to their gods, and returned without a turtle. They then propitiated their gods, and went again to sea and returned with a turtle. This they did four or five days in succession, and this they deemed decisive of the power of their gods. I urged the supreme right of Jehovah before the head fisherman two nights ago. They were much excited and the chief said: "Our gods give us turtle; but we do

not know that Jiova gives us anything." Next day the *lotu* fishermen set their nets, took three turtle and quickly presented them to the Christian chief who at once sent two of them to his heathen brother. The arguments of all the divines in the world would not convince or silence the heathen so effectually as will the above little fact.

Williams knew quite well that in this extract he was dealing with a motive which, better than anything else in the whole range of Fijian psychology, could throw light on the way in which a native in the middle of last century made up his own mind on thousands of problems with which he was beset in the conduct of his life's affairs. What the Fijian wanted to know was not what the Divines or any other human beings thought; but what was the mind and will of the appropriate god in respect to the enterprise in hand; and how best to bring that god into sympathy with his own purposes. Williams gives his judgment without the slightest hesitation, and with all the emphasis he is capable of using. He was, I believe, thoroughly justified in doing so; for I have not read anything in my researches about the Fijian, and, in particular, my attempts to get at the native point of view, which has been so helpful as this candid expression of opinion from the Christian missionary Thomas Williams.

But though this extract goes far to show that his early hopes and beliefs about the power of the Gospel and Christian dogma to influence and convert the heathen had been shattered, and the power of the old gods admitted, the student of the Journal must not forget that this candid confession comes only after twelve and a half years of experience, and that it is not characteristic of his attitude of mind in the earlier part of the Journal. It is true that many erroneous statements made about the Fijians in the early years were corrected later on; but the most important of them, only very late. Generally speaking, religious prepossessions had so strong a hold on the mind of the mis-

sionaries, including Thomas Williams, that it was only after long experience that they were able to see into the mind of the native clearly enough and deep enough to explain his point of view; and not one of them can ever be trusted to recognize the good that was in the native religion. I have said what seemed necessary about the limitations of the missionaries in this respect in H.F.F., pp. 72-8 and 278-83, and there is no justification, therefore, for dwelling at length on the subject here; but the reader of this Journal and of all other missionary correspondence is advised to follow with a critical mind all that the writers have to say about the worthlessness and foolishness of the religion of the Fijians, and especially their attachment to their gods.

This warning is all the more necessary because the Fijians were an intensely religious people who desired most earnestly to bring their own wills into a line with the wills of their gods. There was no department of their lives economic, political, social, religious in which the goodwill of the gods was not solicited by prayer, offerings and sacrifices. Where Thomas Williams is investigating a subject in which he can keep himself free from the influence of religious prejudice he is generally reliable; but on the other hand, where he is swayed by theological bias the student must use his own common sense and judgment based upon wider reading, in estimating the value of what he says.

In the first chapter of my book on *Fiji and the Fijians* I have made some general observations on the contents and quality of the Journal of Thomas Williams; but for the convenience of the reader I must now offer a few remarks on its orthographical and other peculiarities as well as the plan I have adopted and followed in editing it.

The manuscript is in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, in two

folios, containing 874 pages and about 250,000 words. Except for two or three medical prescriptions, and a few abbreviations, the handwriting is clear. I have been obliged to make many alterations in spelling and punctuation. The author is careless, too, in his use of words; but I have not ventured to make any verbal changes without feeling sure that the word substituted was the one he should have used to express what was obviously in his mind. Where there is the slightest doubt as to the meaning of the context I have retained his own words, even, in one or two instances, at the expense of perspicuity. Williams had quite exceptional powers of description; but his training in literary technique was deficient. There is, however, a distinct improvement in his style toward the end of the Journal, partly because he was then a master of his subject; but also because he was a reader of good books, and the language used by their authors gradually familiarized his mind with the usages of literary men. His partiality for the works of John Milton was, whether he knew it or not, of great assistance to him in the improvement of his own literary method.

After careful consideration I have decided to make hardly any alterations in his spelling of the names of people and places Fijian. My reason is that the reader should realize, at first hand, some of the difficulties with which the early missionaries had to contend in their efforts to establish a written language in Fiji. In trying to reproduce Fijian sounds by means of Roman letters there was plenty of room for difference of opinion and practice; and uniformity in the spelling of names and places, not generally known, was rarely achieved. The reader will find, for instance, in going through the correspondence of different missionaries, that a name so well known as Thakombau is spelt in a variety of ways: *Tha-ko-mbau*, *Ca-ko-bau*, *Cakobou*, and *Cakobau*. Syllables forming part of a name are sometimes written in

the form of a single word; but at other times one, two or three hyphens are used. It may happen that a name written as one word or with many hyphenated syllables, will be sometimes written as two distinct words; thus Koro-ni-yasa-ca may be written *Koroï yasaca*. With a little practice the reader will find hardly any difficulty in identifying the vast majority of names. Where a mistake is likely to be made, a footnote will explain.

It is not so easy to become familiar with the use of conventional letters selected by the missionaries to express certain sounds in order to make their books and printed sheets more intelligible to the natives. A fuller explanation of these conventions, and the reasons for adopting them will be found in H.F.F., pp. 186-8. Only a few observations sufficient to elucidate the practical difficulties of the text are needed here. The fundamental fact to bear in mind is that in Fijian, as in most of the Polynesian languages, a nasal sound can be detected which can only be properly represented by a combination of consonants instead of a single Roman character. Thus the letter *b* must be pronounced as if it were *mb*; *g* and *d* as *ng* and *nd*. But when the Fijians saw two consonants printed together, they had an irresistible impulse to put a vowel between them; so that, if the missionaries had adopted phonetic spelling only, and printed the word Lakemba in their books, the natives would have pronounced it *Lakemaba*, which would have fallen strangely on their ears, and caused confusion in their minds. Therefore after some experience Cross and Cargill, the first two missionaries, decided that *b* must stand alone to represent the sound *mb*; *g* for *ng* and so on.

But they found also that the Fijians uttered a sound which could be best represented by *ngg*, and in order to differentiate this clearly from *g* they used the letter *q*. Thus Qara is written for the name Nggara, and Beqa for Mbengga.

Another difficulty arose in connexion with the diphthong *th*. Wherever that sound occurred the missionaries decided to use the letter *c*.⁸ Thus Thakombau was spelt Cakobau.

The reader of the Journal will find a sufficient number of fluctuations between the phonetic and conventional spelling of words to convince him that it was not easy for the missionaries themselves to attain to uniformity in the use of conventional letters. Frequently they slip back into the use of the more natural phonetic spelling: they write Thakombau for Cakobau, Lakemba instead of Lakeba and Thithia for Cicia.

One other convention practised by the missionaries must be explained. Cargill and Cross found some difficulty in deciding upon the form that foreign names (principally baptismal names from the Bible) should take when they were introduced into the Fijian language. After some experience they agreed that it would be better to use the letter *p* for *b* and *t* for *d*. Thus Abraham became Eparami, and David, Tevita. But in such names alterations are frequently made in other letters including vowels to make their pronunciation easier for the native. Thus Jioji is written for George, and Ilaija for Elijah.

The reader of the Journal will not be surprised at the want of uniformity in such matters if he bears in mind that the task of building up a written language began in 1835, only five years before Thomas Williams arrived in Fiji.

For the translation into English of some of the more obscure Fijian words and phrases used in the text of the Journal I have relied upon Mr Arthur Leopold Armstrong, Secretary for Native Affairs in Fiji. He wishes me to say (1) that sometimes in their ceremonies and songs the natives

⁸ In the course of my studies I have found reason for believing that the sound represented conventionally by *c* must have had some quality of that letter in it. Dumont D'Urville in passing through the Lau Group had on board a native pilot who gave him the names of the islands they passed. On his map the spelling of Thithia is *Zisia*.

use obsolete words whose meaning has been lost, and, in all probability, was not known even to the natives themselves in the first half of the nineteenth century; (2) that names of places, houses, canoes, etc., cannot be explained with certainty without reference to the prevailing circumstances when they were applied; and (3) that therefore, some of the renderings are offered with diffidence and even doubt. The reader of the Journal will notice that Thomas Williams, himself, confesses that some of the expressions used in the *bolebole* at the ceremony of welcome were unintelligible to him, and that he could reproduce only a few of the boasts made at the time.

As to the contents of the printed Journal some explanation is due to the reader. I have omitted a large number of entries of a purely formal character. There are occasions when the date, place and text of sermons preached constitute an important record because of their connexion with some event of historical or scientific value; and these entries have been retained. But I find that there are few such, and that their value as records of work done to put before the London Committee has served its purpose. They can be of service, now, only to a very limited number of people who are interested in the routine work of the early missionaries. Such students must consult the original manuscript in the Mitchell Library.

On the other hand, I have retained everything that is likely to be of value to historical and scientific students as well as those who are interested in the study of an important human document, detailing the experiences of a high-minded man with a passion for service, in an environment that, in many respects, can be best described, perhaps, by the word horrific. The beliefs, manners, customs and institutions of the native Fijians; the war between Heathenism and Chris-

tianity as it was waged in the neighbourhood of Mbua Bay and Nandy; the life of a Methodist missionary in Fiji from 1840 to 1853 with its romance as well as its stern and even grim realities are the three subjects which nearly all the evidence in the Journal as here printed serves to elucidate. They are also the subjects I have had in mind in selecting and writing up the notes.

My notes have been drawn from many sources; but principally from the evidence supplied by Thomas Williams himself in other manuscripts, and by other missionaries who were at work with him in the great missionary period. Sometimes Williams refers the reader to his Notes on Fiji, and where the importance of the subject demands it I have reproduced them without any omissions. Generally speaking, the footnotes are intended not only to supplement brief or general statements in the text, but also to present other points of view than the one which the author himself elaborates. Frequently I have made extracts from the manuscripts of Dr Lyth. In his voluminous writings he gives a lot of information on subjects treated in the Journal; and, being a scientifically trained man, fully alive to the importance of verified facts, it is generally reliable information. In the lists of manuscripts and original publications which I have given at the end of the book there is abundance of material for purposes of collation and elaboration.

Sometimes in the notes I have ventured to express my own opinion, not only on questions of fact, but also on the propriety or impropriety of the conduct and utterances of the author in a particular set of circumstances. It will not, I hope, be felt that in doing so, I have transgressed the limits of editorial responsibility. All the missionaries have their say about the natives and their customs; it has seemed to me a fair thing to give what I have thought might be the opinion of the native respecting the missionary and some of his

habits. I do so because the reader of the Journal may not have read enough about the Fijians at this time to know what their feelings and opinions were likely to be. I understand well enough the risks I am taking in following this course; but, on the other hand, it is a reasonable assumption that the man who has made a study of the period, and applied himself particularly to an examination of many of the subjects under review, should not only be entitled to opinions of his own, but also justified in giving expression to them where he thinks the context calls for comment. The native point of view in such studies as these is vastly important, and all too frequently I have found that it has been treated with contempt by the missionary without anything like adequate justification. In my book on *Fiji and the Fijians* I have spoken out as clearly as I felt justified on many of these matters. I have ventured to do so even here, though the privileges of an editor are more restricted than those of an author.

But let me hasten to add that it is far from my desire to influence the mind of the reader prejudicially in any way whatever. Such comments as I have made on the conduct and utterances of the missionary in a particular set of circumstances are offered purely in the interests of fair play, and certainly not from any bias against him or his colleagues. The fact that the Journal is being published giving the missionary's point of view at all times on all subjects is sufficient ground for believing that the reader has every opportunity of making up his own mind on any criticism passed by the editor on the manners of the missionary. In such matters as good taste and a sense of the fitness of things there is wide scope for difference of opinion even among folk of the same nationality. But the native Fijians have a very strong claim for consideration. They were an exceedingly courteous people, with an elaborate and strictly observed system of

etiquette. In so far as I am capable of expressing their opinion or interpreting their feeling in delicate situations when the missionary has attacked them and their gods, I have spoken on behalf of the natives, and am willing to abide by the consequences. Profound as is my admiration for many of the sterling qualities of those brave old pioneers of Christianity, I am, nevertheless, prepared to go to the length of saying that ingrained courtesy was more characteristic of the Fijians than of the missionaries who went to save their souls in the thirties, forties and fifties of last century.

The Journal ends on 31 December 1852, though Williams did not leave Fiji till July 1853. Everything of importance that happened at Mbua Bay in those $6\frac{1}{2}$ months will be found recorded in his letters to the London Committee, and in the correspondence of his colleague at Mbua Bay, William Moore, to which references are made in the notes. It would appear that Williams himself could not remember whether he got away on the 20th, 21st or 22nd of July. He made no note of the specific date at the time. He was, as a matter of fact, quite undecided whether he would go or stay right up to the last few days, and for reasons that are highly creditable, considering the state of his health. In a letter to London dated 25 June 1853 William Moore says: "Bro. Williams seemed not to know what to do when he heard of Bro. Hazlewood's illness, and the probability of Bro. Watsford going. But I think he has done *right* in *going*, as he has been very ill during the year, and, by leaving in time, he may recover strength sufficient for useful work in the Colony." Dr Lyth, chairman of the District Meeting, himself in a very precarious state of health, wrote in his report to London, dated 15 June 1853: "It is fully expected that our faithful fellow-labourer, Mr Williams of Bua, will, with his family, remove in the *John Wesley* to a more healthy climate, having found during the past year that his strength

is no longer equal to the work of a Fijian circuit. If he goes, he goes with our best wishes and prayers."

The editor of the Journal feels that he is under no obligation to follow the distinguished career of Thomas Williams as a Methodist minister in Australia, and will, therefore, take his leave of him at this point, with grateful acknowledgment of the pleasure and profit he has derived from a study of his Fijian manuscripts; and also with a sincere wish that students of the native races in the Pacific may find the printed Journal and notes of some assistance in their historical and anthropological investigations.

PRELIMINARY NOTES ON THE SEA¹ VOYAGE

ACCOMPANIED by my dear wife² I left the home of my father³ on the 26th of August for Whittlesea⁴ and lived with my only and dear sister⁵ until the 30th on which day at eventide we arrived in London staying at the house of my esteemed uncle the Rev. T. Jackson,⁶ President of the Conference for the year 1838. On the 2nd of September we proceeded to the city of Bristol. Here, on the 4th, eight young men and myself received our commission publicly in the St Phillip's Chapel to preach the Gospel as Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries. On the 12th of September Mrs Williams and myself took possession of our berths, and on the 14th the *Triton*⁷ left Bristol. Thus 18 days elapsed from the time of leaving home to that of leaving Bristol.

Contrary winds caused us to put into Milford Haven

¹ The most interesting incidents of the voyage are recorded in the "Letters by Thomas Williams to his Father, 1839-43" (M.M.).

² Mary Cottingham, eldest daughter of a farmer residing at West Barkington, near Wragby, Lincolnshire.

³ The final parting was four days later. In one of his Time-books John Williams has the following entries: "On August 26, 1839, my son and his wife left home as ambassadors to the heathen. August 30, 1839: parted from my son and his wife this day. Painful."

⁴ The spelling in the letters written by William Watson to Thomas Williams is Wittlesey. In Longman's *Gazetteer* an alternative spelling is given. Whittlesea or Whittlesey.

⁵ Ann, born on 23rd February, 1812. She married William Watson, and was living at Whittlesea at this time. Jane, another sister, born March 1817, died at the age of 11.

⁶ See footnote, H.F.F., p. 231.

⁷ The first Wesleyan Methodist missionary ship to make regular visits to Fiji via Tonga. This was her first voyage. In a letter dated 10 July 1844, Williams calls her "a tub," and says that "a tolerable sailing craft would do twice as much as she does."

where we remained 13 days. Leaving this we sailed 15 days and found ourselves off Funchall. Having remained here seven days we set sail for Cape Town. Opposing winds caused us to enter Saldanha Bay after a voyage of 75 days.

The time of our detention here was four days, after which we passed in one day and a night along the coast and cast anchor in Table Bay on Monday the 22nd.

Having procured stores and men we took our departure after a stay of 25 days for Hobart Town which we reached after a run of 54 days. Tarrying 15 days here, we set out for Mangungu⁸ and reached it after 15 days sail, on the 9th of May. For 14 days we took up our abode here and then passed on to Kawia.⁹ This trip occupied six days (three of these spent in passing down Hokianga).

With Mr Whiteley we remained nine days and then shaped our course for the Friendly Islands. In 18 days we anchored in Sulphur Bay, Vavau.¹⁰

After a stay of six days we again put out to sea, and eight days of tossing to and fro found us on the south side of the island of Lakemba.¹¹

⁸ I have not been able to find Mangungu on any map of New Zealand that I have consulted.

⁹ Harbour on the west coast of New Zealand usually spelt Kawhia. In a letter to his father dated 18 June 1840, Williams says that they were visited, while in New Zealand, by a renegade missionary who had sunk to the level of the natives, "after many crimes." He was deeply stirred and pained by the spectacle. George Vason, another renegade missionary, lived in the Friendly Islands for four years. A narrative of Vason's experiences was published by the Rev. James Orange in 1840.

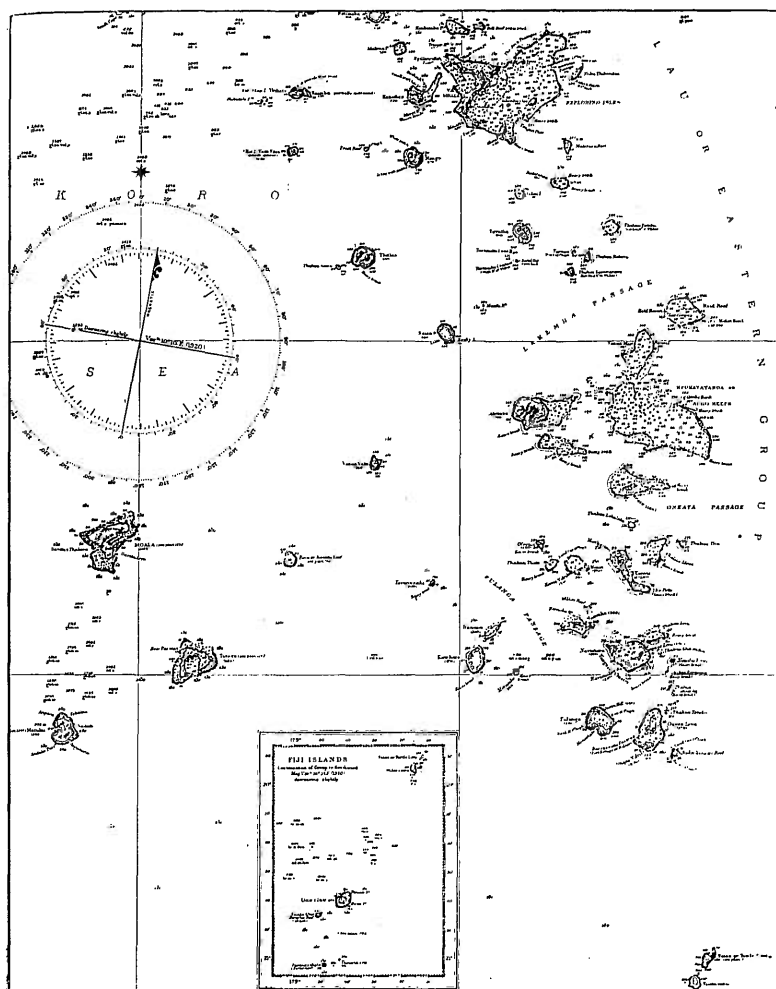
¹⁰ In the Friendly Islands to the north of Tongataboo, and one of the most important mission centres in that archipelago.

¹¹ The most important of the islands of the Lau or Windward group of the Fijian Archipelago. It was the island on which William Cross and David Cargill landed on 12 October 1835, and founded the first Methodist Fijian station. At this time voyages were frequently made by Tongans and Fijians between Lakemba and the Friendly Islands in canoes, and there were Tongan locations in the town of Tumbou. The passage through the reef into Tumbou Harbour was dangerous, and large ships had to drift about outside while passengers and their goods were sent on shore in boats and canoes.

Thus, after a long voyage of 299 days we had to bless God for bringing us safely to the place where our hearts had long been; still may this God be our God, even for evermore.

For particulars see "Sea Journal."¹²

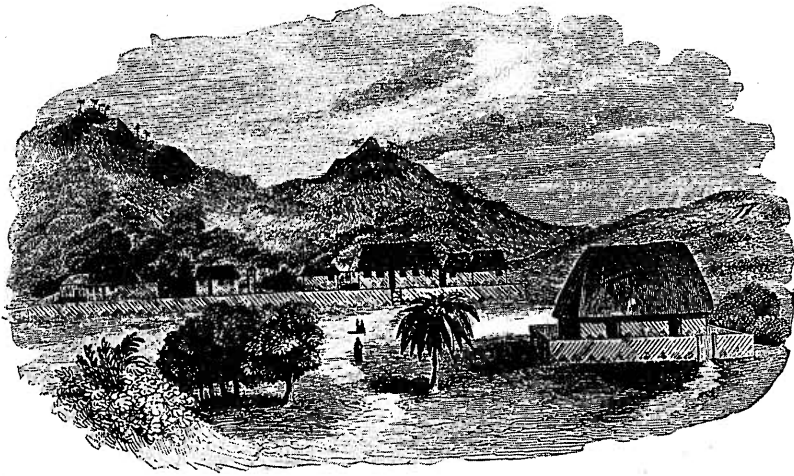
¹² And the "Letters by Thomas Williams to his Father, 1839-43" (M.M.).



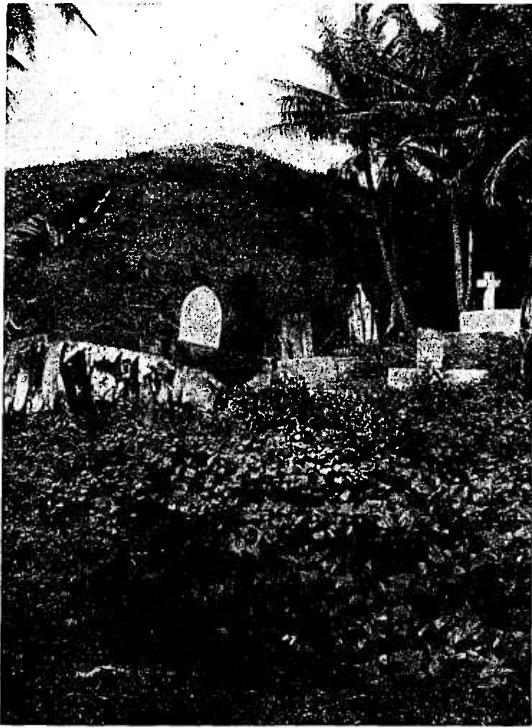
LAKEMBA CIRCUIT
From an Admiralty chart



LAKEMBA CIRCUIT



BUTHAINAMBUA MISSION STATION IN 1839
From a drawing by Mrs. R. B. Lyth



BURIAL GROUND, BUTHAINAMBUA

BUTHAINAMBUA,¹ LAKEMBA, FEEJEE

JULY

July 9th—Bro. Calvert came on board during the morning of the 7th; Mrs Williams left the *Triton* late on the evening of the 8th. According to the uppermost date² I set foot upon this island, not without some faint emotion of gratitude to Almighty God for His unmerited goodness to me and mine, associated with a renewed dedication of myself to God and to His work.

July 10th—Getting my luggage from the *Triton*; it was landed at Wai ni ngasau³ distant 8 miles from the mission premises.

July 11th—The *Triton* sailed having a delightful breeze fair for Somosomo. Engaged in attending to the removal of my little stores by a crowd of Tonguese and Feejeeans

¹ The name given to the first Methodist missionary settlement in Fiji. It lay immediately at the back of Tumbou, the capital of the island, and not more than half a mile away. The steel engraving is made from a sketch by Mrs Lyth in 1839 at the request of Mrs Calvert. Thomas Williams says that it was an accurate representation of the mission premises and the locality. There is no difficulty in locating the site of the old settlement. It was quite close to the building that is now used for the Methodist school. For further details of the remains by which the site can be identified see the footnote, H.F.F., p. 107.

² I have little doubt that this means 7 July 1840. In a letter to the London Committee dated 7 July 1841, Williams says: "Our beloved Superintendent (John Waterhouse) came on shore to-day; exactly one year since he left me on this island." See also p. 29 of the Journal.

³ When the entrance through the reef into Tumbou Harbour cannot be used with safety by boats and canoes the landing-place for passengers and goods depends almost entirely on the direction of the wind at the time.

after much exertion. Rewarded the poor fellows for the noble and successful⁴ effort they had made. It was late in the evening before we could spare time to visit Tuinayau the King; but it was evident that a razor, and especially a large whale's tooth,⁵ presented to him, rendered us welcome visitors. Having laboured hard during the day, and walked up to the middle in the sea, I retired to rest, thankful for a bed, and well disposed to make the best use of it.

July 12th—Although not free from the effects of yesterday's toil, I accompanied Bro. Calvert into the country where he married a couple. In the services of the day my mind was engaged, but not free from the influence of novel circumstances.

July 13th—Arranging our goods.

July 14th—Similarly engaged.

⁴ More successful from *their* point of view than Williams had realized when he wrote this. The natives abstracted some of his belongings from one of the boxes, on the way to the mission station. In his first letter to the Committee in London, dated 7 November 1840, Williams uses language that excites a smile in recalling this sentence: "Many of the Fijians," he says, "are terrible thieves and infamous liars." Some of these were "the poor fellows" whom he had rewarded for "the noble and successful effort they had made!"

⁵ The tooth of the whale was greatly prized by the Fijians, especially if it were of a large size. It was often used by the natives as we would use money; and by people of rank for personal adornment. A whale's tooth was placed in the grave of the Fijian, and in his Notes on Fiji, p. 161, Williams tells us why: "Near the road by which the departed reaches the world of spirits stands a balawa tree (*Pandanus odoratissima*) at which it is his business to throw the whale's tooth (some say a stone or stones according to the number of wives he possesses). If he hits the tree he knows that he has to wait there a little time until his wife arrives to accompany him. If, on the contrary, he misses it occasions him grief, being an indication that his wife is not to be strangled; and he asks himself: 'How is this? After having so long planted food for the support of my wife, and for the use of her friends is not my wife to follow me? Do my friends love me no better than this after so many years of toil? Will they not show their love for me by strangling my wife?' Signed T. W. Somosomo, April 1847."

Old reddish whales' teeth were more highly valued in Fiji than new white ones. Sometimes the teeth of elephants were palmed off on to the natives by traders.

July 15th—Adjusting matters connected with household affairs so that all may proceed peacefully.⁶

July 16th—Examining and putting in order mission property.

July 17th—Making hen coops. Today, Bro. Calvert procured one of the oil casks which had floated to this island from Captain Taber's vessel.⁷ Contained about 240 gallons.

July 18th—Bottling off my Pontac etc. Accompanied Mrs W., Bro. and Sis. Calvert to the koro or settlement. The appearance of strangers there caused considerable stir. On leaving the king's house, native puddings were presented to us, with this flattering remark: "Bring them that these chiefs from the eye of the sun may eat." This is their best kind of food.⁸ Several pleasing marks of respect were shewn us by the poor⁹ Feejeeans.

⁶ Thomas Williams had brought hardly any furniture with him; so he was obliged for a time to share the home of the Calverts.

⁷ This was the American whaler *Shylock*, which was wrecked on Vatoa Reef on the night of 21 June 1840. The master, first mate, and 16 hands got away in two boats. Eight men were left on the wreck; but seven managed to get on shore on a jibboom. Lieutenant-Commander Ringgold, of the United States Exploring Expedition, who went down to Vatoa in August 1840, to investigate, says that the derelicts were treated in a kindly manner by the natives of Vatoa who were then under the influence of native Christian teachers. Captain Taber, afraid to land in Fiji, had gone to the Friendly Islands, and returned to Lakemba in the *Triton* with Thomas Williams and Superintendent Waterhouse. The *Shylock* at the time of the disaster had a cargo of 2100 hogsheads of oil, of which Calvert bought a quantity at a cheap rate, and shared it with his brethren at Rewa, Vewa and Somosomo.

⁸ The word "best" needs qualification. The staple article of food for the common people was the yam or dalo. The most delicate—human flesh, turtle, chicken, snakes and pork—was generally reserved for the chiefs. No doubt many of the Fijian puddings were regarded as delicacies. In his *Day-book and Journal*, vol. vii., for 11 August 1850, Dr Lyth gives a list of the puddings prepared by the Fijians. It includes eight kinds made from taro; three from bread-fruit; four from arrowroot; six from bananas; three from the barringtonia chestnut. The sauce for many of them, he says, is exceedingly rich, being made from the oil of the coco-nut, mixed and boiled with the juice of the sugar-cane, or the root of the tea-tree.

⁹ Williams frequently uses this word, as here, in its emotional connotation without reference to economic conditions.

July 20th—Although not well, I accompanied Bro. Calvert to several distant settlements; walking some distance in the water seemed to revive me; but on regaining home my indisposition increased, and I passed the greater part of the night in pain.

July 22nd—Somewhat better, but not well. Worked a little.

July 24th—Christianized the chins of King Tuinayau and his brother.¹⁰ Would this could be as easily accomplished on their hearts.

July 25th—Visited some sick persons.

July 26th—Tuinayau and Togi came this morning to drink their yangona;¹¹ this opportunity we embraced of shewing them the love displayed by God to our fallen race. Held our class, and at fall of day I spoke a few words from my favourite passage, Isaiah xli, 10.¹²

July 29th—Whilst bathing, observed a variety of fishes, small but of exquisite colours, some purple, gold, striped, black and white, mingled browns, &c., &c. Heard a most painful report from one of the youths the purport of which was that about 23rd a woman was strangled in the *koro*, and a child buried with its mother near the sea side; the child was about 15 months old, and in good health. On conver-

¹⁰ Soroangkali.

¹¹ This is the *cava* or kava of the islands of the Pacific that lay to the east. A description of the ceremonial connected with yangona drinking is given by Williams in F.F., vol. i., pp. 141-6. Though the meeting was generally for convivial purposes or courteous entertainment, it was not without a sacramental significance as Samuel Patterson points out in his Journal. Lorimer Fison has some good notes on kava drinking in Appendix 7 of the *Tales from Old Fiji*. He says that yangona has a *stupefying* rather than an intoxicating effect, and that nearly all heavy drinkers of it get bleary eyes and scurfy skins. This is confirmed by evidence in the correspondence of the missionaries.

¹² Fear thou not; for I am with thee: be not dismayed; for I am thy God; yea, I will uphold thee with the right hand of my righteousness." Compare John Wesley's famous statement on his death-bed: "The best of all is God is with us." See H.F.F., Chapter XIX.

sing with the king (to whom she was related) respecting the murdered woman, he assured us it was all right, done at her own request, and after the fashion of the country. We had much talk with him.

AUGUST

August 1st—The beach presented an animated scene this morning: four canoes sailing at intervals of about three or four minutes after each other. The king was in the first, and all were bound for the island of Neau.¹³

August 2nd—Accompanied Bro. Calvert to Wathiwathi.¹⁴

August 4th—Broke open some ground, deposited about half our Hobart Town seeds and completed the burning off of our stubble; this occupied a considerable portion of our time last week. The exertion of this day proved too much for me, and I passed the night in a high state of fever, which, with pain in my loins, troubled me until Wednesday.

Completed the first bridge (on piles) that has been constructed on this island. Three teachers unwell.

August 9th—Attended native service as usual. Seven canoes came in, some of them from Vatoa, bringing letters from the Teacher and Captain Wilson. The first contained some account of opposition from our third chief; the second contained information of the *Triton's* safe arrival at Rewa, and Mr Cargill's intended departure.¹⁵

¹³ Usually spelt Nayau. The island is a few miles north-north-west of Lakemba. It was from Nayau that Tuinayau got his title. A former King of Lakemba had been deified, and retained his title Tuilakemba. It would be high presumption for any living king to assume the same title as a god, even though he was in fact King of Lakemba. See Lorimer Fison's *Tales from Old Fiji*: "Why the Kings of Lakemba are called Lords of Naiau."

¹⁴ See the map of Lakemba Island.

¹⁵ After the death of his wife on 2 June 1840, David Cargill was left with four daughters. He asked permission of the District Meeting to leave for England in the *Triton*, so that he might place them in a school there. Conscientious William Cross was the only one of his colleagues who opposed the application, and he did so on the ground that no missionary should be allowed to return to England without the permission of

August 10th—Visited by several chiefs who formed a portion of the company just returned from Vatoa. They tell us that six of the seven¹⁶ men left by Captain Taber on the wreck got safe to shore. On the 7th, a youth fell from aloft during the night previous to their leaving the wreck and was killed. Captain W. purchased 40 casks of oil at one musket per cask. Some of the casks are on other islands. Considerable property is retained by the natives, some by European seamen who are on the spot. Surely Capt. T. must have profited by accepting our invitation to stay awhile. Got through the drudgery of perusing Dillon's¹⁷ two volumes on the discovery of the fate of La Pérouse. This is assuredly a paltry, bookmaking concern. Finished our second bridge.

August 11th—As we were preparing for finishing the toils of the day, a native came in breathless haste to inform us that a female near the sea side was dying, if not dead. Bro.

the London Committee. He gave evidence of the sincerity of his protest by offering to take charge of Cargill's children if he would consent to remain in Fiji. Cargill left in the *Triton*, and John Hunt wrote to the Committee in London explaining the circumstances in which the District Meeting had assumed the responsibility of granting him leave. Cargill was well received in England.

¹⁶ The number given in the *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition* is eight.

¹⁷ A well-known character in the south-west Pacific. He first visited Fiji in 1809, and in 1813 had an almost miraculous escape from death at Dillon's Rock, in the sandalwood country near Wailea Bay. It was in the same adventure that the famous Charles Savage lost his life from overconfidence in his power over the natives. The Methodist missionaries disliked Dillon, mainly because he had accused John Thomas of Tonga of murdering men, women, and children in order to propagate the Gospel; but also because of his refusal to take William Cross and his family from Lakemba to Rewa for less than £125. Dillon at first demanded £150, and justified the charge on the ground that the seas over which he would have to sail were strewn with reefs. He ultimately agreed to accept £125. Compared with charges made for similar services at the time the demand was excessive. When Dr Lyth left the Friendly Islands for Fiji in June 1839 he arranged with Captain Wilson of the *Letitia* to take him and his family to Lakemba for £50, and another £50 if he had to go on from Lakemba to Rewa. The reader of the *Journal* will discover what Thomas Williams thought of Dillon and his book.



Calvert and I selected such medicines as we thought best, hastened to the spot, and found a woman seemingly in the agonies of death. On inquiring the cause, a person informed us it was from eating shell fish, one of which she said was bitter. For some time our efforts to restore her seemed useless; pulsation ceased. However we continued fomenting her stomach with hot water, applying carbonate of ammonia and spirit of hartshorn to her nostrils, in addition to which she swallowed a little diluted laudanum, &c.; and eventually our efforts were successful.

August 12th—The woman recovering nicely. Called to attend a man similarly situated (suddenly seized with pain like the woman) and succeeded in relieving him.

August 13th—Samuel left us for the island of Fulanga. Caleb left us about the 30th or 31st of July. Commenced copying the Feejeean Grammar; commenced the Dictionary¹⁸ sometime since.

August 17th—Visited a Feejeean in the Levuka¹⁹ settlement whose head was dreadfully injured by blows from a hatchet, inflicted by a native under the influence of the "green eyed monster."

August 18th—Proposed having the sacrament together today, but prevented by the sudden illness of Sister Calvert. Ascended the red hill, from which we can see a number of the islands composing part of this group.

¹⁸ Both Grammar and Dictionary were compiled by David Cargill, but a more correct title of the book would be "Grammar and Dictionary of the Lau dialect of the Fijian Language." Cargill did not know at the time how many dialects there were in Fiji. In 1846 it was the Bau, not the Lau dialect, that was selected for the translation of the New Testament. David Hazlewood made use of Cargill's Grammar and Dictionary in compiling his own, which was however based on a study of the Western rather than the Eastern dialect. There is a copy of Cargill's Grammar in the Mitchell Library in the handwriting of Thomas Williams.

¹⁹ There was a colony of Levukans quite close to Tumbou, Lakemba. For the original home and the scattering of these people see Lorimer Fison's *Tales from Old Fiji*: "How the Levuka Men Came up to Windward."

August 20th—Anniversary of the day on which I took my dear Mary for “better and for worse.” Thus far I have no cause of complaint. Long may my indulgent, heavenly Father spare her to me, and grant each of us all the grace we need to qualify us for the discharge of our duty, and the promotion of His glory. During the afternoon a native brought a reptile of the lizard kind. From its general appearance I suppose it to be a large chameleon, its colour—light green, with patches of a darker hue; length 2ft. 2 in. of which the tail measured 20in.

Sun. August 23rd—A tremendous fire in the vale and on the hills to the westward of us. For a time we feared for our safety, the fire approaching our premises notwithstanding that the wind blew fresh from the east. However, during the 16 or 18 hours which it raged we were kept in safety.

August 24th—Between the hours of 2 and 3 this morning, Mrs W. complained of pain in the lower parts of her stomach; these increasing in rapidity and severity, we prepared for what seemed very probable, viz., a labour. Mrs. W. was safely delivered of a fine boy (John) by 10 o'clock this morning. The new light of motherhood shone in her dark and kindly eyes. We united in giving him back to God. Should this child be spared, God grant us wisdom to train him up in such a way that he may be a blessing to his fellow creatures and abundantly promote the glory of God.

August 25th—All is going on exceedingly well, thanks be to God.

August 28th—Visited an assembly of chiefs and priests who were being welcomed²⁰ to this island. Bro. Calvert and I took possession of the sacred nuts on retiring.

Sun. August 30th—Native services as usual. Bro.

²⁰ For a description of the most splendid ceremony of welcome in this period see the footnote pp. 345-9.

Calvert ill from eating cuttle fish. Visited Tui Yarroi²¹ (the stranger) and his people to recommend a crucified Lord to their notice. Great attention was paid to the remarks made, and the old king acknowledged that they were good.

August 31st—Tuinayau and Soroaqali returned.

SEPTEMBER

September 1st—Witnessed the presenting of property to the king.²² It was certainly a grand affair.

September 4th—Samuel returned from Vulanga. Bro. Calvert conversed with him respecting a serious charge made against him during his absence. He pleaded guilty.

September 5th—For some time past we have been much pained by the idle, insolent and unfaithful conduct of some of our Tonguese teachers. Last Thursday they were faithfully warned of what must result from a continuance in the path selected by them. This afternoon Caleb, Jottamy and Joni Dau (the two former had lived with us), came to hand in their resignations. Thus we are deprived of the help of four of our teachers. The Lord save them.

September 10th—Held our Local Preachers' Meeting when the cases of our four teachers were considered. Samuel was suspended; the case of Joni Dau admitted of considerable palliation, and led us to continue him in the work; Jottamy was evidently influenced to that which was offensive by Caleb; so that upon a more minute investigation his services

²¹ Usually spelt Yaroi. He was a powerful heathen chief of Matuku who lived at the head of Matuku Harbour. Some stones that were used round the edges of the raised ground on which the houses were built can still be seen, though the site is all overgrown. Against Yaroi, Maafu waged war in 1853 in order to force him and his people to become Christians. When Dr Lyth found this out, he and Wetasau and many others were expelled from the Society of the Church. See H.F.F., pp. 224-5.

²² This was the way of paying taxes in old Fiji, and a very happy time it was. Williams gives a short description of such a meeting in F.F., vol. i., pp. 39-40.

were retained. Caleb's case was well deliberated upon, after which he was urged to take care how he acted lest, in addition to grieving man, he should increase his sin against God. Two natives were proposed on trial for the work; the eldest accepted, the youngest advised to wait awhile.

Sun. September 13th—Bro. Calvert baptized my dear little boy, naming him John Waterhouse²³ Williams; thus he bears in part the name of his grandfather Cottingham; the whole name of his grandfather Williams, and of our much esteemed General Superintendent. May God grant him long life, and a disposition to emulate the excellences of those whose name he bears.

In the afternoon of this day, I made my first attempt at preaching in the Feejeean language.

Read the last life contained in the 3rd vol. of Carne's *Lives*.²⁴ These vols. I have read through with considerable pleasure, and I trust not without profit. Oh for more of the wisdom, perseverance, patience and piety possessed by many of those worthies whose labours and successes he records.

September 17th—Today we planted upwards of 230 banana plants in the large piece of ground we have just reclaimed from the waste. We have a few yams, kawai, and a little arrowroot here already.

September 21st—Called to visit a chief who was dying from the effects of castration. He refused our help although in agonies of pain. The following morning he died. Fearing his wife would be strangled, Bro. C. and I waited on the king to request that her life might be spared.

²³ John Waterhouse, the superintendent of Methodist missions in the South Seas, was beloved by all the missionaries who knew him. He died in 1842 and was succeeded by Mr Walter Lawry. Two of his sons, Joseph and Samuel Waterhouse, went from Australia to the mission field in Fiji.

²⁴ Carne, John: *Lives of Eminent Missionaries*.

He informed us that as she objected to die they should not kill her against her will!²⁵

September 25th—Finished reading Barrett's *Essay on the Pastoral Office*. On the whole I am pleased with it. Whilst perusing this book I was often led to self-examination, and at the conclusion of it humbly to renew the act of self-dedication. Lord accept, own, bless and eternally save the unworthiest of all who proclaim the unsearchable riches of Christ.

Sun. September 27th—Preached at Waitabu and Wathiwathi.

September 28th—Attended the *solevu*²⁶ which surpassed that of the 1st of September. My main business on this occasion was to see if any of my silk handkerchiefs²⁷ would be exhibited. I secured one and saw two others. The seamen of our *Triton* are therefore free from suspicion.

September 29th—A *solevu* for the women today. Little do the inhabitants of civilized countries suspect how closely their follies are imitated even by cannibals. Being quarter day I adjusted my accounts, and found all fair and even to a farthing.

September 30th—This day we set apart for fasting and prayer to Almighty God for rain upon the thirsty land. The attendance at our services was good.

OCTOBER

October 1st—Today we had some delightful rain.²⁸

²⁵ It was very unusual for the widow of a Fijian chief to express unwillingness to be strangled on the death of her husband. David Hazlewood said she would have been regarded as a monster had she done so. See his journal, vol. ii., under date 7 January 1847; also H.F.F., pp. 57-61.

²⁶ A great feast.

²⁷ Part of the property stolen from one of his boxes on the day on which his luggage was brought from the *Triton* to Buthainambua.

²⁸ Following so quickly on the prayers for rain by the missionaries this would make a far deeper impression on the native mind than hundreds of sermons on the merits of the Gospel. See H.F.F., p. 262, about the turtle fishers.

October 3rd—Two hawks shot to-day one of which measured from tip to tip of wing 4ft. 1in., from beak to tail, 1ft. 9in.

Sun. October 4th—Bro. Calvert unwell.

October 5th—Part of my property (taken out of a box on my arrival) was returned; we have had to use great decision, several applications having been made to the king in vain.²⁹

October 8th—My dear wife wishing to see the preparations which are being made near the settlement, we walked out this morning for the purpose of seeing them and the people at work. Nearly all the males in the island were employed excavating part of an entrenchment meant first as a safeguard to the *koro*, second to bring up their canoes in times of peace and war. Rumours of war are floating around us. Considerable preparations are made and contemplated by the settlements near us. In David's prayer I heartily write: "Scatter thou the people that delight in war." We had not been long returned from our walk when one came with a message from the king advising us of the rapid approach of fire hastened by a fierce wind towards our chapel and houses. On examining our situation, it was evident that, unless prompt and great exertion was made, our little temple and our homes must be burnt to the ground. The king sent the people of the great settlement to our help; some of the Christians from the country slipped off to our aid; so that, I suppose, between one and two hundred people fell to tearing up the grass, between us and the fire, about 7ft. wide and of considerable length. As the fire approached this boundary the noble Feejeeans contested its further progress with boughs of trees, &c., &c.; and, although unable to stop the furious flames, we succeeded in guiding them

²⁹ It was quite possible that the thieves had been prompted by the king or some of the chiefs associated with him.

past the chapel (not without taking up several yards of fence) and then past the outer corner of the fence round Mr Jaggar's late premises. This fence afterwards took fire; but was soon safe; and we, having walked carefully round the premises, concluded that the danger was over. But this was not so; for the fire that had passed us worked its way round the grounds against the wind, seized our fence in two places, and flamed away over several square yards of the hill forming part of our enclosure. This was eventually extinguished, and we united in acknowledging the goodness of God in crowning our efforts with success.

Some of the heathens exerted themselves in a most praiseworthy manner, as did some of the Christians; whilst others behaved as ill. Two Tongans insulted some of the Feejeeans, saying: "Let the chapel burn that we may fight;"³⁰ and whilst the Feejeeans came to our help unarmed, the Tonguese came with clubs, axes, &c., &c., which caused un-

³⁰ Because a Methodist chapel was a standing protest against all fighting. Many of these Tongans came to Fiji to help the kings and chiefs in their wars. Being in high favour with men of influence they were accustomed to take what they wanted and needed from the Fijian people without payment. For these and other reasons the missionaries entertained, and frequently expressed, strong and even bitter feeling against them, though many Tongans were professing Christians. It is not, I think, an exaggeration to say that, in their hearts, the Methodist missionaries believed that the heathen Fijians were more reputable people than the Tongan Christians who visited Fiji. The missionaries who resided at Lakemba were loud in their complaints against them, and Dr Lyth wrote to King George of Tonga asking him to send over a man strong enough to discipline them. In his letter of April, 1843, James Calvert denounced them as "idle, covetous, impudent roaming Christians," who had deserted their wives and families in Tonga. On the other hand it is but fair to point out that, when the war between Heathenism and Christianity reached a critical stage at Mbua Bay, Calvert was eager to get the assistance of as many fighting Tongans as he could to go to the assistance of the Christians at Nandy and Ndama; and also that, had it not been for the success of the fighting Tongans at Kamba in 1855 Christianity in Fiji would probably have been overthrown. The missionaries wanted it both ways: they insisted on denouncing all war as opposed to the teaching of Christianity; but they also expected the Tongan warriors to extricate them from difficult and dangerous situations when they were involved in a war of their own, however unwillingly, as at Mbua Bay in 1849-50.

pleasant remarks from the fine race³¹ of men to whom we are sent. That it might be manifest we discountenanced the uncalled for provocation by the Tongan people, we waited upon the king to assure him of this being the case, and, as a proof of our thanks for the help rendered by his people, presented a pig and four baskets of kumeras. The fire commenced near the trench, and was caused by brands brought for the purpose of lighting their tobacco.

Sun. October 18th—Excused from preaching on account of my throat.

October 21st—Confined to my bed from the disordered state of my throat, and general indisposition. Completed Pearson on the Creed, and I know not that any book ever surprised me more. Instead of a dry, dull, tediously argumentative exposition I read with satisfaction and profit the several articles of our creed established on scriptural grounds in a most masterly manner. There seems no useless word in this book.

October 22nd—Through mercy somewhat better. Completed the first vol. of Robert Hall's *Works* with pleasure. I admire the discipline of Wesleyan Methodism since reading this book much more than I ever did before. Fine fall of rain.

Sun. October 25th—Mrs Williams suffering exceedingly from her breast. Heavy fall of rain accompanied with thunder and lightning. Wind blowing from the north.

³¹ Williams has been in the archipelago only 3 months as yet, and the language which he uses about the Fijians must not be taken too seriously. Up to the present his observations are influenced too much by personal feeling. When they are working hard for him they are "poor fellows" and a "fine race"; when they steal his property many of them are "terrible thieves and infamous liars." It is not until 1843-4 that he gives his mind definitely to a study of the customs and characteristics of the Fijians; and not until about the year 1850 that he can rid his mind of some early erroneous impressions about them.

NOVEMBER

November 7th—An English vessel in sight towards night. Bro. Calvert put off in the *Pipe*; but just gained the entrance as she sailed away from the land; so he returned.

Sun. November 8th—The vessel only just visible from the hill. Not knowing but this might be a stranger vessel we thought it our duty to go off to her. We found an old vessel, the *Currency Lass*, with a new captain commanding her whose name was Rogers. She made for us as soon as we were in sight. We met about 8 miles from shore. Having taken refreshment on board, Bro. C. and I returned in the ship's boat accompanied by the captain. Passed an uncomfortable Sabbath: Mrs W. exceedingly unwell. Sent a letter to the Committee and one to Father Williams. Mrs. W's breast broke during the night.

November 9th—Mrs W. confined to her bed. In the evening nature appeared to sink under her load, and for a time we feared my dear wife would not recover. Pulsation was not perceptible.

November 12th—Mrs W., the child and myself very ill, the dear child especially.

November 30th—Letters from Bros Cross and Jaggar.

November 18th and 19th—Head of the *balolo*³² appeared; but little secured. A wonderful affair. |

³² A species of sea worm which the natives were very fond of, and eat either cooked or raw. The *balolo* lived only a short time after rising to the surface of the water. As soon as they had thrown off the sperm and ova they shrivelled up and disappeared. In his Day-book and Journal, 11 August 1850, to 31 December 1851, Dr Lyth says: "In a considerable number of places there is an annual gathering of a kind of sea insect (*balolo*) resembling a small dark worm. By most natives it is considered excellent food. It rises towards the surface of the water near the openings in the reefs about the latter part of November." It was generally expected that they would appear in the last quartering of the moon in November; but from the records of the missionaries it is clear that sometimes they did not rise till well into the month of December. In the records of their appearance at Lakemba I find that in 1849 they rose on 9 Novem-

During most of November I passed through deep waters.
/44. T.W.³³

ber; in 1850 on 26 November; in 1851 on 17 December and in 1852 on 5 December. The natives of Lakemba were so fond of them that they would rush from divine service to get ready to collect them if they happened to rise on a Sunday.

³³ This important entry was, obviously, not made until the year 1844 when Williams had passed through the first period of disillusionment and suffering, and a steadier and stronger light of faith was shining through the clouds that had hung heavily and threateningly over his soul. In his early years at Lakemba Williams suffered intensely both in body and mind. In his correspondence at the time he exercised a manly restraint, and said very little to his friends in England about his troubles. Not till April, 1844, in a letter to his father, does he open his mind freely on the subject.

1841

JANUARY

January 1st—Spared to witness the commencement of a New Year. May God help me to lead a new life; to live only to love and serve Him.

January 6th—Completed Treffry on the *Eternal Sonship*.

Sun. January 17th—Attended services as usual. During the week read *Evidences on Aborigines* and *Pericles on Oracles*.

Sun. January 24th—Preached at Wathiwathi and Narathage.

Sun. January 31st—Ditto ——— Ditto; and upon returning to take Bethel in the afternoon found Bro. C. preparing to push off for what was hoped to be the *Triton*, but proved a little craft from Rewa. We got to her with much difficulty, and, with much more, got home. Letters from Bros Cross and Jaggar.

FEBRUARY

February 4th and 5th—Occupied with damaged goods belonging to Bros Hunt and Lyth.

February 17th—Set out for Nookoonookoo; passed a little time with the people, and then proceeded to Yandrana. Here we passed most of the day, visiting the sick and conversing with its benighted inhabitants. By the time we got home found myself ready for bed.

Sun. February 21st—Today being a high day, we had, according to expectations, a great number of people whose neat, gladsome and orderly appearance carried with it this conviction to my mind: "They have not altogether received the Gospel in vain." Bro. C. preached in native. After this I administered the rite of baptism to 13 adults and four children, the adults having previously answered the usual questions. Then followed the Supper of our Lord. We English people received it according to the custom of our beloved land, and then 70 or 80 of the people took it. It was pleasing to behold the solemn and becoming manner in which many of them commemorated the death of their Saviour.

In the afternoon we held our love feast, when many declared the goodness of God. At this service we had more breathing room than in the morning when crowds of the heathen evinced their desire to witness the baptismal ceremony by occupying the room they could find inside, and many were without.

MARCH

March 4th—Commenced our outbuildings.

Sun. March 7th—Employed during the week in removing sundry buildings situated on these premises.

March 15th—Employed in building store. Four canoes arrived from Somosomo bringing letters, &c., from Bros Hunt and Lyth.

March 16th—Suffering from over-exertion and a fall.

Sun. March 21st—Mrs W. unwell, J.W.W. exceedingly ill and, my foot being painful, I was unable to take regular work.

March 23rd—The property which we presented on the

19th or thereabouts to redeem Jemaima Tovo¹ was returned today. Bro. C. and myself supplied 19 whales' teeth, deal, 1 large cedar box and a new fowling piece; to this the Ono people added a good roll of cynet, three fine mats and four whales' teeth. The ceremony of presenting the spear was gone through by the Ono Christians. The Ono property was detained.

Mrs W. and John exceedingly ill.

March 29—Mrs. W's second breast cut.

March 31—Second incision made, and pus appeared.

APRIL

April 13th—Employed in sugar boiling. Myself out of health.

April 20th—D. Balu came with his heart full of sorrow having heard that one of his uncles and two other Tonguese had been killed and eaten by the inhabitants of Tuvuca—a malicious falsehood.

April 21st—Employed in fitting up my house on the hill.

Sun. April 25th—Busy with house; entered it on Wednesday, 28th. May God grant that the comforter may abide with us.

MAY

May 1st—Took up yams.

May 10th—Received intelligence of the Tuvuca people having embraced Christianity.

May 11th—Bro. C. set out for this island to see how things are going on and to assist.

¹For the story of Jemaima Tovo of Ono-i-lau see H.F.F., pp. 173-4. Jemaima was betrothed to Tuinayau; but, after her conversion to Christianity she and the missionaries desired the king to release her. The property here mentioned was offered in the customary way by the people of Ono, and also by Calvert and Williams that the favour sought might be granted. When Tuinayau returned it, he wished to intimate to the petitioners that their request could not be complied with. The *soro* for Jemaima's release was not accepted until May 1852, 2½ years after his public profession of Christianity.

May 14th—Walked over to Narocaki; married Isaiah Loakau to Maopa; cloth spread for bride to walk on; baptized a child of Israel's.

May 27th—At evening an English (?) vessel made direct for this island, and before our canoe could be got off she neared the reef and rounded. However we succeeded in getting out to sea, and followed her till night shut her from our observation; then we returned.

May 28th—Set out early this morning and soon reached the vessel which proved to be the brig *Friends* from Valparaiso, Commander Captain Rugg whose lady and daughter accompany him. Breakfasted on board this well-ordered and well-equipped vessel, after which, returned on shore; visited the king; purchased vegetables; dined with Mrs. C. and W. at Buthainambua. The added grace of matronly dignity sat well on Mary's brow. Captain R. put off for his vessel purposing to return which the unfavourable change in the weather prevented. However he kindly sent his boat on shore to apprise us of his departure, and offer to take letters to our friends. Captain R. was 20 miles out.

Sun. May 30th—Received information of Bro. C's arrival at Nayau. Wrote him by canoe.

May 31st—Bro. C. got back about noon; informed us of the work, and of the murder of poor Rice,² an American of colour.

² Saunders Rice, who was murdered on Vanua Mbalavu by a native named Thama Vuto. Calvert had visited Vanua Mbalavu on this voyage, and in his letter of 26 June 1841 (M.M.S.M.) gave the following particulars: "It appears that Rice was conversing with the wife of a young man who became jealous and followed Rice as he went to shoot birds. After he had fired one shot, Thama Vuto struck him on the right cheek with a hatchet. Rice did not fall till he was struck a second time. Then Thama seized his gun, secreted it, and cut off the fingers of the dead man in order to get some rings of whale's tooth and tortoiseshell. The murderer then fled with his father to another settlement on the same island. The sad event caused a disturbance which nearly brought on war. I asked them not to fight; not to disperse Rice's property, and not to take the perpetrator of the dreadful deed to another island, as they purposed doing."

JUNE

Sun. June 6th—So ill as to prevent my taking my share of labour.

Sun. June 13th—Although an exceedingly wet day and the roads bad I managed to get to Waitabu and Waciwaci. At the latter place was rejoiced to find the principal person in Tarakoa had embraced Christianity.

June 24th—First discourse confined to doctrine by me. Bro. C. has delivered two previously. It is our intention to go through with a course of theological instruction, and put the MSS. into the hands of our native Local Preachers.

JULY

July 2nd—Again preparing Tonguese and Feejeean books. Whilst thus employed information reached us that one of the Vatoa people had been met by Muri Ca in the walk from our settlement to the seaside, and by him taken thence to the settlement and bound. Bro. C. thought it would be advisable to visit the chief and request the man's liberation. As it is useless going upon such an errand without that which maketh room for a man, I took a fine piece of yagona, and accompanied Bro. C. to the house of Muri Ca where we found the poor Christian in worse circumstances than we expected. He was sitting on the floor at the foot of one of the posts which support the ridge of the roof, secured to the post by a strong cord drawn several times round his body tightly, and so as to secure his arms; one fold round his throat, and another round his forehead. Crowds of people were in the house, and crowds stood without. The chief was exceedingly anxious to convince us that it was not from any ill feeling toward religion that the man was bound; but because they had not brought property to him. His hatred of religion doubtless mainly influenced him in this step. We presented the root, so much valued on this

island, and requested the man's liberation which, after some delay, was granted us. The chiefs talked of drawing him up to the top of the house and letting him hang; some of the old men proposed killing him outright. Their canoe had been taken from them previous to this; but, to-day, it was given back. The poor fellow's name is Ravula.

Three or four days since I had about 300 sets of yams put into the ground.

Sun. July 4th—As it rained heavily this morning, and Bro. C. and I had four of the most distant places on our circuit to supply, we thought it best to avoid the bad roads by taking a little canoe as far as we could; by this means we got to Waitabu very well, with the exception of being very wet. From this place we proceeded to our appointments for the forenoon: Bro. C. to Tulagi, myself to Nukunuku. The clay walks, uneven as well as slippery, obliged me to take off my shoes and walk the remaining five or six miles barefoot. Notwithstanding this precaution, I fell to the earth twice, and the native who accompanied me, once. About eight hours of this day I was wet through all my clothing, my bare feet (after walking eight or nine miles to home in this state) being the most comfortable part of my body.

July 7th—Had the pleasure of welcoming our much respected General Superintendent on shore accompanied by Messrs Lyth, Hunt and Jaggar, from Somosomo where the District Meeting had been commenced, and adjourned to Lakemba. Our joy at meeting was great, and the more so as we had entertained some doubt as to the safety of the vessel, more than two months having elapsed since hearing of the *Trition* being on her way from Tonga here. She had visited Niuafoou, Rotuma, Wallis Island and called at Rewa and Somosomo for the brethren. Thus her lengthened voyage was accounted for, and our minds cheered by the knowledge that means of religious instruction had been furnished

to hundreds more of the inhabitants of these seas. Received a box of papers and letters from home. Twelve months to a day since we first came to this island.³

July 8th—District Meeting⁴ recommenced this morning.

Rev. J. Waterhouse in the Chair.

Present—Rev. R. B. Lyth, Secretary; Jno. Hunt, Sub Secretary; J. Jaggarr, J. Calvert and Thos. Williams. Rev. W. Cross unable to attend on account of the unsettled state of Feejeean affairs about him.

Usual questions⁵ answered, and stations for 1842 arranged.

³ The spiritual discipline through which Williams was passing in these early years in Fiji may be understood by reference to a letter which he wrote on this day, 7 July, to the London Committee: "The painful dispensations of divine Providence through which we have been caused to pass have not, I trust, been entirely lost upon us. They have taught us more clearly our entire dependence upon God not only for success in our labours, but also for health and ability to labour. We feel at this time, more than we ever did, the absolute need of our will being lost in His will, and our hearts filled with His love. Thus prepared, what can come amiss to us?"

A soul inured to pain,
To hardship, grief and loss;
Bold to take up, strong to sustain
The consecrated Cross.

Such a soul a missionary to Fiji must possess. Such an one may I possess."

⁴ Fiji was originally a part of the Friendly Islands District. In 1838 it became a separate District corresponding directly in all matters with London.

⁵ These were questions regularly submitted at the District Meeting for the information of the London Committee. They were as follows:—What is the number of members of your Society? What is their religious state? Give the number and state of Sunday and other schools. Have the general instructions of the Committee to each missionary been observed? Are attempts being made in every place of preaching to form classes? Are the Societies regularly met after public services? Is the preacher acquainted with the state of each member of the Society? How often in the week does each of the brethren preach? Are the brethren making diligent application to learn the language? Have the brethren written at least four times a year to the Committee? Are all means possible used to visit the towns, settlements and plantations in the neighbourhood of each station? What towns, villages, and plantations are not yet visited? and give reasons why. Do the brethren pay sufficient attention to pastoral visitations, calling

July 9th—State of affairs in Somosomo noticed.

Bro. Calvert examined and recommended to conference. T.W. examined and ditto. Stationing resumed—Case of Ono considered and a teacher appointed from Bau. Teachers appointed to Kadavu and Bua.⁶

July 10th—State of the work in these islands. Subject of native teachers considered; reward agreed upon;⁷ their stations settled.

Sun. July 11th—Mr Waterhouse baptized Bro. C's little boy. Then Mr W. preached to the Tonguese, Bro. Lyth interpreter. Afternoon Feejeean service conducted by Bro. Hunt; Tonguese by Bro. Lyth.⁸ In the evening the Rev. J. Waterhouse preached to us in English from "Whom having not seen, &c."

July 12th to 17th—District accounts brought forward and examined.

regularly upon each family within the parish to pray with them and give them spiritual advice? Are registers of baptism and marriage carefully kept? Are there any new stations to be recommended to the attention of the Committee?"

The questions were read out at District Meeting, and each missionary replied in the presence of his brethren. The answer to the question about writing to the Committee four times a year generally was: "As frequently as circumstances would permit." Thomas Williams wrote very little in the first two years, and even at Mbua Bay, his last circuit, had to be reminded of the irregularity of his correspondence with the Committee. David Hazlewood wrote hardly anything to the Committee for two years after the death of his wife and child at Nandy in February, 1849.

⁶ The reader should be careful not to confuse Bau with Bua. The former was the political capital of the archipelago (in so far as it is correct to speak of a capital at that time), and was situated in the bay on the east coast of Viti Levu immediately to the south of Ovalau and Moturiki islands; the latter was the principal port of the sandalwood country situated about a mile from the mouth of the river that flows into Mbua Bay at the south-western extremity of Vanua Levu.

⁷ The salary of a trained native teacher was fixed at £10 a year at this meeting; but it was speedily reduced to £2, not only because the mission could ill afford more than £2; but also because it was found that such affluence as £10 a year "spoilt the native"!

⁸ Before going to Fiji Dr Lyth had served for 16 months in the Haabai Group of the Friendly Islands, and was, therefore, able to address the Tonguese in their own language.

Sun. July 18th—Joshua Mati-i-na-niu told the people of what he had seen and learned whilst at Hobart Town and Sydney. Some of his points were well made, and his closing remarks showed great love for his countrymen. Bro. Lyth preached in Tonguese. Bro. Jaggar took the afternoon service in Feejeean. As Mr Waterhouse was taken ill in the afternoon, Bro. Hunt preached in English from Hosea 14 ch., after which the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered to us by Mr Waterhouse. Thus ended the services of another delightful Sabbath.⁹

July 19th—Recopying accounts.

July 23rd—Mr Waterhouse went off to the vessel taking with him the whole of the missionaries purposing to embrace the first opportunity to pursue his way. At eve I returned.

July 30th—Visiting the sick in the country. Found a company of Yaro¹⁰ people at Tulagi, and passed some time in conversation with them exhorting them to abandon their lying vanities¹¹ and serve the true God.

⁹ The Sabbaths of the District Meetings nearly always were delightful. Starved for want of companionship on their lonely stations throughout the year the missionaries refreshed their souls with cheerful conversation when they met, and enjoyed a rare camaraderie. On the Sabbath, with the contentions of the week's debate behind them, they exchanged thoughts on subjects dear to the hearts and minds of every one of them, and each man felt stronger in his faith because his comrades understood and believed in it.

¹⁰ On Vanua Mbalavu there were two important towns, independent with respect to each other, but both under the authority of Somosomo. Yaro was one; Lomaloma the other.

¹¹ Note the abusive language here and henceforth in which the missionary addresses the natives on the subject of their religion. The Fijian's belief in his gods was vivid and generally unquestioning. He was, moreover, a man whose instincts were courteous. The reader is invited from this time on to notice the forbearance and courtesy displayed by the native even when his religion is assailed by the missionary; and on the other hand the aggressive discourtesy displayed by the missionary whenever he is commenting on the religion of the natives, even those aspects of it that were innocent and ennobling.

AUGUST

Sun. August 1st—Just preparing to take my appointment in Bethel when information came that an English vessel was close to the entrance. Supposing it to be the *Triton* bringing back Bro. C. (who had gone with her to visit Vatoa and Ono) I ordered the *Pipe* to be got ready at once and went off to her. It was as I had expected. After having enquired after each other's welfare Bro. C. left the vessel which then sailed away for Somosomo, and we made for the shore. As Bro. C. had brought interesting intelligence he embraced the opportunity which the afternoon service presented of making it known to the natives forming our little congregation. As it was wished we visited the king to whom our news was not the most pleasing. Met for prayer at eventide.

August 2nd—The sum of Bro. Calvert's report to the king is contained in the following lines taken down by Bro. Jaggar on the spot.¹²

The heathen killed many of the Christian pigs, and the Christians wished them to make an offering that they might sit down in

¹² Calvert is here repeating, as closely as he can remember, the information supplied to him by the natives of Ono about the origin of the war. It is characteristic of native "oratory"—rambling, diffuse and painfully tedious till at long last the main point is reached. In 1849 Thomas Williams made the following note on Speech-making in Fiji: "Speeches in Fiji are remarkable (1) on the part of the speakers; (2) on the part of the hearers. The *speaker* has a tedious style and a slovenly irregular manner. He is at one time galloping through 20 sentences in a minute, and at another drawing a syllable over the same space of time. In detail he is wearisomely minute. A London crowd anxious for the "sum" of his report or speech would scarce refrain from tearing him to pieces to get it. He must sit while speaking, and, to a chief, with his head down and his body inclining toward him. Most of the time he will be fingering and playing with his beard, a splinter or a blade of grass. The *hearer* pays very little attention, and often converses at the time (passing remarks) with a third party. The speaker winds up by alluding to the circumstances in which he finds his hearers, saying: 'This is my report,' and claps his hands twice or thrice. The chief, or his orator, answers with a report on their affairs, or simply approves of the speech, expressing a wish of some kind."

peace. Some went one night; next day many went. The people of Matokana assembled together. Christians then told them to embrace Christianity that evil might go from the land. Some bowed down to worship, among whom was Tuiono; others refused to do so. Tawakirua and Tokaiwaroka went with the Christians to the place. It was the day of their prayer meeting, and the bell (a native drum) rang for them to go to chapel. Barnabus pulled one of his friends to the meeting; at this the two chiefs above mentioned were displeased and took the heathen with them to Delailo,¹³ and then ordered some to go to Onolevu, and get spears, clubs, and muskets which they took. When the people returned from the meeting, they heard that the young men had seized the clubs, etc., from the heathen. One of the guns stolen belonged to a Christian, and therefore the Christians seized it. Then the Christian chief asked the Teachers whether it would be well to present an offering to the heathen that they might be at peace or rest. They (the Teachers) said it would be good to be of an humble mind to them. Accordingly the chiefs and four Teachers went to *soro* to Matavura and Tuiono.

They took a whale's tooth. Matavura was of a bad mind, and said that they might fight. Tuiono seemed satisfied. Tawakirua said they might fight. Josaia said they should cease; they (the heathen chiefs) told the Christians to come away, and they would follow. Some of the heathen came, but did not bring away their property. By night, they (the heathen) took their food to Delailo. The Christians knew that their food and property were taken to Delailo. They took their things away privately by night; and, afterwards, publicly by day; and therefore the Christians at Onolevu fetched the other Christians out of the country lest they should be killed treacherously.

Tawakirua told them not to remove as the heathens would return to their place; but Matavura objected. The heathens then sent for the Christians to go to the heathen temple; the Christian chief desired peace, and returned. The aged heathen removed

¹³ This means—top of Loa. It is a hill in Ono which, according to tradition, was once the top of a mountain called Loa on Vanua Levu. Some goddesses carried it away at night, intending to add to the importance of Ono Levu by placing it there. Daylight overtook them and they threw down their load three miles before they reached Ono Levu. There is another interesting tradition about Ono which lies at the southern extremity of the archipelago, and is cut off by a wide stretch of open sea from the other Fijian islands. It was once near Mbengga Island off the coast of Viti Levu, says the legend; but a Lakemba lady who had fled in a canoe, and feared pursuit, pushed it with her foot farther away from Lakemba into its present lonely position; and there she spent the rest of her life.

with the Christians. The heathen again ran to Delailo, on a Sunday when they wished to kill Enoch and a man who accompanied him to his appointment. Next day, the heathen commenced building their settlement. Aged heathen went for them to return. When the Christians knew the heathen were embanking their settlement they began to embank theirs.

One day while Christians were preparing some food, the heathen came to them and stood to fight. When this was reported to other Christians they went to assist their friends. That day however they did not fight; the heathen said they were to fight next day. On a Saturday night the Christians sent ten men to watch their pigs. On Sunday the heathen came with hostile intentions. A Christian and a heathen chief held conversation. The Christian told the people to return to Onolevu. Whilst on their way a heathen party attacked them. Adam was killed and another Christian pierced. They left the dead man and fled. The report of this attack reached Onolevu after the prayer meeting on Sunday morning. The Christians then went to fetch the dead body of Adam, and returned to preaching. On the following Tuesday the Christians agreed to go to Delailo to fight.

On Wednesday the Christians went and secreted themselves, and the heathen came to look for them. Four heathen were then killed, and one Christian, Aisaki, was wounded. Next day, the Christians went and took away heathen canoes. The following day the Christians called upon the heathen to finish the war, or else embrace Christianity. The Christians continued to watch during that moon to prevent the heathen coming to their settlement. They watched the water also and one heathen was shot. On Sunday the heathen were hidden in a place dug in the earth purposing to fire upon the Christians when passing. After preaching on Sunday afternoon the Christians broke upon the heathen who, being unable to get out of the place which they had prepared, said that if they might be spared they would *lotu*.¹⁴ One heathen was shot. The Teachers had been in ambush on Saturday night previous.

The war lasted about three months. The lives of six heathen and two Christians were lost. The war had concluded about a fortnight before the *Triton* visited the island. The Rev. J. Waterhouse preached a plain and lengthy dis-

¹⁴ *Lotu* is used here as a verb, meaning—to embrace the Christian religion. Literally it means to pray or the praying people. It can be used as an adjective as well as a noun and a verb.

course to them interpreted by Bro. C. Forty-four were baptized, young and old, the latter having been some time on trial. Of the heathen forty couples were married, including several chiefs. Three of this class were not married being at distant lands. The *Triton* called at Vatoa.

August 3rd—Went to Nukunuku to bury Mosesi Vatenge, a member of our little society there, who for a long time suffered in patience. I could learn but little of his end, but trust it was peace. Heard to-day of an attempt to club Mosesi (a Teacher) and one of our members at Waitabu. "Why do the heathen rage?"

Sun. August 15th—Today I ventured to keep my notes in my pocket, and found it easy to do without them.¹⁵

August 27th—Much stir on the beach caused by the arrival of a canoe from Bau. Not knowing whether the intention of those on board was peaceful or otherwise (war being expected from that quarter) multitudes of Feejeeans and Tonguese assembled on the sand armed with muskets, clubs, lances, &c., &c. Several of our people struck the water in defiance of the supposed foe. A small piece was fired by those on board and answered by several from shore. The latter waited anxiously until a messenger sent by them should return and state who were the visitors, and what their intention. When the name of Campsis¹⁶ was announced, the *oa* of respect was given and things went on as usual.

¹⁵ In a letter dated at Rewa 29 June 1839 (M.M.S.M.), John Hunt says that he took part in services, using the native language, after the first month. He began by writing his sermons out, and reading them to the congregation; then he read part and spoke part; then he wrote copiously with notes to provide against a breakdown, and spoke. After five months he preached without any notes.

¹⁶ Ratu Mara of Mbau, *vasu* to Lakemba. Later on Williams spells the name—Kamsisi. We shall hear more about this restless person. The different kinds of *vasu*, and the privileges attached to the distinction are described by Williams in F.F., vol. i., pp. 34-6. The main point to notice is that, in the town to which his mother belonged, the *vasu* could take whatever he wished, no matter how valuable it was, without making any payment; and before the advent of the missionaries nobody would think

SEPTEMBER

September 18th—Bro. C. and I visited a woman whose soul, her relatives said, the devil had taken. Those about her wished her to *lotu*, in order that she might regain what they supposed she had been deprived of.¹⁷

About ten minutes before ten P.M. on this the 18th day of September 1841 my dear Mary was safely delivered of her second child, a boy. Tubou burned. The flames from the burning houses cast a lurid glare on the scene vivid and obscure as the clouds of smoke were driven upwards or downwards by the wind. Bamboo explosions like musketry. Masses of sparks rose from the burning heaps and were carried towards us, falling like flakes of fire on the thatched roofs of our houses—an alarming sight. Natives reddened by reflected flames. No crash of falling buildings, but a little lake of flames overhung by clouds of smoke. Clumps of coco palms shone red with the reflected glare of the flames.

Mrs W's circumstances rendered it advisable for me to spend my time with her.

At night, the most terrific thunderstorms ever witnessed. The surcharged clouds seemed just above our heads. And as there was not a breeze of wind they remained stationary. For several hours the thunder appeared to increase in loudness till about midnight, when, for about the space of one hour, peal succeeded peal with such rapidity as to prevent any perceptible pause. Many of these were so loud as to

of disputing his right to do so. It was the custom of the country! The possession of this privilege made the *vasu* really more powerful for the time of his visit than his uncle, the ruling chief. The missionaries were astounded at the exercise of such privileges, as well as the manner in which they were tolerated. They tried to get rid of the custom; but were obliged to proceed with caution until they had acquired great prestige in the Lau Group.

¹⁷ An instance of the Fijian belief that the soul and the living body of an individual could exist apart. See H.F.F., p. 75.

render foolish any comparison with a discharge of the heaviest artillery. The lightning caused the face of the heavens to assume the appearance of one vast sheet of lurid flame. Rain fell in torrents.

OCTOBER

Sun. October 3rd—Confined by pain and weakness to my bed.

October 7th—Bro. C. baptized our second son, Thomas Whitton¹⁸ Williams. May God give him grace to follow the steps of my dear friend Whitton.

October 14th—Daniel arrived from Lomolomo with good news. Nine persons have embraced Christianity at Tuvuca. Five canoes were detained at this place, some time back, by contrary winds. The people took firewood to the god at Tuvutha,¹⁹ and begged of the priest to present their offering and ask for a good wind. This the priest refused to do, declaring there was no god there! Two more have embraced Christianity at Lomolomo. The heathen here attempted to frighten the Christians with the expected visit of the King of Somosomo, declaring it was his intention to kill such as would not renounce Christianity. Upon his arrival the king declared this report to be false, and asked: "Where is the land where Christianity is not?" The heathen presented their property on the Sabbath; the Christians waited until Monday when the new converts from Tuvuca joined them in presenting their property. This was cer-

¹⁸ George Whitton, of Horncastle, was one of the most intelligent of Williams's correspondents, and one of the most striking personalities in the district.

¹⁹ Note how Williams alternates between the conventional *c* and the phonetic *th* in his spelling. He has not yet become habituated to the use of Cargill's conventions. There are many more instances in the Journal. I have decided not to regularize his spelling of names and places so that the reader may get a distinct impression of the difficulty with which native sounds were reproduced by the use of letters of the Roman alphabet.

tainly a noble step; although attended with risk of their lives they would honour the Sabbath. Doubtless God took notice of them, and on the day of their appearing before the King of Somosomo they found favour in his eyes. It is supposed that 40 canoes attended the king.

October 15th—Entered our new home²⁰ after three months toil which has left me little strength. Most of the time, I had the assistance of Cheathora, a Manila man; Wm. Forbes, an American left here by the *Young Arthur*; and, during the latter part of the time of James Clarke, a German left by the *Temar* of London on the island of Ono. Togi returned and spoke well in Vatawaga²¹ of the Oneata²² Christians.

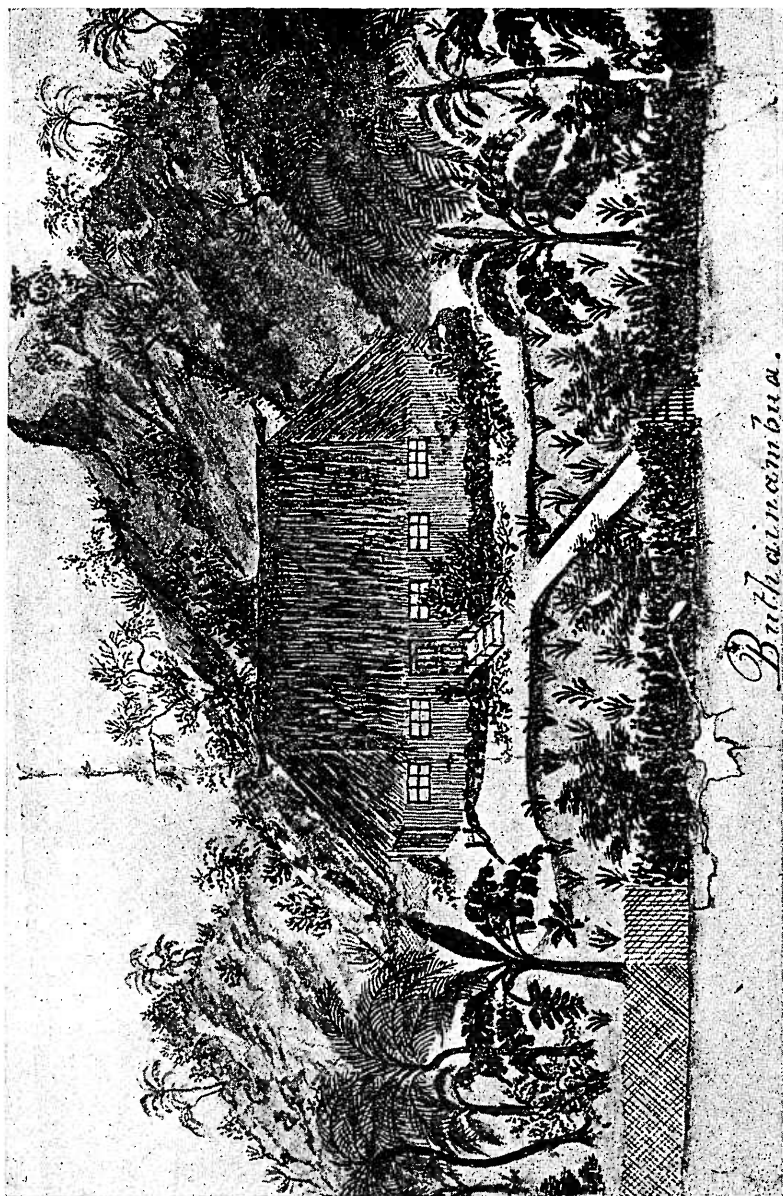
October 20th—Bro. C. sailed for Kambara.

Sun. October 31st—Having returned from conducting service at Waciwaci I began to prepare for our English service, when Daniel, the teacher from Lomolomo, came to tell me that a couple of Christians staying at Tulagi wished to be married. He had come to express their wish, it being expected that their canoe would sail next morning. Fearing that if they were delayed mischief would result I went; married them; gave them an address on relative duties; talked with the people at considerable length about singing—instructing them as well as I could and then returned heartily tired.

²⁰ This was the third house occupied, or partly occupied, by Williams and his wife since their arrival. They went at first, as we have seen, to share the home of the Calverts. When Mrs Calvert expected to be confined, they removed to Mr Jaggar's old house taking with them such articles of furniture as the Calverts could spare. Now, at last, they were able to settle down in a reasonably comfortable home 48 feet long and 19 feet wide with plenty of ventilation and a raised floor. Williams had worked 10 or 12 hours a day while it was being built, and felt exhausted when it was completed.

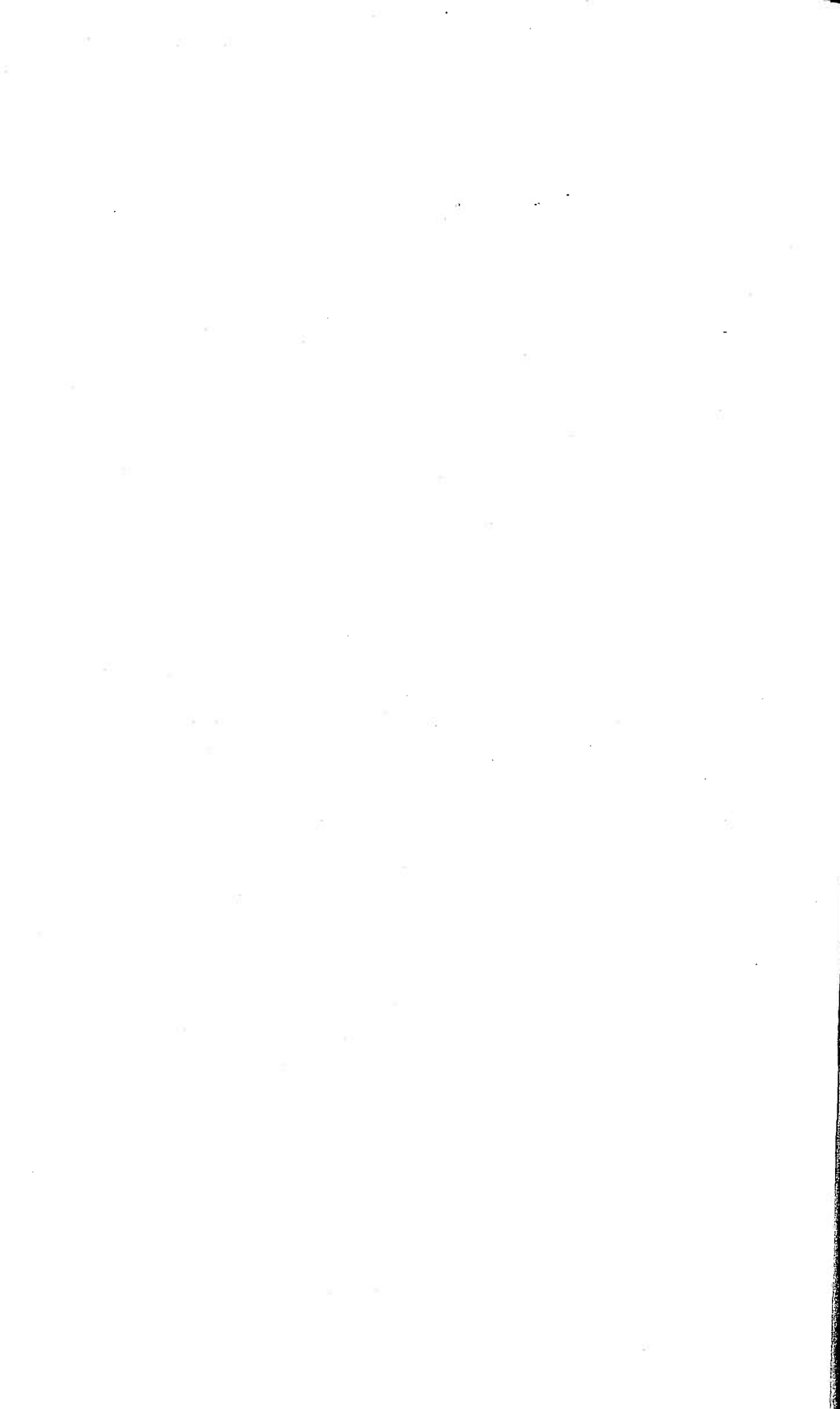
²¹ The name of the king's residence in Tumbou, Lakemba.

²² The island to which the native Tahitian missionaries had retired after being driven out of Narotheke on the island of Lakemba.



Buthainambua.

THOMAS WILLIAMS'S HOME, BUTHAINAMBUA
From a sketch by T. Williams in the Mitchell Library, Sydney



NOVEMBER

Heard of a priest at Moce invoking the God on the presentation of the first fruits of arrowroot. On shaking the nuts²³ he observed: "If the nuts fall from the stem we shall have plenty of food; if not, the bread fruit will not bear and we shall have a famine." He shook, and shook in vain; the nuts remained firm. He asked: "Why have you brought nuts that are tied to the stem by cynet?" His fears were aroused lest the people should become exasperated, and therefore he complained that they had brought him nuts so firmly attached. The people were displeased, and some told him he was a false man.

On preparing arrowroot, according to the custom of the land, to be presented to the gods at Oneata, the heathens first divided it (which is exceedingly disrespectful to the gods), sent a portion to the Christians,²⁴ and then took the rest to the temple. The priest usually shouted aloud when he pretended the god entered him;²⁵ on this occasion he only coughed, and then said (using the words of the god): "It will be well for you all to become Christians, I will go to my own land"—a part of Vanua Mbalavu called Yaro. Here it was that Saunders Rice was so awfully murdered. Bro. C. has conversed at some length with this priest. He seemed very careless.

About the end of September, Bro. C. was applied to by Muri Ca for medicine, one of his wives being ill. The

²³ A common method of finding out the will of the gods in such matters.

²⁴ That such a mistake should have been made in this strict ceremonial shows that the influence of the old gods was weakening in the island of Oneata, where the Tahitian missionaries had been at work years before the arrival of Cross and Cargill.

²⁵ For an explanation of his *mental* condition given by an inspired priest in the hearing of Thomas Williams, see H.F.F., pp. 75-6. As to his *physical* condition, Lorimer Fison who once saw a priest under inspiration says: "Not only was the whole body convulsed, but the flesh all over the body was twitching and crawling in a most unearthly manner, dreadful to behold." See Appendix 6 to his *Tales from Old Fiji*.

medicine was sent, and, shortly after, the report of a gun led us to suppose that the god had been invoked to know how it would be with the good lady. It is said to be customary with this deity to have a gun fired when he departs. This deity is the soul of Muri Ca's father. The lying lips of the priest made him to speak on this occasion as follows:

"It is good your living in the world." The chief on presenting a whale's tooth said: "It is good your coming to us: Thava, my wife, a lady from Lomaloma, is very ill. If *we* were to die here it would be right; but we should be greatly ashamed if this lady were to die in this land.²⁶ We therefore beg of you to be of a good mind and save her."

The priest then said as from the god: "True I am vexed. There are many things in which I am neglected in your house. Many of your practices are done away with. I therefore offered a whale's tooth to Tui Vakanoa and Tui Lakeba (two other gods) that Thava might die. We are living separate in the place of spirits. The foreign God is near to you. You want to embrace Christianity. We shall keep separate. I shall try to save Thava; but you must recollect I am not a god. I am a man like you. I lived with you. I only speak in this way because I have had a different residence for some time. Yet I will make an offering to Tui Vakanoa and Tui Lakemba²⁷ to try to save Thava." The bunch of nuts²⁸ was then handed for the priest to shake, he

²⁶ Lakemba.

²⁷ A very common lapse from the conventional to the phonetic spelling was Lakemba for Lakeba. Tui Vakanoa and Tui Lakemba were both worshipped as gods in Lakemba.

²⁸ In N.O.F., vol. i., p. 167, the following reference is made to this entry: "Galulu the priest of Malani, a former King of Lakemba, used to make the success or failure of an enterprise depend upon the shaking of a bunch of coconuts. The nuts selected for such occasions are called *niu bota*. They are so old that they fall off with comparative ease. If all fall off the answer is favourable; but, if only one nut adheres, it bodes ill. It is common to see in Fijian temples a long dried nut that is often used to ascertain the mind of the gods. If, for instance, a person wished to know whether to make an attack on such and such a place, the nut is spun,

saying that if all fell from the stem she would live. After all his shaking one obstinate nut remained to seal the lady's death. An old man of another tribe of priests complained that old nuts called *niu bota*, had not been brought, that they might have been more easily shaken off. When talked with, both chief and priest were ashamed.

A priest at Moce was about to invoke the god when a dog came up to him and barked, at which the priest ran away.

It is reported that when a heathen priest at Kambara was invoking the god to secure rain, a part of the food which had been prepared for the occasion being before him (cuttle fish baked with the milk of the old coco-nut) and he as the mouth of god foretelling what weather they should have, a dog entered the place and took some of his share; whereupon he, unmindful of the god, started up, and, being displeased with the dog, made the god to say: "The dog has got my cuttle fish with sauce."

Another of this lying fraternity was about to blow a large shell on the departure of the god when out jumped a rat; whereupon he called out lustily: "The God! the God!!" This was on the island of Fulaga.

The priest who abides with the third chief has not been at all successful of late. He caused this chief to hasten to Lakemba from an outer island where he was staying, declaring, as from the god, that there was war in Lakemba and his help was needed. Great was his surprise when, after having risked his life in a strong wind to fight his enemies, he found that all was peace.

He foretold a hurricane which never happened, it being now several months past the time specified.

Hoping to buy a little favour of the king, he told the
and, if, when the nut ceases to spin, the eye end points in the direction of the land or settlement, the answer is favourable and indicates success. It is, however, but just to state that, when parties are anxious to proceed thither, they will spin the nut till it settles in a favourable situation."

third chief who was at that time detained by contrary winds at an outer island that the cause of his detention was—anger on the part of the gods because he would not give his canoe to the king. Muri Ca, notwithstanding the anger of the gods, kept his canoe.

A short time before the Ono people embraced Christianity the priest who had invoked the god declared it was the god's desire to smoke tobacco previous to his departure, and wished some one to prepare a cigar for that purpose. Most of the people thought this going too far, and, going out, left the priest to smoke his tobacco.

November 1st—Bro. C. returned from his trip, having accomplished in good measure that for which he left home, viz., restoration of peace amongst those at Kambara. He brought news of the progressive state of things at Mothe and Komo. Reports of a pleasing kind had reached us before Bro. C's return of the state of things at Oneata. We bless God and take courage.

Sun. November 7th—Preached at Nukunuku and Na-rothage spending some time with the sick at the latter place.

November 8th—Yesterday Campsis left for Bau notwithstanding that Tuinayau had a day or two before taken his canoe to make his voyage to Niau²⁹ in. This young man (Campsis) has only been returned a few days from Thethea, an island at most times in an unsettled state. Campsis found them as usual at war, and, being requested to aid one party, he complied. Three men were shot; the place surrendered, and this young chief brought away, as spoil, seven or more rolls of cynnet, several dogs and five female slaves.

About three months back, a chief from Thethea accompanied by his people, presented property to Tuinayau, and, as is customary, a return was made, part of which consisted of spears. The Thithian chief speedily requested per-

²⁹ Nayau.

mission to return to his own land declaring that it would be a pity for him to part with his spears without having first put them in use.

November 12th—Yesterday Bro. C. came to inform me that two canoes were preparing to sail for Oneata, and stated further, as his opinion, that it would be well for one of us to visit that place. This morning at an early hour I left home for Tulagi (near which the canoes were lying), got on board; and, although the wind was not very favourable, we seemed likely to get on nicely. When however we had performed about half our voyage light winds and calms delayed us. The question now was whether to pursue our course, or try to make our way back. Judging that one would be attended with as much difficulty as the other, we determined to keep on our course. Some slight showers made us rather uncomfortable. Night coming upon us we held our evening service, and submitted to our unenviable situation. Near midnight we struck upon a reef, and found it easier to get on than to get off. Having regained deep water we again moved gently onward and at about 3 o'clock made one end of the island.

Here we tried to sleep, but could not for mosquitoes.³⁰

Pushed round to Were levu (the name of the town) at break of day, and received a most hearty welcome from the Tahitian teachers³¹ and our people dwelling there.³²

³⁰ There were many places in Fiji rendered well-nigh unendurable because of the myriads of stinging mosquitoes. Oneata was one of them. See Lorimer Fison's story explaining: "How the mosquito came to Oneata" in *Tales from Old Fiji*. From the records of the missionaries it would appear that Ono and Nandy were quite as bad.

³¹ For an account of the arrival and work of the Tahitian missionaries in Fiji see H.F.F., pp. 142-5. They were at first converts under the London Missionary Society; but, later on identified themselves with the Wesleyan Methodists. In the "Journal of a voyage undertaken by Williams and Barff in 1830 for the purpose of introducing Christianity among the Feejees and Samoas" (M.M.) it is stated that John Williams in compliance with the wish of Captain Lawler left two native teachers at Tonga to be sent on to Fiji "to enlighten those dark and savage islanders."

November 13th—Visiting the people and arranging for the Sabbath.

Sun. November 14th—The public service being concluded, I baptized one adult female who was confined to her mat by weakness (having been delivered of a boy a few days before) and two infants. Visited several sick persons and conversed with some heathen. Joeli Keteca preached in the afternoon. Before retiring to rest I paid the chief and priest of the place a visit. The chief expressed himself as much ashamed because he had not prepared and brought me food;³³ after a time he felt more at home and conversed freely. He acknowledged the truth of religion, and the advantage of their being all Christians. He pointed out his three wives to me, and, upon my remarking that shortly he must be united to one of them only,³⁴ he wished me to say which he ought to have. Before I left he expressed his willingness to embrace Christianity, and thanked me for my visit. The old priest, with whom I had once conversed before, and to whom reference is made in this Journal, p. 39, seemed more attentive, and refrained from his usual mode of denouncing religion³⁵ as a lie. He heard what I had to

They were furnished with axes, hatchets, chisels, cloth, medicine, paper, pens, ink, pencils, slates, etc. "to give to the chief where Providence might direct them." These were the Tahitian teachers here referred to by Thomas Williams. In *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands*, published by John Williams in London in 1837 he speaks as though it was his desire in that year that the Tahitian teachers should identify themselves with the work of the Methodist mission, in accordance with his very sane conviction that each Missionary Society should have a distinct sphere in which to carry on its work.

³² According to Lieutenant-Commander Ringgold, of the United States Exploring Expedition there were 200 people on Oneata in 1840.

³³ Nearly all the Fijian chiefs were remarkable for their hospitality; but, frequently, the wherewithal had to be provided by others. They were rapacious that they might have a lot to give away, and appear more bountiful than other chiefs; but they gave freely and enjoyed the giving.

³⁴ The missionaries had strict instructions from the Committee in London to admit no one to the Society of the Church who was not a monogamist.

³⁵ That is, Christianity. The Methodist missionary was loath to admit that "Heathen foolishness" was a religion at all.

say patiently, and in conclusion remarked: "You say true. I am an old man. I am almost alone in heathenism; my wife is a Christian, my young people have thrown heathenism away, so that my resistance is useless, and in two or three months I shall *lotu*."

Being somewhat weary I retired early to rest, and fell asleep with the sound of their domestic worship in my ears. One backslider returned today.

November 15th—Numbers of the people being sick, and craving hard for assistance, I set myself to do what lay in my power to relieve them. One poor man was an object of great pity. He was loathsome—eaten by disease, and fast hasting to the grave. "Well," said I, "how often have you taken food to the gods that they might be of a good mind to you?" "I have taken much food," said he, "and trusted much to the gods; but they do nothing for me. I now know my devil is false. My heart is with the Christians; but I cannot mix with them because of my abominable state. If I live I will unite with them." Being informed that he was the third individual who had embraced religion in Oneata, I inquired why he had returned to heathenism. He replied: "Soon after I embraced religion my present disease commenced, and my old father told me that the god whom I had renounced was eating me, and that if I wished to live and avert the anger of the gods I must give up the new religion. I listened to him; but am now sorry." I conversed some time with this poor creature and left him under the care of Josia with such medicine³⁶ and directions as I thought fit for him.

³⁶ The practice of medicine was by this time an important part of the work of Methodist missionaries, because it was regarded as a valuable auxiliary to the progress of the Christian religion. There is no doubt whatever that it was so. For every cure effected by the missionaries Jehovah got the credit. That was the native way of thinking. To them the cause of illness was supernatural not natural, and it had to be removed by supernatural agencies whatever the means employed. See H.F.F., Chapter IX.

At eve I again visited several heathen families, and, amongst the rest, Mata ki Lakemba (the chief) and the old priest. The chief remained in the same mode of thinking; but my old friend the priest, having by his side the chief of a little *koro* in Lakemba, a fellow heathen, resumed his old strain of: "You are a false man;" "Religion is a lie,"³⁷ &c., &c. Happily a little circumstance occurred by which I was enabled clearly to shew, that, in one instance at least, I was true; and, as clearly, that he was false. He lowered his high words and high carriage, and came back to the language he had used the evening before. Assembled the people at sunset, and addressed them from the parable of the sower.

November 16th—This morning, as also on Monday morning, I heard several of the people read, and catechized them. Much credit is due to them in respect of their advancement in reading knowledge of the catechism, &c. Sailed for Lakemba after breakfast; but the wind failing we had to put back to the hinderpart of the island where we prepared to spend the rest of this day and the night. Whilst in this sequestered spot my mind reverted with much pleasure to the people whom I had just parted with.³⁸ They manifest

³⁷ Said, no doubt, to please his heathen friend from Lakemba; just as he had spoken before in quite a different strain to please Thomas Williams. Truth and consistency were matters of little moment to a Fijian, especially when he saw an opportunity of giving pleasure to a guest. He would say what he thought his guest would wish him to say, and take it all back again quite readily and without shame when circumstances altered. Love of truth was not in the Fijian of those days; courtesy was. It was his sense of values that was at fault.

³⁸ In a letter written by Williams to the Committee in London on 14 April 1842 there are a few observations expressing his feelings while on this sequestered shore which are worth quoting because of the light they throw on a certain romantic quality in his nature which was closely associated with, and probably had its roots in his religion: "I selected a little elevated spot of green where we assembled. It was a lovely evening, the sun hanging just above where the sky and the waves seem to mingle. . . . All was still except the restless ocean on the edge of which we stood. Its nearness was an advantage to me: it so forcibly reminded me of the grandeur and power of that Being who holds the waters in the hollow

a strong desire to know the will of God, and pray earnestly for grace to do His will. Their kindness to me was great. There was not much food on the island; but they exerted themselves to supply my wants.

As the day declined Joeli addressed us on the sea beach directing our attention to the never failing care of our heavenly Father. We then conversed a little about England and her wonders; and, this done, laid ourselves upon the ground to sleep being in some measure defended by our native curtains from the countless myriads of mosquitoes with which this island swarms.

November 17th—Having a fine wind we sailed early in the morning for Lakemba which we reached a little past noon, bringing with us a man who is to stay with Israeli at Tulagi as Class Leader. Having put this man down at his station, we went on to Tumbou, and found my dear wife and children in health. Bless the Lord for His preserving care.

November 18th—The Tonguese canoes, of which we brought intelligence yesterday, arrived bringing letters from the brethren labouring in that group. The parties are fugitives: sons of the Tonga King, and two chiefs with their canoes sent in pursuit of them. Towards afternoon William or Ranjiki came in from Bau bringing letters from Bros Cross and Jaggar.³⁹

November 25th—Buried a child at Waitabu. The *Mara*⁴⁰ of His hands." Deep was calling unto deep as Williams stood on that elevated spot of green, where he spoke to the people near him "of England and a few of her wonders." There is romance in this scene, and it was of a kind that was thoroughly congenial to the soul of Thomas Williams.

³⁹ At this time Thomas Jaggar was alone at Rewa, and William Cross alone at Vewa. Ranjiki and Tumbou were the two most powerful Tongan chiefs in Fiji at this time. Ranjiki had just come back to Lakemba from Mbau to hasten the building of a canoe, 102 feet long, which Thakombau wanted for the war he intended to wage against Somosomo in which Ranjiki was to assist. See Calvert's letter to London dated 18 November 1841 (M.M.S.M.).

⁴⁰ The burial ground.

here, as at Nukunuku, is on the top of a small hill. Visited some sick, and administered medicines.

Sun. November 28th—A canoe arrived from Lomolomo⁴¹ bringing letters from the Bros Lyth and Hunt.

DECEMBER

December 7th or 8th—Head of *balolo* appeared.

December 16th—Called in to a Tonguese who was in a fit of agony resulting, I suppose, from pain occasioned by a diseased state of his testicle. He had cut⁴² open the bag which contained the stone; the gash was about 8 in. in length; the stone was almost divided, and a portion of the man's bowels had forced themselves out. Assisted by an American youth and a Manila man I stitched up the incision, after having replaced the bowels as well as we could. This affair made me exceedingly unwell.

December 19th—Early in the morning we assembled together in the chapel for divine service. The place was nicely filled, and several of the heathen population ventured to sit outside. Whilst the candidates, part Feejeeans and part Tonguese, were engaged in rehearsing the Creed, a considerable feeling was manifest amongst the whole congregation; tears of sacred joy stole silently down the cheeks of some, whilst others wept aloud. Although so far from my much loved country and her spacious temples, I was permitted, in this lowly place, to enjoy a delightful consciousness that He was in our midst "Whose presence makes our Paradise."

⁴¹ Williams sometimes uses the name of the principal town Lomaloma for the island Vanua Mbalavu on which it is situated. That was not an uncommon practice in those early days. Viti Levu was called Ambou (after Mbau); Taviuni was sometimes designated Somosomo, and even, though rarely, Vuna.

⁴² According to Dr Lyth, a very reliable witness in such matters, the Fijians at this time had a vicious habit of cutting themselves for all manner of diseases including that of being bewitched. Often their slashings resulted in torture, sometimes in death. See H.F.F., p. 128.

Komo is rather a low land, not well supplied with provisions, and destitute of water.⁴³ Whilst here, Abiather detailed the circumstances of his escape and detention at Thecombea, which, at some future time I purpose entering in this Journal. (See pp. 57-65.)

December 20th—Returned from Komo, an island about 35 or 40 miles distant from Lakemba. I went on the 18th. We had a fine breeze and an excellent passage. The people seemed pleased to see me. Passed the afternoon in company with those who desired baptism, and in visiting the sick and heathen.

December 22nd—Wesley, the man whom I attempted to relieve on the 16th, died. The last six days of his life he was considerably easier, and expressed himself free from pain. I cannot say much for the state of his mind.

The *soro*⁴⁴ commanded last night by Tuineou was brought this morning. It was a pig in consideration of two Muscovy ducks taken on the night of the 18th. At first the fingers of all concerned were ordered to be cut off.⁴⁵

⁴³ In his letter to London dated 14 April 1842 Williams says, more accurately, that "this island is low, and *not well supplied either with food or water.*"

⁴⁴ *Soro* meant atonement. That is the sense in which it is used here; but it also meant petition or prayer. In N.O.F. five kinds of *soro* are given: (1) the *soro* with a whale's tooth or other property such as mats and nets; (2) with a reed (*matanigasau*); (3) with a spear (*matamoto*) which is considered very humiliating; (4) with a basket of earth (*nakawamua*), mostly connected with war in which the weaker party give their land to the stronger. It may, however, be only an expression of loyalty; (5) with ashes (*bisidravu*), which is practised on Vanua Levu in extreme cases that call for deep humiliation. "In this *soro* the person who petitions puts ashes on his bosom and arms."

⁴⁵ This seems to have been the usual punishment for thieving when the offenders were caught; but when the culprit could not be discovered the priest had recourse to a more drastic method. He buried a nut in the hearth; the information was spread abroad, and, in his terror of witchcraft the wrongdoer would die in three or four days. See Dr Lyth's Journal, vol. ii., December 1842, for the custom of *buluniu*, or burying the nut in order to find out thieves. The influence of mind over body for good and ill—especially ill—was very great among the islanders of the South Pacific. Williams and Barff remark upon this in the narrative of their

This the parties avoided by presenting *cava* to the king seconded by our request that the punishment should not be inflicted.

December 25th—We thought and talked of home.

December 27th—Held our quarterly meeting today.

BOOKS READ IN 1841⁴⁰

- (1) Treffry on Sonship.
- (2) Evidences on Aborigines.
- (3) Pericles on Oracles.
- (4) Treffry on Sanctification.
- (5) Graham on Health.
- (6) Bush's Life of Mohammed.

voyage in 1830: "It is known that the state of the mind has great influence over the body; but more particularly in heathen countries or lands lately heathen where a person conceiving that he shall die gives up all hope of getting better: his spirits sink and he numbers himself with the dead." The missionaries, of course, protested strongly against the infliction of such punishments. They expected restoration of the goods, or, failing that, compensation—as was ultimately agreed upon in the case here under consideration. See H.F.F., pp. 81-4.

⁴⁰ The correct titles of books not well known and names of the authors, etc., in the lists given from time to time by Williams in his Journal have, with great kindness, been supplied to me by the officers of the Public Library, Sydney. In this list those that require a more accurate and complete description are:

Treffrey, Richard: *An inquiry into the doctrine of the Eternal Sonship of our Lord Jesus Christ* (London, 1837).

Bush, George: *Life of Mohammed* (described in biographical notices of Bush as published in 1832. The Astor Library dates its copy 1839; and the British Museum its copy 1844. An edition published in 1847 is described by the American catalogue as a second).

Mariner, William: *Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands in the South Pacific Ocean*, with an original Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language, by John Martin, M.D.

Hall, Robert, M.A.: *Works* (published under the superintendence of Olinthus Gregory, LL.D., London, 1833-6). The edition in the Public Library, Sydney, is in 6 vols.

Camoens, Luis de: *Lusiads* (various editions and translations).

Hoole, Elijah: *Personal Narrative of a mission to the South of India from 1820 to 1828* (Manchester, 1829).

Dick, Thomas: *The Christian Philosopher, or the connexion of science and philosophy with religion*, 8th edition (Glasgow, 1842).

- (7) Mariner's Tonga Isles, 2 vols.
- (8) Watson's remarks on Southey's Life of Wesley.
- (9) Watson's Institutes, 4 vols.
- (10) Watson's Works, 2nd vol.
- (11) Hall's Works, 5 vols.
- (12) Camoens' Lusiads.
- (13) Hoole's Mission to India.
- (14) Marsden's Mission.
- (15) Wesley's Christian Library, 6 vols.
- (16) Milton's Poetical Works.
- (17) Dick's Christian Philosopher.

1842

Hosanna! Mark 11 ch., 9 v.

A new scene of time now begins: put up thy Hosanna, O my Soul, that the Lord may save, bless and prosper thee; may He grant thee a happy new year indeed! For this purpose begin it with a re-dedication of thyself to God; give Him thy all; implore His blessing over thee continually this ensuing year.

Golden Treasury altered.

JANUARY

January 1st—Appealed to by Jonah Lolou from Waciwaci to assist him with the property to present in the place of his wife whom Campsis had determined to take to Bau. Campsis was appeased.

Sun. January 2nd—Preached twice at Tulagi, and returned home with great difficulty because of the weak state of my back.

January 4th—During the night the second canoe from Ono came in, and from some of our people on board we learned that the chiefs who were on other islands at the time of the war had returned and embraced Christianity.¹ Things are going on well.

¹In the war between the Heathen and the Christian on Ono in 1841 Jehovah had triumphed. That was decisive in its effect on the minds of the natives: the old gods were discredited; the triumph of Christianity was assured. Compare the effect of the battle of Kamba in 1855 on the people living on the east coast of Viti Levu and the adjacent islands. See H.F.F., Chapter XVI, especially pp. 266-70.

An amusing circumstance is related by the people who first embraced Christianity on this island. They felt it was their duty to pray to their new God but none of them knew how to pray. After some consultation they determined to wait upon a heathen priest and request him to pray for them. This he consented to do. The following is the substance of his prayer: (It appears the man applied to was a stranger from the island Namuka at which place he had witnessed the worship of some Tonguese Christians.) "Lord Jehovah, as for me I do not serve thee, I serve another God; but these thy people say I am to pray to Thee for them. Do thou be of a good mind to them. I turn my back upon Thee and attend to another God; but do Thou attend to these thy people, and bless them, &c., &c."² Those who first determined to throw off heathenism were ignorant in the extreme respecting the usages of Christianity. Most of what they knew was that one day out of seven was to be a day of rest. But, as to the right mode of keeping it, what follows will shew they did not know much. When this day came those who professed to be Christians blacked their faces and the upper parts of their bodies; adorned their legs and arms with ornaments; put on their best *masi*,³ and, arming themselves with clubs and spears, spent the day in marching about.

January 6th—Canoe arrived from Somosomo, brought letters.

Sun. January 9th—With too many I fear Christianity is only nominal.⁴

January 11th—Shortly after meeting class (native)

² See the account of this incident quoted from the *Autobiography* of Joeli Bulu in H.F.F., p. 169.

³ Native cloth made from the bark of the mulberry tree. The process of manufacture is described by Williams in F.F., vol. i., pp. 65-7.

⁴ This complaint will be repeated at intervals right up to the closing year of the Journal.

accompanied Bro. C. to Campsis who with some of the chief men from Lavuka was sitting in his hut. They wished to know who had reported to us the circumstance of a Lavuka man requesting Campsis to take advantage of the absence of Ranjiki to slaughter the Christians in Lakemba, declaring their intention to kill him should he prove to be a Feejeean. We had the information from Tonguese. The Levuka people utterly deny the charge, and say it is a falsehood raised with intent to do them injury.

January 12th—The man who reported to us came this morning, and we, according to promise, went down to Campsis whom we found with several Feejeeans and Tonguese in his new canoe house. Conversation was commenced, or rather the subject was introduced by Bro. C. Sundry remarks were made by the persons present, some of whom were mainly concerned; but, as no Feejeean could be seized upon as the offending party, all that could be done was to repeat their assertions of last night. A circumstance occurred of rather a pleasing nature as it shewed that even these strange people have some confidence in us. A stranger to us objected that perhaps some important part of the story was hidden or kept back by us; whereupon several voices (and Campsis's amongst them) exclaimed: "No! No! It is not after their manner so to act." Harua⁵ the eldest Tahitian from Oneata paid us a visit. David, his countryman, came to inform me that my conversation with his wife had been useful, and that they are now quite comfortable. Harua asked permission to marry, observing that the woman had made the proposal.

January 15th—During the last three days we have been fully employed in folding, assorting, &c., &c., Tonguese and Feejeean books.

⁵ The names of the two Tahitian teachers, given by Williams and Barff in the narrative of their voyage in 1830, are Hatai and Faaruea.

Sun. January 16th—Preached at Waitabu and Waciwaci. Some parts of the way we passed knee deep in water. Visited an old woman who had formerly been a Christian and conversed with her respecting an offering she made on the 15th to the goddess of Waitabu (Koi rana Marama) to the end that she might be delivered by this deity from an affliction in her eyes.

Mosisi Vakaloloma informed me that, in their heathen state, the people of this settlement were not permitted to call their children by proper names. They addressed them as rats. Thus:—"You rats, give over playing."

January 17th, 18th and 19th—Employed in binding Tonguese books.

January 21st—Hearing that a canoe had gone down in the entrance,⁶ we hastened to the seaside and found the poor people to whom the canoe belonged labouring hard to prevent its entire destruction. One man was brought to shore by our people (who were returning from fishing) in a state of insensibility; but he recovered soon afterwards.

Numbers of people were observing the efforts of those who were interested in rescuing the canoe; but none seemed to think of going off to their assistance. The observers consisted mainly of Tonguese. We offered our canoe, and with some difficulty persuaded a few men to go to the help of the sufferers. Shortly after this we heard that one of the principal persons connected with the canoe had determined to give it up lest some of their lives should be lost. No sooner was this known than several canoes were in the water, their owners exerting their utmost skill to arrive first at the canoe that it might be theirs. Happily these unfeeling wretches met with disappointment, the rightful owners

⁶The entrance to Tumbou Harbour, through which the tide rushed swiftly along a tortuous course. Scores of people have lost their lives there. John Malvern had a narrow escape one night. See his account of their dangerous predicament in H.F.F., pp. 313-14.

having secured it with the assistance of a Tonguese before the arrival of those who would have been glad to have deprived them of it. The owner, Julius Nafeejee, who was one of our members, had been away some time and since his return had not been either to school or chapel. We sent for him and conversed with him respecting this circumstance and the line of conduct which he had lately pursued. He confessed his error, and I trust he will amend.

January 24th—Tui Taro a respectable chief from Lavuka⁷ came to me requesting he might be instructed to read. He appears to have thought well about the application which will be requisite for success.

After sunset a youth who had just arrived from Tuvuca informed us that fourteen persons embraced Christianity last Sunday.

January 26th—Israili or Takai came over from Tulagi requesting us to accompany him to the King to whom he wished to complain of the oppression exercised over the Christians on this island. Tuinayau seemed quite angry at this unexpected step, and gave vent to his rage by making several remarks at once severe and unjust. His brother according to custom was very forward in denouncing Christianity.⁸

Having allowed them to exhaust themselves, we then reasoned with them and eventually succeeded in securing a diminution of the unjust portion of labour which had been allotted them, i.e., the Christians.

January 27th—On the evening of to-day the wind blew strongly from the N.N.E.; soon increased to a hurricane,

⁷ This was the settlement near Tumbou, Lakemba, not the Levuka on Ovalau Island.

⁸ Long before the arrival of Williams in Lakemba the king and chiefs of that island had complained that the teaching of Christianity was undermining the respect of the people for the authority of their rulers. See H.F.F., pp. 112-13 and 577-84.

and so continued for several hours. It was not so fearful as we at first conjectured it would be. Many bananas and some bread-fruits were blown down; but this was the more easily effected as the heavy rains which have fallen during the past fortnight have completely saturated the earth. Considerable part of my fence was blown down.

January 29th—My birthday!⁹ On this day I complete my 27th year. Alas! alas! that I have not yet learnt to redeem the time.

Sun. January 30th—On Saturday canoes arrived from Bau. Ranjiki brought us letters from Bros Cross and Jaggar.

January 31st—Abiather having come over from Komo I had an opportunity of inquiring more particularly respecting the Thekombea affair to which I made reference in the 49th page of this book.

Abiather Charley is a native of Vavau. He, with others, sailed from Lakemba for Vavau about the month of June 1840.

They were not successful in their attempt to gain this place, but drifted to the island of Thekombea.¹⁰ It is an established custom in Feejee to murder those who may be found on such canoes or boats as drift,¹¹ and then take

⁹ There is a mistake here. In August 1844, in compliance with the request of Williams, his father, John Williams, sent out a copy of the Family Register. One of the entries is: "Thomas Williams born 20 January 1815; baptized 28 February 1815." Williams probably had some doubts of the accuracy of his knowledge of family history when he wrote for the copy of the Register to be sent.

¹⁰ There are two islands in Fiji called by this name, Thikombia-i-ra to the north of the eastern end of Vanua Levu, and Thikombia-i-lau on the eastern edge of the Vanua Mbalavu lagoon a few miles away from Munia. In all probability it is Thikombia-i-ra of which Abiather is speaking, for we are told on p. 62 that the people of the island took yams to Mathuata which is on the north coast of Vanua Levu.

¹¹ This was a commonly accepted report at the time; but it is certainly not true of boats and canoes containing white men, and I have grave doubts of its being an invariable practice on the appearance of native

possession of their riches. Having gained the beach Abiather and two others went in search of fresh water to bathe therein. Upon their return they found their fellows murdered and piled upon a heap on the deck of the canoe. They numbered eight Tonguese and one Feejeean killed. Beholding this horrid spectacle, one of those returned from bath-

drifters. The Fijians did take from white people some of their property, including their clothing, because they regarded that as a perquisite; but they generally treated them with kindness and hospitality in every other way. White men who were murdered in Fiji very often—not always—brought trouble on themselves by acts of cruelty and deception; but that is quite a different matter, to be considered apart from the treatment of drifters and shipwrecked crews. It has been argued that the alleged custom of murdering people who drifted on to their island was a quarantine precaution. Certainly from the time of the first recorded wreck—the *Argo* on Mbukatatanoa Reef—the Fijians had very strong reasons for dreading the landing of shipwrecked crews on their shores, because of the heavy mortality that followed from the spread of “papalangi (foreign) sickness” which was influenza or dysentery. But notwithstanding this I have nothing like sufficient evidence to support the quarantine theory. On the contrary there is abundant evidence to show that shipwrecked white men were treated hospitably—always admitting that their property even to their clothing was appropriated by the natives.

I refrain from making any definite statement about the treatment of native drifters, though the evidence which I have found would support the contention that, while a few were murdered, many were spared or at least escaped. It is a very difficult subject to investigate, because native drifters in the early days left no records, and very few whites, before the coming of the missionaries, would trouble to make records about them. I sometimes suspect that this statement about it being the custom of the natives to murder and devour drifters was accepted the more readily because the missionaries wished to show what great changes had been wrought in respect of the inhuman practices of the Fijians by the teaching of Christianity. There is nothing in the Journals published by Sir Everard im Thurn to support such a charge against the heathen Fijians. It is admitted by everybody who has written with authority about the Fijians that hospitality and ingrained courtesy were two of their characteristics.

The reader will not overlook the fact that it is Abiather who tells this story, and that Williams does not inform us whether he tried or not to confirm his statements. After reading Joeli Bulu's account of his fight with a shark in the Rewa River I am not at all disposed to accept all the details of the narrative of one of his own adventures submitted by a native, even if that native was a trained Christian teacher. It was easy for a native, Christian as well as Heathen, to be betrayed into exaggeration, and even misstatement, by his inborn love of the superlatively wonderful.

ing proposed that they should give themselves up to be murdered. This Abiather opposed; and they, at his suggestion, went back and secreted themselves in the wilderness.

Here they remained 20 days,¹² and then Abiather determined to visit the chief of the island and request his protection.

The unfortunate nine were all eaten.

The chief, Tau le vutu, being found, this teacher asked him to spare his life and give him a small house in which he might worship his God.

"Your God," said the chief, "who is your God?"

Ab.: "My God is Jehovah."

Tau.: "What, the God that is lately come from England?"

Ab.: "No, the God of us Tonguese and of you Feejeeans; the God by Whom we were made."

Tau.: "I love you. Do not be afraid; but tell me more of this God. I wish to know the new religion; but none comes to tell me of it."

Ab.: "I know you have murdered and eaten my friends; but I will tell you what I can. Do you know how man first came upon the earth?"

Tau.: "No."

Ab. then informed him of the creation of man out of the dust, and of woman from man. The chief said: "Good."

Ab.: "Do you know how evil came into this world?"

Tau.: "No."

Ab. told how Adam fell, and Tau remarked, "Good, very good." Then Ab. told of the love of God in the gift of His Son; and the works which God did in the six days in

¹² This would be quite possible in a land where Nature, unaided, supplied coconuts, bread-fruit, sugar-cane, shaddocks, wild yams and other edible roots.

which this world and all therein, &c., &c. The chief still asserted that what he said was "Good, very good."

Tau.: "Go on, I wish to hear more."

Ab.: "When the people took our canoe they robbed me of my books; as for other things I mind not; but let me have this back and then I can read to you from it." This the chief promised to do, if possible, and also offered him the temple of his god in which to worship.

Tau.: "Here are my three daughters; take them to be your wives and stay amongst us."

Ab.: "That is not after the manner of Christians. I have one wife who lives in Tonga."

Tau.: "Whoo! Whoo! that is a very distant land. Take them."

Ab.: "No, let them be as my friends; that will be good."

The chief when conversing with those next to him in rank expressed himself thus: "A great priest is come to my land. He tells me great and strange things. His words are good. Let him teach us."

One day they conversed about prayer and the chief requested him to pray, and asked if nuts should not be brought or food prepared. Ab. (who by this time was joined by one of his companions) told him such things were not needed; gave out a hymn and sang to the wonder and delight of the chief. He then engaged in prayer, the house being full of people who, upon hearing of these strange goings-on, came to satisfy their eyes, and some being disposed to make remarks were called to order by the chief, who said: "Let us hear them well. Make no noise for the ground is sacred."

Prayer over, the chief expressed his satisfaction—said it was like a prayer, and that his mind tended to religion.

The chief asked why the land was burnt up with the sun.

Ab.: "You have murdered God's people, and he is thus rewarding you. Your acts are bad."

Tau.: "How is it that my gods do not send rain?"

Ab.: "They are no gods. It is our God who is rewarding your deeds; because you have killed and eaten Christians this comes to you."

Such was their state for want of rain that fears were entertained lest famine should visit them. Great preparations were making to propitiate the anger of the gods. The Thursday after Ab. had made himself known, food and property were presented to the gods, and five priests assembled to pray for rain. Five large turtles, as many whales' teeth, and one pig were brought to the temple where the gods were to be invoked.

Ab. accompanied the chief to witness the proceedings of the priests. Upon seeing him the priests were unanimous in declaring him a liar. But this title Ab. begged leave to decline.

The chief then addressed the priests describing the distressed state of the land for want of rain; then proceeded to remind them of the uselessness of their former endeavours; suspected the falseness of their assertions and urged upon them the necessity of now exerting the utmost of their ability to procure the much needed rain and thus sustain their expectation.

The priests then commenced their *reka*¹³ in succession.

1st Pr., having finished his *reka*, declared that it would rain that very day.

2nd Pr.: "Don't use such painful words, Tau le vutu. We shall have rain today."

3rd Pr.: "Tau le vutu, my mind is much pained at your doings and words. It is my mind that it will rain today. Listen for it. That is truth."

¹³ The usual spelling is *rika*. It means—under divine inspiration.

4th Pr.—an old man grey headed with a long white beard: “Great are the riches you have brought us, Tau le vutu. We know the minds of the gods. It is not difficult for us to get rain. No. It will rain this day and to-morrow morning.”

The chief (as is customary) remarked after each of the statements made by the priests: “It is good,” “It is good, my lord.” After the old man had said what he pleased the chief replied: “It is good, my lord, only I know this day that if you are false gods I shall throw you away and attend to the God of whom my priest from Tonga tells me.”

5th Pr.: “I speak from the great God. This land is being destroyed. It was I who peopled this island with men. Nothing is difficult for me in this land. I saved you. I am angry because you took last year’s yams to Mathuata.¹⁴ Therefore I burnt up the ground with the sun. Why did not you bring the yams to me? But nothing is difficult to me. Rain is not difficult. I will send rain tomorrow in the morning.” They then spun their nuts attempting to establish their assertions thereby. The chief said: “Abiather spin you the nut” which to please the chief he did, and said: “They are telling lies only.” At this and some other remarks made by Ab. the priests wept.

Tau le vutu said: “I am a Christian. Let the food be given to my priest that he may pray to the true God.” “No,” said Ab., “it is good they have the food—though they are false. They are of a bad mind to me; but I am of a good mind to them.” Ab., at the chief’s wish, shared the food, taking for the Tonguese two turtles and leaving the remainder and the pig for the priests.

Notwithstanding the power of the gods and the repeated assertions of the priests, there was no rain. The sun shone with his accustomed fierceness. Thereupon the chief urged

¹⁴ We shall hear more of this place while Williams is at Somosomo (1843-7) and Mbua Bay (1847-53).

Ab. to pray for rain lest the food should all be destroyed. Ab. wished him to wait and see well if his priests were to be trusted. "When," said the chief, "is the sacred day?" Ab. answered: "Three nights, and then it is sacred day."

The chief being anxious about rain asked Ab. what he thought about it. "Perhaps," said Ab., "it may rain on Sunday—it is as pleases God only." On Saturday the chief looked anxiously at the heavens many times to see if rain appeared or rather clouds; but not seeing any appearance he seemed discouraged, and again repeated the old question: "How will it be my priest?" Ab.: "As our God pleases."

Although Ab. had said nothing to encourage the people to expect rain further than here recorded, there were not wanting those who asserted he had promised rain and who rejoiced that there was no likelihood of it. When the people met him they would say: "Why do you wish to be a great man here? You are a false man."

Sunday having arrived arrangements were made for services. The chief said he knew the treachery of Feejeeans and considered it would be imprudent to conduct the service in the settlement; but proposed going to a retired place and there having it. This they (the Tonguese and a few Feejeeans) did.

The Tonguese Christians embraced this opportunity of finding fault with Ab. for so publicly declaring his religion. In this they were joined by a Tonguese who had been some time on the island and who had been very mindful to keep his profession snug: "Evil will come to us through you, Ab. What do you know about the rain? You do not know the mind of God." "No," said Ab., "did I say I had such knowledge? No. No. I said it will be as God pleases." "Look," said they, "how the sun shines. It looks like rain, does it not? Perhaps you wish to kill us or get us killed."

"No," said Ab., "let us pray earnestly to God and all will be well."

On Saturday evening, whilst concluding the day with prayer, it thundered and the island shook. When the chief, somewhat afraid, asked Abiather if this was after the manner or doing of Christianity. Ab said.: "God may have allowed this to convince us of his great power." Chief said: "Good."

After some remarks as to who should begin the service (another teacher being one who had escaped) Ab. at their request began. He, thinking it might not be ill-timed, read the "Rules of Society," and whilst so employed God's spirit was at work: the people who had been ashamed of their profession wept before the Lord and many Feejeeans who had left their ovens and fishing to see what these *loru* people were about, wept—perhaps from sympathy.

The rules were scarcely finished before some dark clouds passed over them. They sang and prayed and Ab. commenced addressing them from a portion of St John's Gospel (his books had been restored); but had not proceeded far before the rain fell in torrents and the little congregation had to seek shelter. The poor chief did not wait the conclusion of the service to express his joy; but cried out when wetted with the first drops: "There! My priest and his God are true." They then consulted whether or not to go back. Tau le vutu hesitated. An old chief said, "Let us go and declare the true God." Another reason advanced was—lest their new priest should die with cold.

On their arrival at the settlement some came to inform the chief that the rain which had fallen was in consequence of an offering, made just before it fell, to the god of an adjoining settlement named Afi a Moarly who ordered nuts and yagona to be brought in plenty that he might drink abundantly and there be much rain. "It is my rain only,"

said the god. The god, having failed to state the time when the rain would commence, tried to regain credit by stating the time when the rain would cease. This he said (or his priest for him) would take place during the day. It abated somewhat before evening service, and, after this, continued to fall heavily, and that for some time on Monday morning. So the god missed it both ways.

"What," said the chief, "am I to do with these lying priests Ab.? They still will have it the rain of their gods? It is my mind to kill them."

Ab. said: "Our God only has heard our prayer, and He it is who hath given us this rain. Don't kill the priests. Go on gently. All is well. They are only men. I am only a man. It is God who rules. The people brought nuts to the god on Monday, and he promised them rain; but failed again to fulfil his promise."

Ab. and the chief visited the temple on the Monday. The priests did not wish to sit near for fear of him. Ab. asked the priest how it would be about the rain, at which the priest was ashamed. The chief said the nuts which had been brought to the priest were to be given to Ab. At that the priest was angry.

He did not venture to *reka* until the chief and his priest (as he called Abiather) had left the temple. Then he *reka'd*, and, speaking as the god, urged upon them the necessity of killing Tau le vutu as the only remedy.

This coming to the chief's ears incensed him much. "I am angry," said he, "with the gods and the priests, and mean to kill the latter." Ab. quieted him and urged him to endure with them, which he did. The chief embraced Christianity. His wife and many, afterwards, regularly attended the services.

FEBRUARY

February 1st—Tui Taro came today I asked him why he did not attend to his book (three days having elapsed and I had not seen him). He said his eyes were inflamed, and his friends said it was in consequence of his having attempted to acquire a knowledge of reading. I think I convinced him of the folly of their remarks.

February 2nd—Married the eldest Tahitian teacher from Oneata to one of his congregation. They were married at Tulagi whither we went at cool of the day and had to return in the dark. It rained heavily, and we were obliged to take off shoes and stockings to prevent our constantly falling. Found Sailas Tujika still disposed to evil rather than good having thrown young nuts at his wife—thus adding cruelty to unfaithfulness.

February 3rd—Held our Local Preachers' Meeting, a considerable number present. Occupied the afternoon in examining the state of our men and their stations. Had much conversation as to how such persons, under such circumstances, would do well to conduct themselves. Two were recommended to our help. Help we greatly need.

Sun. February 6th—A few days since I was called upon to hasten to Buthinambua as Bro. C. wished to see me on particular business. I hastily took up my coat and thrust myself into it; but my shirt sleeves being up I felt something very rough to my left arm and gave it a violent rub; but suddenly recollecting myself I got out of my coat rather more hastily than I had got into it. Upon shaking the coat sleeve, out dropped a centipede between three and four inches in length. I felt thankful I was preserved from its venomous bite, and went about my business.

February 10th—Bro. C. being indisposed I took his work and addressed our little assembly from the 8th ch. of St Matthew. Baptized a child and shared out work for the

coming Sabbath. Returning home I found my Lavuka chief waiting for instruction which I gladly imparted. This over and several Feejeeans and Tonguese having assembled, we had a lengthened discourse respecting the gods worshipped by the latter in times past, and those worshipped by the mass of our poor Feejeeans at the present time. I cannot gain the least clue thus far to the Feejeeans having at any time worshipped any visible object.¹⁵

¹⁵ This is one of the most perplexing problems in the wide range of Fijian characteristics. It was easy for the native to think of spirit and body as having distinct and independent existence; but, in actual worship, he frequently addressed himself to the visible object as though it were the god itself; just as he sometimes identified the priest with the god he impersonated. The Fijian was quite capable of dressing a stone in a *liku*; bringing food for it to eat; venerating it as the mother of Dengei and shuddering with horror when the white man showed disrespect for it. In Dr Lyth's Journal of a visit to Viti Levu in November 1848 he says: "On our way to Thokova, near a river we saw a stone set up like a milestone, inclined forward, and with a *liku* (female dress) on. The ground around it was carefully weeded, and, on the opposite side of the path lay two large logs of wood between which cooking for the deity had evidently been lately performed."

Williams copied this extract into his Sketch-book and wrote underneath: "This stone appears to be more revered by the natives than anything I have seen."

Yet there is conclusive evidence to prove that, after living in Fiji for 13 years, Williams had settled down to the conviction that the Fijians were not worshippers of idols. In his Sketch-book there is a copy of a *Matakau*, *Lialiakau* or *Dreai* or idol opposite which Williams writes: "The nameless lady on the opposite page I copied from the original which is in the possession of the widow of the late Rev W. Cross, Chairman of the Feejee District. It is said to have been the goddess of some of the Bau King's carpenters, and to have received certain acts of worship from them."

"That it ever was really worshipped is (according to the light we have on such subjects at present) a very doubtful matter. It is not unlikely that it may be or may have been esteemed as a 'work of art'—an indication that, had its maker been better taught, and supplied with better tools, he might have become a tolerable carver. The two pins rising out of the block on which her ladyship stands push hard against her divinity, it being more than supposable that they were designed to suspend baskets of Feejeean dishes (*lalakai*) or water nuts or some such things upon. Her ladyship was introduced to me by Mrs Cross during my visit to Somosomo in 1842-3. At that time her eyes and some other parts were painted vermilion. 1843" (the date on which this note was written).

"P.S. I am now where such things are not uncommon. I have inquired

Of course they shew their respects to those animals in which they "suppose their gods take up their abode."

Sun. February 13th—Conducted services at Waitabu and Waciwaci. Bro. C. unable to take his appointments because of disordered throat.

Sun. February 20th—Have been considerably annoyed with thieves lately.

February 24th—Much pained at our Leaders' Meeting (held after the usual service) with the accounts given respecting several of our Tonguese members. Some of the Tonguese who have a little authority take very unwarrantable liberties with the Feejeeans' property and even with their persons. Their conduct produces a most unfavourable impression of the spirit of Christianity on the minds of our Feejeeans.¹⁶

Sun. February 27th—Conducted the usual services at _____
carefully into the subject, and have come to the conclusion that nothing of this kind is worshipped by the Feejeeans. Signed Thomas Williams. Feb. 1849."

That opinion he still held in 1858 when his book was published. In F.F., vol. i., p. 216, he says: "Idolatry in the strict sense of the term, the Fijian seems to have never known; for he makes no attempt to fashion material representations of his gods, or to pay actual worship to the heavenly bodies, the elements or any natural objects. It is extremely doubtful whether the reverence with which some things, such as certain clubs and stones, have been regarded, had in it anything of religious homage." I do not think Dr Lyth and some of his colleagues would have subscribed to this statement. There is room for doubt, more especially as we know that the Fijians believed that some inanimate objects such as canoes, clubs and stones had souls.

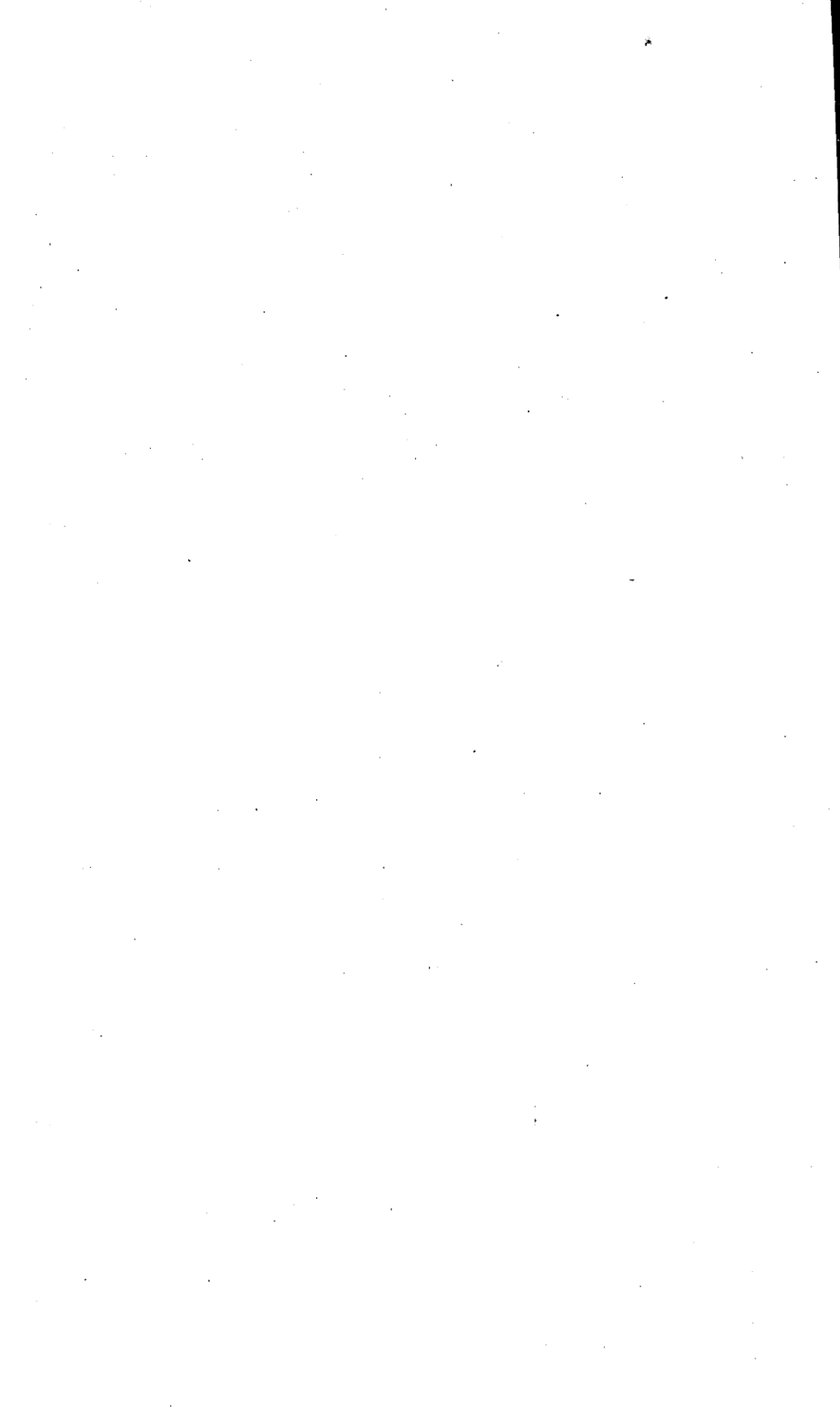
In the chapter on "Sacred Stones" in Grant Allen's book on *The Evolution of the idea of God* I find the following statement: "'In Melanesia,' says Mr Lang, 'matters are so mixed that it is not easy to decide whether a worshipful stone is the dwelling of a dead man's soul, or is of spiritual merit in itself, or whether the stone is the spirit's outward part or organ.' And, indeed, a sort of general confusion between the stone, the ghost, the ancestor and the god, at last pervades the mind of the stone-worshipper everywhere." Such a confusion appears to have been in the mind of the Fijian in the forties of last century.

¹⁶Naturally: the mind of the Fijian was impressed much more powerfully by concrete evidence than by abstract reasoning.



MATAKAU

From a sketch by T. Williams in the Mitchell Library,
See footnote pp. 67-8



Waitabu and Waciwaci, the latter place affords us considerable encouragement. The young men of this settlement are exemplary in their attention to God's ordinances as also in their general conduct.

Whilst assembled at our English class meeting we were surprised by the war *lali*;¹⁷ but upon making inquiry were informed that it was only play. The young men from Bau having expressed a desire to try their strength with the Tubou youths, both parties had assembled to batter each other with branches of trees, &c. We therefore proceeded with our service until a young man came in great haste to say that things had assumed a serious aspect, and that the Tonguese as well as Feejeean settlements were up in arms.

We hastened to the spot, leaving prayer, and found the people armed and in a state of great excitement. One of the Tubou party, a man from Morley, had been run through with a spear by a Lasakau man and one of the Bau youths had narrowly escaped. The parties seeming willing to come to terms, we judged it best not to interfere further than concerned our Tonguese native Christians.

We waited upon the King, who seemed to think it would have been well had they fought it out. There is a strong tide of ill-feeling against the Bau people on account of their too great freedom with the wives of the Tubou chiefs and people.

February 28th—The firing of the Bau people's largest cannon early this morning announced their hostile disposition, as also did the erection of a fence round the settlement—their preparation for self-defence.

MARCH

March 1st—This has been a day full of pleasing and various events. Thinking a short trip might be

¹⁷ Native word for a drum. See the sketches in F.F., vol. i., p. 164.

likely to revive us, we took a canoe and transported our families to Nasagkalou,¹⁸ proposing to spend a little time in company with a Christian female who, to save her daughter, a child under two years, from an unamiable chief, left Waitabu to put herself under the care of Ra¹⁹ Masi, the chief of the heathen settlement, Nasagkalou. She hesitated to remove lest she should be compelled to renounce a religion which she felt to be true. However, Susanah is permitted to dwell in peace, and to receive the visits of Christians.

The poor woman was highly delighted to see us. Some of the old people saw what they had never seen before—English females and their little ones. They expressed their admiration in unmeasured terms.

We made a small present to the chief. Susanah partook of refreshment, which was provided in abundance, and conversed with the people at considerable length.

Information had been given us some time since of some caverns in this part of the island, and we now made inquiries about them. But few of the people had been to them as most regard them with feelings of superstitious reverence.

Having united with our Christian friend in singing and prayer we prepared to visit the caverns. We were told of three. It was with difficulty we persuaded one to accompany us; but, this effected, we found several juniors ready to accompany us.

After a pleasant walk on the beach we turned into the bush and shortly arrived at the mouth of the largest cave which opened upon us after having climbed up a heap of loose stones about 40 feet high.

The mouth of this cave is at the lower part of an immense cavern formed by the mountain which enclosed it projecting beyond its base some 20 or 30 yards.

¹⁸ See map of Lakemba Island.

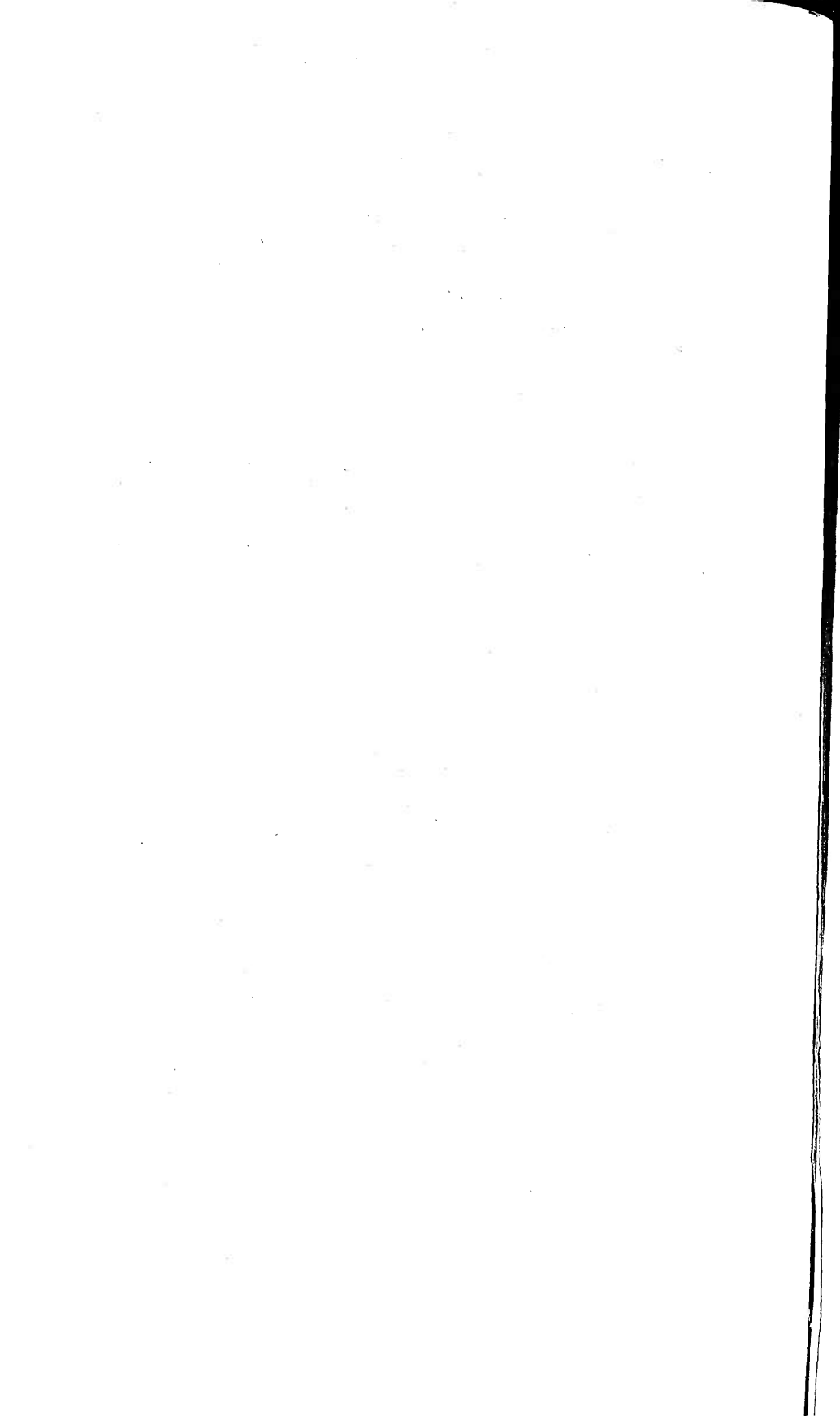
¹⁹ *Ra* short for *Ratu* was the equivalent of our word "Sir."



MOUTH OF THE CAVE NEAR NASANGKALOU



LIMESTONE HILLS NEAR NASANGKALOU



At the entrance we observed two mounds, the works of men's hands, and upon inquiry found they had been erected by Tonguese devotees as "lounges"²⁰ for the goddess "Jene vei ngere," whose abode they suppose this cavern to be. She appears to be more especially worshipped by the inhabitants of Bea, a settlement on Tonga Levu Island.²¹

Having crossed a stream of water which apparently runs the length of the cavern, we found ourselves upon a soft loamy red earth of which the floor of the cave is composed.

Here we lighted our lamps and prepared for further progress. Our attention was speedily arrested by a display of columns, crystals, enriched mouldings, pendant fretted roofs, &c., &c., which at once delighted and astonished us. In our course we crossed the water three times. It is clear, cold and excellent.

Perhaps we had gone the fourth part of a mile when a small aperture presented itself of sufficient dimensions to allow our passing through upon our hands and knees. Here we found a platform capable of accommodating six or eight people. What I saw beyond was a small break or precipice, water, and deep gloom. Thus interrupted, we returned, determining, if spared, to revisit this wonder²² of nature, better provided for getting to the end if such end there be.

Whilst on this side of the island two canoes arrived from Lomolomo and Tuvu ca. Basilai and Josephi Bukarau brought us good news. Christianity is progressing at Lomolomo. The people at Tuvu ca have, priest and all, *lotu'd*.

²⁰ They are still there; but, obviously, neglected.

²¹ Commonly called Tongataboo. Bea was a strongly fortified heathen town. It was there that Captain Croker with several of his officers and men lost his life in making an attack after he had called upon the Heathens to surrender. Captain Wilkes was of the opinion that Croker had underestimated the strength of Bea.

²² This resolution was never carried into effect. Williams left for Somo-somo the following year, where William Cross had died in October 1842. The next District Meeting decided that Dr Lyth could not be left without a colleague in such a place of horrors.

Some who are averse to Christianity were on board the other canoe—one man, two old women and a child—and purpose settling at Nasagalou.

On returning home we found a note from Komo stating that twelve Feejeean youths have declared their determination to serve the true God.

Also intelligence from Oneata of four more having left the ranks of the *devolo*. Truly we have loud calls to take courage and to praise and magnify the Lord.

March 8th—Accompanied Bro. C. on a visit to Ranjiki²³ who expressed a wish to meet in class again. His late affliction seems to have produced a trifling change in him; but not at all such an one as could be desired. He acknowledged the truth of what was said respecting his general mode of procedure. Only last Saturday he sent men to insult and annoy the crew of a canoe which, report said, had arrived here from Somosomo. These people went 6 or 8 miles on their bad errand; but had their trouble for nothing, the report being a false one.

Yesterday he seemed determined to make a canoe house of the chapel; but was dissuaded from it.

It is believed by many that he had it in his power to prevent the long continued hostility between the powers of

²³ Referring to Ranjiki in his letter to London on 14 April 1842 Williams says: "His presence in Fiji may serve as a check on some of the enemies of Christianity; but his conduct will not induce many of them to embrace it." James Calvert was much exercised in his mind at this time about the influence of the Tongan Christians on Fiji and other archipelagos. In his Journal under date 15 August 1841 he writes: "Much depends upon the state of the Tonguese in these lands. By direct efforts for their spiritual welfare we shall best succeed in our Feejeean work. . . . If the Tonguese remain inconsistent in their proof of Christianity, our work will be greatly hindered. If their habits become right we shall be very materially assisted, as they sail to many lands." One of the reasons given by Tuikilakila King of Somosomo for declining to embrace Christianity in 1842 was that the Tongans who were professing Christians were men of bad character. It is a pity that the missionaries do not state more explicitly and precisely what were the vices of the Tongans to which they object so strongly.

Bau and Somosomo. Bro. C. conversed at some length with him respecting these and other matters, and urged upon him the need of looking to the Strong for strength. Having engaged in prayer with him we departed, not, however before he had condemned in strong terms the general conduct of the Tonguese Christians (so called). In one instance he mentioned the names of several whose unprincipled behaviour had caused some heathen Feejeeans to take disgust at Christianity on account of which they renounced the intention they had of uniting with us.

On the afternoon of Saturday the 5th, Bolabito came from the King to inquire whether it was the custom of England or other Christian lands to *steal* provisions on the Saturday to meet their necessities on the Sabbath? Or, if it was the custom of the Christians from Tonga only? Really the conduct of these people makes us ashamed before the heathen who excel them in honesty.²⁴

March 11th—Campsis returned. Several weeks back he left this place without informing any one whither he was bound. Most people thought he intended going to Tonga. This conjecture was confirmed by some who had seen a canoe taking that direction. Those were Mothe people. The only priest in the settlement thought this a fine opportunity of doing a little to establish his credit. He therefore invoked the gods and stated that Tui vakanoa had taken Campsis to Tonga, and, having placed him with Tui Sapai, was just returned to give them this intelligence. This information coming from such respectable authority excited much joy amongst those whom it most concerned.

Unhappily for Ngalulu information reached us a fortnight back that Campsis had drifted to Ono. Having returned, he reports that he intended to get to Tonga; con-

²⁴ This is not the only place in the Journal in which Williams compares the Christian Tongan with the Heathen Fijian to the disadvantage of the former.

tinued onward three nights, and, thinking they were past or lost, went as the water and wind took them, and after two nights more found themselves on a reef at Ono.

He witnesses to the zeal of the Ono people,²⁵ and they (three came with him to point out the course) state that he behaved well whilst amongst them. The Teacher writes that all is really well.

Sun. March 13th—Allowed a rest in consideration of illness.

Sun. March 20th—Preparing to take my country appointments when Bro. C. requested I would get them supplied and do his work at home, it not being likely that he could do anything. Although feeble I felt considerable freedom whilst preaching. We did not sing as Bro. C. could not bear it. His illness is peculiar and serious.

March 21st—Buried Margarite Poapoa, a Feejee-Tongan²⁶ female and most certainly one of the better sort. She was an unassuming, well-behaved woman, one who appeared disposed to the best of her knowledge to adorn the Gospel of God her Saviour.

Only a few months back I accompanied Bro. C. to inter the child of this woman and was much affected with the love she displayed for her offspring.

Margarite's affliction was of long continuance during which she appeared patiently resigned to God's will. The four last days of her life she eat nothing, and for the last two spoke not a word. Illness prevails to a great extent over the island. Our families are ill from the least to the greatest. Bro. C. continues exceedingly ill.

Received intelligence that does my heart good. Mosesi Vakalololomo states that two young men have united with

²⁵ For the history of Christianity in Ono-i-lau see H.F.F., Chapter XI.

²⁶ There were not many of these Feejee-Tongans in Fiji; but they kept themselves apart. There appear to have been more on the island of Kandavu than elsewhere.

us at Waitabu. Things have gone heavily at this place for a long time: the people are afraid of "the powers that be." On the 20th Sailasi Moarly conducted service at the seaside near Nasagalou, some of our people from Tuvu Ca being there waiting for wind.

A chief of the Nasagalou settlement determined to join the Christians. He has been afflicted sometime; perhaps this caused him to join us. This man was instrumental in suppressing a good work which broke out here about two years since. It is well when such "injurious persons" become changed.

March 25th—Good Friday. We had an excellent congregation who displayed more than ordinary attention whilst I addressed them upon the suffering and death of our Lord. Some were affected to tears, and, as Cesero concluded the service with prayer, even wept aloud.

Sun. March 27th—A canoe from Somosomo arrived at the back of the island during the night. One of the men came this morning bringing letters containing good news. All are in an improved state and their prospects are more cheering.²⁷

APRIL

April 1st—The canoes from Somosomo came in. One of them, an Oweyan²⁸-built canoe, attracted attention on account of its width. Received letters from the brethren at Somosomo giving an account of Sister Hunt's entire recovery and of Sister Lyth having given birth to a second son.

March 2nd—Visited the Oweyans towards evening. I think they resemble the New Zealanders in some respects.²⁹

²⁷ But only for a very short time. Christianity made no progress in Somosomo.

²⁸ Hawaiian.

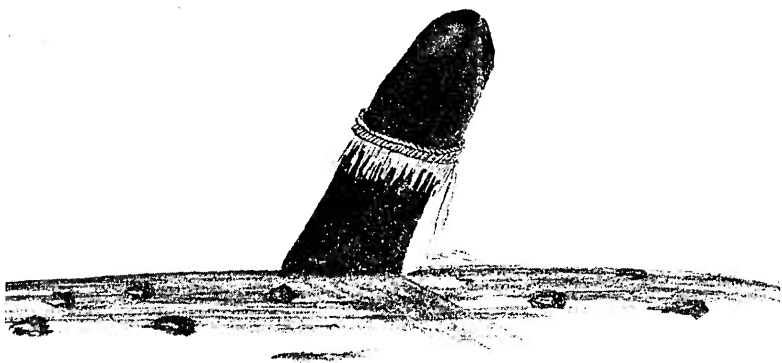
²⁹ An interesting observation considering the time at which he wrote it. In 1904 Mr S. Percy Smith, honorary secretary of the Polynesian Society, published a book on *Hawaiki, the Original Home of the Maori*.

Sun. March 3rd—Finding that one of the chief's wives at Waciwaci had embraced Christianity today, and that the chief was opposed to this step, I thought it my duty to wait upon him. He received me more favourably than I expected and spoke reasonably respecting the woman. He seemed to think that she would be lost to him, and was evidently pleased when I assured him of the contrary. Before I left he seemed considerably disposed to think well of the *lotu*. After this interview I visited the female and gave her some advice as to the best way to conduct herself in the future.

March 4th—Informed of the death of Mata ki Lakemba from Ono. Attended the poor man's funeral at which I think all the Ono Christians resident in Lakemba were present. Mata ki Lakemba³⁰ was one of those who had just embraced Christianity, that is, since the war. He came here as pilot to Campsis. The second or third day after his arrival he complained of pain in his side, occasioned, as we suppose, by the rudder of the canoe, or rather by leaning too heavily upon it when steering. He applied for medicine. We attended to him, and he seemed much improved; but yesterday he relapsed and, during the night of Sunday, died. He was much urged by his heathen friends to renounce Christianity; but remained firm to the end. I trust he rests in the best sense of the word.

April 7th—Juda Tufa brought a letter from Oneata

³⁰ In F.F., vol. i., pp. 26-7, Williams says: "The Mata-ni-Vanuas are exceedingly useful men whose office is described by their title which signifies the eye or the face of the land, and may intimate the supervision which these men maintain; or that, through them, the chiefs see the state of affairs—the face of the land. They are the legitimate media of communication between the chiefs and their dependencies, and form a complete and effective agency. Taking the kingdom of Lakemba as an instance, the system is worked thus: in each island and town under the rule of Lakemba there is an authorized *mata ki Lakemba* (ambassador to Lakemba), through whom all the business between that place and the seat of government is transacted."



SACRED STONES, FIJI

From the original in the Mitchell Library, Sydney

See footnote pp. 67-8

stating that 10 persons had renounced heathenism on the 3rd and 12 others on the 7th, and such as continued heathen only did so until their *lotu* dresses could be got ready for them.

April 9th—Received letters from Vewa dated March 12th and 31st, and one from Rewa dated March 2nd. Bro. Cross exceedingly weak and badly off for food. An account is given by Mr Cross of the murder of James Carter, an Englishman, who was put to death at Wakaya by a native of Oweia, and one from the Sandwich group. The people residing at Ovalau captured the murderers, and, after a full inquiry, executed them by hanging. Bro. Jaggar gave further particulars respecting the wreck of the *Tai Nasalis*. Mr C. further speaks of opposition to the *lotu* by Targio on the Kadavu land.

April 11th—Tubou not having arrived, a canoe under the command of Cicero Tubelyake carrying about 180 armed men set out in quest of him fearing lest he might have drifted and fallen into the hands of unfriendly Feejeeans. Tubou is a younger brother of Ranjiki and was sent for on account of the latter chief's illness, and determination to return to Tonga.

Upon hearing of Ranjiki's illness Tubou determined to sail for Lakemba on the Sunday morning although he was remonstrated with, and he realized the impropriety of the step.³¹ The canoe sent to inform Tubou of his brother's ill-

³¹ Comments such as this are calculated to make the reader cautious of accepting criticisms made by the missionaries on the conduct of men. It is clear from what follows that there was a strong bond of affection between the two brothers. Tumbou learns that Ranjiki is ill, and is condemned for setting out on Sunday to see him! With the missionaries in the South Seas the observance of the Sabbath, valuable as a convention if rightly used, had become an obsession; just as it did with the Puritans of the 17th century in England. The majority of the natives acquiesced in it gladly, not so much from a genuine desire for spiritual communion with God as in the knowledge that one holiday in the week was assured. See H.F.F., pp. 235-7.

ness left Bau at the same time as Tubou's canoe; but they did not arrive together at Lakemba. The canoes separated during a windy night. The messenger canoe got here safely on the 9th; but of Tubou they could say nothing except that they were separated from him.

The armed canoe had just got off in search of Tubou when a small canoe brought intelligence of a Tongan canoe being near. It soon appeared and entered. Bro. C. and I went on board and found a letter each from Mr Thomas and a few books. Whilst we sat on this canoe to look at our letters a large canoe appeared off the S.W. end of the island which proved to be the canoe which had just been sent off, followed by Tubou who, having perhaps felt a little compunction of conscience with respect to sailing on the Sabbath, stayed quietly at Tuvu ca on Sunday the 10th, and left that place for Lakemba. So that this day has been one of considerable excitement. We entered Ranjiki's house with Tubou. The meeting of these chiefs was truly affecting. William Ranjiki wept bitterly.

April 15th—Being a little recovered from a severe attack of bowel complaint which came on yesterday I took a trip with Bro. C. in Solomon's new canoe to try its speed with that of Tubou's. We beat Tubou out and out, and the excitement quite set me upon my legs.³²

Sun. April 17th—Set off for Nukunuku, and arrived there very wet from the rain left upon the grass which in some places hid the walk. Preached and led the class. During service it commenced raining and, seeing it did not look like giving over, I set out for Narothege, which I reached drenching wet. Fearing to stay in such a state, I asked Jacob to do my work, and pursued my way in the wet. Rain fell in torrents. My umbrella seemed to do me no service.

³² Which should have been an intimation to Williams that the natives were kept in a healthy condition by taking part in sports and recreations which the missionaries all too readily and frequently denounced.

The roads for five out of eight miles had become rivulets in many places knee deep. The stretch of water this side of Waciwaci was much swollen, and I found, in fording it, that it reached to my armpits.

April 18th—Pleased with the experience of some of the people at class today. They appeared desirous to suffer the will of God as well as do it.

April 22nd—Bro. Calvert left us for Lau. Eight or ten large canoes left Lakemba today, several for Tonga. Upwards of a thousand Tonguese have left this island during the past few weeks. A man took away the child of a Feejeean woman contrary to the poor creature's will. She accompanied her child to the canoe, and so unwilling was she to part from her offspring that she remained on the canoe until it had got some distance beyond the reef, and then taking leave of her child she cast herself into the sea to swim to shore; but her heart was so full and heavy that the poor woman was soon unable to make progress in the water.³³ A man whom we had sent off with some letters to a canoe outside the reef was returning and rescued the forlorn, distracted woman from a watery grave.

Sun. April 24th—The departure of the Tonguese affects our numbers considerably.

April 26th—Had a long and plain conversation with Tubou today, and, though I handled him roughly, he bore with me better than I could have expected. O that he may become a changed man.³⁴

³³ Instances such as this and the meeting between Ranjiki and Tumbou, should be noted. The early missionaries, including Thomas Williams, were of the opinion, for some years after their arrival, that Fijians were "without natural affection." This opinion was shared by most people who visited the islands for a few weeks or months. They were mistaken.

³⁴ In a letter to London Williams tells the Committee that Ranjiki and Tumbou were curses, not blessings to Fiji; but the only specific charge against Tumbou so far is that he set sail on a Sunday to visit his sick brother. I can see nothing in the entry that follows to which exception

April 28th—Ranjike and Tubou breakfasted with me. I thanked the former for the meeting which he had convened yesterday to urge upon the attention of the Tonguese people the necessity of diligence and a reformation of conduct, and took the liberty to urge him to follow the advice he had given his people. He said he intended so to do. Amongst other remarks made to the people were these—"This land is bad through us. Let us mind," and, addressing his brother Tubou, he said: "Let us two be in earnest. If we were but in earnest to serve the Lord many Feejeeans would become Christians." We spent a considerable time in conversation and prayer.

April 29th—Sister Calvert and children left for Oneata. Visited several families Christian and heathen, and conversed with them. Soroagali seems determined to die a heathen. I told him his was a sad condition; but he evidently thinks to the contrary. He has just built a house as his *soro* to the manes of the dead to restore him to health. He says he lives through this. Malane³⁵ is the spirit of Muri ca's father who, until lately, was considered a god; but further light having been shed upon this subject, he, or rather his priest, has had to lower his pretensions, and Malane is now content to pass as the spirit of a man only.

MAY

May 4th—Bro. Calvert returned from Oneata.

May 11th—Had a protracted conversation with several aged Lavookans respecting past and present times. They conversed more freely about man-eating than I ever heard them before, and with an unfeelingness which made me

can be taken. When a missionary denounces other men it is always well to inquire into the facts upon which his charges are based; not that he is at all wanting in honest intention, but because his judgments of men are sometimes vitiated by prejudices and obsessions.

³⁵ Malane was Tuinayau's immediate predecessor.

shudder. None of them spoke much in favour of it as food, but said it was very well especially in times of famine. From the shoulder to the elbow, and the thigh are the parts given to chiefs.³⁶ Dan Lakeba said a good deal about the taking of the chief settlement on this island by Bau, in which he assisted. When they got a considerable number of victims they generally carried them to Oneata, an island about 40 miles distant, to be cooked.

Heard today of a little opposition between the priest at Lavooka and Galulu. The latter stated (see p. 73) that Campsis was taken to Hapai;³⁷ the Lavooka priest that the god had taken him to Tonga levu. The event proved both wrong. The priest was present and assented to the truth of what was said.

The report of the *Lama ni Mati* having drifted to Fulanga has caused considerable excitement. This was the only heathen canoe in the fleet and the only one that did not reach the desired land.³⁸ It is reported, and the report I

³⁶ This would be true for most parts of Fiji; but Lockerby tells us that, in the Mbua district, the bowels were prized more highly than any other part of the human body. There is good reason for believing that his statement is correct for that particular locality. The Mba River (Viti Levu) is just across the water, and in N.O.F., vol. iii., pp. 72-3, Williams says: "Cannibalism in a new light was reported to me by an eye-witness the other day. Generally the bowels of those eaten are thrown away; but in the Ba dominions this is not so; they are eagerly sought after, and boiled down for broth. On hearing of this practice I hesitated to give it credence; but the testimony of a credible witness removes my scruples. Mosese Vesiroi was one of a war party in which were Ba men. They killed several, and the Ba men requested permission to take the bowels. This was no sooner given them than one ran to the body nearest Vesiroi, and, kneeling down tore open the belly with his teeth, and, having disembowelled the dead man, ran off with the bowels in glee. He had asked for them because he wanted to make a lot of broth."

³⁷ In the Friendly Islands.

³⁸ Williams has a footnote here stating that "One Christian canoe was afterwards drifted." In all probability this was added at a later time, and with some feeling of disappointment. The thought of the intervention of a discriminating Providence was lurking in the mind of Williams as he made the original entry. Note the last sentence: "One day was lost in Lakemba in attention to heathenish ceremonies; that day used, they might have gained Tonga with ease."

have heard from one of the people who was on the canoe at the time, that most of the people have *lotu'd*. This they did several years since when they drifted to Tuvu ca; but upon regaining firm ground they returned to heathenism. I suppose this canoe has been expected to sail near upon seven years back, and preparations have been made upon a large scale, and much property collected together for Tonga. The canoe ran well until within sight of two small islands of the Friendly Islands group. The wind then became contrary and drove them back. It so increased as they returned to Feejee that they had to throw away most of their food and property as well as their large sail and spare spars.

One day was lost in Lakemba in attention to heathenish ceremonies; that day used, they might have gained Tonga with ease.

May 17th—A water spout appeared a few miles from the S. side of this island.

May 25th—Sailed to Oneata. Roughly handled by the reef.

On boarding the canoe, *Malolo*, we expected to go out at the entrance opposite the Mission Station named Na Ndawa; but as we approached it we saw it was too turbulent to be attempted. We therefore passed gently onward towards the reef opposite Tarakoa. Here the appearance was not at all inviting. However, having carefully selected that portion of the reef which appeared the safest, we made for passing over and approached in excellent order; but no sooner were we up to Neptune's boundary³⁹ than the placid appearance of the water before us became changed; a tremendous wave rose in huge majesty before us, and rolled up to our bows a perpendicular water wall 8 feet high and of great length. It struck us heavily; but, having only the small ends of the canoe to burst upon, it did not sink us; but merely drove us

³⁹ The reef which bounded the open waters of the sea.

backward with great velocity, pitching some of the crew overboard, and others into the hold. After the force of the blow was expended the canoe stood as motionless as a statue for several seconds. The succeeding wave of much less force struck us on the broadside, and we appeared doomed to be turned upside down. We and another canoe that saw us were surprised at our escape. The boom-yard was thrown over the top of the mast, and it was only by holding hard that we who were left on board kept there. I really feared my brave man Sampson⁴⁰ would have had his brains dashed out, he being overboard, and the wave driving him with frightful force towards the canoe; but he dived down and providentially passed clear under. These blows were succeeded by several others decreasing in force as we receded from the reef.

Having resumed our former good order we went as high as Tulaki, where, with less sea, we kept our bows to the waves and crossed in safety. Outside, to my surprise, the water was smooth as a lake, and we had a fine run. Two tacks out, and one within the reef brought us to the town. I had considerable intercourse with the people that night, and preached to them early in the morning expecting to leave for Mothe; but as the wind was against us we stayed all day during which time I did what I could to help them. The Tahitians and their charge continue steady in purpose to serve the Lord.

Took a sketch of the chapel,⁴¹ and having a bad wind for Moce I made for Lakemba where I passed Sunday.

⁴⁰ We shall hear more about this faithful, courageous man later. Like many Fijians he was as much at home in the water as on land.

⁴¹ The credit for the erection of this chapel belonged chiefly to the Tahitian missionaries. Williams made a pencil sketch of it in his Sketch-book in June 1842, and added the following notes: "It was opened this year to celebrate the going over to Christianity of the whole island. . . . The place does great credit to the people, especially the Tahitian Teachers and a countryman of theirs, a carpenter named Port Jackson. . . . It was opened by James Calvert on May 1, 1842."

JUNE

June 1st—Sailed for Moce; but got no further than Aiwa, and that with difficulty. Slept on the ground and was much disturbed by rats.

June 2nd—Reached Moce late at night having been about 16 hours running or creeping a distance of 40 miles. We had to lift the canoe over the reef, it being low water. Was glad to find that Tubou's canoe, which we were following and anxious to overtake, had reached Moce that day. The people on this canoe hailed me with a loud shout accompanied by the beating of drums.

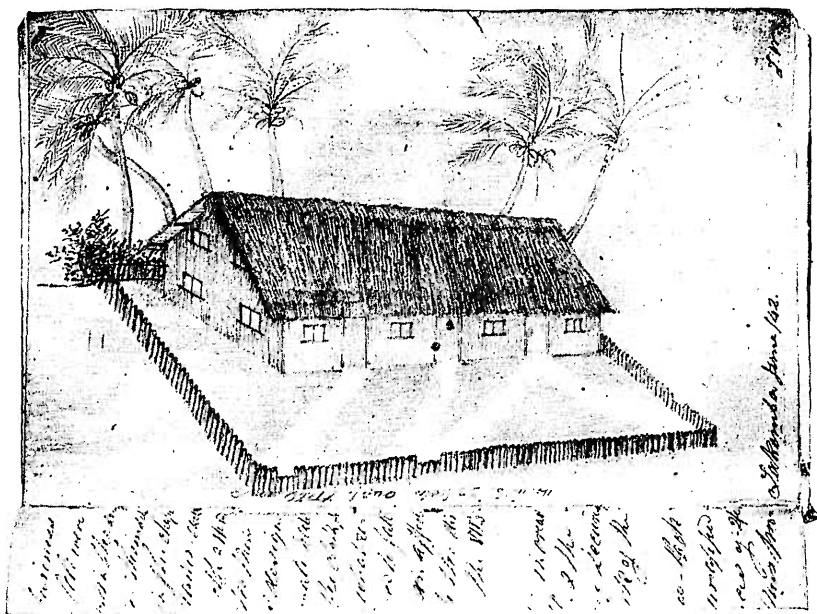
June 4th—Set sail for Fulaga; driven back by bad weather and reached Moci in time to avoid the danger of a heavy squall out at sea.

June 6th—Lua arrived; paid him a visit. I think he is desirous of assisting the interests of religion. Some of his Feejeean slaves have returned with him, and upon reaching their several lands he gave them their freedom. His Christian name is Zephanaia.⁴²

Today I visited the settlement formerly occupied by this people in disturbed times. I was told that it was vacant; but to my surprise found about a score of persons living in one part of it. It stands on the top of a high mountain and commands an extensive view. It was with great pleasure that I proclaimed Jesus to these solitary ones.

June 10th—Terrible squall at night. Our canoe, the *Yanwyanu Tawa*, broke from her moorings and was got back with great difficulty.

⁴² Lua was a chief of high rank of whom we shall hear more. In his Journal for 16 October 1842 James Calvert says that he is a son of a former King of Vavau and a sister of the King of Lakemba. He had opposed Christianity in Vavau, Haabai and Tongataboo, but now (October) believed in it, and was trying with tears in his eyes to induce the people of Wathiwathi and Tarukua to follow his example. As his mother was sister of the King of Lakemba he would be *vasu* to Lakemba. That will explain his high-handed conduct later in the presence of Tuinayau. Calvert spells his name Sefanaia Lualua.



ONEATA CHAPEL, BUILT IN 1842
 From a sketch by T. Williams in the Mitchell Library, Sydney



NUKUNUKU IN 1929

June 11th—Sailed for Vatoa, and got as far as Ongea, when a change of wind caused us to put back to Fulaga where I found the poor people suffering a twofold famine—want of natural and spiritual food. Visited one of their settlements. The entrance to this place is one of the most frightful I have ever seen, and we had well nigh been dashed to pieces on its edge. This island had not been visited by any Missionary up to this day. Its appearance is exceedingly pleasing from the interior. The island surrounds a fine piece of water except one or two openings southward (or S.W.). This almost circular gulf is about 3 miles in diameter, and ornamented, near its skirts, by little clumps of rock covered with shrubs.⁴³

Sun. June 12th—Anxious to be of use to this people I commenced visiting their several settlements. I held conversations with the people at Toka, Evi damu and Moani i ra. At Moani i caki I found several aged people employed in plaiting cynet, and as they were assembled in an open space I proposed preaching to them. Some appeared willing; others consented reluctantly.

June 13th—Sailed from Fulaga to Vatoa⁴⁴ and arrived at night. Strong wind and great swell.

June 14th—Went up to the settlement which is distant from the beach; visited the people, and had a long talk with

⁴³ In his book on the *Geology of the Fijian Archipelago* Professor Agassiz says that Fulanga is composed of limestone, and is *not* partly volcanic (as Gardiner says). Though it has the appearance of an extinct volcano "this atoll-like basin has, in reality, been formed by the wearing action of the sea, and subsidence has played no part in its formation. On the contrary the coralliferous limestone flat covering the basin has been elevated to nearly 300 feet, and it has been subject for a long time to the influence of the atmosphere and the sea: the one wearing down the limestone land into an inner basin, or cutting it into valleys, and finally into islands and islets; the other encroaching into it from the outside, and eventually forming an interior basin studded with islets which to all appearance would be a lagoon surrounded by an encircling reef with its heads, patches, islands and islets."

⁴⁴ The only island of the Fijian Archipelago discovered by Captain Cook. See H.F.F., pp. 16-18.

Mataki Lakemba who is living with the wife of another man. Preached at night on the necessity of having faith in God. Met Lazarus's class; and was much pleased with the experience of most of his members: it was plain and sound.

June 15th—Sailed by starlight. Prospect of a fine day; but after a lapse of 3 or 4 hours the wind increased and we had a very rough day. The sail of our canoe, a new one, was rent; one yard and two steer oars broken. On account of the haze we were out of sight of land for about three hours; but got to Ono⁴⁵ before sunset.

The people who had long expected us, and had actually been to Vatoa to inquire after us, were rejoiced to see us. They did not meet us as in time past it was their custom to meet strangers—armed, their bodies blackened prepared for war and striking the water as in defiance of us.⁴⁶ Ono has undergone a great change. The people gave us a friendly reception. Some, impatient of our delay in coming to shore, jumped into the sea and swam to meet us. We found the people united and comfortable. Ono, so called, comprises three islands of tolerable size and several lesser ones. The island on which we slept is called Doi or Vanua Tabu. The chiefs of the land waited upon us in form, bringing a coarse mat to indicate that we were welcome. This was soon followed by three baked pigs, yams &c., upon which, being

⁴⁵ For pictures of the natives of Ono taken in 1829, and reproduced from the Journal of Bellinsgauzen who discovered the cluster in 1820 see H.F.F., Chapter XI.

⁴⁶ I do not know on what authority Williams could have made this statement. The meeting of the islanders with Bellinsgauzen and his crew in 1820 was most friendly, open and honourable. I have not read anywhere that they ever met strangers from whaling or other ships in a hostile manner. It is quite possible that the antithesis is drawn by Williams so as to convey the impression that Christianity had effected a marvellous transformation in the character of the people. That kind of rhetoric can easily be overdone in any reference to the natives of Ono. My opinion, based on a perusal of Bellinsgauzen's report of the people of Ono, is that they were an exceptionally hospitable, honest and friendly people before they were influenced by Christianity at all. See H.F.F., pp. 181-3.

very hungry, we made a hearty meal, and then repaired to rest in an open shed.

The king of this island has breasts similar to a woman's.

June 16th—Went over to Ono Levu. Several people met us on the beach and wept for joy that we had been spared to meet in safety. The people had been putting the chapel into repair, and determined, as we had arrived just at this time, to manifest their joy by making us a public feast. One of the Teachers conducted me to a house which they had built and set apart for me during my stay.

I had not been long in possession of my new abode before the people from various parts of the two inhabited islands deposited in the open space before the house food of various kinds. When they had placed all in good order I was requested to ask God's blessing upon what they had so liberally provided. We sang grace; three or four hundreds of people lifted up their voices in praise, and then devoutly knelt before the Lord God Almighty, and, with full hearts and streaming eyes, united in thanking Him that they, so long the children of darkness, now beheld and enjoyed the light of Gospel day. Could the Friends of Missions in England have seen this native assembly, witnessed their joy and heard the expressions of thankfulness which fell from the lips of these Feejeeans they would have considered themselves amply repaid for the care they have bestowed upon Feejee.

This feast comprised 20 pigs, 2 turtles, a quantity of fish, many hundreds of yams and taro, bunches of bananas and baskets of nuts, with a considerable quantity of native puddings. In the afternoon of this day I took an appointment at Matokana, about 3 miles distant. I took as my text the Lord's Prayer. Baptized a child.

Walked about 3 miles more, and arrived at Waini or Delailoa, where I preached by lamplight.

June 17th—Catechised the males in the morning. Visited a sick Local Preacher and other invalids until the afternoon, when I held the Local Preachers' meeting.

June 18th—Took the names of the candidates for baptism and married seven couples at Ono levu. Walked to Delailoa; wrote the names of such as desired baptism, and married three couples. Crossed over to Doy in a small canoe where I preached. This was the only society of which I received an indifferent report at our Local Preachers' Meeting. At the conclusion of my discourse I baptized four adults and three children. Then returned to Ono levu in a small canoe made from *the cocoanut tree*.

Sun. June 19th—Preached at Ono levu. Before concluding the service I baptized 99 persons, the greater part being adults. Walked to Matokana, preached, baptized 55 individuals and married two couples. I then proceeded to Delailoa where I preached from Matt. 16—15. 16. and baptized 47 persons. To some of the people here this was a high day, especially for three poor men who live shut out from society on the top of a hill: one is blind, another diseased, and the third was born a cripple. Upon learning of their situation when I was there yesterday I requested the people to take pity on them and conduct them from their retired spot to the well thronged courts of the Lord's house. This they did, and acknowledged themselves well paid for their trouble in witnessing the happiness they had thus conferred upon the poor creatures. Their attention during the services of the evening was marked: the blind man's countenance seemed bright with animation.

June 20th—Catechised the males. Attended the females' school in the afternoon. Was much pleased with a young woman who has lost her sight by ophthalmia.⁴⁷ She generally attends school in fine weather, and upon observing to

⁴⁷ A common complaint in these early days in most parts of Fiji.

her: "Then you do not go in wet weather," she said: "No, and my reason for not going is this—as I cannot choose the clean part of the road I should often get into the dirt and necessarily dirty the floor of the house of prayer, and this I do not wish to do as it might displease others." It is her practice when at school to sit near some who are able to read, and request them to read to her. She observed: "I much desire to read the scriptures; but I am thankful that I can hear them." She is proverbial for industry. Assembled the several men's classes; admitted five new members on trial and formed a class for Sailas.

June 21st—Attended the males' school. Several read well. Visited some sick people. In the afternoon met the female classes and selected one for Asseniti to which I added six new members. The experience of some of them was satisfactory. Lord ride on and perfect Thy work in the hearts of this *willing* people.

June 22nd—Attended school. Visited the only heathen left (there were three when I came here) in Ono. She seemed determined not to unite with the Christians. Preached in the evening from Matt. 5. 6. An excellent congregation. Baptized 16 persons in the chapel, by lamplight, and an old man second to the high priest who was confined to his mat. He smiled at the mention of his former gods, and said all his hope was in Jesus.

The person whom I visited this morning having changed her mind came to request that she might be recognized as a Christian. Thus I had the honour of admitting the last four heathen into the Christian Church; J. C. knew this, but does not mention it.⁴⁸

June 23rd—Sailed to Vatoa. Left Ono at sunrise, and

⁴⁸ This last sentence, which was written as a footnote in the original, must have been added after the year 1858; for Williams is referring to F.F., vol. ii., which was written by James Calvert.

reached Vatoa three hours after sunset, being detained on the way by the breaking of one of our yards.

June 25th—Conversed with the teachers, one of whom is rather disposed to Lord it over the other. He promises amendment.

June 27th—Sailed from Vatoa to Fulaga which we reached at low water and had to lie outside the reef until midnight before we could cross.

June 28th—Assisted in repairing sail; got this and our canoe put into excellent order. Visited several families, some of them the poorest I have yet seen in Feejee. What a contrast between Christian Ono and heathen Fulaga. The former enjoying an abundant supply of temporal good with the means of grace; the latter groping their way in the darkness of moral night, and living upon the produce of the wilderness or dying for want.⁴⁹ Yet the people are kind and industrious; but sorely oppressed by their superiors.

Found some of the people more willing to hear of heaven than when I first visited them; but they appear much afraid of their gods and of an old heathen Tonguese named Futa.⁵⁰

June 29th—A calm which continued until near noon. When the breeze sprang up we hoisted sail and ran down to Komo. Here I found our poor people as sheep having no shepherd. Their Teacher has gone to Tonga; and we have not been able to supply his place.

June 30th—Preached in the morning from "Pray without ceasing." Sailed for Lakemba with a strong breeze, using a couple of old mats for our sail. We reached home in the evening and found all well.

⁴⁹ The contrast is not fairly presented. The soil of Ono was rich; that of Fulanga poor, and the people of Ono were superior in quality to those of Fulanga. Williams is too anxious to show us what great changes Christianity had wrought. The Tonguese, Christian and Heathen alike, oppressed the native Fijians with whom they lived.

⁵⁰ The Tonguese went to Fulanga to build their canoes. There was good *vesi* (wood for canoe-building) on the island, though not quite so good as that on Kambara a little to the west.

The *Currency Lass* and the Popish Bishop's⁵¹ vessel had been in since my departure. The latter has left a Teacher at Tarakitai. He was with us; his name is Moses. From what I can learn this visit to Lakemba is likely to shake the confidence of some of the people brought here by the Bishop. He was accompanied by the King of Uea or Wallis Island and 90 of his people. The king asked Mr Calvert to give him a little religious instruction, and accused the Bishop of lying respecting our houses and mode of living. In this art the Bishop seems proficient.

Found Tagici under the care of Bro. C. and for the present living with him. Being upon the point of death she embraced Christianity, and shortly afterwards revived. She was then removed to Bucainabua where she gradually recovered her wonted strength.⁵²

The King and chiefs tried all means to procure her restoration from their gods. The whole island has been in a commotion. The priests have done their utmost. An immense quantity of food (some of the native puddings made on this occasion measured from 16 to 21 feet in circumference) has been wasted in offerings, and even a new temple was commenced to propitiate the offended deity; but all in vain. However a blessing has been given to the means since used by Bro. C. and the nursing of good Mrs C., and Tangici now bids fair to recover.

Nothing however seems able to produce a good effect on the mind of the King, not even the restoration of his most beloved child.⁵³ What will this man say in the great day of

⁵¹ Monseigneur Pompallier.

⁵² For the history of this interesting and important case see H.F.F., pp. 130-2.

⁵³ This statement is incorrect. Tuinayau, though a Heathen, had raised no objection to Tangithi's conversion to Christianity, or to her whole-hearted devotion to the work of the Methodist mission; but he had declined to make a public profession of Christianity, or to abandon his claim to Jemaima Tovo of Ono. The missionaries expected too much, and criticize him unfairly because they could not get it.

accounts? The Lord hath done great things in the sight of this King; but, Pharaoh-like, he hardens his heart.⁵⁴

JULY

July 6th—Conversed a little with the Teacher left here by the papist Bishop. Darkness darkened.

July 13th—Received a visit from Mosisi the dupe of Popery;⁵⁵ but was pleased to find his willingness to know the truth. He has got wrong in his eagerness to get right. His recovery may be hoped for.

July 21st—Held our Local P.M. Joni Dau's conduct does not accord with his station or professions.

July 22nd—Confined to my room from the effects of severe cold.

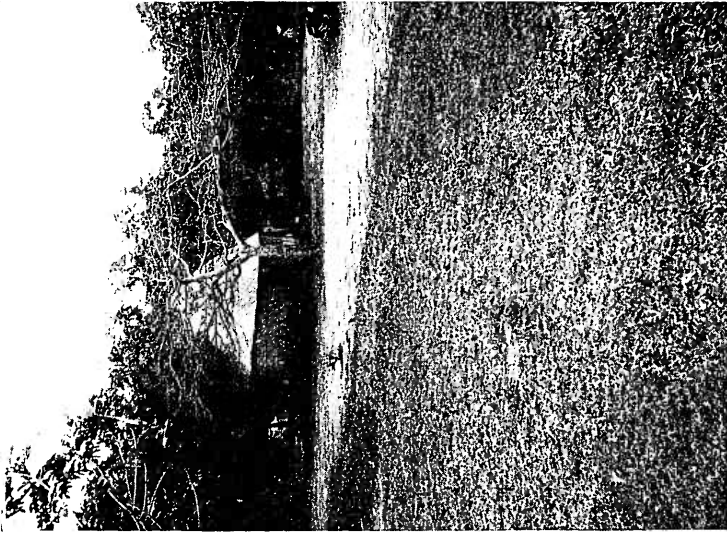
Sun. July 24th—Somewhat better. In the afternoon I preached from Prov. xvi, 20. and found my throat rather the worse for exertion.

July 25th—Early this morning Mata Ika one of Tuiniau's sons by a female from Yarroi died. The poor woman wept and beat her breasts as though in despair. He had been brought to the Mission Settlement to *lotu*, and be under Bro. C.'s care.⁵⁶ The King said, upon being applied to to make an offering to his god on behalf of the child, "I have

⁵⁴ Tuiyanau was in reality a kind-hearted, self-indulgent old man; very fond of his wives and his yangona parties. He was far more astute than the missionaries ever gave him credit for, and by no means wanting in courage, though they called him a coward because he would not *lotu*! The missionaries in their zeal to win him over took far too little account of Tuinayau's responsibilities as a tributary of Mbau, and king of a people as yet mostly Heathen.

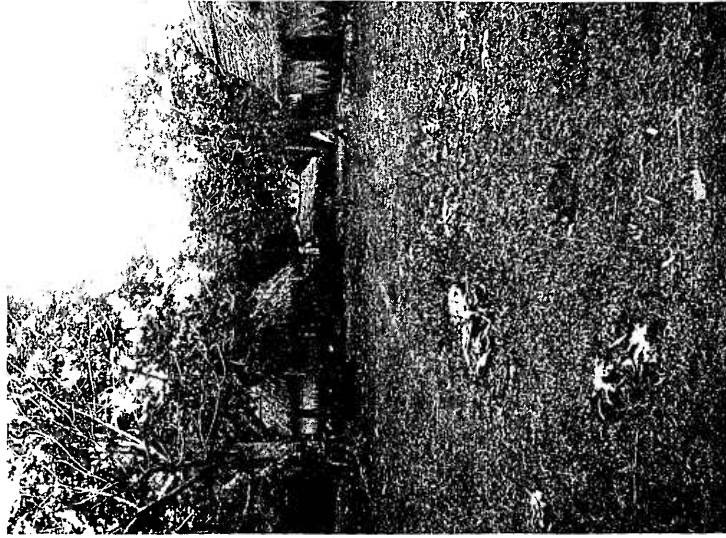
⁵⁵ Notice here again the language used by the missionaries when referring to a religion different from their own.

⁵⁶ Since Tangithi's recovery the impression had been deepening that natives should embrace the Christian religion when placing themselves under the Methodist missionaries for medical treatment. The idea in the native mind was that the God of the Christians would be more willing to bestow His favours on Christians than Heathens who worshipped other gods. The missionaries gave their services to all sick people, Heathen as well as Christian; but it was in the interests of their mission that they should encourage the idea that Jehovah would favour his own people.



WATTAMBU IN 1929

See p. 98



WATHIWATHI IN 1929

no god, I have no food, I have no whales' teeth to offer. Take the child to Buthainambua,⁵⁷ and if it lives, well; if not, well." When dead he gave permission to bury the child *vaka lotu*,⁵⁸ if it might be buried with the child of Ranjiki. This chief's permission gained, the child was interred; but afterwards taken up again, buried in the settlement and certain heathen customs attended to on the occasion.

AUGUST

August 1st—Left home a little after midnight for Nasa-galou in our canoe intending to purchase yams to set, and return by the next tide. Before I had got my trading finished a messenger came into the village where I was and informed me as well as she could from shortness of breath that I was to return without delay as four English vessels had arrived, one of which was believed to be the *Triton*. I was not much startled by this information as, from my knowledge of the native habit of exaggeration,⁵⁹ I did not credit the report to its full extent. For a moment I hesitated, my shoes being about a mile and a half another way; but having ascertained the nearest route home I started off in the direction pointed out, and after having run over hill and dale for the distance of 7 miles I beheld, with feelings of a mixed and indescribable nature, four vessels near the S.S.W. entrance. I could easily distinguish our own; but was at a loss what to make of the rest. I found on inquiry that they were on their way to the New Hebrides in search of sandalwood, and had called here in hopes of increasing the number of Tonguese natives whom they had on board to serve as woodcutters. Bro. C. had just returned from the *Triton* as I finished putting on a change of clothing, and brought us the

⁵⁷ And yet Williams has just said in his entry on 30 June that nothing, not even the restoration of Tangithi, seemed to produce a good effect on the mind of the king!

⁵⁸ After the fashion of the *lotu*.

⁵⁹ Which applies also to the story of Abiather, pp. 57-65.

painful intelligence that our father, the much respected General Superintendent of these Missions, had gone the way of all flesh. We wept together, and felt that the loss was a great one. Who can supply his place? Who will be so much our father? The *Triton* being in haste we endeavoured to complete our business on shore as speedily as possible and succeeded in getting on board and on our way⁶⁰ two or three hours before sunset. Conversed with Capt Buck about New Zealand and Colonial affairs and learnt that Mr Cargill is expected soon.

August 3rd—Arrived at Somosomo in the evening. Unfavourable wind and the procuring of water and ballast detained us several days.

Sun. August 7th—A fine day. The *Triton* hoisted her colours and looked like a ship intending to keep holy day.

The afternoon and evening services were attended by Tuilaila,⁶¹ the King of Somosomo, who evinced his delight at hearing the English singing by frequent and loud remarks.

August 8th—Bro. Hunt accompanied us on board, and, having weighed anchor, a light breeze aided by the tide took us a little distance from the anchorage; but we were for some time left to the mercy of the tide which at one period seemed likely to put us on shore. However we were mercifully preserved and soon after favoured with a breeze. Whilst here we saw an immense white (or grey) shark which seemed to be in no wise afraid of us, but came close to the ship's side, and was thrice struck by Robinson, a young Swede, whilst attempting to secure a piece of lights which had been thrown overboard. The third time the harpoon entered well; but the beast broke the iron shank in two and passed on as though nothing had happened.

⁶⁰ To the District Meeting held this year at Vewa.

⁶¹ This is the Somosomo spelling of the name Tuikilakila. The *k* drops out, as, for example, *baola* for *bakola*. The name Tuikilakila may mean a shrewd king, the knowing one; or, simply, a figurehead.

August 11th—We cast anchor near Nukulau;⁶² and passed up the Rewa river in a canoe and arrived at Bro. Jaggar's in time to sit down with him to tea. All well. Visited Tuidreketi,⁶³ Phillips⁶⁴ and others.

August 12th—Proceeded to Vewa by the many branched Rewa river, and at evening reached Bro. Cross's. We found him exceedingly reduced and heartily glad to see us.

We commenced business the same evening when Bro. Cross stated his case and received unanimous consent to return to the Colony, N.S. Wales.⁶⁵

August 13th—Bro. Cross consented to remain in Feejee at the risk of life rather than leave Vewa without a Missionary. In the afternoon we visited Bau. Thakombau⁶⁶ was absent, but I saw his aged father Tanoa⁶⁷ and other chiefs.

⁶² In the Rewa Roads outside the mouth of the Rewa River.

⁶³ King of Rewa, the friend and protector of missionaries in this very trying circuit. Thakombau helped with his own hand to put him to death in the course of the war between Rewa and Mbau.

⁶⁴ His native name was Thokanauto. He was a brother to Tuidreketi and Ngarra-ni-nggio, who was Thakombau's relentless enemy in the later years of the war up to January 1855, when he died. Of Thokanauto Thomas Jaggar, writing on 4 May 1842 says: "He is of high rank and great influence in Rewa; the most intelligent chief I know; speaks English, Tongan, Tahitian; is the friend of the white man, but declines to become a Christian." In the war between Mbau and Rewa he took the side of Mbau against his brothers, with whom he was generally quarrelling, and, after the murder of Tuidreketi he was generally recognized to be the King of Rewa. He died of excessive drinking in 1851.

⁶⁵ This was the second occasion on which Cross had intimated to the District Meeting his desire to leave Fiji for the Colony because of the state of his health. Williams here gives one reason for his final determination to stay on; the other was that he thought by going to Somosomo he would have a chance of pulling through, under the care of Dr Lyth. It was not to be so. Two months later he died at Somosomo.

⁶⁶ For a portrait and description of Thakombau, "King of Fiji," see H.F.F., pp. 86 and 88.

⁶⁷ For a description and portrait of Tanoa, Thakombau's father, see H.F.F., pp. 102-3. The latest contemporary impression of Tanoa that I have seen is given by Dr Lyth on his visit to Mbau on 7 July, 1851: "As we passed on towards Tanoa's house we met Andy Talatoka, the chief wife of Tanoa, doomed to die by the strangling cord when the aged chieftain—just standing on the very verge of the grave—shall be numbered among the dead. With her were several others of my acquaintance. We entered the large house (*Muaiduli*) filled with women, *katudraus*, balls of cynet and other paraphernalia of a Feejeean chief's house. On one side

That part of Bau inhabited by the Lasakau⁶⁸ people was burnt to the ground on the 10th. From what I could learn it was accidental, although the man in whose house the fire originated fled to Rewa for protection.

Bau is a poor⁶⁹ little island producing no food; but having several excellent houses and temples on it. Today I was examined and recommended to be received into full connexion at the ensuing conference. A poor officer. Camoen's *Lusiads* was in my book list and was objected to! Had any one of my judges ever seen it?

Sun. August 14th—Attended the new chapel built by Namosimalua⁷⁰ on the top of a considerable hill.

August 17th—Business finished so far as to allow of our preparing to return. Bro. Cross and family accompanied us as far as Rewa. The whole of the D.M. business has been conducted in excellent spirit, and our meeting together has been for the better and not for the worse.

August 19th—Left Rewa, the wind taking a favourable turn for us going out of the passage, and almost so soon as we had got through it changed so that we had a tolerable wind to Lakemba.⁷¹

was sitting Tanoa—alone. All or nearly all of his companions are gone. Ko mai Muanidele was one of the last. I shall never forget the picture: his beard as white as it can be, and his shrunken frame and countenance looking like a shattered house on the roadside without a tenant. We shook hands with him; but he did not seem to know what was touching him until Talatoka announced that it was the *matai ni mate* (healer of sickness) from Lakemba, when he smiled and shook my hand and remembered me."

⁶⁸ The king's fishermen under the immediate authority of the powerful and revengeful chief Ngavindi, commonly called the "Mbau butcher."

⁶⁹ The use of the word "poor" here may mislead. Mbau Island was poor in that its soil produced no food; its garden was at Semby on the mainland opposite; but Mbau was in reality the wealthiest place in the archipelago where the aristocracy of Fiji resided.

⁷⁰ For the character of this deep and dark designing hypocrite see H.F.F., pp. 108-9.

⁷¹ They were very fortunate. The prevailing winds at this time of the year are from the east, and the voyage back to Lakemba from Viti Levu was generally a protracted one. When Cargill and Calvert visited Viti Levu in 1839 they sailed from Lakemba on 2 May, and reached Nukulau in Rewa Roads the following day, 3 May, at 5 p.m. On their return to



LAGOON AND NATIVES, FULANGA ISLAND

See p. 85



A 90-1b. SANKA

See p. 103

August 22nd—Landed on Lakemba at an early hour, and had to hasten our business on shore so that we might not detain the *Triton*.

August 23rd—Occupied in adjusting articles brought from home and the Colonies per *Triton*.

August 28th—I met the crew of a canoe from Oneata which arrived here last night. They know little of experimental religion.⁷² This may be said of most of them who have just emerged from the darkness of heathenism.

SEPTEMBER

September 1st—Jacob Morley's case brought forward, but deferred until further inquiry be made.

September 9th—Bro. C. left us for Lau.

September 16th—Committed the mortal remains of Susanah Soroangali to the dust.

September 17th—Surprised by Bro. C.'s return. They were detained six days at Namuka; passed one night at Fulaga and proceeded thence to Ogea; stayed there long enough to marry the people and then set sail the same day for Oneata which place he reached early next morning, Saturday; called together the people; married some; baptized above 100 and then returned home.

Sun. September 18th—Fulfilled my appointments to Nukunuku and Narothege. The neat village of Waitabu has often attracted my attention and excited my admiration as I viewed it from the road which leads to the above places.

Lakemba they left Rewa on 8 May; were driven back several times into shelter at Lauthala, Rewa and Moturiki, and did not reach Lakemba till 8 June. That is, they took *one* day to make the passage from Lakemba to Rewa Roads, and *twenty-nine* days to make the return passage from Rewa to Lakemba. The usual course in voyaging from Rewa or Levuka to Lakemba was to sail north as far as Taviuni and then pass down southwards under the lee of the islands of the Lau Group.

⁷² By experimental religion the missionaries meant the application of the principles and rules of Christianity to conduct and the practical affairs of human life.

Seated snugly at the foot of a high and rugged rock, the deformities of which are hid beneath the beautiful drapery of nature, the houses peeping out here and there amongst the dark foliage of the bread-fruit, relieved to some degree by a few of the broad light leaves of the banana and crowned by the plumes of the nut, this village presented an aspect more than usually beautiful independent of the two arms or rings of trees which, starting from the foot of the mountain, spread themselves out on either hand shewing the village as if settling in the centre of a semicircle.

But this morning the scene is changed. At a distance we found the trees hid in smoke, and, as we approached nearer, we saw the flames issuing here and there from half-consumed timbers. Waitabu had in the short space of a few hours been burnt to the ground. Nothing was left except the little mounds on which the houses stood, and a mass of smoking ashes to tell of the place once occupied. No house within the precincts of the fortification had escaped. Five or six had been only lately built, three of them belonging to Christians. They had made an effort to secure themselves comfortable abodes setting a good example to their countrymen some of whose houses are very indifferent.

I conversed with several of the heathen and remarked that, as they had determined to labour on the Sabbath contrary to their better knowledge, perhaps the Lord had seen fit thus to punish them on the Sabbath for their desecration of His holy day. Many of these are backsliders and appeared to feel the remark.⁷³ May they "return at His reproof and live."

Proceeded to Nukunuku.

Returned by way of Waitabu; found the people, as before, sitting around the outskirts of the village and gazing on its

⁷³ They would; but the suggestion would not have been made by a man who had even an elementary conception of the magnanimity of the Almighty.

ruins. Some had followed my advice, and erected small sheds under which to shelter themselves and families during the night. Most of their little property had been saved from the flames.

The fire was occasioned by the carelessness of some females with a lamp.

The birthday of my dear little Thomas Whitton who is this day one year old. Lord bless the child.

September 21st—The King and his brother came in towards dinner-time, and, whilst we were eating, a gun was fired in the koro, and soon after the war *lali*⁷⁴ was indistinctly heard; but nothing was supposed to be amiss until a messenger came shouting as he ran: "War! War! with the Yadrana people."

We hastened to the settlement and found all in an excited state and many of the houses shut up. We soon learnt that blood had been shed and life lost; but, thinking it best to go first to headquarters, we accompanied the King to Vata Waga where we found a number of the Yadrana people waiting the arrival of his Majesty. They had come to confess themselves guilty of having behaved ill to a young man of noble extraction who had wished to appropriate by right of *vasu*, the club of an inhabitant of Yandrana.⁷⁵ They had, contrary to all Feejeean rule, opposed his taking the club and had even laid violent hands on his person. Conscious of having done wrong, and fearful of the consequences, they appealed to Zephaniah Loa to present their *soro* to the King. This he did, and all was supposed to be well.

That their loyalty might not be suspected they had prepared and brought food to the King's house; but, not finding the King at home, they had to wait awhile and this oppor-

⁷⁴ A native drum.

⁷⁵ This "young man of noble extraction" had acted within his rights according to the custom of the country. A *vasu* could take anything he liked in his mother's town, and nobody could say him nay. See F.F., vol. i., pp. 34-7.

tunity was embraced by the friends of Vatawaga, the insulted chief, to satisfy their revenge, unmindful of the previous interposition of Lua and the promise of pardon given by the King.⁷⁶

The Tumbou youths made their attack upon the poor offenders. Two were killed upon the spot, and two others seriously injured. They were carrying off the dead as we came to the scene. One poor fellow who had been run through above the instep with a spear of the barbed kind, and had lost considerable blood, was left behind. Seeing that we could do no good we returned to the King's house. During our absence Lua had arrived, and appeared to feel keenly the insult thus offered to him in disregarding the *soro* he had presented in the morning. When we entered he stood in the centre of the house supporting himself upon his musket the butt end of which rested on the ground a few inches to the outside of his left leg; his right hand was placed upon the muzzle and, with his left, he grasped the barrel about midway. In this attitude he addressed himself to the King and his brother who, during that portion of their lives at least, felt it no enviable thing to be men high in authority. Lua requested, amongst other things, a reason for the present step after he had been assured from them both that they were satisfied with the offering made by him in the morning; and satisfaction for the insult offered to him in thus acting after his interference.

He then sat down and saw what all saw—the shame and confusion of Tuinayau and Togi. The King acknowledged that his people had done a great and evil thing, and promised to inquire into the affair. Togi said the land was bad, and the common people did not attend to the commands of their superiors.⁷⁷ Lua, judging that there was no disposition

⁷⁶ Williams has a footnote stating that "This account as here given is confused."

⁷⁷ Note this complaint, so frequently made after the arrival of the missionaries.

to institute an impartial inquiry into the affair charged a chief present as one of the principals in it, and no doubt he was, notwithstanding his repeated denial. Lua then said: "How will it be for us" (meaning himself and a number of Tonguese) "to inquire into matters," and intimated only too plainly the way in which he meant to proceed by taking a ball cartridge from his box and charging his musket. I thought I never heard the charging of a musket make such an unpleasant sound before. He went through the business of charging with the utmost deliberation. After a short pause he called upon Bro. C. to inquire what he thought should be done—whether he should seek satisfaction in person, or return to the seaside and leave it with the King. Being advised to take the latter course, he gave the word of command and the Tonguese who accompanied him were quickly on the outside of the house. He then went out and fired his piece as soon as he had passed the doorway.

Tuinayau and Togi expressed their determination to leave the land and wished Akawola to lend them his canoe. They went about 200 yards from the palace and then returned.

They more than once gave the land to be at the disposal of the Tonguese. The food brought on the occasion was given to Lua, and taken to the seaside.

September 22nd—Heard today that the mother of one of the young men was strangled last night.

September 23rd—Heard of a somewhat amusing circumstance in connection with Zephania Lua, which took place a few days since. Lua being at Waciwaci felt desirous to refresh himself, and, seeing a man apparently unemployed, ordered him to assist in preparing him bread-fruit pudding. But the man instead of rendering assistance embraced the opportunity of Lua's back being turned to walk off. When Lua was informed of the man's conduct he felt vexed that such treatment had been shewn him by such a man as Ve-

dovu and went to his house in search of him. Veidovu not being there, Lua took down his mosquito curtain, but did not take it away. Perceiving a battle-axe, he thought by blunting this he should sufficiently punish the offender. He therefore took out the axe, and, before executing his design, addressed the divine Being somewhat thus: "Lord thou knowest what I am about to do. Thou knowest the man's impudence to me, and that I am about to destroy his axe. He is not a Christian, Lord; he is only a devolo's⁷⁸ man. Thou seest Lord what I am about; but my mind is not bad." He then struck the edge of the axe against a stone and returned it to its place.

The man upon his return feigned illness, and, laying himself down upon his mat as one near death, called aloud: "*Veri mai; veri mai*," several times in rapid succession. He called thus to his soul as though it had already departed—"Come back, come back."⁷⁹

Some of his heathen friends came around him to console him, and entreat their supposed deities to be of a good mind to the man and desist from taking his soul quite away, urging that a lost axe could be easily replaced; but a man was difficult, very difficult. So they begged the gods to spare him.

Whilst thus engaged, he surprised them not a little by starting up and remarking abruptly: "I will join the Christians," which he accordingly did, and excused himself from the further interference of his heathen friends.

Possibly the man was much alarmed and afraid of what might be the consequences. Had he thus acted to Lua when that chief was a heathen it might have cost him his life.

Lua decided to go with me to Yandrana.

⁷⁸ Devolo is the Fijian pronunciation of the word devil.

⁷⁹ Note what is implied in this—the vivid belief not only in the existence of a soul, but also in the possibility of its straying from the living body to which it belonged. All Fijians held this belief.

September 24th—Accompanied by Zephenia Lua and upwards of twenty armed men I walked over to Yadrana. We found those who had *lotu'd* still of the same mind although the chief of the *koro* had set sail for Tubou to see the King and enter his protest against their proceedings.

I visited old Galulu in his temple and found him more reasonable than Bro. C. did a few days before. He then said: "You are a priest and I am a priest," intimating that what one said was as true as that which was said by the other. During my conversation he acknowledged the falseness of his system; but urged, in extenuation of his continuing, that he had been brought up to deception, and, further, that it was the custom of his country. "But," said he, "if my chief permits me to *lotu* I shall do so." Had much conversation with the people; found them exceedingly superstitious and afraid of their gods. Visited the two men who were speared and found them recovering. During the evening a fine large fish named the *sanka*, sacred to common people, was brought in for us carried by two men. It was cut up and boiled, and, when cooked, 50 persons feasted upon it; but did not succeed in finishing it.

Sun. September 25th—Conducted divine service twice this day in the settlement of Yadrana. No previous Sabbath had ever been made a day of rest in this place. None had ever met to sing the praises of the Lord on His own day, or hear His Holy word read and expounded, or bowed the knee to Heaven's high King. But this I trust is the beginning of better days. From this time henceforward may there be found in this place a seed to serve God. Ten inhabitants of this town including seven of the principal persons united with us as worshippers of the true God. To these may be added about twenty Tonguese. Most of these, especially those who have lately joined us, paid great attention during the whole of the services. Curiosity and astonishment pre-

veiled over better feelings in most of my hearers; but some of their fine countenances shewed the softening influences of a superior feeling whilst they listened to "the story of the cross." Crowds surrounded us, and the attention which some of these poor heathen manifested really surprised me. Several groups of fine children were serious beyond what could have been looked for in persons of such tender years.

My old friend the priest shut up his temple and left the place, but few if any of the people knew where he had gone. I had, on Saturday, asked him to allow me the use of his temple in which to conduct worship; so perhaps he thought this the best way of avoiding a second and more urgent request. However we made free to use his drums, with which to call together the people for worship. I was pleased to find on visiting the people that some of them had desisted from labour in honour of the Sabbath, although they hesitated to unite heartily with us. Yet, who will despise the day of small and feeble things?

Zephania was incessant in exhorting and advising the people. Many of his remarks were just and pointed; some would have excited a smile from a graver person than myself.

Upon the whole I hope this blessed day has not been spent in vain. To God be the glory.

September 26th—Had further conversations with some of the people. One remarked: "We often ask each other—How would it be if I was to turn Christian? Would my *Kalou*⁸⁰ eat me the same day or not? But we see that our gods can't hurt the Christians." A few Sabbaths ago one of the heathen party from Tubou walked up to my house in the evening, and sat near the step on which I was seated,

⁸⁰ God. The word *Kalou* was used for anything which the Fijians regarded as superlatively good or bad, or anything that appeared to them exceptionally wonderful. Thus a printing-press, clock, rocket, a stone conspicuously placed were called gods; a doll a goddess.

reading. After some pause he broke the silence and said: "One thing I often think about; it often comes to my mind." "Well," I said, "and what is it?" "*E cavā*, the strong wind," said he. "And what of the strong wind?" I asked. "In times past," he replied, "we had them often. We were tired with planting, and then the winds destroyed our plantations. We planted again, and again the winds spoiled us, and in the end we had famine. But since you priests of religion have sat in the land the winds have not done this; they have been strong, but they have not hurt us." I was pleased to find that at least one Feejeean, one heathen, reflected; and, having said in reply that Jehovah takes care of those who serve him, I gave him an opportunity of following up his reflections.

I sometimes fear that this people scarce ever think seriously upon serious subjects.

September 27th—The King and several of his attendants paid us a visit. His Majesty wished me to retire with him into my study. I accompanied him, and we had a long discourse on the subject of religion. He seems to think the time for embracing religion is nigh; but fears lest the people will not obey him in that they will be slack in giving him property.⁸¹ He acknowledges however that those who have so far *lotu'd* are not at all deficient in these things.⁸²

September 29th—From what I learnt whilst at Yadrana it seems highly probable that the powers that be were accessory to the bloody transactions of the 21st; and their visiting us at such a time of the day, and when they expected the people from Yadrana, had a very suspicious appearance. The people from Yadrana lost eight muskets, ten clubs and one battle-hatchet during this affray.

⁸¹ That is, pay their taxes. This fear was well founded. By embracing Christianity and thereby abandoning his old gods from whom his authority was principally derived, the chief would be cutting the ground from under his own feet.

⁸² He certainly did not usually acknowledge this.

September 30th—Bro. C. returned from Yadrana and reports that notwithstanding several messages from Tubou the people remain firm to their purposes. In one of their answers they said: "We have not become Christians that the land may be bad through us, but that it may be better. Why then should we give up religion?" On being told that they must give up their place of abode, and settle with us they answered: "No, that is the land of you chiefs; but this belongs to us,"⁸³ and here we shall remain and execute such commands as the King may send us."

Two muskets were returned to them, the Tubou party thinking, no doubt, that this would tell something in their favour; but neither the two muskets returned, nor the pro-

⁸³ The system of land tenure in Fiji, which will throw light on this statement, is described by A. W. Howitt, F.G.S., and Lorimer Fison, M.A., in an article contributed to the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* for February, 1891. The copy which I have consulted is in a volume of re-printed addresses in the Mitchell Library. The contents of the article may be summarized thus: Every *koro* has three kinds of land: town, arable and forest. Each *mataqali* (a number of men bound by common descent) has its own *yavu* (quarter of the town). A path must be left between two *yavu*. The house in the *yavu* is a sanctuary: the chief cannot rightfully enter it against the owner's will in times of peace. What you grow in your own precincts is yours. The local chief can touch it only by power, not by right. Beyond the *koro* is the *qele* or arable land, which is divided into lots; but a portion of arable land may be common. The *veikau* or forest land is not divided into lots; it is common; but one community may not trespass on the *veikau* of another. The land therefore is vested in, or held by, certain joint tribal owners who have a common descent. These are the *tauvei ni vanua* (owners of the land).

This is a general outline of the system of tenure; but in interpreting it allowance must be made for variations of custom in different parts of Fiji; the power of a chief as distinct from his right; the exigencies of *vava* and the effects of conquest.

In the final summing-up the authors say that the idea of feudal ownership does not apply to the lands of Fiji as Sir Hercules Robinson and Sir Arthur Gordon seem to have assumed. "The Fijian was on his way to the feudal system; but was a long way from realizing it. It is certainly wrong to say that the chiefs can remove sub-chiefs and people from land *at pleasure*, and very few chiefs have ever had the power. Thakombau had no right to sell land to the whites. As an act of justice a chief may deprive a *tauvei* of a portion of his land for a time; but the owner will *soro*, and the land will fall back to him. No man is absolute owner of land in Fiji; he has only a life's interest in it. It belongs to the tribe, and individuals hold for the tribe. The tribe is not absolute owner either. It must hand down tribal lands for ever. Each generation holds in trust for the next. Land in Fiji was entailed for ever."

mise of all being returned upon condition that they returned to heathenism had any influence upon them. Lord strengthen these Thy servants against Thy enemies. Tubou Tootai a professed Christian objected to the King against our instructing the people!!⁸⁴

OCTOBER

October 5th—The King and his attendants have not yet gone to Lau although Galulu promised them a good wind on the 2nd. Even that heathen remarked that their priest had carried the joke a little too far on the occasion referred to above. He invoked a god whom a few days before he declared it useless to address, he being with Weta Sau⁸⁵ at Bau.

They appear to consider their gods as located, and not

⁸⁴ But what part of their instruction? They taught the natives that all war was hateful to God; that they should obey only the commands of the king that were not opposed to divine law; that the gods of the heathen from whom the kings derived their authority were no gods, and so on. As to the opposition of the court to the conversion of the people of Yadrana or any other place, that must not be taken too seriously. In the majority of instances it was more formal than real. On 9 October, 1842, Calvert says: "I talked to the King about his having sent a message to Yadrana telling the people to abandon religion (Christianity). He said, 'It is true. I sent to inquire about their having embraced religion in order to prevent them doing so—*according to the custom of our land*. So I did to Ono, Oneata and the other islands; and so I did to Wathiwathi, Waitambu, Narotheke and Nukunuku. But of what use were my efforts. I was tired with trying to prevent them. I could not. Religion is a work of the mind, and people will not abandon it. See! religion (Christianity) exists at all these places where I made efforts to destroy it. Religion spreads. We shall all embrace it by and bye.'" This is not the language of a persecuting king; and it must not be forgotten that Tuinayau and the chiefs had good grounds for opposing some of the teaching of the missionaries. See H.F.F., pp. 111-16.

⁸⁵ A powerful chief who resided in Tumbou. In rank he was next to the king. In 1846 he embraced Christianity, and his house was used by the missionaries for preaching and holding meetings, as there was no chapel then in Tumbou. But though he had accepted Christianity, he remained strongly opposed to the interference of the missionaries in political affairs. In 1852 he had a sharp contest with Dr Lyth, who had sent a letter to Vatoa on secular matters without first consulting him. Vatoa was one of the islands over which Wetasau exercised immediate jurisdiction.

possessed of the attribute of omnipresence.⁸⁶ Therefore the objection urged by Galulu in the first instance held good in the second, Weta Sau and his god still remaining at Bau.

The heathen pleasantly remarked that if Malane, the god in question, had really returned from Bau it was very negligent of him not to inform his priest what kind of reception Weta Sau had met with from the chiefs at Bou; especially as the case was one of more than ordinary importance, Weta Sau being sent to *soro* to the Bou King on account of the delay of the Lakemba property. If his *soro* should be refused, war would be expected as the immediate result.⁸⁷

September 8th—The Tubou chiefs (all the young ones) were on the look-out today in the neighbourhood of Yadrana hoping to shed more blood; but happily the Yadrana people are aware of their designs and act with becoming caution.

Sun. October 16th—Notwithstanding considerable weakness from indisposition during the past few days I managed to walk to Yadrana and address the people from the Lord's Prayer in the morning, and, in the afternoon, from our Lord's legacy to his disciples.

October 17th—Laid up from yesterday's exertions.

October 19th—Recovering. Translated a few verses of St Paul's Epistle to the Galatians.

October 22nd—Saw four canoes approaching the island and thought it possible that Rajiki had returned from Bau. Hoping to obtain information of our affairs

⁸⁶ Even the great god Dengei exercised only an intermittent and shadowy influence beyond Kavaundra. Nevertheless, there appears to have been a sufficiently well-marked distinction between two classes of gods—the *kalou vu* and the *kalou yalo*. See F.F., vol. i., pp. 216-21. The influence of the former was not merely local; but there is no doubt that the local gods, who were often deified human beings, exerted a more powerful and constant influence over the lives of the Fijians than those more distant, even though the latter were recognized to be greater gods.

⁸⁷ This should not be forgotten when the subjects of labour, taxation and the presentation of property to the *lotu* are being reviewed by King Tuinayau.

there I hastened to the seaside, and found that King George⁸⁸ from Hapai had reached the island.

It appears his Majesty was returning from the Navigators Group⁸⁹ and drifted to these islands.⁹⁰ We welcome him most cordially, and hope good will result from his visit.

Sun. October 23rd—I preached in the morning. At the conclusion of this service I attended the Tonguese and heard King George from the xix Ps. 7 verse. I felt much pleased that I had such an opportunity of hearing such an excellent man. I could understand several portions of his discourse, he speaking much more distinctly than many of his people.

Sun. October 30th—Found several of the new Tonguese in the country. They behaved well. This remark is applicable to most who accompany George.

During the past week we called to converse with King George. When we entered the canoe house in which he was sitting several men were employed near in building him a house. The posts were in the earth and the wall plaster up when we commenced our talk which lasted upwards of an hour. We then left him and, to our surprise, found the house completed excepting the covers for the ridge! So soon are temporary houses built in Feejee.

⁸⁸ A very capable ruler and a whole-hearted Methodist. He had already sent over a number of capable teachers to Fiji to help in extending the influence of Christianity there, and was destined to save Thakombau and the Methodist mission in Fiji from impending disaster in April 1855, by winning the battle of Kamba with his 2000 fighting Tongans. See H.F.F., pp. 268-73. He was a militant Methodist. His slogan in the early days was: "*Lotu* or the club." Dr Lyth thought him a good man and a capable ruler; but he denounced unsparingly his policy of trying to extend the influence of Christianity by means of war.

⁸⁹ So named by Bougainville because of the skill and daring displayed by the natives in their sailing canoes in the seas of this archipelago, better known now as Samoa. King George was anxious for the extension of Methodist Christianity there too, notwithstanding the agreement between the London Missionary Society and the Methodist Missionary Society to keep their spheres of influence separate.

⁹⁰ It was not uncommon for canoes making their way from Samoa to the Friendly Islands to be blown or "drifted" to the Windward Islands of the Fijian Archipelago by the south-east trade winds.

NOVEMBER

November 2nd—Canoe sent to fetch Tuinayau from Fulaga.

November 4th—The wind being fair George set off for Fulanga hoping to hasten his departure from Feejee thereby. From my heart I say: "The Lord go with him."

A man named Mosisi,⁹¹ the Teacher at Kambara, came to state that the wife of Akowola had been too familiar with another man. It was remarked "Akowola would be vexed, would he not?" "Oh no," said Mosisi, "the man in question is a relation and friend of Akowola's; therefore he was not vexed." What a curious notion!

November 5th—Commenced a globe and maps for Bro. Hunt this week.

Sun. November 6th—Preached at Nukunuku in the morning. Tui Soso (George) amused me by relating the impressions made on their minds by the first appearance of English vessels amongst them.

He says all agreed at first that those on board were gods. They debated the point as to whether the ship was a floating land, or those on board had another land from which they had come. Some of the Feejeeans declared they saw gardens on board, and that yams and taros were planted in them. The masts they took to be stately nut trees. They represented the Europeans as having variously coloured bodies, taking the colour of their garments for that of their skin.

When they addressed the strangers and found that they were not understood, the sage Feejeeans came to the conclusion that their visitors were foolish persons and unacquainted with the use of words.⁹²

Sun. November 13th—Learnt that Malane, the king who

⁹¹ Not to be confounded with Mosese, the Roman Catholic catechist, left by Monseigneur Pompallier on Lakemba. This man was a Methodist teacher.

⁹² They were not the first people to jump to that conclusion about foreigners or barbarians.

preceded this one, was once favourably disposed to Christianity, and sent Isireli Takai for instruction respecting it. For a time things seemed likely to go on well, but the arrival of Niubalavu from Tonga who requested Malane not to *lotu* on any consideration altered the aspect of things.

Some few had *lotu'd* at Oneata; but orders were sent that they should cease, and that those who had changed ought to give it up at once.

Josiah Tubola the chief of the island had *lotu'd*, and he and others were requested to renounce their profession of Christianity.

When over at Lakemba on business Josiah was in the palace at a Yagona party. A bowl of the beverage was sent to him by the King accompanied with this order: "Throw away religion." Josiah however continued firm and during his stay in Lakemba which was limited, not exceeding four or five days, the king of Oneata (certainly not Lakemba) was taken ill and died. Four special messages were conveyed by the ambassador to Oneata to the effect that they should not *lotu*. Josiah heeded them not; continued to pursue his way (although some of his companions influenced by fear turned back) and up to the present time continues steadfast.

November 19th—Tuinayau arrived at Lakemba bringing the large canoe which does great credit to the builders. The length is upwards of 108 ft. width ? ft. and height from the keel to the deck 6 ft. The house on the deck is upwards of 6 ft. high. Name—*Rusa i vanua*⁹³—cursed is the land.

⁹³ In F.F., vol. i., p. 75, Williams says the extreme length was 118 feet and the breadth of the deck 24 feet. He also gives a different rendering of *Rusa i Vanua*: "Perished Inland," instead of "Cursed is the land." The former is better, the implication being that it was so gigantic that it would be impossible to launch it, and therefore it would have to be left to—perish inland. We have here an illustration of the difficulty of translating some of the most recondite expressions used by the Fijians. It is only those who are thoroughly acquainted with the way in which the Fijian mind works, who can be trusted to give an accurate rendering of some of their

November 21st—Pained to hear that Sampson who was sent to Ongea to assist the poor people had sadly misconducted himself.

November 22nd—Pleased to hear that Tui Nasagalau is at sword's point with his gods on account of the illness of his child. It is said that the child and its mother have *lotu'd*.

Sun. November 27th—Spent at Yandrana to which place I came on the 26th. In the evening of Saturday I visited a female who had been deranged several days. The people who conducted me to her abode told me with great simplicity that they could not understand her talk as she had given over speaking the Lakemba dialect, and spoke *vaka ra*,⁹⁴ English, Tonguese and Tahitian. When I heard her it proved as I expected: she uttered for the most part a succession of unmeaning sounds. The subject to which she mostly referred was the *lotu* and she expressed considerable anxiety about the Yadrana people.

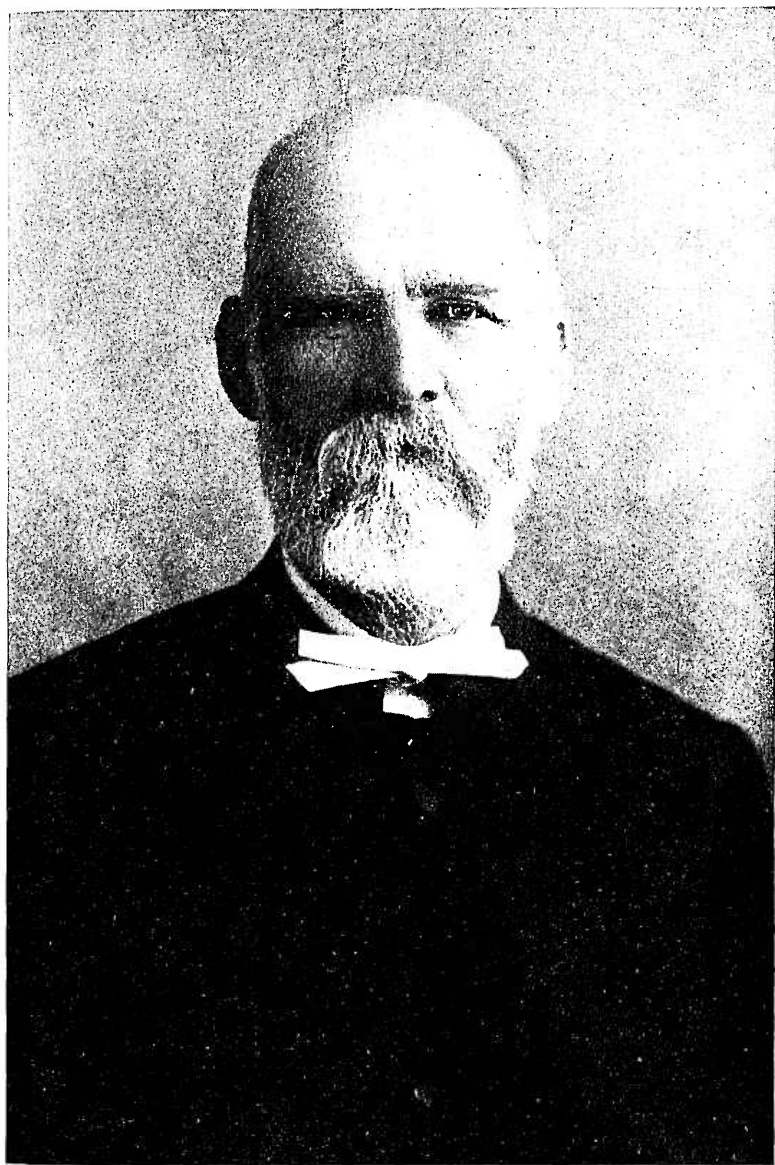
Her husband has lately embraced Christianity. Several of his heathen friends however persuaded him that the disordered state of his wife's mind was brought about by the gods they had renounced, and proposed an offering to them as the most likely means to secure her restoration.

Being prevailed upon to do as they advised, he took his offering to the temple and, through the priest, besought the god to be of a good mind and relieve his wife. His offering proved of no use, for his wife continued deranged, and the poor man himself was in similar plight a few hours after—making the same sounds as his wife. They then fell to pointing their fingers at each other.⁹⁵

words and phrases. Even they find themselves unable to explain some of the words and phrases used in their ceremonies. Probably the Fijians who use them do not understand what they mean. The word remains; the original sense or significance is lost.

⁹⁴ After the manner of the people living in Ra or the islands to leeward.

⁹⁵ A striking descriptive detail. Williams is clever in the use of these dramatic touches. Note his description of Tuikilakila of Somosomo later on.



WILLIAM CROSS

From a photograph in possession of Mr David Hazlewood, Epping, N.S.W.

See pp. 117-120

November 28th—Nasagalau was burnt down. The people lay this misfortune to the charge of Yadrana: whether true or not I cannot say.

(The head of the *balolo* appeared this year on the 26th, and was *tagavi'd*⁹⁶ on the 27th.)

It turned out that the incendiary was one of their own people. It is supposed he did it to throw the blame upon the Yadrana people. The truth was ascertained during the month of January, 1843, and according to Feejee custom summary justice was executed upon the culprit by clubbing him whilst he was employed in his garden.⁹⁷

DECEMBER

December 2nd—I went over to Waitabu to conduct the ceremony of putting the first post in the ground which is equivalent to laying the foundation-stone in England.

The Waciwaci heathen have determined to assist the Waitabu Christians, considering the work too great for so few persons.⁹⁸ The Waitabu heathen intend to rebuild their temple directly. Some were employed about the preparations whilst we were assembled.

December 5th—Attended a meeting of Tonguese called together by Ranjiki to *vono* or make laws.⁹⁹ The main cause of this was the circumstance of Mr C.'s Sunday dinner being stolen during Saturday night. It appears very plain that Christian Tonguese were the thieves.

⁹⁶ Bagged. The word *tagavi'd* is here used by Williams in a way that is reminiscent of English field sport. It would not be used in such a context by a Fijian.

⁹⁷ This entry was obviously made at a later date.

⁹⁸ The Christians would not have helped the Heathen to build a *mbure*. The Heathen respected and feared the God of the Christians; the Christians were taught that the religious beliefs of the Heathen were "lying vanities."

⁹⁹ This was one of the results of the conversation between King George and the missionaries at Lakemba on the occasion of his visit. Ranjiki was trying to discipline the Tongans in Tumbou, as Maafu did later on with much greater success.

Few foreigners could suppress a smile on first seeing such an assembly—on such business. When the weightier matters were dispatched and the affairs of the young people came before this august assembly they became very merry and the senior people played their jokes on the juniors unsparingly.

Sun. December 11th—We had better order than usual in our Bethel congregations today, Rupini Tubou acting as “order keeper.”

Sun. December 18th—During the past week one of the King’s wives died. The gods assigned three different reasons for her death. One that she was taken away in return for something amiss respecting the yangona; the second because Tuinayau had refused a canoe to the people from Morley; the third that the foreign God had taken away her soul. Amongst other absurd things said by this priest were these: “I and Kuba na Vanua only are gods. I am present in all places. I preside over wars and illnesses. But it is difficult for me to come here as the place is filled by the foreign God. If I wish to descend by this pillar or by that, the place is occupied by the foreign God. However we two are engaged in fighting the foreign God, and should we be conquerors we will save the woman.” Then (as though forgetful of the probability) he said: “I will save the woman. She will eat food today. Had I been called in yesterday she would have eaten.” This god’s name is Tagiri-e-nima, the priest’s Lagu. The second god’s name: Koi rau sa bali i wai.

The following day Tubou Totai called the priest into our house, and we had some conversation with him. When asked: “Do you premeditate what is to be said before you go?” He replied: “No.” “Then you just speak what you think at the time do you?” “No,” said he, “I do not know what I say, for my mind departs from me, and then, when

it is truly departed, my god speaks by me."¹⁰⁰ We advised him to give over lying, and thus he left us.¹⁰¹

He was preparing to *rika* in the palace; but the King told him to go to a distance and seek some other palace in which to invoke the gods. The poor woman died the day after that on which the god said he would save her, at an early hour—before daybreak I believe.

She, as is often the case with dying heathen, professed to embrace Christianity.

December 20th—A canoe arrived from Moci on which were two of the Teachers stationed there. Their business was to get axes from us. They are desirous of building a chapel; but are ill off for tools. They informed us of the improving state of our work at Kambara where several Feejeeans have lately united with us. Also of the people's request from Vuagava, a small island inhabited by heathen. These people have requested that our Teacher staying at Komo may be permitted to visit them to the end that they may formally renounce heathenism. Mosisi the Roman Catholic Teacher has been staying on this island some time, and we heard, on his return, that a man, sorely afflicted, had become a R.C., and that on recovery Mosisi was to instruct him in two or three outward movements and send him back to do the same favour to his friends. So what is the true state of the case we cannot at present ascertain with any degree of certainty.

The god of the chief of Moci has requested him to be careful and not say anything against or bad of the *lotu*!!

At a yang-gona party on the island of Namuka held a short time ago an old Feejeean Christian requested that the

¹⁰⁰ Compare this with the language of a medium at a séance of spiritualists to-day.

¹⁰¹ Naturally. Fijians were instinctively courteous; the Methodist missionaries were not.

usual custom of praying to the gods before drinking¹⁰² might be dispensed with. His request was complied with. When the yang-gona was finished a priest from Namooka, who formed one of the party, suddenly fell to invoking the god whose mind he thus expressed: "Tubola (the name of the Christian) is true; Tubola is true forsooth. You that desire to turn Christians, turn only.¹⁰³ Tubola is true. Religion¹⁰⁴ is true. We only are false. We are false. Is not what I say true?"¹⁰⁵

At Moci there is a blind priest whose name is Vula. He is almost incessantly visited by the gods, and it is his custom at such times to request some one to take hold of his leg. Sitting one day near the fireplace, with a foot resting on the heel so as to elevate the sole, some rubbish that was near took fire and gently burnt its way to the sole of his foot. When he felt the heat he exclaimed: "Isa, Isa, Isa! the god, the god, the god is entering me. Take hold of my foot." A young child who was near said: "Move your foot, or it will burn." "Burn," rejoined the priest, "burn! It's fire is it? Why I thought it had been a god."

Tubola further added that the Namuka priest said in reference to the making of food for the gods: "Why do you trouble yourself in this thing? We gods do not eat the same kind of food that you do. Our food is different. The food you plant and attend to is the fruit of your labours, the work of your hands, and you ought to enjoy it."

My old friend Galulu informed the Yadrana people that the *lotuing* of the people was not at all displeasing to the

¹⁰² Here, again, is confirmation of Samuel Patterson's statement that the yangona ceremony was a kind of sacrament.

¹⁰³ Notice the peculiar use of the word (which is translated "only") in the language of the Fijians. They use it where we should use "by all means," "certainly."

¹⁰⁴ Christianity.

¹⁰⁵ He is not necessarily saying what he believes to be true; he wants to please Williams and his associates.

gods, and, further, that all the gods had of late become Christians! !

December 22nd—Received information of the death of our dear Bro. Cross. His end was peace. He is the first Missionary who has finished his course in this or the adjoining Mission.

The following is a copy of a joint letter received by Bro. C. and myself:

Somosomo,¹⁰⁶ Feejee, Oct. 27th 1842.

MY DEAR BRETHREN,

The news it is my painful duty to communicate will be better set out in one, than in separate letters, and, as I have already written one to the other Brethren, I think I cannot do better than transcribe it.

I have to write you heavy tidings. It hath pleased Almighty God to remove our Bro. Cross to a better world. He had got settled comfortably,¹⁰⁷ and we were all indulging the thought of a happy year together when he was taken poorly with a bowel complaint which proved to be dysentery, at first of a mild kind. For this complaint he took medicine for a few days; was enjoined rest and put on a suitable diet.

By these means he was nearly restored to health. He felt and pronounced himself all but well; nevertheless I felt it right to caution him to remain quiet. He was in this state on Friday the 7th inst. During the day he exerted himself above his strength in looking after food. He killed a pig with his own hands, and attended to this and that. Things appeared to go wrong, and he was consequently grieved and excited. I was over at his house and told him that, let things go on as they would, he must nevertheless keep quiet, as he was not in a state to attend to work. He endeavoured to follow my advice as far as he could; but not so far as was necessary.

¹⁰⁶ On the west coast of the island of Taviuni, a little north of the straits. John Hunt and Richard Burdsall Lyth had gone there in July 1839, and established a mission centre among the Thakaundrovi people over whom Tuithakau (the old king) and Tuikilakila his son (the young king) were ruling.

¹⁰⁷ Cross had arrived at Somosomo from Vewa on 17 September 1842. The District Meeting had given him permission to go to the colonies at once; "but it was found difficult to supply my circuit," he says in a letter to London on 2 September 1842, "it being inadmissible that Dr Lyth should be left alone. I consented to remain with him till the *Triton* should again visit us thinking that I might derive some benefit from his knowledge of medicine."

In the afternoon we had a preachers' meeting in his study which I conducted, and he prayed at the conclusion. After this I took tea with him and he was very cheerful. But in the evening the disease returned and with double violence. I had him put to bed; restricted him to his bedroom, and from it he never returned alive.

The disease now assumed a most malignant character: the discharges were of the most exhausting and alarming kind and of great frequency. From the first I was apprehensive of the result, and, as early as Saturday, mentioned the case to Tuilaila, and my fears concerning it. It is unnecessary to give you all the painful details. Suffice it to say I attended on him night and day, and all the people belonging to the two families were unremitting in their attention to their various duties.

Tuilaila called to see him on Tuesday and said to me he would die—such was his opinion. But this by the way.

On Wednesday he was much worse. My gravest fears were now excited, and the burden on my mind was great indeed; for besides waiting on Bro. Cross I had many calls from the natives, many different parties being about to sail to different places. Do what I would this took up my time, attention and care; but not to the neglect of my patient. When I had opportunity I poured out my heart before the Lord and He strengthened me sufficient for my day. The medicines employed were so far beneficial as to moderate the discharge of blood and to procure something of natural stool, so much so that, for two or three days before he died, the disease was decidedly checked, and the motions reduced to one-fourth their frequency and even to less.

On Thursday and Friday some of the bad symptoms were so far removed as to encourage hope and perseverance. But extreme exhaustion and a troublesome hiccough prevented our being too sanguine. On Friday night I observed a change which made more impression on my mind than on Mrs Cross: besides much restlessness, there was much excitement of mind and incoherency in his remarks, and I made known fully to Mrs Cross my apprehensions. I was not called up on Friday night; but on Saturday morning on my first visit my worst fears were confirmed. Bro. Cross's mind was composed and tranquil; but it was evident that the closing scene was approaching.

He now for the first time indulged hopes of his recovery; but these were, I told him, no longer cherished by myself. He was now evidently sinking, and, still fearing lest his mind should be buoyed up by vain hopes, I told him again towards noon that I believed he would soon be in heaven. After a while he addressed himself to Mrs Cross and told her that it was my mind he would not recover. He now wished to close his temporal affairs which

had been commenced on Wednesday. He then gave his dying address to his wife, which he did through me and with the greatest calmness. He next intended to have his children brought in; but as he had talked a good deal I desired him to rest a little lest he should quite exhaust himself. Shortly after he observed: "As for myself, to depart is far better; but"—pointing to his wife—"I thought for her sake and the children's it would be better for me to remain. The Lord knows best." He had scarce said this when he again fell into a delirium. His last words while yet sensible; or, rather whilst passing from one state to the other, were in a similar strain to the last. Stretching out his right arm and raising his voice, he exclaimed with great emphasis: "Best for a Missionary to go home; to escape to the skies and join the enraptured host of heaven and be with Jesus and the angels," . . . Here I lost him. He was now delirious. But it was gratifying that, notwithstanding his delirium, he uttered nothing that did not comport with the man of God; but rather such things as bespoke a holy Christian mind.

In the afternoon at his own earnest and repeated request he was shaved. He said it was Saturday, and he wished to attend to two things that he might be ready for the Sabbath: first he must be shaved; and, secondly, have his children called in that he might kiss them.

The first of these was gone through, and, during the time it occupied, he was quite still. But he afterwards became more delirious and spoke unconnectedly. He would still press his wife's hands to his lips, again, again, and again.

We were now obliged to hold him or he would have got out of bed. He continued in this way for a few hours. His efforts then became weaker; his voice more languid and his articulation indistinct. He appeared to be deeply engaged—I thought in prayer to God. The world was receding from his view till at length he sank into a stupor and finally into a sleep. He had one or two convulsive motions of the face, after which he breathed more and more gently for some time till (we could not tell the precise moment) it was evident he had breathed his last, and his peaceful spirit had escaped to the skies. This was about a quarter before 12 on Saturday night Oct. 15th.

Thus has ended the life of the Missionary Cross; but not before his work was done. I have not attempted to tell you all he said from time to time, suffice it to say at present that death was not viewed from the very first as an unexpected or unwelcome guest. He had no doubt of his personal salvation through the blood of the atonement on which he rested with unshaken confidence to the

last. Even the painful task of giving up his wife and children seemed easy.

Whilst all around were deeply affected he was unmoved; the grace of God raised him above mere human emotions. His death-bed scene was that of a hero returning to his home. Heaven was in his eye, and it was alike easy to commit his own spirit into the hands of his Saviour, and his wife and his children to His guardian care. There was just so much difference as shewed that he was man and felt as a man; but so little as proved him to be a conqueror over death through Him that loved Him. We could not well postpone his funeral till after the Sabbath; so we had a coffin made on the Sabbath, as good a one as we could accomplish, and by about 5 p.m. everything was completed. The funeral commenced by reading the first part of the service in the house, many Feejeeans as well as Tonguese being present. We then proceeded to the grave to *Nasima*.¹⁰⁸ Our own people with the assistance of some Tonguese carried the corpse on their shoulders; and in the grave, before sacred¹⁰⁹ but more so now, we deposited the remains of our dear friend and Bro. to be seen no more till the resurrection of the just. All was concluded while it was yet day.

Near a fortnight has now elapsed since the above mournful event. Our dear Sister Cross and the rest of us have recovered from the immediate effects—I mean upon our bodies. The mind of our dear Sister Cross has been and is graciously supported; but she feels very acutely her bereavement. We endeavour to comfort her as well as we can, and are either over with them or they with us part of every day. Moses and his wife live with them, sleep in the house and are a great help and comfort to them.

I may remark that our departed Bro. had rest from ministerial duties from the time of his arrival with but little exception. I saw that he was not in a state to work, and therefore felt afraid of his doing anything. He only addressed the natives once, and preached once in English on the Sabbath before he was taken so ill. He seemed to have a special desire to do this. It was his last sermon. He attended one Class Meeting which I conducted. I may justly say of all these meetings they were worthy of being the last. We had agreed that I should have the native work entirely in my own hands that he might not be burdened with it.

¹⁰⁸ *Nasima* was the name of King Tuithakau's house in Somosomo. It was the house in which Hunt and Lyth with their families took up their residence immediately after their arrival. The site can be located exactly; for there is now a headstone near the grave where Cross was buried. The name, *Nasima*, was probably given to the house because its walls were covered with coconut leaves. In the Thakaundrovi dialect *simasima* was the word for a coconut leaf.

¹⁰⁹ Because Lyth and Hunt had each buried a child there.

We were very happy together during the short time he was here. He often expressed his satisfaction with the arrangement that had been made, and said that it was one of the plans which he himself had proposed. As to the first premonitory symptoms of his complaint Mrs Cross refers to the time when they were on board. She remembers Mr Cross observing that his bowels were not as they were wont to be. I mention these things because it will be gratifying to your minds to know as many of the particulars as possible.

The children are in a middling state of health. Mrs Cross thinks they are not quite so well as when at Vewa. Lucy is very delicate, and, I am afraid, of a serious complaint; she has been losing flesh. I need not say I feel my responsibility with such a charge. But the Lord helps me, and I can trust in Him and not be afraid. Mrs Lyth complains a little; but is, I hope, in a tolerably good state of health. Our Feejee nurse has been absent since Mr Cross's death. Richard is very well with only two teeth, so that we have the period of teething before us, and the time of weaning is also drawing near.

Tuilaila is getting worse. Feejeeanly speaking¹¹⁰ his end is not very distant. Those who are to die with him are already marked out. He took English medicine for some time, and was evidently relieved; but I never indulged the prospect of a cure. He still takes medicine occasionally to procure rest. His worst symptom is that his appetite is very bad, and he is losing flesh fast, or at least is very much reduced. I visit him every day and he will bear talking to. He is very kind to me, and has been during our late affliction and bereavement. I may say the same, too, of the chiefs and people generally. Poor fellow, his heart seems almost broken; his affliction has very much humbled him. But Alas! he does not humble himself before God! He is a humbled heathen. He loves his wives and his people, and he feels it is a hard thing to die and give them up. He would *lotu*, if he might live by it, for his heart

¹¹⁰ This expression is somewhat obscure; but I offer the following explanation. It has always seemed to be a remarkable fact that the Fijian word *mate* for sickness is the same as that used for death. Partly because of their mental temperament (so strongly charged with fatalism) and partly because of their treatment of the sick, it was very easy for the Fijian to pass from the thought of sickness to the thought of death, especially in a case such as this where the patient had been very ill for some time. Tuikilakila recovered under the skilful treatment of Dr Lyth. It was not till February 1854, that he was murdered, while asleep on his mat, by one of his nephews at the instigation of his own son Thakombau Weilagi. See Dr Lyth's Journal, vol. x, pp. 53 and 64 (M.M.).

and his treasures are in this world. He has been more liberal in sending me presents lately than ever before.¹¹¹

The people of Somosomo have gone to war, to the large land.¹¹² They are keeping the *koro* of the Tuniloa people to be ready to help them against their enemies the Netewa¹¹³ people. It is not very distant, for the Tuniloa people have left their own place and have removed to Koroivonu which is nearer to Somosomo. I am afraid the opportunity was eagerly embraced. The *bure* of their principal god¹¹⁴ here has been rebuilt, and they had fixed that, when it was finished, they should go to feast at Vaturova. It was expected they would go to war with them against their enemies, and then their bloody god would get a consecration sacrifice¹¹⁵.

They had tried to cover the thing out of my sight, for I had endeavoured to use my influence against their deeds of darkness; but whilst there did not appear to be any intention of killing men intentionally for the purpose, yet they had this plan of joining the Vaturova people so as to accomplish, under cover, their own cruel and abominable purposes. And the worst of it is that their god has had this house built in his honour, and is most probably to have it consecrated to him with human sacrifices in order to propitiate him in favour of Tuilaila's recovery. I have spoken very plainly

¹¹¹ From this time onward, Somosomo was a more comfortable place for Methodist missionaries to live in. Tuikilakila refused to become a Christian; but he did not forget the service rendered to him by Dr Lyth in his protracted and painful illness. Both Williams and Hazlewood derived great advantage from this, and they freely acknowledged it. Tuikilakila has often been described as a monster. Note what Dr Lyth says of him in this paragraph—especially his love for his people, an admirable quality in a king; and the statement is strongly supported by the evidence.

¹¹² Vanua Levu, called in the sandalwood days Takanova (for Thakandrovu). It lay across the straits to the west of Taviuni.

¹¹³ They lived on the east coast of Vanua Levu, opposite Taviuni. The Natewa were subjects of Tuikilakila, but constantly in revolt at this time, and more favourably disposed to acknowledge the overlordship of Tanoa and Thakombau—a disposition which Thakombau at a later time made use of with an eye to his own aggrandizement.

¹¹⁴ Na Tavasara. In N.O.F. it is stated that the *mbure* to this god in Somosomo was one of the strongest Williams had seen: "I should think its walls were not less than 12 feet high, and all of *vesi* (a kind of mahogany) planking, every inch of which had to be chopped out with an axe. The rough figure on the left of the entrance was cut out solid with the plank on which it appears. The interior was freely ornamented with sinnet. I have seen several dead bodies presented to the god of this house. 'A' marks the place where the human ovens are made. Na Tavasara's priest was one of the pleasantest old men I ever saw in Fiji. He had several shot wounds about him, and one or two bullets in his flesh. That these did not kill him he attributed to the care of his god"—entered here in February 1849.

¹¹⁵ Of human bodies.

to Tuilaila on the subject—on favourable occasions. He has seemed to feel what I said, and is almost persuaded to attend to it.¹¹⁶ But it is hard for a heathen to give up his old superstitions, and impossible whilst he listens to the advice of priests and heathen counsellors.

But I must now turn to another subject which you will be anticipating—What must be done? or, is it necessary to do anything? I have written to Bro. Hunt, as the senior Bro.,¹¹⁷ for him and Bro. Jaggar to consult together, and to act accordingly. If we had been nearer I think a special D.M. would have been desirable. In the circumstances, I think it is desirable that one should come and be here, at least for a while, till affairs can be settled so that Sister Cross and family may be able to leave the islands with comfort.

Bro. Cross made you (Bro. C.), Bro. Hunt and myself joint executors with Mrs Cross of his affairs in the islands; and, besides these affairs, there are those connected with his office as Acting-chairman. Bro. H. is to communicate with you on this subject.

Bro. Cross requests you to send the copy of the register of two of the children who were baptized by Mr Cargill¹¹⁸ at Lakeba, and also to write to Mr Thomas¹¹⁹ as soon as an opportunity offers for the register of their eldest son William.

I have received your kind letters a few days ago. The teapot and dress came safe to hand. The case of porter, &c, have not yet come. Perhaps it and the *magimagi*¹²⁰ &c are at Viwa. I thank you for all your great kindness.

I have had to finish the above in the greatest haste; the man is in an extraordinary hurry. I had more to say but cannot say it. A

¹¹⁶ At this time Tuikilakila was very much under the influence of Dr Lyth, not because of his religious teaching, but because of the benefit he had derived from the doctor's medical treatment. To the mind of the king this meant that Lyth's God must be a great God, and that He and His priest, the missionary, must be treated with great respect.

¹¹⁷ After the departure of David Cargill in 1840 William Cross had been made chairman of the District Meeting. After Cross's death John Hunt was appointed chairman, and held the office till his death in October, 1848.

¹¹⁸ David Cargill came to Lakemba with William Cross in October 1835, and they lived together there until Cross left for Rewa in December 1837. Cargill suffered from temperamental defects; but he was the most brilliant and scholarly of all the early missionaries. He laid the foundations of the written language in Fiji, translated the four Gospels and part of the Acts of the Apostles into Fijian, and compiled a Grammar and Dictionary of the Lau dialect. Because of his literary qualifications he had been appointed first chairman of the Fiji district, though Cross was his senior in the service. For an account of Cargill's work in Fiji consult the index to H.F.F., and note particularly Chapter XII, pp. 186-9 and 195-6.

¹¹⁹ John Thomas, chairman of the district of the Friendly Islands.

¹²⁰ Sinnet.

Levooka canoe came a short time ago from Lakemba bringing no letters; but the chief is a poor creature, and seems quite indisposed to take anything for us. We are all tolerable through mercy, and send our sincere love to you, commending ourselves to your prayers.

If an opportunity occurs let me have your thoughts as to what you think the best.

I am, Yours most affectionately,

RICHARD BURDSALL LYTH.¹²¹

P.S. All were well at Viwa,¹²² and Bro. Jaggar better, R. B. L.

December 23rd—Having read Bro. L.'s affecting letter on the 22nd we met together at Bro. C.'s to consider what had best be done in this case, having first sought direction of Almighty God in prayer.

The result of our deliberations was that one of us ought to go as soon as possible, it not being likely that either Bro. Hunt or Bro. Jaggar could leave their wives alone on the respective Circuits in which they are labouring. As Mrs. C. is expected to be confined very soon it was deemed inadvisable for Bro. C. to leave home. The lot therefore fell upon me, and, having made needful preparations, I set sail towards noon hoping to arrive speedily at Tuvu ca.

The wind however broke up, and finally set against us. This was succeeded by calms so that it was nearly day-break

¹²¹ Richard Burdsall Lyth, M.D., first served as a missionary in the Haabai Group of the Friendly Islands. After sixteen months he left for Fiji in the *Letitia*, and arrived at Lakemba in June 1839. He and John Hunt began their work at Somosomo on 27 July, 1839, and succeeded in establishing a centre there. Lyth was a trained English surgeon, and, in addition to his missionary zeal, was regarded by his colleagues as a good business man. He was secretary to the District Meeting until 1848, when he was appointed chairman in succession to John Hunt. That appointment was duly confirmed by the Committee in London. Lyth was a man of lofty ideals, indefatigable industry and deep devotion. My carefully considered opinion is that he was the most solid and serviceable of all the early missionaries. He was the true founder of medical practice in Fiji, and the credit for training efficient teachers of religion belongs to him more than to any other missionary in this period. He left Fiji in September 1854. For an account of his work consult the index to H.F.F., and note particularly the chapters on "The Practice of Medicine" and "Native Agents."

¹²² John Hunt was at Vewa when Lyth wrote this letter, and Thomas Jaggar was still at Rewa.

before we reached Tuvu ca, and that only by plying our oars. Having spread my mattress on the beach I paid my respects to the chief of the island who, by this time, had come to us, and, this done, addressed myself to sleep. The light of the sun soon called us to our morning duties, and, these over, I prepared to visit the town the ascent to which is so difficult, and so well described by Mr W. L.¹²³

I had the people called together as several of them had been consistent professors for a length of time and were expecting to be admitted into the visible church by the ordinance of baptism whenever we should be able to visit them. The people readily obeyed the summons, and I was soon surrounded by several scores of neatly dressed Feejeeans of various ages.

Their Teachers testified to the generally consistent behaviour of the several candidates for baptism, and, after a little preparatory conversation, I was about to commence the service when one came to request that I would allow them first to open the oven, and serve up its contents that I might take refreshment to strengthen my body for the work before me.

The Feejeean traveller will mostly find that the ground is his table; leaves are his plate and a stick or reed, aided by his fingers, answers the twofold purpose of knife and fork; so that a table is quickly set.

A nice baked hog and other suitable dishes were placed before us in a trice, and having dispatched these, we assembled to hold our service. There being no house sufficiently capacious to hold us, I proposed that we should assemble in the middle of their village which, being situated in a deep ravine, was so sheltered from the direct influence of the sun that we suffered no inconvenience from his heat. The lofty rocks, on whose steep sides some hardy shrubs found

¹²³ I am unable to trace the reference here? Who is W.L.?

existence, seemed to unite with the clear sky overhead which formed a beautiful roof to our natural temple. Here we endeavoured to worship God. We seemed shut out from the world, and the thoughts of my mind were very solemn.

After having endeavoured to shew the people the nature of the service in which they were about to engage I baptized 49 adults and nine children. Two teachers then engaged in prayer and the meeting was concluded. Many accompanied me to the beach where I parted with them and proceeded on my watery way to Lomaloma.¹²⁴ It being low water when we approached, we had to sail a considerable distance along the edge of the reef until we came to a place sufficiently deep to allow of the canoe passing over. The canoe being lightened by most of the crew jumping into the water, we got over pretty well. It was about nine o'clock p.m. when we reached the town named Lomaloma. I went directly to the old chief who has lately embraced religion, and found him well employed. He and his household were bowed around the family altar whilst Daniel Tofale,¹²⁵ our excellent assistant in this place, was giving God thanks for the mercies which they had enjoyed during the past day, and seeking His protection during the hours about to be devoted to repose.

The old gentleman rejoiced to see me, and regretted that he was not better prepared to receive me. I passed my Christmas Eve in conversing with the people until I felt heavy for want of sleep, when I retired to my mat and slept soundly.

Sun. December 25th—Tolerable attendance at the morning prayer meeting. After this, made arrangements for the services of the day and married four couples.

Preached on the Nativity of our blessed Lord and then

¹²⁴ On Vanua Mbalavu.

¹²⁵ In his letter, 3 January 1843 (M.M.S.M.), Calvert says: "Daniel is a famous fellow: good-natured, good-tempered and very kind. The people love and respect him."

baptized 27 adults and 12 children. Amongst the adults was the old chief mentioned above Tu Mataka or Mata ki Cakadrovi.¹²⁶ He chose to be named Zephaniah. The priests have been at work as usual to intimidate him, so that he might renounce his profession of Christianity, by threatening to take his soul away¹²⁷ and force him to abide in a separate place.¹²⁸ To one who said he had taken away the soul of this chief and stationed it at a particular point of land, the old chief sent word that "notwithstanding his assertion his soul was still connected with his body, and both were lying on his mat."

We sailed on to the other end of the land, the thickly peopled district of Yaro, after the conclusion of the public service at Lomaloma. Whilst on our way Joseph Mbukarau told me of a little affair which had occurred between the Christians at Lomolomo and some heathen visitors from Lou cala. It appears that the latter were in the habit of coming to the house in which our services are held to mock at and deride those who were peaceably engaged in serving and worshipping the true God. On one occasion a Lou cala

¹²⁶ Ambassador to Thakaundrovi, or more strictly Somosomo. Vanua Mbalavu was tributary to Tuikilakila of Somosomo, not to Tuinayau of Lakemba.

¹²⁷ There was in Fiji a specific way of catching the soul of an individual called *Yalovaki* which is described by Williams in N.O.F., vol. i, p. 167. "In the Windward Isles there is great dread of being subjected to this piece of heathen priestcraft. Some of my ducks were stolen when I was at Lakemba. I reported this to Tuinayau. The suspect was brought to trial; but he stoutly denied the charge. The evidence against him being strong Tuinayau ordered the head-dress (like a gauze scarf) for catching the soul of the rogue. It was instantly effective. The culprit, on seeing the scarf, confessed at once, and made known his accomplices. Had he refused to confess his guilt, the person would have proceeded to whirl or wave the scarf over his head until the soul of the man was secured, then fold it up and take it to the canoe of some great chief, and nail it to the small end of the canoe. If, after this, the suspected person refused to confess the truth he would gradually sink and die. On confessing, the soul is released, and the man lives. Lost goods are often recovered in this way." Dated 1841.

¹²⁸ Another instance of the belief of the Fijian that the soul and its living body could exist apart.

heathen being more than ordinarily troublesome, a Christian took hold of his arms and requested that he might be bound and detained as a warning to others. But, by asking pardon, he gained his freedom and returned to his companions. Although the Lou cala people were the aggressors they nevertheless thought themselves hardly treated, and left Lomolomo fully determined that, as soon as they regained their own land, the Lomolomo Christians should wither and die under the potent influence of their heathenish practices.

Upon their arrival home a number of young nuts were gathered agreeing with the number of the Christians to be cut off, their eyes (i.e. the eyes of the nuts) were blackened, and then the nuts were buried, if I mistake not, in the temple where a fire is kindled and kept burning on the top of the nuts, the blackened eyes being kept uppermost. It is the received opinion in most parts of Feejee that as the effect of the fire deprives the young nut of vitality so will the demon whom they worship take away the life of the victim, or victims, of their hatred. The heathen Feejeeans evince great fear respecting the fatal effects of such practices, and often take great pains to avert the dreaded result.¹²⁹ This was not the case with Joseph and his friends. They were becoming, in some sense, enlightened men and feared not the influence of Feejeean gods.

When they heard of the Lou cala people's proceedings

¹²⁹ There is a general consensus of opinion among the people who lived with the Fijians at this time that the dread of spells such as this was very great, and the missionaries say that it haunted their minds after their conversion longer than any other superstition. In his introduction to the *Tales from Old Fiji* Lorimer Fison says that the Fijians are terribly afraid of witchcraft. Among other methods by which it is practised he mentions (1) *Vaka-ndraunikau-toka* which means to bewitch by tying up in a bundle, with certain leaves (*draunikau*), hairs from the head of the man who is to be done to death, or a shred of his clothing, leavings of his food or other belongings. The bundle may be cooked, or buried, or hung up in the forest, and death by wasting disease follows. (2) Burying the nut under the hearth: as the life of the nut is destroyed, so the victim fails. "Savages do die of fear," he says, "when they think themselves bewitched."

they embraced the earliest opportunity of sending to request them to test the powers of their false gods well, and, if burying nuts once did not succeed, not to be disheartened, but to bury them twice or thrice; nay, to proceed until the nuts in Lou cala should be so few that a man would be tired in finding one.¹³⁰

When we had run about six miles along the shore we put in for land intending to take a foot road that leads to Yaro or Moa levu. Joseph and I had landed, and were engaged in conversation, when we perceived one of the people who had gone to assist in taking the canoe to deep water hastening towards us, holloaing as he came. Our attention being thus arrested, we were led to look about us, and perceived between 30 and 40 armed natives running at full speed towards us. Some, as they approached, presented their muskets, others raised their clubs or brandished their spears in the air, whilst all seemed to do their best towards making a great noise. The affair assumed a serious aspect, and, for a moment, I felt something like fear as we were entirely un-

¹³⁰ This was exceptional bravery in a Fijian; but on this island, Yaro, the gods had been brought to a test by a young man, in a way that was very rare; and the result emboldened the doubters. "A young man at Yaro," says Williams, "having learned a little about Christianity soon came to suspect the ability of the god he worshipped to punish him. He determined to test him. In the temple devoted to his god there was, according to custom, a part considered far more sacred than any other, because the god was supposed to come and go away there. Here was hung up a coarse mat (*tampakan*) by which the god was supposed to descend. It was therefore very sacred; and death was the penalty of disrespect of it. This mat the youth selected to prove his god by. 'I will rend my god's *tampakan* from top to bottom,' he said, 'and if for thus insulting him he kills me, it will be a plain proof that he is a true god. If not I shall know that he is false, and I shall reject him.'

"Thus determined, the youth advanced to the spot, took hold of the sacred mat and tore it up. Then he sat down at the foot of the pillar on which it had hung to learn what would be the consequence of his bold conduct. After waiting a considerable time, and finding that neither death nor disease came upon him, he arose and directed his steps to a Christian's house, and declared his resolution to *lotu* at once. I need scarcely add that he united with our people at once." This note is dated 24 October 1845. See N.O.F., vol. ii., pp. 20-21.

armed. Joseph and I involuntarily advanced towards these sons of war, and a rapid change took place. In the distance the person of Joseph Mbukarau had not been discerned. Indeed it had undergone some change, for he had dismissed a tolerable beard on the Saturday evening, and the upper part of his body was covered with a shirt; so that it had really become rather difficult to identify him. But this difficulty decreased as we neared the oncomers, and, as they one after another caught his eye, their fierce looks vanished. It was truly amusing to see them as they squatted to the ground and hear them uttering, as they dropped, the word of respect.¹³¹

We embraced the opportunity of conversing with this people and urging them to consider their best interest and serve their Maker. We then took our leave of them and proceeded on our way, when I learned from one of our people that they took us for Tonguese, and supposed we designed war upon one of their towns. A walk of two miles and we were at Yaro. I proceeded to the house of a young chief who, with his child, has lately made a profession of Christianity, and was gladly received. After a pause I read a letter of introduction given to me by one of our people at One-

¹³¹ Words of respect were an important part of Fijian etiquette. In N.O.F., vol. i., p. 77, Williams gives those used in the parts of Fiji that he knew thus:

"Bau	{ men: (<i>Dō oa?</i>) <i>Muduo! Wo!</i> women: <i>Mai-i-n-a-ra-k-a-d-u-a</i>
"Somosomo	{ men: <i>Duo-wo!</i> women: <i>Mai na va, (K)adua</i> (long)
"Lakemba	{ men: <i>O! Oa</i> women: <i>Ni! go!</i>
"Vanua Levu	{ men: <i>Dua, dua, dua</i> women: <i>Mai na vaka dua</i> (long)

"At Lakemba, Somosomo and Bau, an inferior squats down on meeting a superior. On Vanua Levu he rubs the upper part of his left arm with his right hand. At the close of day these forms are not observed, especially the spoken ones. It would be impudent to do so, and it would be wrong when a chief is making a sail or——"

ata,¹³² a man of some influence in these parts. It was addressed to the Chiefs of Moa Levu, and, amongst other things, requested them "to treat Mr Williams kindly; and to prevent their people from being impudent and from stealing the poles, oars or ropes of his canoe."¹³³

Crowds of people had got about us, so I thought it advisable to commence our service. I tried to shew them the desperate state in which mankind, without exception, are by nature, and the love which God had shewn towards us in giving Christ his son "that the world through him might be saved." I had as much attention paid to me as I could expect considering the people to whom I spoke.

After service I visited a chief from Bou who was on a visit to this place, and talked to him for a short time. After this I had a few words with some of the chiefs of the place; but the King was away from the town. We returned and regained Lomolomo in time for me to conduct the evening service, addressing the people from a part of the second Psalm. The remainder of the evening was occupied in visiting and conversing with heathen families. Having thus passed the whole of this Christmas day, "a stranger in a strange land," and amongst those who, for far the greater part, are strangers to my Lord and Master, I retired to rest with a deep conviction that, though I had laboured incessantly from the break of day until the mantle of darkness was spreading over us, all would be in vain unless supported by God's blessing. Oh that the Lord may be pleased to bless my labours.

December 26th—Proceeded on our course; called at Ve-

¹³² There was a traditional bond between the people of Oneata and Vanua Mbalavu, and a regular trade was carried on between the two islands. The first Christian chief of Vanua Mbalavu was converted at Oneata.

¹³³ A sidelight on one of the difficulties encountered by voyagers among the Fijian islands at this time.

kai,¹³⁴ a small unoccupied island, to procure a few nuts. As we coasted along the large island I could not but think that the natives had most justly named it the Long Land.¹³⁵ I saw one or two villages like nests in the cliffs; but could not spare time to visit their inhabitants. Observed what appeared to me the mouth of a river to the north end of the island.¹³⁶ We glided on nicely so that we arrived at the Naitamba reef so early as to induce us to run forward for Lou cala. Here we arrived about three hours or more after sunset. We passed on carefully, fearful of striking on a reef, and, notwithstanding all our care, we did strike one before we saw it, there not being the least surf where we were. We passed nicely over into deep water, and, sailing along inside, cast anchor at a tolerable distance from the shore at the back of the island. We did this because we knew the unsettled state of affairs in these parts, and, being strangers, we did not wish to proceed too far lest we should be cut off.

We formed ourselves into two watches for the night, and, having commended ourselves to the care of our Heavenly Father who had brought us thus far in safety, we slept as

¹³⁴ There must be a mistake here. Williams has left Lomaloma, and is proceeding on his voyage *northwards*. But Vekai is a small low island about twenty miles south of Lomaloma, and six miles north of Tuvutha. In the manuscript the word, Vekai, the name of the island, is written in a larger hand than the rest of the entry, and differs in style from the rest of the writing. It was probably filled in at a later time. When Williams made the entry he evidently did not know the name of the small island he had landed on, and possibly made a guess later.

¹³⁵ *Vanua*, land; *Mbalavu*, long. It does not appear so on the map drawn by Wilson of the *Duff*; but that is because he viewed it only from the north.

¹³⁶ There is a long narrow channel between the northern shore of Vanua Mbalavu and the reef running parallel to it. Immediately beyond are the straits between Vanua Mbalavu and the island Avea. The whole extent of this watercourse would have the appearance of a river to a man sailing along the west coast northwards.

well as we could expect considering our confined situation and the falling of a heavy dew.

December 27th—Set sail for Somosomo, and after some slow sailing, hard sculling and propelling along the coast with poles, we arrived opposite the Mission premises between three and four in the afternoon much to the surprise of our esteemed Somosomo friends.

Found our dear and bereaved friends in a better condition than I had ventured to anticipate. They had nearly recovered from the immediate effect of the painful event. Little Lucy Cross seemed to be an exception: she was reduced to a living skeleton, and had such discharges as led Bro. Lyth to conclude that her case was a hopeless one.

The condition of the people I found was most unsettled. War, war, war, was the constant topic of conversation. The King had gone to Bou accompanied by most of his principal chiefs to request the assistance of Tanoa and Thakombou against the Natawa people who have dealt most treacherously with Tuikilakila and endangered his life.¹³⁷ As may be expected the Natawa people are condemned to be utterly extirpated by the Somosomoans as the just reward of

¹³⁷ Dr Lyth gives details of the treacherous attack under date 22 November 1842. Tuilaila had gone to Mbutha (almost immediately opposite) to bring to Somosomo some people who were pretending "to fall to him." A party which he sent up the river to the town was attacked by the traitors and eleven of them killed on the spot. Ubuabola, a younger brother of the king, was wounded in the massacre, and died ten days later. After his return from Mbau, whither he had gone to solicit help against the Natewa, Tuikilakila took his revenge for the massacre. Two towns, Navatu and Mbutha, were destroyed. See also Lyth's letter to London dated 9 August 1843. The war between Somosomo and Natewa originated in a case of adultery. It lasted for seven or eight years, and ended in 1850, when the people were nearly wiped out, and the chief of Tuniloa *soro'd* to Tuikilakila. The king was glad to accept the *soro* because another war between Somosomo and the people on the south coast of Vanua Levu appeared inevitable at the time.

their base act. It is most likely they will eventually pay dear for it.

Accompanied by Bro. Lyth I visited the old King¹³⁸ Tuithakau whose kindness our Missionaries have experienced from the day of their arrival. I found the old man seated in a kind of half windsor chair.¹³⁹ A bit of *mast*¹⁴⁰ dropped across his knee served to hide his nakedness. With a fan he wafted away annoying insects, and cooled himself. Indeed all about him told plainly enough that he neither liked to be over-encumbered with dress, or overdone with heat. His large whale's-tooth-mounted breastplate hung round his neck; a circlet of dingy hair stood on his head like a chaplet, and, excepting his armlet, I did not observe any other ornament about his person. Although stiff with years he received me very freely and kindly. We conversed a little, and then wished each other to go to sleep.

Passed the night under Bro. L.'s roof.

December 28th—Preached in native in the afternoon from the blessedness of those who hunger and thirst after righteousness. After service an old man named Na mata¹⁴¹ came into Bro. L.'s, and desired to have a little talk with me. We chatted a while; but I was soon tired. He was ever at vast trouble to convince me of his great importance, although

¹³⁸ There is no blunder here: Tuithakau was the old king who had left the actual management of the kingdom to Tuikilakila. A similar situation obtained at Mbau: Tanoa was the old king; Thakombau the real ruler.

¹³⁹ An article of furniture very rarely found in the house of a Fijian chief in those days.

¹⁴⁰ Native cloth made from the bark of the mulberry tree, and used for men's dresses.

¹⁴¹ We shall hear more of this vain, irascible man later on. *Na mata* is an official title, short for *O na mata*. The officer so named was attached to the person of the king. "It is his business to be in attendance when tribute or food is brought to the Sovereign, and to go through the customary form of acknowledgment, and answer reports of all kinds, and to officiate at the *yangona* ring, with other small duties."—F.F., vol. i., p. 27.

few seemed to think him so great a personage as he evidently did himself. At length we touched upon the greatness of Thakombou, and I made some remarks that did not suit him; so he rose from his seat, elevated his club and marched about me in a great rage. I told him to be quiet, and shortly after he left the house.

In the evening Bro. L. and I went into the settlement to talk a little with the people, and in one house I found several old personages, and at the door a brother of the old King's.

Whilst we conversed a little two or three old people joined and soon Na Mata made his appearance. He seemed desirous to avoid me; but I called him by name, and he came to us. Thus I had a favourable opportunity of exposing his impudence and ignorance, and so used it that he begged me to "love him," and disclose the matter no further, and asked if I would allow him to take my name upon him.¹⁴² However I left him rather ashamed of his foolish conduct.

December 30th—Took up my abode in the house occupied by Mrs Cross that I might be the more serviceable to her and her little ones.

A mattress laid upon a few boxes formed my bed, and all would have been well but for a litter of cats that actually filled the place with fleas, so that, if in going to bed or getting up I happened to put my foot upon the mats, swarms

¹⁴² An intimation that he desired to be on terms of the closest friendship with Williams. The making of friendship by exchanging names was a regular institution in Fiji. Williams was not likely to make a close friendship with such a man; but, speaking generally, John Hunt says in his report for 31 March 1842 while at Somosomo: "These little friendships are very useful to a missionary especially in places where there are no Christians. Your friend's house is your home, and he will procure you anything you want to eat if he possibly can, for which you may give him what you please."

of fleas were upon me and cost me some time and pains to get them off again.

This mountainous island has been freer from clouds¹⁴³ and rainbows thus far than it was during my last visit.

December 31st—Have been led much to think about the rapid flight of time and the little improvement I have made of it.¹⁴⁴ Help! Help! Lord for thy mercy's sake help! !

¹⁴³ According to Captain Wilkes, the summit of Taviuni is 2052 feet above sea-level. More often than not it is wrapped in cloud.

¹⁴⁴ A form of self-criticism common enough in the Journal. The reader will already have discerned that Williams was in reality a very energetic and industrious man.

1843

Our wasting lives grow shorter still
As days and months increase;
And every beating pulse we tell
Leaves but the number less.

The year rolls round, and steals away
The breath that first it gave.
Whate'er we do, where'er we be,
We're travelling to the grave.

Wesley's Hymns p.45.

JANUARY

Sun. January 1st—Bless the Lord for health to begin the first day in this New Year in the work of the Lord. Re-engaged myself to God. May the Lord enable me to remember and to keep my vows.

We passed the evening with Sister Cross in singing hymns of praise and in religious conversation.

January 2nd—Commenced adjusting Bro. Cross's affairs.

January 3rd—Packing up &c. Had a long conversation with the principal priest in this place.

January 4th—Saw the first doll made with hands that I have seen since I came to Feejee. It was cut out of wood in representation of a female.

January 5th—Visited and conversed with the Nairai people who have just arrived on this island to present pro-

perty to their friends the Butoni¹ people. They think, if their lips do not belie their hearts, that it would be well for them to worship the true God.

January 6th—During the past two days my mind has been almost fastened to the subject of death. My situation forcibly reminds me of this. Bro. Cross is no more. Yesterday Bro. L. and I had a long conversation respecting Mr Spinney² who, after having toiled in the Tonga Mission a short time, died in Sydney. Today I have read of the death of Miss J. Fishwick, certainly an amiable young lady, and poor little Lucy seems dying daily. All these things impress my mind with the subject of death. Lord prepare me for dying well—Lord help me to live well.

January 7th—Sent letters to Lakemba.

January 12th—Commenced Mr Cross's and Bros Lyth's and Hunt's children's tomb. A man came to Bro. L. to state his desire to embrace religion, and said: "I shall come to the service this afternoon so that you will know I am really true."

January 13th—The same man made his appearance to state the reason of his not coming according to promise. "I drank yang-gona, and got drunk, and went to sleep. My sleep has been long. I found it was morning when I woke; but I came directly to you to *lotu*!"

¹ The Mbutoni were the rovers and seamen of Fiji. They were subject to Mbau and paid tribute; but they affected a certain superiority: they expected to be feasted, and treated well generally. Usually they were. On one of their visits to Mbau, Ngavindi, the chief of the Lasakau, in order to safeguard his honour (!) had fourteen women seized to provide a feast for the Mbutoni. The missionaries stationed at Vewa were away at the time; but their wives went to Mbau, protested vehemently against Ngavindi's conduct, and succeeded in rescuing some of the fourteen who had not already been killed.

² John Spinney, a missionary in the Friendly Islands, was directed by the London Committee to proceed to Fiji with Dr Lyth. On his arrival in June 1839 he was so ill that the District Meeting decided that he should go on to Sydney without delay. He died there in the following year, 1840.

January 19th—My Lomolomo friends rather surprised me by their punctuality. I had requested them to be back about this time; but had not expected they would have been so soon upon me. Danieli and Luke had done their best to “keep time,” and I felt obliged to them. Finished the tomb to the great satisfaction of Sister C. and Bro. and Sis. Lyth.³ Passed the evening with Bro. L. in making necessary preparation for my early departure.

January 20th—Left my much esteemed friends at Somosomo. Sister Cross’s mind seemed to have been relieved by my visit, and, for the last two or three days, by the apparent improvement in little Lucy’s health. Bro. and Sis. Lyth are, on the contrary, under some concern respecting Master R.B.L. who began a day or two since to manifest symptoms similar to those of his predecessor R.B.L. I would gladly have remained longer could my service have been of use to them; but, it being the general opinion that my duty to my family and the work at Lakemba called upon me to return now that things were in a fair way at Somosomo, and nothing remained to prevent Sis. Cross’s comfortable removal from Feejee, I took my departure commended by all here to the care and mercy of God.

The wind failing us, we had to scull most of the way from Wai ni kili to Lou cala. We called to get nuts at Ngamia⁴ but I saw no inhabitants.

I should have observed that in the morning we stayed a

³ In an extract from his Journal sent to London on 10 January 1843 Dr Lyth says: “His visit has been very refreshing to Sister Cross and all of us. During his stay, he planned and made with his own hands a substantial, beautiful and cheap monument of wood covered with black calico, and grey marble print, with the names of the Rev. W. Cross and others belonging to the mission families who have been buried in Somosomo. It is to be placed in the house over the grave.” The house and monument of 1842, and the railing round the grave which Thomas Williams found on his visit to Somosomo in 1885 have all disappeared. A headstone now indicates the spot where Cross was buried.

⁴ The island to the east of Taviuni across Tasman Straits.

while at Wai lagi, a small place on the island of Somosomo.⁵ I found the people fitting out two canoes to go over and assist in building war fences on the great land. I talked with them for some time on the evils consequent upon their wars, and when I had done some said: "Your words are true," and others said amongst themselves: "The stranger loves us."

I then climbed up to the town; but, finding that it was all but empty, I soon returned to the seaside, went on board the canoe and pushed on.

About 10 o'clock p.m. we gained the back of the island of Lou cala,⁶ and, being now tolerably well acquainted with the state of affairs in these parts, we ventured to land, and slept on the beach in the open air.

January 21st—Early in the morning I crossed over the island to see the chief and his people. With much searching I found out Ratu Bebe loa, or Tui Lou cala. He was sitting in a *bure* with some of the "old ones" whilst his yang-gona was being prepared. He welcomed me and requested some ripe bananas to be brought for me. Very great ceremony was made over his drinking their favourite liquor. He is not allowed to touch the cup.

He seemed to think that the circumstances of Bro. Lyth's son being kept on the island was a strong proof that, if not altogether Christians, they were nearly so!

In course of conversation it came out that two men on the island called themselves Christians; but those who spoke of

⁵ Note the use of "Somosomo," the principal town, for the island, Taviuni. This is a survival of usage in the earlier days.

⁶ Williams went back, as he had come, round the north of Taviuni. That was the sheltered and safe way for a canoe. Had they gone round the south-western corner, past Vuna, they would have encountered the full force of the south-east winds in open water. To the north and east of Taviuni Williams sailed over historic waters. Tasman was there in February 1843, and had a dreadful time in stormy, misty weather in a tangle of reefs. See H.F.F., pp. 15-16.

them represented them as false men. Feeling desirous to see them and ascertain their true state I sought them out, but found the people quite unwilling to inform me where I might find them, possibly because they were common men after whom I inquired. At last I found one of them who at once acknowledged himself a *lotu* man. He informed me that his companion had gone on a short voyage.

On inquiry I found that all that he or his companion knew about religion was that the name of their God was Jehovah. I asked if they ever prayed together? He said: "No, but we have built a house of prayer." This I wished him to point out and, turning to the vale below, he said "It is down there. It hangs up." Seeing nothing but some small and old houses I thought he was deceiving me, and said if there was one we had better go to it. "I will fetch it," said he. Upon this he called aloud to a youth and requested him to "bring the house for prayer to me." I became more and more puzzled with the man's proceedings; but determined to wait patiently the result. The lad soon returned bringing in his hand a house of slight structure, the framework of wood (sticks). The floor was formed of a sheet of copper 2 ft long by 14 in. wide; the walls were made of fine plain native cloth, the roof was covered with stained native cloth, small pattern, selected, as the man innocently observed, because they thought it looked a deal like the pages of the sacred book. The height of the house from ridge to floor was 2 ft 4 in. The ridge pole and wall plates projected about 8 in. from the gable ends of the house; were covered with various feathers and the end of each ornamented with a large white cowry. The large plaited cynet by which it was suspended was also ornamented with white native beads.

I was curious to know who had instructed them to make such a place as this. The man said: "No one," but, after

they had been Christians a while, Veratta (his companion's name) was taken ill which led to a conversation between him and Dela as to what could be the cause of this illness, and they thought it might be because there was no temple built for the God Jehovah. They therefore built this, and Veratta presented it as his offering to appease the wrath of Jehovah and to buy his favour.

The man soon recovered and his recovery was altogether attributed to the efficacy of his *soro*.

Whilst here the burning of the new nuts, mentioned on p. 128, was spoken of to a man who was principal in the affair; but he was ashamed of it and desired to be treated as a friend by those on my canoe.

I requested Dela to take the house of prayer to my canoe, and I would give him a dress.⁷ This he readily did. During our walk Danieli and I were employed in conversing with the man, and endeavouring to teach him that which is essential to constitute him a true and spiritual worshipper of God.

The old chief followed us accompanied by several men carrying bunches of bananas which we, being short of food, had begged, and in return for which I gave him two or three trifles of iron ware with which he seemed much pleased, and left us assuring us that it was his mind that the fine wind which was blowing was given us by the true God Jehovah for the purpose of taking us to Lomolomo. We had a fine running breeze which carried us along speedily. It was my fixed intention to have visited the Naitamba people; but, having passed the entrance in that reef before I was aware,

⁷ But surely it was unkind to deprive Dela of the *soro* which had secured the restoration of his friend's health, and brought mental satisfaction to both! Besides, a dress was poor exchange for such a valuable souvenir, showing, as it did, how two simple-minded heathens had thought out for themselves a way of petitioning and propitiating their new God Jehovah.

I was prevented. A little before sunset we reached Lomolomo and had a little time to prepare for the day of rest.

Sun. January 22nd—Took a canoe and proceeded to the island of Susui where we have a man, his wife and child Christian. A less interesting set of people I think I have nowhere seen. We informed the people as we passed along of our intention to hold service, and invited them to attend; but only the three above named attended service. As they would not come to us we went to some of them, and tried to shew them that they were not the happiest people in the world.

We again entrusted ourselves upon the great deep. The breeze had increased to a gale, and we darted along the tops of the waves at a fearful rate.⁸ Having got safe back to Lomolomo we proceeded inland to Yaro, the wind not allowing us the relief of a canoe. After a walk of eight or nine miles in the heat of the day, we arrived at Yaro much exhausted. Here I found the canoe from Oneata had arrived, so that the congregation of Christians who awaited my arrival was rather a large one. The heathen crowded around us, and I was well nigh fit to faint with heat and loss of perspiration. The people were disposed to be serious, and a little event increased that disposition—a fine young man who was rather inclined to be sportive fell to the earth and was carried away insensible.

As several of the people from Oneata are likely to settle here—this in truth being their home—I conversed with them seriously as to the line of conduct which they ought to pursue to maintain their character, and to convince the people about them that the Christian religion is a religion of love.

I then visited the chief of this district Tui Mavana and recommended him to set his people a wise and good example

⁸ In a moderate breeze a Fijian canoe could sail twenty miles an hour.

by turning from serving dumb idols⁹ to the worship of the living and true God. He promised to consider the matter.¹⁰ One or two sick persons asked advice.¹¹

As we returned home we passed the spot where poor Saunders Rice¹² was murdered in 1841, and were led to inquire if his remains were allowed to remain undisturbed. We found that some Somosomo people had taken away most of his bones whilst the flesh was on them, intending to convert them into sail needles.

Since I was last here (about three weeks ago) a native of Cikobia was thrown by his friends into the opening of the reef where, from the violent and broken motion of the waters, he sank instantly. This was done because their carpenter disliked him!

Another Feejeean was thrown in here some time back because he attracted the notice of the ladies too much! He was a Lakemba man.

By the wayside we found five grey-headed old heathen and sat down to talk with them about their souls. A circumstance occurred during our conversation which convinced me that it is a difficult thing to make what we say fully and justly comprehended by aged heathen. I said to one of them: "It will be a bad thing for you to die in the dark," having previously spoken of the darkness of his mind; but

⁹ But Williams has already told us that he could not "gain the least clue thus far to the Feejeeans having at any time worshipped any visible objects." While he remained in Fiji, and after he left, he was still of the opinion that the Fijians were not worshippers of idols. See p. 67 and the footnote. Whether they worshipped idols or not Williams knew quite well that they did worship spirits—the spirits of their deified ancestors and "original gods." The language which he uses here about the gods of the Fijians is, as usual, abusive and unjust.

¹⁰ A courteous way of declining to accept the missionary's recommendation.

¹¹ Like the people of Somosomo, they preferred the missionary's medicine to his religion.

¹² See footnote, p. 26.

he, instantly, remarked to his companion: "Hark, he says it is a bad thing to die in the night!"¹³ We got home sadly tired and retired early to rest.

January 23rd—Set sail a little after midnight for Tuvu Ca which place we reached about three hours after sunrise. I revisited the settlement and called together those who were about when I was here last, and gave them an address, after which I left this place and, with a difficult wind, proceeded to Lakemba. A squall broke upon us most furiously when near Lakemba, and, for the short time it lasted, I thought we must have gone upside down. Our sail was much torn; but we were saved, and, at about 5 o'clock Bro. C. welcomed me to Lakemba. He had walked near to the reef, it being low water, and stood up to the knees in water waiting to receive me.

Found my family tolerably well, and our joy at again meeting was great. Lord write Thy mercies, engrave them on the tablet of my heart. May I never forget them or Thee, or forget to praise Thee.

January 28th—Considerably indisposed from severe cold.

FEBRUARY

February 1st—The fleet for Bou left this island. The following property is taken—An immense new canoe, 15 large packages of native cloth (some marked) and a great quantity of mosquito screens (about 50), 7 large balls of cynet, 10 whales' teeth of from 1½ lb. to 4 lb. weight and the favourite daughter of the King, Randi Tangethe, who has lately embraced Christianity. She is an amiable young

¹³ A very real difficulty here in communicating thoughts and ideas to the natives. They were always inclined to interpret figurative language literally, except in a few expressions with which their own language had made them familiar. In his journal under date 7 March 1851 Dr Lyth speaks of the difficulty he has had in trying to make the people understand clearly the meaning of his words.

person and her removal is much to be regretted—Lord take care of her. The man to whom she is betrothed¹⁴ is old enough to be her great-grandfather. When her young companions took their farewell of her the scene was truly affecting. But, really, how the young lady managed to bear such a weight of grief, so displayed, for so long a time and in such hot weather, I cannot tell. Many of her companions accompanied her until near the reef when they jumped into the sea, and at the risk of their limbs and lives swam to shore.¹⁵ Happily no accident took place. It is reported that the King advised his daughter not to throw away the *lotu* even if requested.

February 2nd—Heard during the day a little after noon a loud and peculiar report which some declared to be thunder, whilst others said it was the report of a large gun from some man-o'-war in the neighbourhood. Moved by curiosity I walked out directly upon hearing the noise and

¹⁴ Tanoa, Thakombau's father. When Cargill visited Viti Levu in the early part of 1839 he surmised that Tanoa must have been about seventy years of age. Henceforth Tangithi's life was sad.

¹⁵ Which goes to show that the Fijians were not "without natural affection" as Williams freely admits in a note which he wrote in N.O.F., vol. ii., pp. 135-8, probably in 1850. "Fijians are greatly wronged," he says, "by being supposed to be a set of rough untutored brutes. . . . They can feel as keenly, weep as sincerely, love as truly and laugh as heartily as any European. . . . White men on first coming into contact with Fijians call them 'brutes,' 'devils,' and such-like. On better acquaintance they find that they have an elaborate system of etiquette, and that, among themselves, none but the very lowest are ill-behaved." But while making this correction on his own earlier views he does not allow us to forget the other side of the Fijian character: "Their cruelty is consequent upon training, and has the same prompting as with duellists—'honour' and want of self-restraint. . . . What all right feeling persons in civilized life dread—the having their hands stained with the blood of their fellow creatures—is the height of a Fijian's ambition. It does not matter who it is—man, woman or child—so he may be known as the shedder of human blood, and be notorious as a murderer. For this distinction he yearns, and, having attained it, seeks other murders to complete the deed." For a discussion on the extreme contrarieties in the nature of the Fijian see H.F.F., Chapter VI., and note particularly the remarks on pp. 62-8.

looked round upon the face of the heavens; but all was clear—no dark cloud was to be seen. Towards evening I heard from several quarters that something bright was seen in a northerly and north-easterly direction as though falling from the sky, and upon its getting near the earth or water it made the noise heard by all on this island.

February 4th—Mrs Calvert confined.

Sun. February 5th—High winds and much rain during the past week. Many of my bananas have fallen.

Sun. February 12th—Walked inland to Nasagalou which I reached with difficulty having worn the skin off my feet in six different places. The female who is nominally Christian received me with every demonstration of pleasure. After a short rest I prepared to conduct the morning service; but was rather surprised to find that only one man and about three or four women made their appearance. Having observed a number of men employed in thatching a house not far distant I went out to them and informed them why I had come amongst them, and invited them to leave their work and hear what I had to say.

I remarked: "The land from which I have come is a far distant land, and a land that I love exceedingly; but I heard of your serving false gods; of your wars and man-eating propensities, and I pitied you, and loved you, and came to the determination of leaving my father's house, and all that was dear to me, to make known to you the true God and the religion of peace. My request to you is that you will love me and come and hear my message."

An old man answered: "We believe what you say is true; but did not know that it was lawful for us to come to the instruction." To which I rejoined: "It is lawful, and now let us all go." Several answered: "Yes, it is good, let us go

and hear for ourselves." Others took advantage of this invitation, so that I had a tolerable congregation in the end to whom I endeavoured to make plain some of the leading truths of our common Christianity. When I had done, an aged man who sat opposite me, said: "We know your words; but much of the meaning of them is hid from us."¹⁶

I wished him to say what he more particularly referred to, and requested him to ask me any question he thought fit. "Well," said he, "what do you mean by our souls dwelling with God after this life?" I explained my meaning, and the old man expressed some degree of surprise at the thought of such glory being reserved for those who truly serve God.

He asked some questions which most children of six years of age and a christian education could have answered. In many such persons ignorance and mental imbecility are combined with darkness—so dark as to baffle all attempts at description. This remark applies generally to those who are not in the habit of attending to religious instructions and, alas, to too, too many of those who receive them.

The old man said it was good to instruct them by conversing as we had been doing, and he with those about him certainly manifested considerable interest during our discourse. An umbrella¹⁷ that I had with me pleased them much more than anything I had said.

By this time Ra Masi had come in, and, after shaking me by the hand, sat down on my mat, and we entered into conversation. We had not been thus engaged long before he took my Feejeean Catechism up and inquired what it

¹⁶ The old trouble, and the chief reason why conversations with the Heathen were more effective than sermons.

¹⁷ In April 1843 John Hunt paid his first visit to the Mba River on the north-west of Viti Levu while on tour in an old schooner. At Votua, the home of Tongabele, who was escorting him, "the people were delighted beyond everything with my umbrella," he says. Being something exceptional and, to them, wonderful, their inclination would be to call it a god.

was; and whether it would suit me to tell him a little about its contents. This I gladly did, and for about an hour he listened patiently and with delight to such explanations as I offered on the first four chapters of the Conference Catechism No. 1.

He appeared much interested with the account given of the creation of man and of the world, acknowledging them to be much more rational¹⁸ than the traditions of Feejee.

I returned by the seaside thinking I should walk easier on the sand than inland, as I could not bear my shoes on. Here I met with a new trouble. The sand was so hot, as were the roads, that tears were ready to start from my eyes every time I set my foot on the ground. In fact I was so fatigued with heat and long walking that the sight of a foreign vessel¹⁹ making towards the island scarcely produced a delightful thought.

February 13th—No vessel in sight. I suppose she has proceeded onward on account of the prospect of "dirty weather."

February 14th—Led class, and hope that one or two are in earnest about their souls' salvation.

The oldest Tonguese that I have yet seen died last Sunday. At the grave his son opened the mats and cloth in which he was wrapped, and, in the sight of a number of people, embraced what was mortal of his father. Such an instance of affection I have not before heard of among the Tonguese.

¹⁸ A two-edged sword. If some of the religious opinions of Thomas Williams were tested by the light of reason they would be found wanting. One of them, his belief in a place of unending torture for the professionally unsaved, was execrable. For a discussion on that and a few other crudities and inconsistencies in the religious beliefs of the Methodist missionaries, see H.F.F., pp. 280-5.

¹⁹ The *Currency Lass* on her way from Tahiti to Ra, Fiji.

February 21st—About 10 o'clock at night we were aroused from our beds and sleep by a very smart shock of earthquake, which continued for several seconds. The impression made on my mind was that the house was struck by a tremendous blast of wind which was bearing it to the ground with irresistible violence. Upon finding, when more fully awake, that there was no wind, I felt at a loss what to attribute the motion to until I concluded the Lord had made the earth to tremble, but not allowed it to open its mouth to swallow us up.

February 23rd—Arrived a Tonguese canoe which left Tonga soon after Taufaahau;²⁰ but has not yet been able to regain Tonga or reach Samoa.

February 22nd—James returned from Kambara with the new canoe.

MARCH

March 1st—Jeremaia returned from Vanua Balavu, and reports the unwillingness of the Moa levu people to retain Paula amongst them as a Teacher. It appears the young people are the objectors. They are at present half wild in pursuit of the game called *jiga*,²¹ and they do not wish to be interrupted.

²⁰ King George.

²¹ Usually spelt *ting-ka* or *ting-ga*. In the dialect of Lau *j* was often used where the people of Ra would use *t*; e.g., *jini* instead of *tini*. In F.F., vol. i., p. 162, Williams says: "This game is played by throwing from the forefinger a reed of 3 or 4 feet long, armed with a 6 inch oval point of heavy wood. The weapon is made to skim along the ground to a distance of 100 yards or more. Nearly every village has near it a long level space kept clear of grass for the practice of this favourite exercise." James Calvert, who spells it *ching-ka*, saw the natives of Nayau Island playing at the game, and he gives the following account: "The three towns formed two parties. Each man had a reed about four feet long with a round taper-pointed piece of wood fixed on the end, which they throw on cleared ground as far as they can. Before beginning the game, each town takes firewood to the temples to secure the aid of its god in trying to throw a great distance." See his letter dated 29 February 1844 (M.M.S.M.).

A little host of them waited upon Ta wasi, the young chief who has become Christian and the Oneata people who are staying with him, to make two requests—(1) That Ta wasi would return to heathenism; (2) that the Oneata people would return home and take Paula²² with them.

It appears they tried hard to intimidate the Christians; but to very little purpose. Ta wasi presented his head to them and said: "Here is my head, strike it; kill me; but I shall not become heathen again. Do not think of such a thing." The Oneata people said: "We shall wait a little and see how things go on, and then go; but it is not as we please about Paula. We will go to Lakemba and inform the Missionaries and Wm. Rajiki and Zephenaia Loa, and let them do as they think good." Seeing that the Christians conducted themselves wisely, and had friends to whom they could make known their case, the young men lowered their tone, and soon went about their business. It is not unlikely that our people here will have considerable annoyance and opposition from the heathen, and I was glad that I had an opportunity of giving them a little advice on how to conduct themselves in such an event.

Had we been able we should have sent a man of riper years and more experience to their aid; but we have done what we could.

A few days ago the wife of one of the most respectable chiefs of Tonguese origin in these parts came with one of her attendants to beg a little food! Such is greatness in these parts of the earth.

March 4th—Observed something bright in the west about two hours after sunset, and was delighted to find upon closer

²² It is quite likely that Paula had been denouncing their game as "heathen foolishness," and a hindrance to the teaching of Christianity.

inspection that I was looking upon a comet²³ similar in appearance to that seen in 1680, as represented by M. Lemonnier: similar, I should have said, as regards general appearance. The nucleus seemed smaller, and its tail, which was of great length and very bright, inclined a little towards the South. It was observed last night. All the natives with whom I conversed declare that nothing of the kind was ever before noticed by them, or spoken of by their progenitors.

Sun. March 5th—Set off for Yadrana in the small canoe. Preached at Nukunuku, and proceeded thence inland. In some parts of the road I was above my knees in mud and water. In a few places the mud reached nearly up to my knees.

We crossed one cocoanut bridge which had about 6 ft of water below and 1 ft of water above it, and was so decayed that I really thought it would break under my weight.

It was a treat to see these people again after a space of three months; but one of them, alas, has returned to heathenism.

Visited Loa and conversed with him with respect to the change he had made. He seemed ashamed, and intimated that he would soon be back with us.

²³ Under the same date, 4 March 1843, Dr Lyth, then at Somosomo, writes: "A very large comet made its appearance in the S.W. part of the heavens soon after sunset. It is perpendicular: the head towards the setting of the sun, and the tail towards the meridian. In length it appears to occupy about one-eighth of the whole extent of the heavens, or even more. It is a most beautiful and magnificent object." In an additional note, inserted at a later time, he says: "It was visible for about a month; but became fainter and fainter till it disappeared. It was quite a new object to the Fijians, who said that neither they nor their fathers had ever seen this wonderful thing before. They were continually asking me what it was. Was it not Jehovah? for it had only come since the coming of the *lotu*. It was a nine days' wonder; and then the impressions of various kinds made on their minds faded away." The erroneous statement made by both Lyth and Williams on the word of the natives that their fathers had never seen such a thing before will be corrected by Williams in the Journal under date 9 March, p. 153.

When we got back to Nukunuku we found it was low water. We walked to the place where the canoe was secured, and such an attack from mosquitoes and sand-flies I think I never experienced!

James and I at once decided upon trying to drag the canoe into deep water which was a few hundred yards away. We succeeded tolerably well; but, after having paddled about a mile, we were again at a stand for water. Our attempts to drag the canoe were useless on account of the softness of the ground along which I passed in search of firmer ground until I sank nearly to the hips, and then thought it advisable to return to the canoe lest I should find a place that would take me overhead. Under some circumstances waiting for the tide is not very difficult; but it was otherwise with us.

Our old winged foes²⁴ attacked us, and we had to devise how we could best resist without returning the attack. We let down our trousers, sank our feet into the mud and thus secured our lower extremities. My ears were defended by binding over them my hat brim, and my hands by first being covered with my socks, and then thrusting them into my pockets. Thus protected I sat for the space of an hour watching the slow but sure motion of the tide. When it served we paddled home, and found all snug in bed.

March 6th—Bro. C. went to the outward islands.

March 7th—A boat from Lavuka arrived, from which we learn that our friends at Vewa and Rewa are in good health.

March 9th—Learned at Vata waga²⁵ that a comet was once before seen in Feejee.

March 11th—Bro. C., who returned on the 9th, left for Oneata. Not having had a suitable wind to take him there

²⁴ Mosquitoes.

²⁵ The name of the king's house in Tumbou.

he had returned to Lakemba before his voyage was completed.

Sun. March 12th—Poor Andi Kathi has this day made an offering to the devil either because she is in better health, or to ask forgiveness for having turned Christian; so that, after the space of seven months, our hopes respecting this promising blossom are perished.

At Nukunuku the only man who did not *lotu* during the residence of Julius Naulivou²⁶ at that place united with us of his own good will and accord.

March 15th—Called up in the night to attend Bro. Calvert who was suffering from diarrhoea and sickness. Administered the following mixture:—Rhubarb powder 1; Tinct. of Carraway 1½; and Brandy 1½. He fell asleep soon after, and in the morning I found him well.

March 30th—Poor little Nauta a daughter of Niu-balavu and Manu died and was buried today. I endeavoured at the request of her friends to effect if possible her restoration, and to this end paid her considerable attention since Sunday last; but succeeded no further than in affording relief from severe pain.

Whilst witnessing the wild anguish of her mother at the grave I could not but exclaim: "How pitiable are those who have not the consolation of real religion at such times."

During the past three months we have had the wind

²⁶ Writing to London on 1 November 1847 Calvert announces the death of Julius Naulivou, which had happened shortly before on 9 October. He was, says Calvert, brother-in-law to King George of Tonga. In his youth he had removed from Tonga to Fiji, and was adopted by a former King of Lakemba. After returning to Fiji, he embraced Christianity and became very zealous in the cause, though his health was always delicate. It was through his influence that Tuinayau's brother Wang-ka-i-malani was converted to Christianity whereby the prestige of the *lotu* had been greatly enhanced. After his return to Fiji he served as a teacher on the island of Lakemba, and did some thorough work at Nukunuku as is here indicated by Williams.

blowing from the N.N.W. and W. with the exception of only a few odd days. I have not noticed anything of the kind before during my abode here.²⁷

APRIL

April 2nd—Preached at Waciwaci and Tulagi in the morning. On my way to the above places I called at a temporary house erected on a spot of land known by the name of Tiluvaga by a party of young men for the purpose of attending to certain heathen customs in connexion with their false gods. After a little time spent in shewing them the folly and inutility of their proceedings,²⁸ I was civilly requested to proceed on my way, lest by my presence and

²⁷ It is in these three months that the westerly winds may be expected to blow over Fiji. They appear to have been more persistent this year than was or is usual.

²⁸ This was the *kalou rère*, or, as it was called on Vanua Levu, *ndomin-domi* in which the little gods or goddesses of the water were wooed and worshipped. Williams gives a detailed account of the games associated with the observance in two places in N.O.F.: vol. i., pp. 111-12, and vol. ii., pp. 67-9. The first was evidently copied by him on 30 May 1844 from a Mbau report, and runs thus: "In this sport certain young chiefs preside who are called *Vuninduvu*, and they are provided with coconuts and spears. A coconut is given to anyone who offers to receive it. The receiver is required to strip the husk with his teeth, and then to break the nut by striking it with force against the naked knee. If the nut be broken with one effort, the performer receives the applause of the assembly; but, if not, he retires in chagrin. The knee is often much injured by this sport: sometimes the nut is not only broken, but pieces of the broken shell pierce the knee. Those who are skilful choose nuts that will easily break before they take the husks off. Some nuts are very hard to break, even when struck against a hard body.

"The spears are thrown by the *Vuninduvu*, who challenges others to stand forward to be thrown at. If no one comes forward, they (the assembly) are reproached for cowardice. Those who do come forward are applauded. If the spearman miss his mark, he is laughed at. Some are much injured by this sport, which depends upon the skill of the person who throws the spear. The object is to hit the mark without inflicting injury. In this as in *Veisaga* the men endeavour so to conduct themselves as to gain the admiration of the females. Quarrels sometimes occur through jealousy on such occasions. Perhaps the females will testify their approval by asking

those who please them for the flowers that adorn their heads and necks. It is some years since the *kalou rère* was practised in this neighbourhood (Mbau). Tanoa was then in exile. A chief named Mara ordered it to be performed. He afterwards thought he saw some familiarity between one of his wives and two young chiefs who had distinguished themselves at the performance. This occasioned jealousy, and Mara had the young men strangled although it was generally believed that they were innocent."

This ends the extract probably from an account written by William Cross while he was at Vewa.

Then Williams proceeds over date 11 August 1851 to give his own account: "This heathenish sport is, on Vanua Levu, called *domidomi*, and here I have seen enough of it. It is a tedious affair, lasting over months; it is an evil affair leading to indolence and theft. Sometimes the young men do not plant, and, if their allowance of food runs short, they steal to increase it.

"The party may comprise from twenty to thirty, or perhaps more persons. They live together often in a solitary place where they build a temporary home which is sometimes enclosed by a fence forming diamonds, tied at their angles with small-leaved vines. Here they drum away with short bamboos morning after morning, evening after evening until they think the gods whom they represent as wild gods of the sea are lured to them, and then they prepare for the grand day. Little flags are placed at certain passages to intercept any god that may be disposed to run away. Besides this a square of ten or twelve feet is formed by two or three layers of poles ornamented with evergreens and gauze cloth, and having spears or poles at the corners with streamers at their points. A lot of lads bring trumpet shells and small clubs into this square, and afterwards sit within it thumping away with their bamboos right lustily. These lads are all decorated with gauze scarfs, painted faces, oiled bodies, etc.

"At a short distance are the older persons (from sixteen to twenty-five years) engaged. They, too, are decorated in great style; and they groan, grunt and shake like so many creatures possessed. One youth busies himself by running round a circle which includes these two parties, whirling a fan, grunting, shaking and starting as he runs as though he were unable to control his limbs. One active *Vuninduvu* is armed with a club or other weapon. When the parties consider the god has entered them they are struck at by the *Vuninduvu* with a battle-axe, club or spear. If the god is really in the person aimed at, it is supposed that the weapon cannot hurt him; if not, it will.

"The principal parties are *lewe ni wai*: the general name.

Ugavale: this person is not generally known.

Vuninduvu: holds the spear, gun, or club given to him.

Bovoro: pulls a nut with his teeth, and breaks it on his knee.

Ligavatu: takes the easier mode of breaking the nut with a stone.

Malavucu: shoots *vakacale*.

ai Vakacale: his business is to call the gods.

"At one of these sports I attended by invitation, and offered my services as *Vuninduvu*; but they were unwilling to trust the axe in my hands. The Navutua people had their grand day last week. A spear armed with bones

remarks, the gods should be affrighted and take their departure.²⁹ The place was enclosed within a rustic fence work of canes, a bunch of leaves left on the top of each, and the leafy bindings of the cane gave it an exceedingly tasty appearance. The main house was about 20 ft by 8 and built in a mound of sand; one end was fenced off. In this partitioned spot, clubs, cloth and shells were deposited as presents to the gods. The whole of the interior was hung with the light cloth of which head-dresses are made.

To the left of this was a small temple built on a mound and ornamented with white cloth. The height about 3 ft, and about 1 ft or 15 in. square. To the right two white flags floated in the breeze.

April 3rd—James Clarke left me to bring his wife from Moarly.

April 4th—Comet not visible to the naked eye.

Sun. April 9th—Last Saturday was a day not soon to be forgotten. Finding my little Tom very unwell, and, judging him to be suffering from worms, I purposed administering to him of cal. $1\frac{1}{2}$ gr., and ? powder $\frac{1}{2}$ gr. instead of which, by mistake I gave him the above quantity of cal. and from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ gr. of³⁰ which in a short time produced violent sickness accompanied with such difficult respiration and cold sweat that I thought more than once I had killed my own child. The mistake came about by my having

from the stingray entered a foolish young man named Bale, and yesterday he died. Tiliya, August 11, 1851."

Williams says in his book that the *kalou rërè* was "free from any pollution or licentiousness" (see F.F., p. 239). Nevertheless, he condemns the sport here and later on in his Journal, and apparently makes no suggestion whatever of putting another and better game in its place. It is characteristic of the attitude of the missionaries toward the sports and recreations of the natives. See H.F.F., pp. 141-2.

²⁹ Note the courtesy and forbearance of the natives under what must have been, in their opinion, irritating interference.

³⁰ I am unable to decipher the contractions used here in the MS.; but undoubtedly Williams used a poison by mistake instead of a harmless powder.

made an alteration in the position of my medicine bottles. My feelings cannot be described; but, still, I had confidence in God. He knew my intentions. I felt an assurance that He would bless the means used by us and Bro. and Sis. Calvert to secure his recovery, and, blessed be God, so He did: after dozing a time my little dear came nicely round.

Now I have had all my little family given back to me as from the grave—my wife and my dear John in November 1840, and my Thomas in this year. How vast, how undeserved are God's mercies to me! Lord help me to be thine wholly.³¹

Surely I may say: "Though I walk in the midst of trouble, thou wilt revive me: thou shalt stretch forth thine hand, and thy right hand shall save me. The Lord will perfect that which concerneth me. Thy mercy, O Lord, endureth for ever;" and I may also pray, "Forsake not the works of Thine own hands."

April 14th—Josephi Bukarau arrived bringing us a box and intelligence of our Somosomo, Rewa and Vewa friends.³²

³¹ Williams's feelings as a husband, a father and a friend are revealed in many passages in the Journal. Note, later on, the language which he uses on the death of his child William Watson at Somosomo; his parting prayer as he strains his eyes watching the ship that is carrying his boys away to school at Auckland; his tenderness and solicitude at the bedside of the dying Mrs Hazlewood at Nandy.

³² After the death of William Cross there were only five missionaries left in Fiji to work four circuits. At the ensuing District Meeting it was felt that Dr Lyth should not be left alone in such a place of horrors as Somosomo, and Williams was directed to join him, leaving Calvert alone in the extensive circuit of Lakemba; and he was ill. The need for additional missionaries was now very urgent. This was expressed in a pathetic appeal by John Hunt to the London Committee on 3 June 1843: "How wonderful are the ways of Providence with respect to Fiji," he writes. "Mr Spinney was appointed to labour here; but died before he entered the field. Then Mr Cargill left us. Mr Waterhouse (the General Superintendent) was sent to us, and we received him as a messenger from God, and rejoiced in him as in a father. But how soon was our Elijah taken from us! Our eyes were then fixed on Mr Cross, to whom we were all united in strong affection, and whose wisdom and experience seemed a stay to us; but, alas, he too is taken from us. We had now but one human

Heard that the young men engaged in the *vakareirei*³³ had been singing to, and begging of, their gods to visit them during the past three or four days without success, and this they say is attributable to my having frightened away their gods on Sun. the 2nd of this month. When will this people be wise?³⁴

Sun. April 16th—Preached the word of Life with considerable pleasure to the people at Waitabu and Wathiwathi. Two more added to our number at Wathiwathi.

The *Vakareirei solevu* was held today at Tumbou. Thus the heathen have accomplished their end, and prevented us from witnessing their folly. So, it seems, they are rather ashamed.³⁵

I am glad that this said *vakareirei* is over as I am satisfied that already an unkindly feeling has arisen in the minds of some who, before, were on good terms with us.³⁶ Besides we have fewer opportunities of talking with the young men.

April 21st—Yesterday James returned from Moarly, and

hope left: some of us expected the return of Mr Cargill to this District, and we thought he would be sure to bring one additional missionary with him; but now this hope is cut off. Mr Cargill is appointed to Tonga, and no one is sent to us. What can we do? We look at one another, and sigh and pray—Lord help us. We have now no head. We are all alike young and inexperienced. . . . We are not yet seven, our old specified number. In Tonga there are nine. I do think they might spare us one. I am sure you will excuse these remarks. I believe they are true, and if not sufficiently modest, pardon me."

³³ Uproar, tumult.

³⁴ To which the student of Fijian customs might reply with another question—When will the Methodist missionaries show a little more reasonable discrimination between what is good and what is evil in Fijian observances?

³⁵ Not, I surmise, because of the *kalou rère*; but rather at the want of courtesy and consideration displayed by the missionary a fortnight before. This is not the only occasion on which the feelings of the natives with respect to their beliefs and observances will be misinterpreted by Williams. See the footnote to p. 238 of the Journal.

³⁶ No wonder. Does he expect to go on abusing the wholesome recreations of the natives, and retain their kindly feeling?

in the evening I married him to the woman who had been formerly his wife.

On this day, also, I received letters from the Brn Hunt and Jaggar, and what was still more acceptable a letter from my dear Father which had come by way of Tahiti.

April 22nd—Left home at midnight and sailed to Tulaki to see the people and bring home some of my pigs. In returning in the afternoon we nearly sank. Praise God for His kind protecting care.

Sun. April 23rd—Considerable stir on the island in consequence of building three good houses for the reception of the expected visitors from Bou.

Sun. April 30th—Preached and led the class at Nukunuku and preached at Narothaki. I felt my mind pained at the former place by the indifference of some of our people who preferred sleeping in their homes to coming up to worship God in His house.

Abel a member of society was decorated in real heathen style.

MAY

May 3rd—Employed in attending to our stock, or rather the Mission stock, of black oil. Having selected the best casks and coopered them, we proceeded to empty the oil from other casks and put it into the better ones. We have about 1000 gallons left out of 3000. Perhaps 500 gallons have been lost by the ill condition of the casks.

May 6th—The wind, which for the last four days has been blowing at a fearful and destructive rate, has abated a little, but still continues strong. On the night of the 4th it howled so loudly as to prevent Mrs W. and myself from sleeping.

May 8th—Completed a bed for John and mounted the

globe³⁷ intended for Bro. Hunt. Upon the whole it is a better affair than I anticipated; but very imperfect notwithstanding the pains it has cost me.

Heard that Tuinayau intends inquiring of us how it will be to strangle one of his *lotu* wives that the others may take warning and do better!

Sun. May 14th—Set out in the canoe for Yadrana, and, after a run of about two miles, had a head wind which obliged us to furl our sail and pole along the beach, which we did until we got to Waitabu, where we left the canoe and proceeded inland. When I had nearly got my clothes dried and comfortable—after a thorough drenching from some heavy showers whilst in the canoe—I reached a pole bridge with about a foot of water running over it, and in attempting to step on the solitary pole, I stepped short, and in I went—not over head, but so far as to render it necessary to wash out my trousers, coat, socks and handkerchief. This done, I and my man endeavoured so to arrange and carry my clothes upon our walking-sticks as to secure them the benefit of the sun that I might have dry clothes to preach in.

A worse journey awaited us home. We had not proceeded far when the rain, lightning and thunder began. For about seven miles we had to walk amidst the torrents of a tropical thunderstorm with nearly as much water under foot as above. To make the matter worse I was obliged to leave my shoes behind at Waitabu, not being able to walk in them,

³⁷ This globe was to be used for teaching geography in the Institute for the training of native teachers. In 1841, it had been decided at District Meeting that the Institute should be established at Lakemba, and that John Hunt should go there and direct it. But unfavourable circumstances, especially the illness and death of William Cross, and the need for retaining promising candidates as helpers in the several circuits had upset these plans. Hunt was needed at Vewa, near the political capital, and there he tried in a small way to start the Institute. On 4 June 1843 he had three native helpers under his care; but he needed a globe to teach geography effectively. For an account of the training of native agents in Fiji see H.F.F., Chapter X., especially pp. 150-4.

and, thus unshielded, my right foot came into violent contact with the hard fang of an evi tree. Recovering from this shock, my heels flew up, and I was laid flat upon my back on the grassy floor. The rest of the way I walked with great difficulty, my foot, especially the little toe, swelling and paining me considerably. I was glad to reach the canoe and by it to be carried home. So sad a day I do not wish again to see in a hurry.

Some time ago I heard of a pleasing case of consistency in Vakajinijini who, being sent on an errand to Vata Waga, was called by the king who, being alone, thought this a suitable opportunity to sift the late priest as to his opinion of Christianity. He spoke in strong terms in favour of the *lotu*, and urged it upon the king's attention. He remarked: "In past days my devil had great powers over my mind; but now I know him to be false, and intend to serve the only true god." This is the Oneata man often referred to before in this book.

Sun. May 14th—The face of the heavens to the south was, for several hours after sunset, in a blaze, caused by the almost uninterrupted and vivid flashes of lightning.

Whilst at Yandrana a curious fellow named Ariesa inquired of me how it was that we could read books easily; and he seemed not altogether satisfied with my saying: "It is because we are used to it." "Is there not," said he, "something more than custom? Do not the letters of a book in the eyes of an Englishman appear very large and stand out?" "I think," he added, "there is something of that sort, for they appear so small and run together to my eyes that I can scarce distinguish them."

Sun. May 21st—At an early hour in the morning three large canoes were seen approaching this island which, in the end, proved to be part of the fleet from Bou expected to bring Cakobau and suite to receive the homage and riches of

Tuinayau and his people. Considerable doubt was entertained as to whether his visit would be a peaceful one or not. Thus far appearances are for peace.

Visited and preached at Waitabu and Waciwaci. At the latter place the people were called to service by the sound of two new native drums with which they seemed much pleased. With Tuinayau the case was otherwise, as, the wind being in the N., the sound was brought over the distance of near three miles, and heard distinctly in Tubou and by the Bou chiefs at the seaside; and he, fearing the visitors might be offended at the sound of the drums, expressed his anger or disapprobation, and dispatched a messenger to request that they might be beat no more during the stay of Cakobou.

Accompanied Bro. C. to the house erected for the great chief. Before the entrance lay five huge *vomu* or turtles. We found Cakobou reclining on an elegant mat edged in with four cases of muskets each containing about twelve muskets. He received us kindly, and, after a little conversation, we took our leave of him.

The general Feejeean characteristics of a dark skin, quick dark eye, immense head of hair, bushy whiskers and black sharp beard are his. He is a middle-sized man, well made and of a pleasant aspect. Received a few lines from Bro. Jaggar.

May 22nd—The distant sound of the axe, the loud report of many muskets followed by the squealing of pigs indicates preparation of good food for the ovens and the Bou gentry. Got up from the canoes a male goat, a female turkey and a small chest of oranges. The turkey could not have come more opportunely, the female we brought having been stolen a few nights back whilst sitting upon her eggs.

May 25th—The *solevu* today attracted considerable num-

bers of all classes, many doubtless moved by a desire to see Cakobou. The ornaments of the dancers as well as of the musicians were chiefly native, and, excepting two orange cowries and the frontlets composed of the scarlet feathers of a kind of cockatoo found about Rewa, they were worthless. The property from Bou comprised two handsome spears, more than 30 clubs wrapped with fine cynnet, 20 whales' teeth, an immense root of yangona and several hundred fathoms of *lichi* or *masi* from Kandavu. The dance, as usual, had quite a warlike character.

May 26th—Cakobou paid us a visit, lunched in my house,³⁸ looked over our premises and, after a stay of about two hours, returned to the seaside. He says the reports respecting his coming to molest the Christians are false; that he considers war a serious thing, and only to be prosecuted when no other means succeed. He seemed pleased with my globe, and said he saw more clearly than he had done before how the sun could stand still and, yet, the regular succession of day and night be secured.

In the afternoon he sent us up a baked pig, taro and some nuts.

May 27th—Knowing that this was the day appointed for presenting a large canoe (on the stocks at Kambara) to Thakombau I accompanied Bro. C. to see it presented. Upwards of 300 persons were present, I suppose, about eight score of whom were Tonguese. They formed an immense circle in front of the Bou chief's house. Tuinayau came dressed in his usual attire over which he had a large stained *masi* dress. Some of his attendants were similarly attired.

³⁸ Mrs Williams was very favourably impressed with the manner of Thakombau. Writing to her father-in-law, John Williams, about this time she said that he was the most gentlemanly of the Fijian chiefs whom she had met. See "Letters by Thomas Williams to his Father, 1839-43" (M.M.).

Parties being seated, a large bale of cloth about seven yds long and two yds girth, and a roll of cynet were brought into the middle of the ring. The food comprising two pigs and vegetables was then placed in order. The masticating of the yangona root was then set on foot³⁹ and attended to by the Tonguese. Tuinayau then prepared to make his speech, and, after the word of respect had been given by himself and several about his person, he rose and advanced towards the place where Cakobou was sitting, and, when within two or three yards of him, fell on his knees and taking a whale's tooth from his dress proceeded to address the chief. The former part of his speech was lost to me on account of the low tone in which it was spoken; but, as he warmed, his voice became more audible, and I understood him to express himself to the following effect:

"That before they were subject to Bou the land was empty; there were no nuts on the ground; but now they were subject to Bou the land was inhabited and nuts and food were abundant. Their fathers were subject to Bou and desired so to be, and the desire of the present king his friends and subjects towards Bou was very intense. These remarks were abundantly interspersed with asking permission to live, and with assertions that to kill people was not good. Therefore, said the King, let us live to cut your canoes, and that we may live I present this reed (a whale's tooth) of the *Tai vei* as our *soro* to you—our *soro* and the *soro* of our friends assembled here (the Tonguese) that we may live." The *Tai vei*⁴⁰ is a large canoe in progress at this time on the island of Kombara.

³⁹ The metaphor is ludicrously mixed; but my publisher who has a penchant for the humorous in literature, thinks that it would be a pity to meddle with it.

⁴⁰ The words *tai vei*? mean—where built? The thought in the minds of those who gave the name may have been—Where on earth could a canoe of such extraordinary dimensions have been built? or perhaps nothing more than that the canoe came from a place they knew little about.

Having presented the tooth, Tuinayau untied his dress of many fathoms length, and left it before the Bou chief, after which some Lakemba people put off the dresses which they had on for the occasion, as did also William Ranjiki and one or two Tonguese. This done, the Bou people presented some yagona to our King, part of which was drunk, and part taken to the *koro*. The pigs were cut up and shared, with the yams, to the persons present. Ranjiki undertook to name the persons to drink and, the grog being served out, the assembly dispersed. Mati ni Bou prayed as usual over the yagona.

Sun. May 29th—Had an early prayer meeting and preached in the morning a little later than usual, because of a request made by Tuinayau that Ranjiki and the Christians would love him, and sit with him the early part of the morning. It appears that Cako bou⁴¹ had requested (by means of a messenger) that Tuinayau would prepare on the Saturday night, it being his intention to drink yagona with him at Vata Waga; and poor Tuinayau, knowing the character of his guest, felt somewhat alarmed lest Ca ko bou's intention should be hostile, and, with his own hand, or by means of some of his attendants, deprive him at once of his dominion and his existence.

He therefore requested the presence of the Christians that the Bou people might see that he was not left alone.

⁴¹ *Tha ko mbau* means—bad for *mbau*. The name was given to Seru after his successful *coup d'état* in favour of Tanoa's return from exile. A very large portion of Mbau was burnt down. William Cross, who visited the town shortly afterwards, in the beginning of 1838, said that there were only about 100 out of 1000 houses left. Those of Tanoa's enemies who were not killed had to flee the city. Namisomalua, who had been associated with the conspirators, was allowed to live. The reason generally given for this unusual act of clemency is that when Namisomalua went to Koro in pursuit of Tanoa he sent him a friendly message warning him of his danger, and gave him time to get away to Somosomo where Tuithakau and Tuikilakila would be able to protect him. It was in compliance with the wish of Tanoa, and against the advice of Thakombau, that Namisomalua's life was spared.

Cakobou made us a present of about 400 large yams weighing from about 20 to nearly 70 pounds each.

It appears that five men were taken by the Lakemba people to be eaten at Bou—at first one, afterwards four more. The first a famous murderer who, to shew his prowess, would slaughter indiscriminately any poor person he met in his walks. The other four were inhabitants of Waimaruo. Two were killed there, and two taken alive, and made to assist in bailing and propelling the canoe, and, on arriving at Bou, permitted to land so that they began to hope that their lives would be spared and they would live to cook the food of their conquerors. Vain hope. They had not gone far before they were struck to the earth. One recovered himself and rose with a stone in his hand appearing anxious to attempt his escape; but another blow brought him again to the earth, and the bodies of all were dragged to the temple to be offered to the gods. Those lately clubbed not being quite dead cried out fearfully as their pain was increased by being dragged up the notched steps of the temple. It is said that one of them gasped when taken to the Lakemba man-eaters. Only one or two.⁴²

JUNE

June 1st—I learn that Cakobou came to this place in opposition to the counsels of the gods at Bou and Nairai. At the latter place the priest intimated that if Cakobou persisted in prosecuting his voyage, the god would detain him a long time by adverse winds. The unwelcome answer to which was: "Well, if the god leaves *Bulu*,⁴³ and I am long

⁴² Evidently this sentence was inserted later in correction of the number five previously given in the entry.

⁴³ Mbulu or Mbulotu, the underworld at which the spirits of the departed who had overcome all obstacles and enemies on the way eventually arrived. In his notes Williams copies the following extract from the *Vewa Quarterly* about Mbulu: "Their notion of the difference between this state and that of Bulu is that things are something better there than here."

at Lakemba, I will spear and roast you when I return." The priest remained silent.

The Waimaruo people were killed for saying that their new temple was *tabu* to strangers when Cakobou visited the place. It was considered an insult to the Bou chief, and the loss of four of their friends taught the Waimaruo people that it was dangerous to shew over much respect for their gods when Bou chiefs had to be reckoned with.

Sun. June 4th—Walked to Nasagalou and was met at the entrance of the fortification by Ramasi the old chief who led me by the hand to his house where I had not been long before our usual fare was placed before me—a dish of boiled yam and two nuts.

A child and its grandmother had joined us last Sunday more in hopes of being benefited by English medicine than from any desire for spiritual good.

Crossing over a hill about half-way from the scene of my day's labour to the main settlement I observed a number of reeds the tops of which were tied into knots. Upon inquiry I found that this was done by persons passing from one place to the other towards the close of day.

If the sun is setting when a person is on this hill, he ties a knot on the top leaves of a reed, and this is supposed effectually to lock the chariot wheels of the sun and detain him until the person who tied the knot has reached his home, when the spell is broken; and, light being no longer needed by him, the sun is allowed to finish his course and return to rest!⁴⁴

A short time ago a priest at Bou whilst making known the

The shades plant and occupy themselves in other work as they did in this world. They are larger than men on earth, have children and engage in frequent wars. As to whether the inhabitants of Bulu were immortal there were different opinions." Both Tuithakau and Tuikilakila of Somosomo told Dr Lyth that they preferred the Fijian mbulu to the Christian heaven.

⁴⁴ When Williams put a note of exclamation at the end of this narrative did he remember a very remarkable story told in verses 12 and 13, chapter

mind of the deity to its worshippers exclaimed: "We are liars. We are false gods. Jehovah only is the true God."

June 13th—Attended the setting in of the main pillars of the Tulagi chapel. Many Oneata people being there we had tolerable attendance. This chapel will be beautiful in its situation, and the joy of this hamlet. It stands on the crown of a hill commanding an extensive sea view. The people assembled engaged heartily in the devotional parts of this preparatory work, and their happy countenances supplied an index to the state of their minds. As I reflected on the state from which several around me had lately emerged I could not but desire earnestly that all the people of these islands had adopted a similar line of conduct:—forsaken their false gods and turned to the true and living God; turned from the road of error and death to the old, true and only way to everlasting life. (See Cowper.)

June 15th—Received intelligence of the *Triton* having been at Vatoa on its way to Tonga. Mr Thomas⁴⁵ on board. Also of the dissatisfied state of some of the young people at Ono on account of certain articles demanded quarterly. Sailesi and some others had attempted to reach Lakemba, but, after having been nearly lost between Ono and Vatoa, they returned.

June 19th—Received a letter by canoe from Mr Thomas. I am really surprised that so old a man could

x., of the Book of Joshua? Here it is: "Then spake Joshua to the Lord in the day when the Lord delivered up the Amorites before the children of Israel; and he said in the sight of Israel: 'Sun stand thou still upon Gibeon; and thou, moon, in the valley of Ajalon.' And the sun stood still and the moon stayed, until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies. . . . So the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hastened not to go down about a whole day." This is more marvellous than the story of the Fijian, because the sun was not only expected to stay in its course, but actually did, and so did the moon. To Williams and his colleagues in Fiji everything in the Bible was incontestably true. It was the Word of God. We shall see shortly that Thakombau has his doubts about that.

⁴⁵ Chairman of the Friendly Islands District.

have written so useless a letter.⁴⁶ Not a word respecting Mr Cargill's return; Mrs Raybone's health; Taufauhau's return; the D.Ms⁴⁷ of this or the Tonga Station, or in short of anything else we desire to know.

June 21st—Took up my home yams which have yielded well. The largest weighed about 60 pounds.

At about 10 o'clock p.m. my dear Mary was again brought to bed and safely delivered of another fine boy.⁴⁸ How kindly the Lord deals with us who have as it were only Him to depend upon.

After having been a time in bed, I heard as I lay awake a noise of many persons as in earnest conversation accompanied with loud noises resembling a rapid succession of blows given from laths.

At first I thought it was occasioned by the youths of Tubou who amuse themselves with sham fights, using the stem of the banana leaf for clubs.

The absence of laughter however, caused me to give up this opinion, and the increase of a loud roar as from a strong wind, and unusual light, made me determine to get up and see what was the matter.

⁴⁶ Lest this should leave an unfair impression on the mind of the reader concerning a very worthy, hard-working old Methodist missionary, I quote the following extract from the Journal of David Hazlewood, who, on his way to Fiji in 1844 stayed six months at Tonga: "Mr Thomas is grown old (not in years, but in constitution) and grey-headed in the service of his Master. A more laborious man than he can scarcely exist. From four in the morning till ten or eleven o'clock at night every moment is shared between the study, the pulpit and the people. See his Journal, vol. i., p. 67 (M.M.)."

⁴⁷ District Meetings.

⁴⁸ Christened William Watson after Williams's brother-in-law. William Watson married Williams's only living sister Ann. He was a spiritually minded man, and one of the most intelligent of Williams's correspondents. See Introduction. Evidently both men were like-minded in regard to some fundamentals. The correspondence between them was interrupted for a time by a criticism which Williams made on one of Watson's friends which Watson considered unsound and quite uncalled for. See William Watson's letter dated 15 July 1843 in "Letters to the Rev. Thomas Williams, 1843-5" (M.M.).

Tubou was on fire! And the wind blowing the flames and pieces of fire towards our houses!!

Several pieces of fire fell about us and others went beyond. Alarmed for our safety I ran to Mr Calvert, and, to my surprise, found them all locked up in the arms of sleep. I informed them of our situation and they were instantly astir.

Mrs W. was much alarmed and desired to be removed to the seaside. After a time she was appeased, and I returned to Buthainambua to assist in watering the out-house nearest to the settlement. Whilst this was going on the wind changed in our favour and raised hopes of our deliverance which were eventually realized.

The burning of a number of houses in Feejee is a very different affair to that of burning houses at home. There, there is much unflammable material (in most cases) to prevent, or at least interrupt the progress of the flames, and to this is added strenuous exertions to suppress the destroying element. But here the case is far otherwise. The materials of the buildings are inflammable; there is no exception unless the stones at the foot of the building are to be considered as part thereof. When the flame is restricted to a small spot the people endeavour to get the mastery; but if, after a few efforts they find the flame has the ascendancy, they retire fully convinced of their inability to save their houses, and turn their attention to their goods. When these are secured they become lookers on,⁴⁹ passing jokes on

⁴⁹ There were several reasons why the Fijians were not anxious to put out fires or prevent wrecks. Property salvaged was in both events regarded as a perquisite; "a fire is an occasion for plunder rather than assistance" said Dr Lyth. But, besides that, houses could be easily replaced in Fiji, and the building of them was a community job in which the people gossiped to their hearts' content, and gave free rein to their humour. There was also a strain of fatalism in the mentality of the Fijian. When once it seemed to him that the flames were getting the mastery he was prepared to retire in a spirit of resignation.

the voracious flame and telling in a gleeful way what they said and what they did.

On the present occasion the scene was fearfully grand. A number of large houses enveloped from top to bottom in one unbroken mass of flame—no chimneys; no brick or stone walls; no dark object whatever to be seen; even the material which fed the flame unobserved; mountains of blaze in full view—presented a scene not to be easily erased from the mind of the beholder.

When the fury of the raging element had been spent on the thatch and reed fences the scene became changed, and (could the mind have forgotten the sad effects it was producing on the property of the industrious natives) might have been looked upon with pleasure; for, the lighter materials having been consumed, the entire framework of the houses stood out conspicuous. Each timber was living flame—flame in all its beauty: running, jetting, sparkling about at pleasure. The scene brought to mind the brilliant displays of fireworks so common in Vauxhall.

But my mind was too much occupied with the critical circumstances of my dear Mary to spare unnecessary thought on Tubou. She was much affrighted, and earnestly entreated to be carried to the seaside. Fearful that such removal might cost her life, I endeavoured to quiet her, and, with great difficulty, succeeded. Through mercy she did not appear to suffer from the shock.

June 22nd—Walked into the *koro* the western side of which is levelled to the earth. About 63 houses and two temples were consumed last night. There was more than the usual amount of produce in the settlement on account of the property for Bou being collected from the outer islands. Most of this had arrived here, and, happily, the greater part of it was rescued from the flames.

The burning posts of the houses, a few cannon burnt

from their carriages, here and there an iron pot were all that met the eye. Togi, it appears, thought the fire was wilfully started that the Bou people might, in the bustle consequent upon it, dispatch the Lakemba chiefs; so, having shut up his house, he went to the king's, observing it would be well for them to die together. Togi is the principal loser.

June 24th—Tui Vatoa came for advice respecting his wives. I trust he will take his lawful wife to his bed, and cease to disgrace our cause in Vatoa.

Sun. June 25th—Some Bou people attended today's services, and, among the rest, Thakombau.

June 27th—Had a long talk with Thakombau about religion. He says if the priests of religion will go to Vatoa or Vanua Vata, and get their God to supply the land with water so that taro may be planted, then he will acknowledge the truth of religion and embrace it.

He asked if man or god wrote the scriptures, and objected that, if man wrote them, they ought not to be called the Book of God; but he soon found this position untenable⁵⁰ and left it.

JULY

Sun. July 2nd—*Triton* appeared off the island. Capt Buck came on shore and informed us of the melancholy death of the Rev. D. Cargill;⁵¹ also of the death of Master Jno Thomas.

July 3rd—Busily employed in getting packages and stores on shore. Rejoiced to find three large home boxes directed to me. The Lord reward my kind friends. Bro. C. proceeded to D.M., leaving his family and Mrs Cargill

⁵⁰ Did he? Then the less Thakombau he. The position was not untenable, and if Thakombau left it he, no doubt, had other reasons for doing so—a courteous desire to avoid wounding the missionary's feelings, or some urgent kingly business to attend to.

⁵¹ The date of Cargill's death given by Dr Lyth in his *Index Rerum* is 25 April 1843. This is confirmed by a note on a half sheet of paper in David Hazlewood's *Journal*, vol. ii, between pp. 28 and 29.

under my charge. Rest of the week employed in reading and answering letters.

July 20th—After service at Bethel I met the F.⁵² Teachers. They complain sadly of the conduct of the Tonguese at the seaside. Not without cause either.

Sun. July 23rd—Preached in Bethel in the evening in English from Job's confidence in God: "Though he slay me yet will I trust in him."

Much occupied during this week in attending to sick Feejeans, and Tonguese, the unusually cold weather being attended with severe colds, rheumatism, asthma, ophthalmia, &c., &c., &c.

Sun. July 30th—Two messengers were sent from the Bou people to Tiusoso at Nukunuku to request that he should require his people to make food for an offering to be presented to one of their gods for a continuance of success in the turtle fishery. Having heard their report Tiusoso informed them that he and his people were Christians, and, this being their sacred day, they could not desecrate it by making the food required. The Bou people endeavoured to intimidate the old chief by a variety of threats; these failing, they presented and shook their long spears at him; but with no better success. Tiusoso remained immovable.

"Please yourselves," said he, "about spearing me; but this is our sacred day, a day not to be touched; therefore we cannot do that which you require of us." Finding the old man determined to maintain inviolable the best day of all the seven, the messengers took their departure, leaving him to enjoy the quiet of the Sabbath.

July 31st—*Triton* brought Bro. C. from D.M. accompanied by Bro. Jaggar and a note from the D.M. stating it to be their opinion that one of the Lakemba Brn should proceed by the *Triton* to Somosomo.

⁵² Fijian.

AUGUST

August 1st—My removal decided upon. Well, I trust all will be for the best. My language still is: "Thou shalt guide me with thy counsel."⁵³ Still:

Let the fiery, cloudy pillar

Lead me all my journey through.

August 2nd—Employed in packing up and domestic arrangements until near noon, when I went on board the *Triton* and set sail for Ono. It was judged desirable that that island should be visited without delay, reports of considerable unpleasantness between the teachers and people having reached us.⁵⁴ A fine fair breeze.

August 3rd—Indifferent winds.

August 4th—Put on shore at Ono at about 11 o'clock a.m. Found the people well, and employed in erecting a new chapel. Visited several families. Had a long conversation in private with the principal teacher Sailesi Faone on Fatafatu, and was delighted to find him in a much better state of mind than I expected. The reports which reached us in Lakemba are, as we expected,⁵⁵ greatly exaggerated.

Preached to an attentive congregation in the afternoon. A very gracious feeling pervaded the congregation. At the conclusion of this service I met the chiefs of the island to advise with them about several temporal affairs, and to return them thanks for their kind attention to their native teachers. Then, expecting to sail early on the morning of

⁵³ Notice the many references in the Journal to the guidance and protection of the Almighty. The conviction was deeply rooted in the minds of all these early missionaries. See H.F.F., last chapter: "Best of All."

⁵⁴ The trouble had arisen because the superintendent teacher Silas Faone, had yielded to the advice and entreaties of two Tongan teachers to adopt a system of taxation which, in the opinion of the people, would have impoverished them for a year or more. See Williams's letter, 16 August 1843 (M.M.S.M.).

⁵⁵ The reader will remember this when statements are made by the missionaries in their journals and correspondence, on the word of the natives only, without having tested their accuracy by personal investigation.

Saturday, I met the Tonguese and native helpers to administer as needed, and, as I was able, reproof and advice which they received better than could have been looked for. In conclusion I examined them separately on several doctrinal subjects and, with one exception, received satisfactory answers to the various questions proposed.

The head Teacher offered an affecting apology for the spirit and some of the matter of a letter lately written by him in the name of his brethren to Bro. J. Calvert, and forwarded to Lakemba by a native canoe.

August 5th—Attended the males' school early this morning, and was well pleased to find that here all things were done decently and in order. The company consisted chiefly of adult males, I think the youngest in it was about 16 years old.

The first or head class was composed of 22 middle-aged and young men who, without exception, read well in the native testament. Many in other classes also read well. A short distance from the pulpit lay a dozen slates awaiting the inspection of the head teacher. Some of the writing on these slates did great credit to the young men who owned them. (The remarks on schools should be under date 7th.)

I wrote them a fresh set of copies, gave them a little advice, encouraged them to aim at improvement, and then they returned to their seats in good order and sat at my request until I addressed them a short time on the reciprocal duties of old and young men. After singing and prayer they all retired to their respective scenes of labour.

I felt somewhat surprised at not seeing any children there, and began to fear that here as well as at most other places in these Missions the children were not attended to; but was pleasingly surprised when, in answer to the sound of the native drum, between 60 and 80 children of both sexes entered the chapel in good order and decently knelt down

to ask a blessing upon their assembling together. Their monitor, a young man under 20 years of age, gave out a verse; a lad of about 14 years set the tune, and the little children united in sweetly singing the praises of their Redeemer. The sight was truly gratifying.

Shortly after the commencement of school I tried several in each class, and found many amongst them who could read in any part of our books with great credit to themselves.

After resting a time the drum was again beat, and a considerable number of people attended the baptismal service when four adults and about 22 children were baptized.

I visited and baptized an afflicted man who lives in a secluded spot some distance from any town. He appeared grateful for my visit, and promised to seek to know more of Him whose name he already rejoiced to hear.

My time on shore having expired, according to the arrangement made by Capt Buck, I proceeded to the shore where I found numbers of the people waiting to exchange their pigs, fowls and nuts for the cloth, knives and axes of the Captain, but they like to myself were doomed to disappointment on the present occasion. A southerly wind carried the vessel beyond the opening in the reef,⁵⁶ and rendered it injudicious to send a boat from the vessel. Seeing the *Triton* go further and further from us, we returned inland to prepare for the day of rest.

Sun. August 6th—Good attendance at the early p.m. Assembled the Christians in the chapel and catechised them. At my request they laid their books on the mats whilst I asked them a number of questions on religious subjects and scriptural history. The young and middle-aged

⁵⁶ There is no opening in the reef encircling the Ono cluster of islands through which a ship as large as the *Triton* could pass. The best passage is on the north-west. Outside this the ship would drift, after a boat had been sent through the passage to the lagoon; or canoes with islanders aboard would go to the ship as they did when Bellinsgauzen called.

men and women for the most part answered or responded to my interrogations and, with only one exception, their answers were most satisfactory. It was evident that the subjects treated in the catechism had occupied their serious and prayerful attention.

After having interrogated them respecting the ten commandments—their meaning and use—they chanted the articles of their belief in fine style; and I concluded this interesting part of our Sabbath's exercises.

We now assembled for public worship and I addressed the most attentive native congregation I have yet seen from St Paul's question to the disciples at Ephesus: "Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed?" I felt well during this service, and believe I was not the only one.

In the afternoon I conducted a love feast—the first held in Ono. Some persons expressed themselves very clearly respecting the forgiveness of their sins, whilst, with others, the reverse was true. I believe many of the people not only fear, but love God and delight in His service.⁵⁷

Visited several families.

August 7th—See remarks on school at pp. 176-8. School over I got two native carpenters to aid me and constructed a rough model of a press by which the juice of the sugar-cane or the oil of the nut may be extracted with ease.⁵⁸ Assisted the captain to purchase some stock—pigs and fowls, and returned to the *Triton* a little after noon.

August 8th—Vatoa near in the morning; but unable to visit it because of unfavourable weather and a great southerly swell. Lay to during the night between Vatoa and Fulaga.

⁵⁷ For the history of Christianity in Ono-i-lau and the quality of the conversions there see H.F.F., Chapter XI: "Ono-i-lau."

⁵⁸ In the letter announcing this fact to the London Committee Williams made a trenchant criticism of the mission work of their time, showing that he was alive to one of its most serious defects. See H.F.F., Chapter XIV; "The Gospel of Work."

August 9th—Passed Ongea and Komo. The weather prevented me visiting the first; the nearness of night prevented my visiting the latter. Ran down to Lakemba and spent the night under the lee of the N.W. end of the island.

August 10th—Unable to get on shore until late this afternoon, and then at some risk. Walked from Nasangkalou home, and found all well, rested a little and proceeded with packing up.

August 11th—Packing up &c.

August 12th—Packing up, and got several packages on board, the wind having not only abated, but changed in our favour, and enabled the Captain to bring the vessel up to the nearest entrance so that much labour was saved.

August 14th—Finished packing up. Parted with Bro. Calvert with whom I have passed three years peaceably, and to leave whom and his excellent wife cost me more than I had at all expected—my heart not being so insensible as I thought it was.⁵⁹

Accompanied by my dear family, and Mrs Cargill⁶⁰ and family, I re-embarked on the *Triton* at about 11 o'clock a.m. with fair breeze for Somosomo.

As we glided along the Lakemba coast and were leaving it in the distance I could not but reflect on bygone days, and

⁵⁹ These words are interesting, and may suggest an explanation of an apparent contrariety in Williams's disposition. He means that he was not "so insensible" to companionship "as he thought he was." There was no man among the missionaries at this time who was less dependent upon comradeship than Thomas Williams. His disposition was masterful. It was not so severe a trial to him to live alone on a station as to the others. That was important when they were so short-handed. It was the war at Mbua Bay, not the loneliness, that worried him. With his wife and family he seems to have had all the companionship he needed. He was attached to David Hazlewood, and admired him for the solid work he did in Fiji; but he seems to have lacked a certain personal magnetism which, for instance, brought Dr Lyth and John Hunt so closely together that they seemed as brothers till death parted them.

⁶⁰ The second Mrs Cargill who had gone with her husband to Vavau, Friendly Island, and now, after his death, was returning to England.

ask what good had resulted from my labours. The Lord only knows. I trust all our toil has not been in vain. We have increased our numbers considerably; built several chapels; had the pleasure of witnessing four islands⁶¹ entirely renounce heathenism; introduced preaching into several new towns and villages. I have had the honour of being the first to proclaim a crucified Jesus to some of the people in this part of Feejee.⁶² Much prejudice has disappeared, and a better state of feeling towards us has been manifested by the people during the past three years. To God be all the glory; all the praise; all the honour.

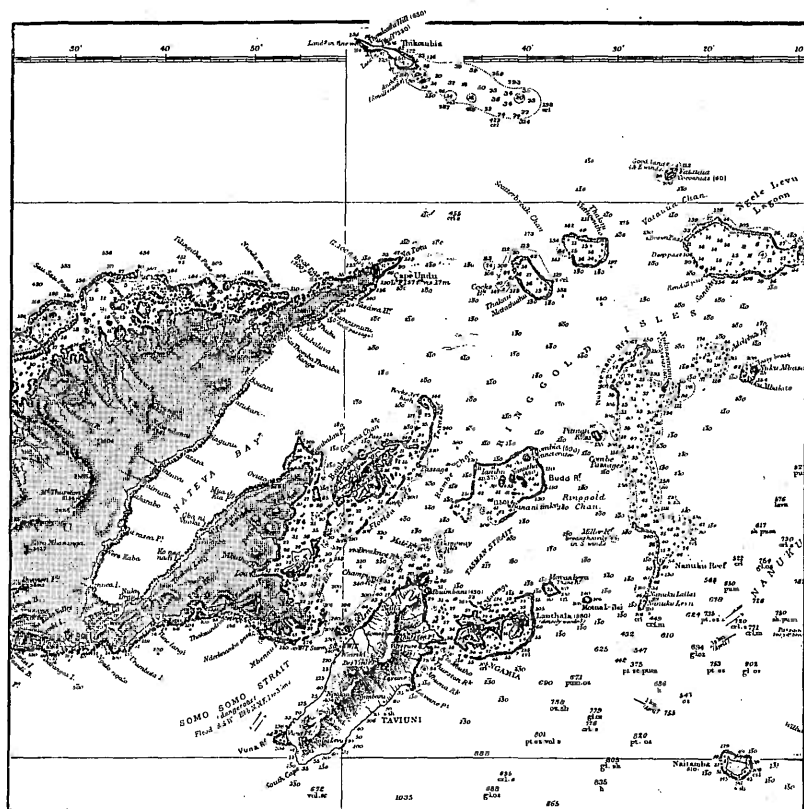
My labours have been marked by much unfaithfulness and I have too far yielded to the temptation of the devil and the lusts of the flesh; but the Lord has been my preserver, and in Him will I still trust.

Having had a fine run, we spent but one night at sea and had the pleasure, on the evening of the second day, to anchor off Wai-ca,⁶³ a settlement on the island of Taviuni or Somosomo.

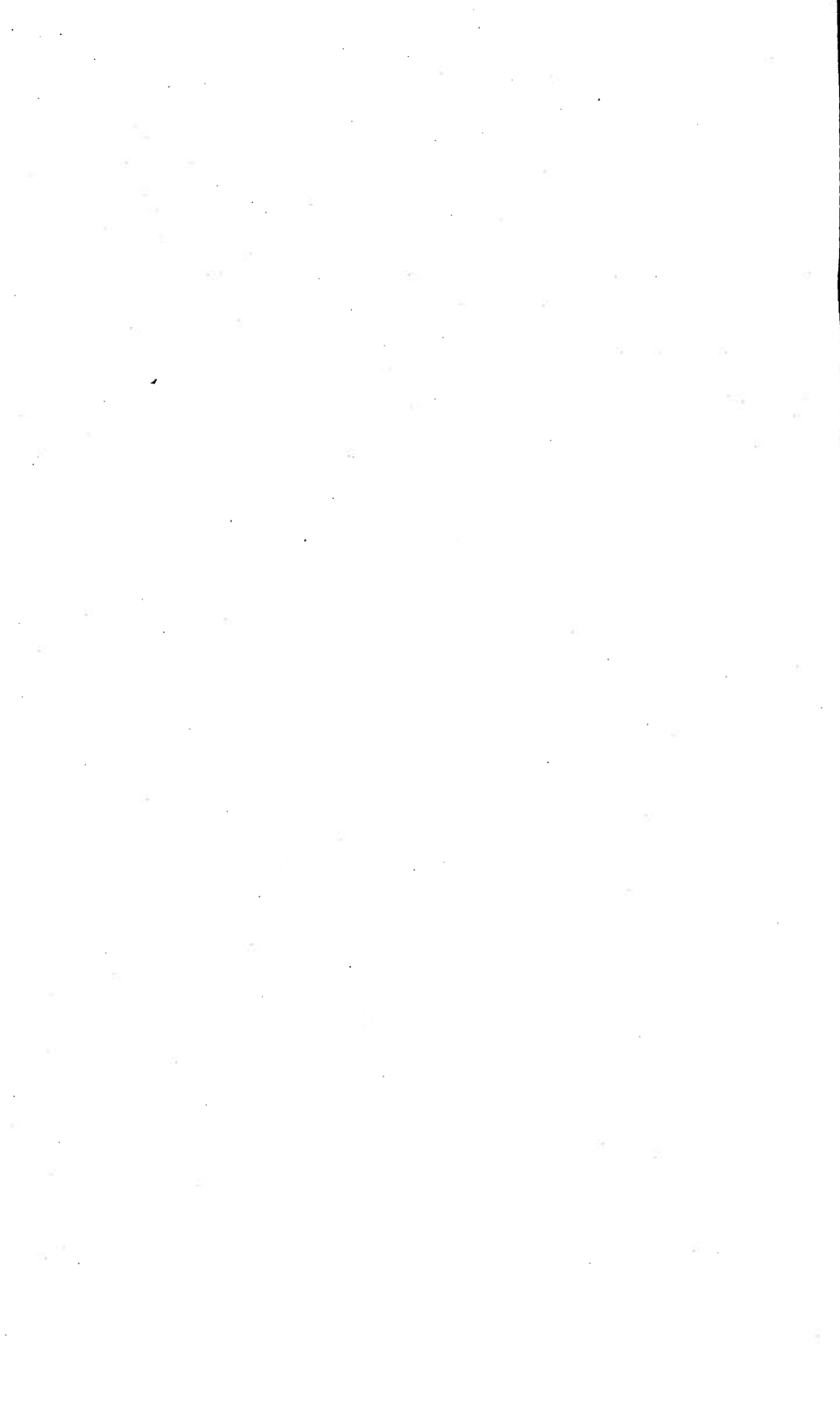
⁶¹ Ono, Vatoa, Oneata, Tuvutha. Judging from the correspondence it would appear that, at this time, he might have added Ongea.

⁶² The inhabitants of the island of Fulanga.

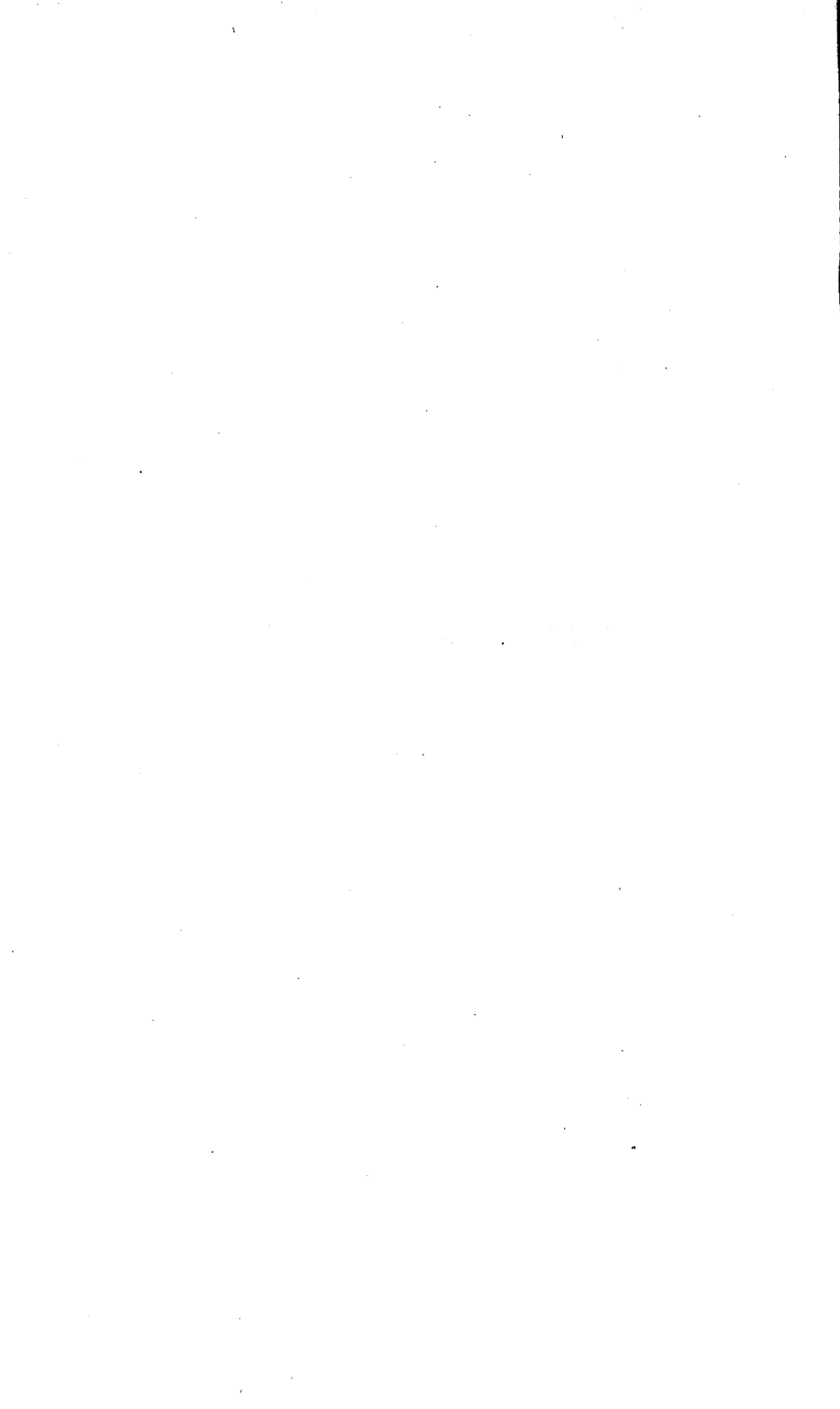
⁶³ A village on the west coast of Taviuni.



SOMOSOMO CIRCUIT
From an Admiralty chart



SOMOSOMO CIRCUIT



SOMOSOMO CIRCUIT

August 16th—Worked up the straits of Somosomo and anchored off the Mission premises⁶⁴ at a little after high noon. Got nearly all my things on shore and housed in the afternoon, and passed most of the night completing my correspondence to people at home in England.

August 17th—The *Triton* left us a little after noon having a fine commanding breeze to carry her through the straits. I accompanied Mrs Cross, her five children and Bro. Jaggar on board, and, meeting Mrs Cargill and family in the

⁶⁴ At Somosomo the scene of his labours for the next four years. The town, at this time, contained about 200 houses. Its relative size may be estimated by a comparison with Rewa which had 500 to 600 houses, and Mbau with 1000. On the island of Vewa there were, according to Mrs Wallis, about 300 people. The Somosomo circuit included, besides Taviuni, the island of Lauthala to the east; the towns on the eastern shore of Vanua Levu opposite Somosomo, and the south coast of Vanua Levu (Thakaundrovi coast) extending for about 70 miles to Savusavu Point. But the east and south coasts of Vanua Levu were never visited by a missionary stationed at Somosomo in this early period. There was continual fighting with the Natewa, and the south coast was too exposed for safe canoe travelling. I do not remember that even the island of Rambai was visited by a missionary up to 1847. To the country towns and villages of Taviuni itself few itineraries were made. They, like the people of Somosomo, did not want the Christian religion. The principal towns and villages on Taviuni which the missionaries did sometimes visit were Weiriki, Waitha and Vuna to the south of Somosomo; Wailangi and Wainikili to the north of it; Bouma with its adjoining villages Lewena, Nasea and Navutu were on the east coast of Taviuni. The island of Lauthala to the east was very rarely visited, and, then, while they were *en voyage*. The towns on the east coast of Vanua Levu which come into the story are Mbutha, Tuniloa, Koroivonu, Koroniyasatha, Masago and Ngele. Mathuata, which is also mentioned, was included later on in the Mbua circuit. It is about half-way down the north coast of Vanua Levu.

ship's boat as we returned to make room for their approach (the vessel being under sail), I parted with them on the deep, and, having taken Bro. Lyth from the boat into our canoe, they, in the boat, proceeded towards their floating temporary home, and we in the canoe proceeded to land.

Painful as such separations are, I was glad when I regained the quiet of my dirty dilapidated house. After a fortnight of excitement I was glad of a respite, although in anything rather than comfortable circumstances. My body and mind are both much disordered by continued labour, and the effect of being subjected to the extremes of pleasurable and painful emotions.

August 18th—Paid my respects to Tuilaila⁶⁵ who appeared to receive me well.

⁶⁵ In a letter to his father dated 16 May 1844 Williams introduces us to Tuikilakila thus: "Next to the old King (Tuithakau) in authority, and perhaps in rank is Ratu Tuilaila, the Prince Regent, of whose vast size Mr Waterhouse long ago told you. Recovered from his illness he is now as huge as ever. He is not at all like the majority of Fijians of his rank as respects dress and the adornment of his head. If I should attempt to particularize him I should only fail. Having noticed, first, that his face is an indescribable mixture of something like tenderness combined with ferocity—enough to make a stout heart quail when it approaches gravity—I shall betake myself to the easier task of narrating some of his practices in reference to us.

"When the affairs of the kingdom keep him employed, Tuilaila gives us little trouble. When the reverse is his condition, and time hangs heavily on his hands, we are sure to know it. We are too often favoured with messages from his Majesty inviting us to take a meal with him—not to go would exasperate him—or else he invites himself to take one with us. But, be it as it may, we have to stand Rockliff! If at his kingship's bidding, we pay him a visit, he receives us well: we shake hands and exchange smiles, and—remark about the weather of course. Then we sit down on a mat, and endeavour to gather from the topics of discourse, or from the company there to meet us, for what purpose we are really asked. Perhaps, before this is ascertained, a dish of fish or turtle is served up, and we are urged to eat, he, very often, directing our attention to what he considers the 'tit-bit,' and occasionally putting it into our mouths for us; or, should he be disposed to show one or both of us an extra mark of respect our mouths are, almost before we know, crammed with a portion of the piece from which he has bitten!! Perhaps a course of puddings or ripe plantains follows. We then wish to be going; but he forbids it. Again we sit, and,

after a while, he informs us that a stranger has come to see him, and presents a very urgent petition for a large knife, or a hatchet, or a broad axe, or *anything else*; and he, not having one by him just sent for us to tell us, and inquire whether we would 'love him,' and give him one, that the strangers might take it and return to their own land. It may be that he makes the affair as palatable as he can—that he promises us pigs that are running wild in the wilderness, and canoes, the timber for which is lost in the crowd of the forest, and the cynet for which is dangling in the breeze that binds the stately coconut groves. Perhaps next day finds him at our premises begging again, and, if he has come upon us too closely, and we inform him that we cannot do it, he becomes offensive, marches up and down challenging one or the other of us to wrestle or to box! The proportion which David bore to Goliath was, I suppose, something like what I bear to him, and Bro. Lyth is considerably less than I am. But this is a trifle compared with the line of conduct which he used to pursue a time back. Then he would demand four or five axes a week, and, if they were available, it was at the risk of the missionary's life to tender a refusal. Had not Commodore Wilkes, Commander of the United States Exploring Expedition, threatened to burn up his metropolis unless he would pursue a different line of conduct to the Missionaries, I believe he would still *demand* all he wanted. He has begged from a cotton-ball to a four-post bedstead.

"Thus far his behaviour towards us has been tolerable. He kisses and hugs the boys; says John W. W. may be a priest; but Thomas W. W. must be a 'fight's warrior.'

"Bro. Lyth's accounts of one or two of the many days spent by him in annoying Missionaries may further shew the man, and, at the same time, reveal our situation on occasions: 'Tuilaila came today, sat and eat a little food; then desired some vermilion with which, aided by a glass, he painted his face, and then would have his face, breast and body shaved. Being rather ill he next takes Bro. Hunt to a retired spot that he might see his stool, and report on it to Dr Lyth that he might prescribe some medicine for him. Next day he comes to report the effect of the medicine, and ask for more. He is attended by several chiefs for whom he begs 6 butcher's knives!'

"Another day—'His chieftainship paid us one of his lengthy visits. He first bolted into the bed-room calling out for Mrs Lyth, and untied a long piece of calico that was round his loins, to which he desired a similar piece to be added to make a sheet to cover himself with in bed. He then called for a stiff basin of arrowroot. Whilst this was preparing, he dressed his beard, cut it and tried to comb out the lice. Not succeeding to his wish he called for me to help him, and put them into his mouth as fast as he got them from his beard.

"This course finished, the arrowroot was ready, and he quickly disposed of it. His next want was a head-dress, and nothing would satisfy him but a lady's nightcap. This I (Dr Lyth) adjusted to his head which, having been recently shaven, was scarcely any too large for it. With this he was mightily delighted, and went away. In the afternoon he returned with bow and arrow in hand, and cap on head, attended by one carrying a cage containing a decoy bird. After a short absence he returned again and found Mr Hunt and myself engaged in the business of quarter day. He sat down

August 19th—Visited the old king Tuicakau.⁶⁶

Sun. August 20th—Anniversary of my ever to be remembered wedding day. Bless the Lord for permitting me thus long to enjoy the society and assistance of my Mary. Pleased to find Veratta (see p. 142) at the services—indeed he lives with Bro. Lyth, and came to him that he might get good.

beside us, and, seeing a pen-knife, he took it, and begged leave to cut up some paper that was lying on the table, to see how nicely he could slit it up. This afforded him much pleasure. But no toy pleases him long; so he proposed to have a sentence written on a slate which he then took to a Tongan Teacher to see if he knew what it meant. Then he passed half an hour, to and fro, from one room to another much amused to see how easily the writing was deciphered. This he did until he wearied, and then tried something else until the close of the day sent him home.

"He is an extraordinary cannibal; very affectionate to his father; unwilling to waste life foolishly, terrible in anger and dreaded by his enemies especially in sea-fighting. When pleased, he will kiss our hands and faces, and manifest great regard for us. When we ask a blessing he bows his head. When he attends our services, which he occasionally does, that is the early part of them, he conducts himself pretty well, and, after his fashion, sings lustily. He occasionally presents us with a few yams and a little fish; but against the incessant thefts and occasional insolence of his subjects we have *no redress*. Our pigs, poultry and vegetables, which we have to purchase from the people, may be taken from our premises before we can consume them; but to complain to Tuilaila would be as useless as to make our complaints to the winds and waves."

Captain Wilkes, who saw and conversed with Tuikilakila at Somosomo, tells us in his *Narrative* that the young king was 6 feet 3 inches high, and proportionately stout. He adds: "The sight of such a savage . . . and the thought of his cannibal appetite are calculated to intimidate persons with stronger nerves than these ladies (the wives of the missionaries). How they are enabled to endure it, I am at a loss to understand."

But Tuikilakila had some very attractive qualities, and he was a capable ruler.

⁶⁶ In the same letter, which is in the possession of Mr Benjamin Williams, the son of Thomas Williams, residing now at Caulfield, Victoria, and who has kindly allowed me to see it with others, Williams gives the following description of the old King Tuithakau: "He is a very aged old man, and confines himself chiefly to the house. He is quite a picture. Imagine to yourself a man of 70 or more years, above the common height and well-built seated upon his throne (an old wooden-bottomed chamber chair similar in make to the present Windsor chair) and you will have something like him. But that you may not imagine *a* man, but *the* man I will give you further particulars. His head is well-formed, nearly bald, but surrounded with a chaplet of false sandy-coloured hair which, passing over his temples, rests on the top of his forehead. Beneath this you must picture the remains of a good oval-formed face; eyes rather grey; nose roman, and mouth well

August 25th—Ndrekete⁶⁷ burnt: 20 houses and one canoe. It is a vexatious thing that on such occasions the Feejeeans will not exert themselves to lessen, as much as can be, the evils of a fire.

This week occupied in adjusting house, refitting sofa, and taking two copies of 47 Hymns in the Somosomo dialect.

Sun. August 27th—Visited the people at Vione,⁶⁸ and, not being able to get a congregation, I visited and conversed with such as I found in their houses. The head man of this village is priest, chief and god! of the place.

August 31st—Paid a visit to the settlement,⁶⁹ and found the people therein busy in bringing from their canoes pro-

formed. His whole set of features is rather European than otherwise, and their general expression benevolent, with a slight tendency to choler. A *ceva* (breastplate) inlaid with, and surrounded by whales' teeth on his breast; an ear-piece and armlets are his principal ornaments. As he has a decided preference for sitting with his bare bottom next the chair seat, the good old man mostly allows his dress to hang over his knees, or lie by the side of the chair! At his feet lies a great club (a *manda*), and about his chair you may hang (of course on the back of it) an old female's dress, a bundle of small sticks which serves the place of an almanac, and a bit or two of old cynnet. For a heathen his general character is *superlatively good*, and he manifests great kindness to us. But he is a most confirmed heathen, subject to sudden fits of anger, and then he is a lion roused from his lair; and I should scarce put the value of six pence on my life if I were the object of his wrath and in his power at such a time. But the sketch will scarce be complete unless I introduce Masi Vou or Tui Tubou, the King's *na mata* or Ambassador. You must set him on the floor, cross-legged, at the King's left hand. On his long body you may place the most villainous countenance you can conceive. I shall dismiss him quickly although he is quite an original: he is a consummate liar, excessively vain, hypocritical and covetous, rather insinuating and an *endless shameless beggar*."

⁶⁷ A part of the town of Somosomo.

⁶⁸ A village two miles from Somosomo. In a report to London dated 7 March 1844 Williams says: "This place is inhabited by common people who appear to be low in every respect."

⁶⁹ Dr Lyth and John Hunt had lived for some time in the settlement at *Nasima*, Tuithakau's house, which was situated immediately in front of the existing Wesleyan chapel. The missionaries and their wives, being unable to endure the sight of the horrors enacted at their doors, wished to remove outside the settlement near the mouth of the river. Captain Wilkes induced Tuithakau and Tuikilakila to give them a piece of ground there, near the sea-shore. The homes of the missionaries were there when Thomas Williams arrived. The site was not more than 100 yards away from the settlement.

perty just brought from Koro.⁷⁰ Amongst other things pigs were brought. Koro is in Cako Bou's *gali*,⁷¹ and when he heard of Tuilaila taking pigs, he was exasperated and said some things which indicated how he disliked the Somosomo chief.

The people here seem mistrustful of us at least when compared with those I have just left. I refer more particularly to such instances as occur in connection with our bartering for food,⁷² &c.

SEPTEMBER

Sun. September 3rd—Preached in native from: "Children are an heritage of the Lord." Previous to my speaking from this text Bro. Lyth baptized our third son naming him William Watson.⁷³ I then baptized his little daughter Mary Ann.

In the afternoon I met and catechised such as are under our care.

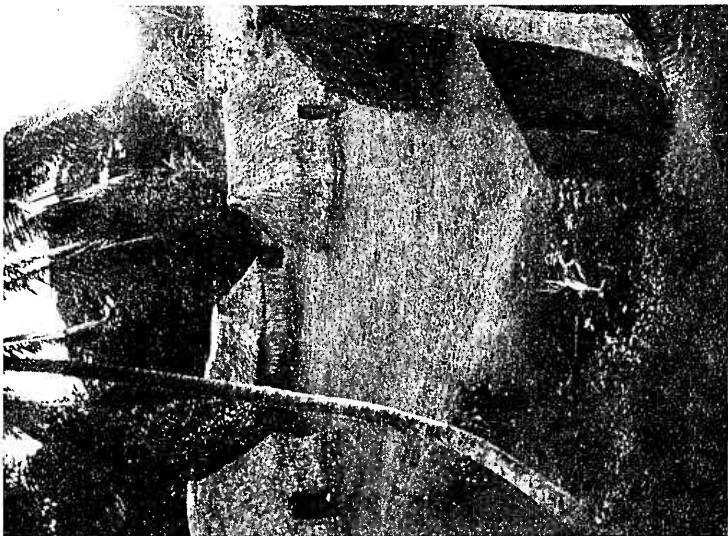
September 14th—At about 9 o'clock in the evening I walked round our premises to see that all was right. During my walk my attention was arrested by what I at first concluded was a meteor of considerable size, although not falling so directly to the earth as meteors commonly do; but, when it had nearly reached the surface of the earth, and as I naturally concluded had finished its course, I was greatly

⁷⁰ Koro Island can be seen from Somosomo on a clear day.

⁷¹ And therefore obliged to pay yearly tribute to him, and even to satisfy any demands that he chose to make at odd times. Places that were *mbati* to Mbau were its allies and under its protection; but not subject to it. Levuka, for example, was *mbati* to Mbau.

⁷² David Hazlewood who went to Somosomo when Dr Lyth left for Lakemba says that the people sometimes demanded from the missionaries twice the value of the food they bartered. The conduct of the Somosomo people in this respect was the more unworthy, because Dr Lyth gave his medical services to Heathen and Christian alike free of charge. The ruling chiefs were unconscionable beggars; but they sometimes made generous presents of food to the missionaries, especially when the great feasts were held at Somosomo.

⁷³ See footnote p. 170.



NATIVE HUTS, SOMOSOMO



THE DARK PEBBLED BEACH AT SOMOSOMO



surprised to see it rise from the earth, and having gained the top of the mountain at the back of my house, to pursue a course resembling that of a bee in search of honey. So I am brought to the conclusion that the beautiful light by which I had been so pleased proceeded from some luminous insect.

Sun. September 17th—The King attended afternoon service, or rather the former part of it. He sang lustily during the first singing, and, at the conclusion of the prayer, exclaimed *Malia*.⁷⁴

September 19th—The King (Tuilaila) left Somosomo for Vanua balavu accompanied by 20 canoes; so that, with those that have preceded him and those that are to follow, this fleet will number upwards of 30 canoes not one of which measures less than 12 yards long, and carries, on an average, not less than 25 persons.

The King's business at Vanua balavu is to receive a large quantity of property in the shape of cynnet, native cloth, mats, and whales' teeth, part of which has been waiting for him this past twelve months. He was expected soon to visit Yaro (a part of Vanua balavu) when I was there about nine months back. So much for the certainty of visits from Feejeean dignitaries.

Pigs have long been *tabu* on the island to which the king has gone; but he has taken with him people sufficient to devour the hundreds of such animals as will be cooked for him, and even clean up the crumbs so thoroughly as shall leave the parties favoured with this visit at a loss where to find food for some weeks after.

September 22nd—My attention was arrested about noon today by the peculiar sound of a native drum beaten in the *koro*, and, on asking its meaning, I was told that information had been received of *bakola*⁷⁵ or dead persons that were

⁷⁴ A Tongan word meaning the same as the Fijian *vinaka*—good.

⁷⁵ *Bakola* had a more definitive connotation than *mate*: *mate* was a dead body; *bakola* a body, dead or alive, destined for the cannibal oven.

being brought to Somosomo. Some time after two small canoes appeared making towards the beach, and on the *moa* or end deck of one was fastened the dead body of a man. A company of women welcomed the arrival of the canoes with dancing and singing.⁷⁶ The crews of the canoes expressed their joy by singing, whooping, whirling fans and brandishing their clubs.

Arrived at the beach, the body was cut adrift and tumbled into the water where, for a while, it was washed to and fro by the waves as they advanced or receded.

The canoes being dragged to land, the body was next dragged on shore by a cord fastened to its left hand.

A crowd of persons now surrounded it, and expressed their surprise and delight by a variety of remarks indicating a destitution of all feeling in the mind of those who made them. The body was that of a man of more than ordinary size in the prime of life, and this gave a turn to their remarks which, for the most part, had reference to his size: "A man truly! A ship; A land!"

Whilst the crews of the canoes rested a while we inquired respecting the pitiable object at our feet. It appears he was a Netewa chief who, on some account or other, was at a native town the inhabitants of which were, until lately, allies to Tuilaila; but are now divided—part in favour of this land, part in favour of Netewa. The name of the town is Tui ni loa.

The people of Koroi vonu in company with the warriors sent here by Cakobou made an attack upon that portion of the people of Tui ni loa who had traitorously taken up arms against their King, and, either during the attack or afterwards, the deceased with some others left the place that was thus besieged, and, in so doing, were observed and followed

⁷⁶ For the going forth of women to meet returning conquerors with dances and singing see Exodus xv, 20; 1 Samuel xviii, 6; Judges xi, 34.

by the besiegers. It is said that two men took to the bush and escaped. This one kept to the seaside and was pursued, overtaken and slain by a man of Koroi Vonu. Two women also were captured alive and taken to Koroi Vonu as prizes.

From the men's account this took place on the 20th. And from the state of the body I should judge they were correct.

The crews of the canoes now prepared to present their victim to the King's son, Ratu Vaalolo,⁷⁷ who is left in charge during his father's absence. The fibre of a tree having been secured round the wrist of the right hand, two young men dragged the body along the ground towards the town, the back being uppermost.

The warriors were in advance dancing and singing as they went. Soon after entering the town they left the body, and ran in succession into an open space before the King's house lifting aloft their clubs &c., and assuring the chiefs that these were their sufficient defence.

The body was then dragged into the area, and publicly presented to their great god. The people who brought it received a musket as a mark of the pleasure of their chief.

The young men had procured firewood, and the smoke of the oven ascended as the body was again pulled down to the seaside to be cut up.

The person who cut it up was a young man, but he appeared to be skilful. He operated with a piece of bamboo. Having washed the body, he made a large gash in the belly, and then proceeded to cut off the head, which done, he gave it a swing or two and heaved it into the sea.

During the cutting off of the head I saw for the first time the remains of the face. It appeared as though the fatal blow had been given across the eyes, and such was its force

⁷⁷ Vaalolo is the Somosomo spelling for *vakalolo* which means a pudding! Another chief on the mainland opposite was named Toa-levu, the great fowl. We have already heard of Niu-balavu, the long nut. Some of the names were indecent.

that it carried away all the lower part of the face. The forehead and the jaws dangling below were all that was left of the face when I saw it. Sickened with what I had seen I returned home; but not before I had united with Bro Lyth in asking that the body might be buried, and urging the people to forsake their false gods and barbarous customs.

September 27th—Canoe bringing letters from Lakemba arrived.

September 29th—Two boats from Lavuka. Hear that our Brn are well. During this day I was employed in assisting Bro. Lyth in making medicines and such other preparations as were needed previous to leaving this place to visit Bro. Calvert who continues to suffer from dysentery. I look upon the arrival of the boats as providential as Bro. L. was preparing to visit Lakemba in a small canoe, and therefore at some risk.

One of the two boats is well built, and a fair sailer (rigged schooner fashion) so that we thought it well to engage it, if possible, on reasonable terms. The owner displayed a disposition to oblige, and, after some consideration on both sides, it was agreed that the boat should undertake the trip for the sum of £10. She is to be at Bro. Lyth's disposal for 12 days; if detained longer on Bro. L.'s account an additional sum of 10s. per diem is to be allowed. Thos. Grandy, Captain, runs the risk of weather, and detention through contrary winds. Crew, three men and Captain.

We observed our quarterly fast today.

Our little canoe from Lakemba returned to inform Bro. Calvert that he might expect a visit from Bro. Lyth in a few days, the boat having to complete a trip to Mathewata⁷⁸ previous to being at our service.

⁷⁸ Usually spelt Mathuata. It was the most important town on the north coast of Vanua Levu, and near the eastern limit of the sandalwood country. The sandalwood sailors, in their rough and ready way of pronouncing names, called it Mudwater. Ritova was the most powerful chief there.

September 30th—Employed in adjusting Mission affairs in company with Bro. L.

I gratefully record an improved state in the health of my little family. During the first few weeks we all experienced in greater or less degree a disordered state of our bowels, in no case serious; and it is probable that we should have felt the effects of a removal to any other station as much if not more than we have felt this. To Him, to Whom it is due, be all the praise.

OCTOBER

Sun. October 1st—I conducted the morning prayer meeting, and at 9 o'clock preached from Rev. iii, 20. "Behold! I stand at the door, &c." At the conclusion we held our native Love Feast. What a contrast between this and Horncastle New Years! We appeared to be taken back to those days when Methodism was in its infancy, and those who devoted themselves to the service of their Creator were few, and looked upon by the men of this world with contempt not to say hatred. The hand of old Time's clock seemed as if put back one hundred years.

Our company was small but mixed. Of Europeans—Britons—four: Mr and Mrs Lyth; Thos and M. Williams. Of Feejeeans there were three, the same number of Tonguese, and one Uean. And these declared, in various tongues, "the wonderful works of God."

What follows is the substance of what some of our little company said during the meeting. After Bro. Lyth and myself had spoken of God's dealings with us.

Malachi Pootooke a Tonguese Training Preacher stood up and stated that he was born in Vavau of heathen parents; but when he grew up a little he felt desirous to see what was done in the place where the God Jehovah was worshipped; but his friends advised him not. However he went by stealth to the chapel, and what he there heard and saw

made impressions on his mind in favour of Christianity, and, these impressions gathering strength, he spoke to his family respecting the propriety of his joining the *lotu*. His elder Brother objected saying that by so doing he would run great risk, as their god might be enraged at him and punish his conduct with death.

Having after a time mastered his fears, he became, at least nominally, a Christian. From his own account he seems not to have expected that he should get any good by the change either to his body or soul.

He now regularly attended the ordinances of God's house and heard His word expounded; but had no clear perception of its import. He listened with attention to instruction, and when he heard that it was bad to lie he gave over telling lies; when he heard that he ought not to steal or swear he discontinued these vices, but remained entirely ignorant of the nature or necessity of repentance. Things continued in this state until it was said that assistance was needed in Feejee, and there was an inquiry made as to who should go to assist the Missionaries employed there in preaching the Gospel. Malachi was one amongst some others who offered their services, was accepted and sent to Feejee. He became a teacher some time after he had been in Feejee. He had not been sent as a Teacher, but volunteered as one of the crew of the canoe which brought the Teachers. He became a teacher at Rewa.

Whilst at Somosomo he became acquainted with his state as a sinner. He saw that, notwithstanding he bore the Christian name, his heart was bad, and he now realized that he needed a change. He saw the necessity of repentance, and sought until he became acquainted with the nature of it.

In course of time he was enabled to believe on the Lord Jesus Christ as his only Saviour and as such to rejoice in him.

He knew that God's love to him had been great, and he desired to love Him greatly in return. He wished to love

and serve God only with all his heart; and prayed to be taught and enabled to do His will.

Meshack Rara, a Feejeean (Ono) and Local Preacher, stated that he was at Ono when Christianity was first introduced into that island. Great numbers of people *lotu'd*; but his family remained steadfast in the cause of heathenism. At length the conduct of the Christians attracted his attention and excited his admiration; so that he felt a strong desire to join them. He was not influenced by any conviction of the excellency of religion, or of any benefit which might accrue to him from it. He liked what he saw of those who professed religion, and felt anxious to enjoy their society, and therefore joined them.

Whilst amongst them he heard mention made of Class Meetings, and, after a while, expressed a desire to meet in class, and was permitted so to do; but still he continued unconscious of any higher motive than that by which he was moved to take upon him the Christian name.

He had not been long a *lotu* man before he sailed to Lakemba and took up his abode with Bro. Calvert. He thought that by being on the Mission premises he should have a better opportunity of observing the effects of Christianity by seeing those who not only professed but taught it.

Here he remained a year, regularly attending the means of grace, but ignorant of saving faith. At the expiration of the year he returned to Ono benefited by his sojourn at Lakemba at least thus much. He was fully satisfied that the religion of Jesus was true and beneficial to those who embraced it.

After he had pursued an orderly course for a few months in Ono Mr Calvert visited that place and informed him that Bro. Lyth would be glad of his assistance at Somosomo, there being no Christians there to help the Missionary.

Having consulted his wife and gained her consent, they

prepared for the voyage, and were taken by the *Triton* to Somosomo.

Here new and painful trials awaited him. The heathen chiefs divided his land and tauntingly asked: "What was Ono that it should renounce heathenism? A land of common persons!" These and other unpleasant remarks were made; but, although they pained his mind greatly, they did not shake his confidence, because he knew them to be erroneous. Here the Lord did a great thing for him.

Whilst at Somosomo he made a discovery, an important one as regards himself. He found that, although he had for some time borne the Christian name, his body only had been concerned, his heart still remaining a stranger to God and godliness.

He was affected by this discovery and learnt by it how it was that the service of the Lord was not freedom to him.

Being convinced of his need of a change of heart, he besought the Lord to give him a new heart and a right spirit. He sought and found the Saviour. By believing in Him he found peace to his soul. He knew that his sins were forgiven him, not for any merit of his, but for Jesus' sake.

He did not say these things that man might hear him. No! He knew that he was in the presence of God, and he had made known his mind at that time remembering that God saw and knew his heart.

Mr R. became a Local Pr. at Somosomo. His conduct generally comports with his profession. Should he remain firm in his attachment to Christianity we may expect his assistance to prove very beneficial.

Sophia Kaulamatua the wife of the principal Tonguese teacher on this island then spoke in Tonguese of which I could only understand a few sentences; she speaking low.

Debora Taka or Takai, wife of Malachi, stood up in the presence of God, of his people and of his ministers to disclose her mind.

When young she was removed from Vavau to Hapai by a Christian chief and, at his desire, she renounced heathenism. She had not been long at Hapai before she felt a desire to meet in class; but was prevented by her friends who told her that it was not fitting for young persons to meet in class, but only for old. Because she was prevented meeting in class she cried.

She again removed to Vavau and Mr Turner was there. Shortly after her return the revival of God's work began. She appears to have got some little good which led her to renounce some sins although she continued to practice others. When she came to Feejee and settled at Lakemba she still continued in this double-minded state although she became more deeply impressed with a sense of the importance of religion.

Being removed to Rewa she continued a stranger to the love of God. But a protracted illness caused her to reflect a little, and inquire why this illness was brought upon her.

Her illness increasing, she was removed from Rewa to Somosomo to be under the care of Bro Lyth, M.D. Her removal was beneficial to her body, but more so to her soul. As a means she attributed the health of her soul to the sickness of her body. It was here she saw herself a helpless sinner, and here she found a gracious Saviour. She knew that the Lord's anger was removed from her and that he loved her. And she was happy in the favour of God.

She desired only to be His. Having opened the door of her heart after he had long knocked at it by affliction, she desired not to do her own will, but the will of her Master.

D.T. came to Feejee in the suite of Sailas Faone. She was a real Tonguese beauty, and great fears were entertained respecting her during her stay at Rewa. Here she was married, and soon after became afflicted. At this time her submission to God's will and patience in affliction bespeak the genuine character of her profession.

Jottami Mahe a Tonga-Feejee youth (Father a Tonguese; mother an Oneata woman) said that his mother joined the Christians soon after a teacher had settled at Oneata. It was her custom during his childhood to take him by the hand to conduct him to the house of prayer; but, being naughty, he mostly slipped his hand from hers and ran to play with his companions.

One Sunday he did not go out into the gardens, but stayed in the town, and, whilst there, he heard the sounds of singing, and, being pleased therewith, he directed his steps to the chapel from which the sound proceeded. He liked the singing and determined to go into the chapel, and, here, the dresses of the people took his attention. He thought they were very fine, and he was much pleased with all he saw. After this he went of his own will to hear the word, and soon cast in his lot with the *lotu* party.

He now felt afraid of God, and delighted to pray unto Him in public and in private. In June 1842 he accompanied me to Ono being desirous to see that place. Upon my return he stayed in Lakemba as a member of my family. As he desired to visit his friends, I gave him permission; but he soon returned and stayed with me some months.

He now became inattentive to his book, his duties and his God. He had formed an acquaintance with some Tonga youths whose corrupt example did him much injury.

Again he went home to Oneata; but finding there a number of characters similar to those he had left at Lakemba, he joined in their pursuits and did evil night and day. Just as he was deliberating what to do (being partly ashamed of his conduct) he heard of my removal to Somosomo and came to ask me whether or not he might go with me. He hoped that he should be able to regain the ground he had lost if separated from his bad companions.

He was pleased with the conduct of the few Christians he saw here, and approved of their words and ways. He prayed

to God to forgive him his sins for Jesus' sake and to make him really good.

Bartimeus Fa. Irisise told us that when he heard of the *lotu* he ran away into the wilderness like a beast and hid from men.

He continued a heathen until after the Ono war and then united to the Christians. The time of his being a Christian was a short thing. He went to Lakemba one voyage, and stayed a time at the seaside with the Tonguese; but did not like their proceedings, and, on an invitation being given him by my old man Sampson Tanima to make one of my family, he consulted his friends and consented.

He lived some time with me and then returned to Ono. Was exceedingly glad when he saw me again at Ono in August last.

Mr W. then asked me to go with him to Somosomo, and although my friends objected I came because they took little care of me. But I loved Mr and Mrs Williams much because they took good care of me. He had come and perhaps Mr W. and he would die together.

He wished to serve God and to get his sins forgiven. He was trying to read the Bible a little that he might be wise and know what was good, and he prayed to God to help him that he might know the meaning of His Holy Word. That was the end of his mind.⁷⁹

If I had ever regretted leaving sweet home, and my dear and honoured Father to engage in the onerous work of preaching Christ to the Feejeeans, what I have seen, heard and felt today would certainly have given the death-blow to such regrets. Bless the Lord that some few enjoy the love

⁷⁹ The reader will have noticed from these testimonies that none of the converts was attracted to Christianity, in the first instance, by the merits of the Gospel, or the teaching of the missionaries. The same might be said of the members of the Church Society in every station in the archipelago. I do not know of one Fijian in this period, 1835-56, who turned from Heathenism to Christianity for spiritual reasons. See H.F.F., Chapter VII, pp. 107-10.

of God in their hearts and their conduct accords thereto. Lord hear prayer and increase the number.

October 3rd—Being in the neighbourhood of the place where the remains of the Lady Marama, favourite wife of Ratu Tuithakau, are deposited, I turned aside to inspect the place more particularly.

Perhaps no Somosomoan had ever so much honour paid to his or her remains. The King caused a mound of earth containing many tons to be thrown up. On this he had placed a good double canoe measuring seven fathoms. This was then embedded in earth and a quantity of fine shingle placed on the deck; and all this—not to put her poor body in, but to place it upon. Over the deck of the canoe a mahogany roof of eight feet span was erected, the gables fitted in with the same material ornamented with white cowries. An opening of about 2 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. was left at the west end.

On looking in at this opening I saw a heap of something lying on the shingle which, upon closer inspection, proved to be the remains of this famous lady. It is about five years since her decease,⁸⁰ but the flesh was not entirely gone from her legs and arms, the hair on her head appeared as closely united to her skull as when she was alive. Upon touching it an English comb fell out of her head, and two Tonga ones presented themselves to view.

Her fleshless neck was surrounded by a whales' tooth necklace (greatly valued in Feejee). Near her lay a Pan's pipe,⁸¹ and some Feejeean trinkets.

On the right of the window lay a *liku* or female's dress; on the left a neat little basket containing sundry trifles. These were offerings to her presented by her worshippers, she having been deified since her death.

⁸⁰ The reader will be able to discriminate, in what follows, between what applies to Marama, and what to Tui Vanua a vou. Williams has a note here under date 29 April 1844, stating: "Learned today that the bones which are visible are those of Tui vanua a vou. Marama is a little beneath him."

⁸¹ See sketches of Fijian musical instruments reproduced in F.F., vol. i, p. 164.

The skeleton appeared as though it had been secured in a sitting position by cynet.

When her worshippers suppose she is angry with them they seek to appease her by supplying *masi* or native cloth to cover her remains; but as she is a very sacred character Feejeeans seldom lay the cloth upon her. Tonguese are chosen in preference to Feejeeans.

October 5th—Completed fence around the house where sleep our dead. The Boats returned.

October 6th—Bro. Lyth left for Lakemba in the boat owned by William Simpson and Wm. Kusick of Ovalau. The second boat which started at the same time for Ovalau returned on account of bad wind.

Sun. October 8th—I preached in English and had an addition to part of my ordinary congregation of three strangers from the Ovalau boat: an Englishman, a Frenchman and a Portuguese. The two latter were brought up in the Papal Church. Yesterday I sought out a few tracts, sent them on board and accompanied them with an invitation to the English service. Today they thanked me for the tracts. Learning that they had no animal food on board, I set a plain dinner before them for which they seemed very thankful.

Heard Mr Rana preach. In the evening I continued my reading in Dr Harris's *Great Commission*.

October 13th—Took the children to a small uninhabited island named *Koro levu*⁸² for the benefit of their health. We had a pleasant trip. Whilst bathing amidst the billows breaking over the reef I felt exceedingly the kind care of my heavenly Father who has thus far preserved me from a watery grave;⁸³ and felt increasingly willing to confide my all into His care.

⁸² A mere islet not far from the beach at Somosomo. The missionaries and their families went there frequently for the sake of their health. The air was fresher than at Somosomo.

⁸³ Williams is referring more particularly here to his voyages in canoes, especially one from Lakemba to Ono-i-lau, and another from Lakemba to

During this day a canoe was lost a few miles from our station, being overladen!⁸⁴ A chief of some importance and the crew, six men, perished in the water.

October 18th—Bro. L. returned during the night.

October 19th—Letters and reports state Bro. C. to be about as usual. Bro. L. brings intelligence that but three or four persons remain heathen at Wathiwathi, of the opening of Tulaki chapel and general advancement of our work in Lakemba. A day or two previous to his arrival at Lakemba a small new canoe set out from Lakemba to Moci on its way to Ono to which place she belongs. Thirteen persons were on board in addition to a considerable quantity of food and baggage. They had not proceeded far before she filled with water; but after considerable exertion on the part of her crew she was emptied and rose again, only however to be refilled in a few minutes; again emptied, and again refilled when the strength of her crew being exhausted she began to go down and the people took to swimming as their last resource. The canoe went down between Aiwa and Olorua. The people aimed for the former of these uninhabited islands; but only three of them reached it alive. Two of these were a man and his wife from whom me and mine have received great attention—perhaps because we had paid great attention to the woman during a protracted illness. Tanieli Takapi is a strong man, and always pleased me by his unremitted attention to Marksie, his afflicted wife.

As she was unable to help herself much when the canoe went down Daniel constructed a raft to support her, and, thus partly supported by the raft, he succeeded in gaining

Somosomo and back. Toward the close of 1846 he undertook another still more perilous, as we shall see later, extending over 600 miles, in canoes of various sizes some of them small. The courage required for such adventures in the olden days is too often overlooked in these days of well-found steamers and accurate British Admiralty charts.

⁸⁴ A common cause of disasters at sea in these times. Cupidity again.

Aiwa. How strange that he, the oldest, and she, the weakest on board, should be saved, and a number of fine young men fall a prey to the insatiable ocean.

Ten more are added to the number of those lost by the foolish practice of overloading frail Feejeean canoes.

Tawakirua the owner of the canoe was lost. It has since been proved that this chief was sent from Lakemba with directions to effect a division in Ono and again involve them in war. "Why do the heathen imagine a vain thing?" A reference to p. 33 of this journal will shew that he took an active part in the Ono war which took place in 1841. He became nominally Christian, and was married to an interesting female residing at Ono; but, as soon as an opportunity presented itself, he quitted the island to live *vaka devolo*⁸⁵ at Lakemba. If he did this the more easily to procure a canoe, alas! "what has it profited him?" During 1842 I had a long conversation with him. He acknowledged his error; declared that he only waited the completion of his canoe, and should then return to his wife and unite with his Christian friends at Ono. Another victim of procrastination.

Apolosi Lavinje, a Local Preacher, and several other Ono youths, Christians, are amongst the lost. Tawakirua was one of the finest natives I ever saw, and justly esteemed the pride of Ono.

Among the youths was one named Aisea lately disunited from Bro. Lyth's service for yielding to the temptation of a heathen woman at Somosomo. He manifested shame and some degree of contrition on account of his sin. Learnt today that the number lost in the canoe that went down on the 13th⁸⁶ was six. Four I believe reached land near Koro vonu, the chief of which place was amongst the lost. Bro. L. had introduced me to him only a few days before the

⁸⁵ As a Heathen.

⁸⁶ See p. 202.

sad event. He was a noble-looking man, and on his way at the time to make preparation for the fatal voyage.

Notwithstanding the people have again and again assured me that his wife would be spared they strangled her this morning!

It appears that when Tuilaila reached Yaro the masts of his largest canoes were left standing, it being exceedingly difficult for his people to rear them when put down. In Feejee, poor Feejee, the circumstance of a chief leaving the mast of his canoe standing is understood to imply that he desires to eat human flesh. So it was understood in the present instance. A Bou chief *vasu* to Yaro was staying there, and thought it should be his work to procure a man on which to feed the Somosomo chieftains. He therefore spread his sail, and went to an adjoining island, where, finding a Moarly man, he enticed him on board his canoe, killed him, and took him at once to Tuicakau and Tuilaila who re-proved him for what he had done; and when he urged the standing of the mast as an excuse the Somosomo chief informed him that they were left standing, not that a man might be killed for them, but that his people might be saved unnecessary toil.

However there can be little doubt that they rejoiced in their hearts at being thus unexpectedly feasted with food which they prefer above all other.

The Bou chief is a very wretch. I visited him when I was last at Vanua balavu (see pp. 143-4). His face is an index of his subtle fiend-like heart. He was one who assisted in the attempt to dethrone Tanoa some few years ago, and on the restoration of that king had nearly paid the forfeit of his life, being saved only on account of his consummate impudence and barbarous propensities: "Let that fellow live," said Tanoa, "we may have work for him one day." The names by which this child of the devil is generally known are Koroi Jijji and Tui Mavana.

October 20th—A day of good to my soul. The Lord help me to serve Him faithfully with all my might, all my days.

October 27-28th—Employed in making up native books.

October 30th—Sent off the canoe to procure a pit-saw from Ovalau, and information about our friends at Vewa.

About this time a party of our young chiefs (Vakalolo at the head) and attendants agreed to visit the vicinity of Netewa in search of glory. Active preparations were made for a day or two when their ardour was considerably damped by a report that Netewa had recently received a reinforcement of fighting men from Mathewata. However they determined at least to venture over the strait to Koroivonu, and see if they could there learn anything new. They arrived safely, although detained a day or two in Somosomo by different weather to that promised by the god. During the night one of them dreamed that their enemies were near and many in number; whereupon, with the greatest gallantry, they betook themselves to their canoes and hastened back to Somosomo.

NOVEMBER

November 13th—For some days past we have had a poor woman under our care whom Bro. L. found in most pitiable circumstances. Her case serves to illustrate the amount of attention which sick heathen Feejeeans usually receive from their relatives and friends. Her husband left her in a somewhat afflicted state at the time of the King's departure to the outer islands. So that it is probable she had been dependant on such scraps as she could pick up for her maintenance for more than five weeks before we knew of her case, she living some distance from us.

Two women slept in the same house with her, but paid no attention to her, thinking, I suppose, that it was sufficient if they attended to themselves. The consequence of her being thus situated was painfully visible in her skeleton-like

appearance. She consented to take medicine from Bro. L. for some days, and during that time received food (with the exception of one day through the man's neglect) from our tables regularly. Bro. L. felt satisfied that she suffered mainly from starvation and would soon recover provided she had a regular supply of food and a little medicine.

Last Saturday she sent us word that she was going to try a course of Feejeean medicine, the end of which is usually strangulation! Fearing they might jump to this conclusion at once, Bro. L. and I set out with the intention of seeing and advising with her; but found the mountain torrent so swollen by the late rains as to prevent our getting over to her.

On Sunday food was taken to her as usual, and my youth thought she appeared strong. This morning he took her portion; but was met by a party of women who were returning from her interment! It appears that, during the night, she seemed rather weaker, so her loving friends got together and strangled her.⁸⁷ Of course they made the requisite noise and shed the proper quantity of tears expected from them on such occasions.⁸⁸

The youth who took her food on Sunday afternoon concealed from me the circumstance of an old woman being in the house when he went who made no secret of the business on which she had come. "I came," said she, "to see this my friend, and inquire whether or no she is ready for being strangled; but I find she is strong yet so that she will not need strangling at present." This old wretch⁸⁹ was nearly blind and suffering from more serious disorders

⁸⁷ Probably at her own request. Captain Wilkes says in vol. iii of his *Narrative*: "I was informed that 9 out of 10 look forward to it (death) without anxiety in order to escape from the infirmities of old age or the sufferings of disease." See also H.F.F., pp. 59-61.

⁸⁸ For the employment of women to mourn and make lamentation over the dead see Jeremiah ix, 17; 2 Chronicles xxxv, 25; Job iii, 8; Ecclesiastes xii, 5. It was a well-established custom in Fiji.

⁸⁹ It was quite likely that she was a friend of the deceased who had come to perform what nearly all Fijians would have regarded as a kindly service.



than the comparatively young woman whose end she came to hasten.

November 16th—James returned from Vewa bringing us most heart-cheering intelligence respecting our friends; tolerably good respecting the *lotu*; but bad as regards the general state of the people. It appears there are no less than seven wars in various parts of Feejee. In one or other of these the most powerful interests of Feejee were engaged.

The war between Bou and Rewa⁹⁰ prevents Thakobou coming in person to assist in the entire destruction of the

⁹⁰ This war began in October 1843, and lasted until the battle of Kamba was fought and won by Thakombau and King George of Tonga in April 1855. It is hard to say definitely what was the actual cause of the war. When Thomas Jaggar saw Tanoa in May 1843 he found him very angry with Rewa for destroying the town of Suva, killing 100 people and eating most of them. This is given by some, and, at first, by Thomas Jaggar himself, as the cause of the war. But Mrs Wallis who was in Fiji at the time gives the impression in her *Journal* that fighting did not begin till the King of Rewa had put a deadly insult upon Tanoa by giving his sister, who was one of Tanoa's wives, to a Rewa chief. In a letter on 6 November 1846 John Hunt who had been at Vewa from the outbreak of the war gives four causes: (1) Ngarra-ni-nggio brother of the King of Rewa had had illicit intercourse with the Queen. Tuidreketi was determined to punish him, and so Ngarra went to Mbau for assistance. Mbau declined; but tried to reconcile the two brothers and failed. Thereupon Ngarra decided to return to Rewa and face Tuidreketi. The result was a reconciliation at which the king and chiefs of Mbau felt slighted because their own efforts, to the same end, had been rejected. (2) A town belonging to Mbau called Dravo was menaced by the Rewa chiefs. Mbau did nothing more at the time than warn the people of their danger; but Tanoa did not forget. (3) Suva whose chief was *vasu* to Mbau had been destroyed by Rewa. (4) Tanoa and his principal wife who was sister to the King of Rewa quarrelled, and she with some of Tanoa's women went back to Rewa, and the women were distributed among the chiefs there. This was a deadly insult. Tanoa assembled his sons and called upon them to take revenge. Thakombau took up his cause and all the Mbau chiefs joined him.

Hunt makes no mention here of a reason which he had at least suggested in a letter to the Committee on 19 December 1843. "War" he says "has lately broken out between Bau and Rewa. . . . If Bau wins the Bau chief will be the Emperor of Fiji." And elsewhere he says that this was Thakombau's ambition.

Taking all the evidence into consideration, it would appear that the immediate cause of the fighting was the deadly insult put upon Tanoa by the distribution of some of his wives among the chiefs of Rewa; but, behind that, Thakombau probably felt that if he was ever to unite Fiji under his own authority the independence of Rewa would have to be destroyed as a

Netewa people, and, most probably the same course will lessen the number of men sent to reinforce the fighting men of this place.

To prolong the war between this place and Netewa, without taking very active steps in it, is politic on the part of Cakobou. The Netewa people being on good terms with Bou, and having property to a considerable amount ready to present to its chief, the Somosomo people find it needful to use every means to gain and keep the assistance of Bou. They have already taken a great quantity of cloth, teeth and other articles⁹¹ to the capital, and the riches scraped up from the windward islands will be cast into the same place. It is not unlikely that, after all, Cakobou will so bring matters about that Netewa will *soro* to this King, and so the matter will end—like a skilful man of the law, who, after having well drained the purses of plaintiff and defendant, dismisses the parties but little the better for his interference.⁹²

preliminary. John Hunt went too far in saying that the defeat of Rewa would make Thakombau Emperor of Fiji. There were independent tribes on the west coast, and in the interior of Viti Levu, who would have fought to the last ditch for their liberty; and Somosomo and Mathuata, while they were to some extent tributary to Mbau, would not have recognized Thakombau's imperial claims without a struggle. But the subjection of Rewa would no doubt have been a long and important step toward the realization of Thakombau's ambition.

The war was, as John Hunt and Thomas Jaggar said, carried on with the greatest animosity. Thakombau took part himself in the murder of Tuidreketi; Rewa was burned down twice, and Nggara-ni-nggio, when he became King of Rewa, swore that he would not cease fighting until he had killed and eaten Thakombau. Whatever the original causes of the war may have been they were soon lost sight of in the desire for personal revenge. Writing on 3 March 1845 Thomas Jaggar affirms that the fighting at that stage was due not to any public quarrel or struggle for dominion but mainly to personal enmity between the chiefs; and this contention is supported by the evidence.

The war between Rewa and Mbau occupies an important place in the history of Fiji; but this is not the place to discuss it at any greater length.

⁹¹ Including two large canoes. See Lyth's Journal, vol. i, pp. 646-8.

⁹² This proved to be near the truth. In a letter to London on 26 February 1845 John Hunt gave a remarkably accurate diagnosis of the situation as events proved. "They (the Mbau rulers) are using Natewa chiefs to pay off old scores against the chiefs of Somosomo; and when they think they

From Ovalou James brought a woman as well as a pit-saw. She was *given* to him by a shipmate of his in times past. His shipmate purchased her for a musket from her own brother, stated by the woman to be chief of Movoru a town in the district of Saukasa on the island of Venatta. Her father is dead, she left her mother alive. Assisted Bro. Lyth in superintending the people who thatched his house today.

Sun. November 19th—Last week I completed my perusal of *Lives of Early Methodist Preachers*, not without some profit I trust. The week before I finished the very excellent Life of the Rev. C. Wesley by the Rev. T. Jackson. Many thanks to my esteemed uncle for the Christian and gentlemanly manner in which he has exposed the calumnies of those loving Calvinists who so freely indulged in defaming the characters of the Wesleys and those who laboured in connection with them.

Occupied during the early part of this week in altering a portion of the Somosomo Hymns⁹³ into the Lakemba dialect.

November 24th—Employed making a pulpit for the native chapel.

have done enough, they will go to Natewa with a large force and pretend to conquer it; but Somosomo will have to pay the price, and bow its neck a little more willingly to the yoke of Bau. . . . Bau is aiming at the subjection of the whole group."

"In the Report of the Translating and Printing Department for 1842, it is stated that Lyth and Hunt have prepared a number of hymns in the Somosomo dialect, and in a similar report for the following year, 1843, we are told that a hymn-book on the plan of the Somosomo dialect was to be prepared in the Lakemba, Rewa and Mbau dialects. This is the work on which Williams is here engaged. The hymn-book in the Mbau dialect was prepared by Hunt and Jaggar assisted by Mrs Hunt. Writing to the Rev. J. F. Horsley on the subject of Fijian hymn-books Dr Lyth says: "The manuscript hymn-book in the Somosomo dialect was adopted as the guide in the preparation of new hymn-books in the several dialects. The principle on which it has been composed was to prepare a small collection of hymns on the more leading topics contained in Wesley's collection, and to make the hymns themselves, as far as we were able, imitations of their prototypes or portions of them." In the Somosomo report for 31 March 1842 it is stated that "in making their hymns the missionaries do not attempt rhyme." In his Scrap-book Lyth says that most of the hymns in the Somosomo dialect were prepared by John Hunt.

November 25th—Finished pulpit today.

Arrivals. Ovalou boat; the Rewa schooner *Jane*: bringing letters from Vewa and Rewa; two canoes from Mawei. Had in my hand today the pistol with which the young American Lieutenant defended himself for some time when attacked at malolo.⁹⁴ It was constructed to serve the twofold pur-

⁹⁴ A full account of this tragic episode will be found in Wilkes' *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*, vol. iii., in the chapter headed "Malolo" which begins on p. 268. The main facts are: Lieutenant Joseph Underwood and Midshipman Wilkes Henry (nephew of Captain Wilkes) were murdered on the island of Malolo whither they had gone in search of provisions. Having buried their mutilated bodies in the sand on Henry Island, Wilkes determined to inflict a severe punishment on the natives of Malolo. He made an attack on Sualib, the town principally concerned; destroyed it, and pursued the fugitive natives. In all 57, including the two great chiefs of the island and their best warriors, were killed. Towards evening the natives came on their knees begging forgiveness, which was granted after they had *soro'd* with a basket of earth handing over their island to the conquerors. An inquiry into the circumstances attending the murder was conducted by Captain Wilkes, at the conclusion of which he expressed the opinion that Lieutenant Alden had not kept strictly to instructions about being on guard, and that he should not have allowed Lieutenant Underwood to stay so long on shore, as there was no absolute need of provisions.

It was also admitted that there was no hostile movement on the part of the natives on shore until a hostage, whom they had on board the ship's cutter, jumped overboard, was fired upon, and thought to be killed by the father of the hostage and other natives who were with him on shore. In view of this, the attack can hardly be described as "entirely unprovoked" so far as the opinion of the natives was concerned. It would appear from the account given by Captain Wilkes himself that the unfortunate disaster was due in the first instance, to the carelessness of the guard which gave the hostage his chance to leap overboard.

It is much to the credit of Captain Wilkes that he concealed nothing in the account which he placed before the world in his *Narrative*; but it is not surprising that considerable public indignation was aroused in the United States when the facts became known including the severity of the punishment which he inflicted on the natives of Malolo. There can be no doubt that, as Wilkes claimed, the natives of Malolo became—for a time—"civil, harmless and well-disposed." Neither is there any reason to doubt that the lives of reputable white men in Fiji were made more secure by this object lesson, and also by the capture and removal of the Rewa chief Vendovi for the part he had played in the massacre of the men on board the *Charles Doggett* in 1834. But I doubt whether many men who read the account given by Captain Wilkes will be able to leave the subject without feeling that the same ends could have been attained by punishment less drastic than that which he inflicted on the natives of Malolo.

pose of pistol and cutlass. The young officer shot the first native who attacked him, cut down the second, but was clubbed by the third.

Sun. November 26th—Considerably indisposed; but refreshed in the evening by a lengthy discourse with Bro L. on Brotherly love, &c.

One of the owners of the Ovalou boats brought his wife, a fine young woman, English or American on the father's and Feejeean on the mother's side, that Bro. L. might examine a tumour in her mouth, proceeding possibly from a diseased state of the inside of the lower jaw. Bro. L. once before relieved her by cutting it. It was then small; now it occupied a fifth or more of the space in the lower part of the mouth, and was so hard that Mr. L., wisely I think, declined to operate upon her, but advised her to await the arrival of a man-of-war, or make a speedy voyage to Sydney.

November 29th—The King and his company returned from Lau. The young King looks exceedingly well. He brought two Christian youths from Lomolomo as part of a crew.

November 30th—Sent letters to Lakemba by Charles⁹⁵ in the *Jane*.

Considerable talk about an immediate descent upon Netewa to procure *baola* or dead men to eat previous to taking the masts of the large canoes down;⁹⁶ but perhaps it will end in smoke.

Employed part of the day in looking over Bro. Hunt's lectures⁹⁷ for the native Teachers.

⁹⁵ Charles Pickering, of whom more later on.

⁹⁶ Men were sacrificed and eaten on the raising as well as the lowering of masts of big canoes.

⁹⁷ These lectures were prepared by John Hunt for the training of native agents. Writing to the London Committee on 4 June 1843 Hunt says that, at first, he lectured to the trainees under his care at Vewa; but found it useless. They were unable to take notes, and forgot what he had said. Therefore he wrote out his lectures, to be printed in a book of 250 pages.

An assemblage of many scores of splendid beetles upon one of the shrubs in my little garden. The leaf of the tree resembled that of the lilac.

DECEMBER

December 1—A canoe arrived from Lakemba in quest of medicine⁹⁸ for Muri Ca the third chief and heir apparent to the kingdom of Lakemba. Bro. Calvert⁹⁹ is better.

December 2nd—Employed about new house for James.

December 5th—Jottami left me with many tears. Leaves on account of his sick mother. Sent letters to Tonga.

December 7th—The *Bati*¹⁰⁰ desire that active steps may be taken in the affair of the Netewa war. I suppose they are tired of being half-starved. Called with Bro. Lyth to see a poor little child dying for want of proper attention. Suitable advice was not sought until the destroyer had commenced his work.

December 8-9th—Copying Dr Hannah's Lectures on Popery.

Sun. December 11—Walked to Weilagi a considerable *koro* about four miles distant from Somosomo, and preached to the people.

Soon after I had passed through the fence I found a company of young men preparing to heat a native oven. I secured their attention, and spoke to them some time on the advantages connected with the observance of the Sabbath. They heard and seemed to approve.

Descending towards the middle of the village I took my

In this form they were sent out to the several circuits, and were greatly appreciated by his colleagues as an effective means to religious tuition, distinct from mere lecturing or preaching.

⁹⁸ Another result of the visit of Dr Lyth to Lakemba.

⁹⁹ Whom Dr Lyth had travelled from Somosomo to treat for acute dysentery. Calvert writing on 20 August 1845 said: "Through the divine blessing on Dr Lyth's skill, I am completely recovered from dysentery."

¹⁰⁰ See footnote, p. 188.

stand upon an elevation of stones, sang, prayed, and called upon the people who came to hear me to renounce the service of their false gods and serve Him who only is true. Several of the women (who withal behaved well) audibly expressed their conviction of the truth of what I said. At the conclusion of the service I crossed an open space where their dances &c. are performed, and, as I passed along, I said in a loud voice: "Your priests know that they deceive you." Up rose a middle-aged man and walked off, whereupon a by-sitter remarked: "See he is going; he is a priest."¹⁰¹

Visited several houses. Conversed at length with the old chief Ratu Ralulu, ruler of the place, and younger Bro. of the old king of Somosomo. He occasionally repeated after me: *Alou*¹⁰² *daidai* or "false god." Happy¹⁰³ would it be if he believed the gods he served to be false.

Leaving this "fine old gentleman,"¹⁰⁴ I proceeded to a spot where a considerable number of persons were engaged in building a new temple, and fear but few of them believed me when I told them that theirs was profitless employment.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ It may well have been a protest against the discourtesy of the missionary.

¹⁰² *Alou* for *kalou*: *k* dropped as usual in the Somosomo dialect.

¹⁰³ "Happy" is not the word to use in this connexion. See H.F.F., pp. 89-90 and 97-9.

¹⁰⁴ In the circumstances the simple repetition of "*alou daidai*" in the preceding paragraph would seem to argue a self-restraint that becomes "a fine old gentleman."

¹⁰⁵ The narrow-mindedness and discourtesy of the Methodist missionary in addressing himself to such as differed with him in matters of religion is well illustrated in this visit to Weilangi. This chief Ralulu was brother to Tuithakau, and succeeded to the royal title after the old king's death. It is clear from later records that though he declined to renounce his gods, he was a broad-minded tolerant old man. On 18 June 1843 he was supposed to be dying and Lyth and Tuilaila set out to visit him. The Fijian doctors had failed to do him any good; but Lyth found that "the case was not bad at all," and soon had him on the way to recovery. "All this," says Lyth, "tended to make the impression stronger on the mind of the chief

Returned in time for English preaching by Bro. Lyth at 11 o'clock. On my way an old lady remarked: "The Day of Rest you say, and yet you are living yourself in going," intimating that if it was a day of rest I ought to rest.

A short time back Bro. Lyth reproved a carpenter for working on the Sabbath, observing: "You make such a noise that those who would be quiet are disturbed by you." The man was making holes in a part of a canoe for the purpose of fastening it to some other part by means of cynet. The instrument which he used was a small gouge and a piece of hardwood as a mallet. "If," said the queer¹⁰⁶ fellow, "if the noise I make is displeasing to God do you give me a gimlet then I can go on, and God will not hear me."

Bro. Lyth left us taking with him Mosisi Kulamatua whom he purposes settling at Bauma¹⁰⁷—the chief of that place, Ratu Lewenilovo having many times requested that a teacher might be sent him.

December 12th—The *Baci* withdrawn from Kori vonu because of a slight quarrel between them and the Tonguese which terminated in the exchange of many hard words, some stones, and an appeal to the King. The King decided in favour of the Tonguese people.

December 13th—Two men detected in the act of and people in favour of the true God with whom I, as His priest, was inseparably connected in their view of the case."

When Lyth visited Weilangi again on 7 March 1844 he found that a new *mbure* had been built called *Papalangi*. "It is the bure of a priest who calls himself the priest of Dingova (Jehovah)."

¹⁰⁶ *Witty* would perhaps be a more appropriate adjective. It is pretty safe to conjecture that he did not get the gimlet notwithstanding his witty sally. The humourist would have had a better chance with Williams than Lyth. But wit was a quality in which none of the missionaries excelled. The natives could beat them out of sight at that.

¹⁰⁷ On the east coast of Taviuni. Williams has a footnote here stating that "R.L.L. is the greatest chief in the place by far; but Tui Bauma, or Vu ni Sa is nominally so. Vu ni Sa would not venture to act contrary to the mind of R.L.L."

vakadraunikau,¹⁰⁸ or burying certain leaves with a design to procure the death of certain individuals. One of them was apprehended and bound; the other made his escape.

December 14th—Heard of the place where the runaway had secreted himself and felt at a loss how to proceed so as not to injure the poor silly man, the young King having given orders that they should both be killed, cooked and eaten.

I was soon relieved however by a rumour that the old King had prevented the execution of the young King's orders, and granted them their lives. I waited upon the young King to ask him to be merciful.

The young King is said to have remarked on the 12th, whilst conversing with, or rather I should say whilst reproving the Feejeean chief who offended against the Tonguese: "I do not know that man as my friend who behaves unkindly to those who stay at Navatu (the Mission premises) or Nasaratha (the name of the Tonguese settlement). I have proved that the people there are my true friends."

December 15th—Bro. Lyth returned from Bauma. His report of his reception; of the conduct of *Lewe ni lovo*,¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ See footnote p. 128. In F.F., vol. i, p. 249, Williams says: "The most common method (of practising witchcraft) is the *vakadraunikau*, or compounding of certain leaves supposed to possess a magical power, and which are wrapped in other leaves, or put into a small bamboo case, and buried in the garden of the person to be bewitched, or hidden in the thatch of his house. Processes of this kind are the most dreaded, and people about Bua are reputed to prepare the most potent compounds. The native imagination is so absolutely under the control of fear of these charms, that persons, hearing that they were the objects of such spells, have lain down on their mats, and died through fear." The men who worked these charms were generally paid a big fee; but they ran great risks. In the event of detection punishment was very severe.

¹⁰⁹ The words *lewe-ni-lovo* mean—people of the oven. The title was conferred upon this chief, who was a son of Tuithakau, in recognition of his atrocities. The implication is that he could supply as many bodies for the oven as could be desired. Though not the nominal king of Bouma he was more powerful than Tui Bouma, and had six towns under his authority.

and of our prospects at Bauma is very pleasing, and encourages us to hope that good will be done in that place.¹¹⁰ May the Lord in his mercy grant this may be the case. Bauma is in the eye of the wind;¹¹¹ should good be done there the flame may reach us.

December 18th—Died in childbirth, early in the morning, Uluvatu (stonehead) the wife of Ratu ni dreki ni wai. Bro. L. was called in; but before he could reach the house where she lay the vital spark had fled. About two years since she accompanied her husband to the Friendly Islands, if I mistake not to Vavau, on an embassy from Tuilaila to Tafauhau or King George. During their stay at Vavau they both took upon them the name of Christians.

They returned by the *Triton* to Feejee in July last, and continued in the profession of the Christian religion; but were not at all sincere in their profession; so that, when one observed to the old King respecting the woman: "She died although a Christian," he remarked: "She was a bad or loose Christian."

The child was healthy; but was condemned by her father and friends, so called, to be buried with its mother according to the custom of Feejee.

Bro. Lyth entreated that it might live. Many objections were made; but it was in the end adopted by the lady of Tuilaila. Will Mai na dreki ni wai make this an excuse for leaving us?

Completed my copy of Dr Hannah's Lectures on Popery, and one on Apostolic Succession.

December 20th—Tried my hand at glazing two new

¹¹⁰ A vain hope.

¹¹¹ An unusually good metaphor for Williams. The prevailing south-east wind blew full in the face of Bouma, and passed on in the direction of Somosomo where Lewenilovo, notwithstanding his deadly insult to Tuikilakila, exerted a powerful influence.

sashes of nine squares each. Fixing window frames etc., etc. up to Saturday the 23rd.

December 23rd—Observed Christmas Eve this evening.

December 27th—Visited a poor man named Dredre considerably reduced by two running sores in his back consequent upon injudicious cutting by his Feejeean doctor. He presented a sad picture of misery. His heathen friends had left him to shift for himself whilst they took a trip to a town on another part of this island. Fragments of food, a day or two old, lay by his side; food too coarse for him to eat. The house in which he lay was an old ruin, incapable of protecting him from either wind or rain.¹¹²

He was filthy for want of a little water and attention, and the only thing which he seemed to enjoy was a drink from the bamboo which stood at his head.

He had lately come here in our canoe to avoid worse circumstances which he feared might befall him at Bouma where, for some time past, he has been staying. He was

¹¹² Dr Lyth commenting on this case says: "The Fijians are truly and emphatically devilish" in their malignity to the wretched subjects of disease. He himself washed Drendre all over; the Fijians would rather have strangled him. He was ultimately obliged to take him to his own home, so that he might die in peace and escape their taunts. "He was," says Lyth, "exposed to nothing but insult as he lay solitary in an empty house in a lonely situation." Such treatment of the sick was common, almost universal in Fiji. One excuse made for it was that sick people would spit in places where they thought the disease would have a good chance of infecting others; but it was no doubt a survival of the savage instinct whereby animals and savages seek the preservation of the herd and the tribe by neglecting or killing off the injured and unfit.

In N.O.F., vol. ii, p. 182, Williams mentions that there were a few rare exceptions to treatment such as is here described in the case of Drendre. "It is not to be expected," he says, "that many comforts will be found in the sick room of a Fijian, and, yet, where the invalid is of rank, or has a kind friend or relative (a rare case!) much may be done to mitigate suffering. The warmed milk of the young coconut, or tea made from boiled lemon grass are acceptable drinks. The boiled pawpaw apple, the stem of taro and fruit of young bananas supply grateful dishes for the invalid. To windward a very nice yam (*lokaloka*) of a fine purple colour throughout is planted partly with reference to cases of sickness."

now amongst his friends! experiencing the genuine quality of heathen friendship!!

December 29th—Ratu Vakalolo returned from an attack upon the settlement of Nasago on the opposite land, having accomplished nothing more than the loss of two (some say four) of his own party. He appears remarkably anxious for glory; but it seems to shun him.

Heard Meshack Rara examined previous to his being received as a regular Local Preacher. He acquitted himself tolerably well.

Again visited the man named Dredre (see 27th). His kind friends have already begun to talk about strangling him; but seem disposed to listen to our advice not to do so.

Sun. December 31st—Addressed a rude congregation at the village of Veoni, and afterwards conversed with several of them individually; but to little purpose I fear. Two or three hours after my return an alarm of fire was given by one of our people, and upon going out I perceived flames issuing from the N.E. by E. end of my kitchen. Happily we had filled seven large casks with water on the previous evening (water being now scarce), and these standing at the opposite end of the kitchen we had a ready and sufficient supply.

We had unsettled weather during the whole of the day with frequent and violent gusts of wind. Some persons seemed to think the fire was caused by an incendiary; but, I think, without sufficient cause. My opinion is that one of the violent gusts of wind which, ever and anon, beat into the doorway of the kitchen had carried up from the hearth a portion of burning wood which, in descending, had fallen upon the ridge formed by a rough mat which is necessary to form the eaves of a native house, and, this lying upon dry nut leaf, and having above it dry sugar-cane leaves,

had smouldered until blown into a flame by some succeeding gust.

I am confirmed in my opinion by two things: 1st, the hearth is situated directly opposite the door-way. 2nd, in the place at which the fire commenced was the last which any man of common sense would have selected to have deposited fire as it would have exposed him to the gaze of most people in any of the premises near. A number of men were soon on the spot some of whom rendered us great help; others contented themselves with wishing our destruction.

Of those who helped us none did so more heartily than several persons from a small town near our premises from the inhabitants of which we have received considerable annoyance in times past.

The King stood at a distance on an elevated spot during the short time of the fire watching the conduct of his people, having determined that any attempt at violence on their part should be severely punished. He remarked in the hearing of one who told it to me that "they who think to take the property of the Christian priests must first club me and my people." He perhaps alluded to the strangers who are here as assistants in the Netewa war—the *Butoni* people.

When things were quiet he visited us to inquire into the cause of the fire, and assure us of his determination to protect us.¹¹³

¹¹³ Tuikilakila's conduct towards the missionaries had been much more kindly since his recovery from his illness, for which he knew he was deeply indebted to Dr Lyth. Williams who came to Somosomo in 1843 and Hazlewood who arrived in 1844 reaped the benefit of this, and both of them freely acknowledged it. In a letter to his father in 1844 Williams writes: "After what I have said you will scarce know what I mean by saying that Somosomo is an *indescribably better place now* than it was five years ago. Yet such is the case . . . although amongst the people we can count but one nominal Christian—a young man 20 miles distant from the station—yet a great, and with deference I would say it to you and my dear friends at home, an inconceivable work has been accomplished: a work which has cost the agonizing prayers, the tears and all but the life's blood of some who have engaged in it. . . . They (Hunt and Lyth) may never reveal

Upon the whole the conduct of the people was better than we might have looked for.

The kitchen was saved with the exception of the thatch off one end and a little from the upper part of the sides of the roof.

One thing particularly worthy of remark was that, during the time on which the thatch was on fire, there was very little wind, very little indeed, and that little tended to take the flames from the building so that the work of stopping the devouring element was rendered comparatively easy.

With grateful heart I acknowledge the goodness of Almighty God in so ordering events that the fire took place at noonday, not at midnight; that the wind was silenced; that water was provided; that it was discovered in its earliest commencement; that He disposed the hearts of several to help us and that He eventually caused us to rejoice in our providential deliverance from the fearful consequences of a general conflagration; for had it got the mastery of us it would most likely have destroyed a small settlement of the King's carpenters, and a good portion of the largest town, there being houses scattered along as if intended to form a train.

It is stated that there was a fire in the king's house yester-

what they were called upon to pass through; but the great decisive day will; and then they will stand pre-eminent among those who have endured the trials of cruel mockings, despised and trodden under foot of men, and daily expecting, at times *hourly* expecting the termination of their existence at the hands of brutal savages

"The path is comparatively prepared for me. It is very narrow and in some places rather rough; yet I will trust in God Sometimes our lives are more in the hands of heaven than in our own; but the Lord has not only their hands, but also their hearts under his control."

In his Journal under date 29 August 1844 Hazlewood writes: "What must it have been for those who were first left here, and at other stations? How highly are we favoured above our dear brothers Lyth and Hunt. We have a house prepared, a people prepared, and nothing to do but to enter into their labours."

day, and one in a canoe house the day before. Both were put out without loss.

During the latter part of this month we had intelligence several times from Bouma. The chief conducted himself tolerably well for a few days after Mr Lyth's departure, and then his "nature" began to shew itself. He appears to be of all men most covetous, continually begging whatever he sees on the person or premises of poor Moses.

His observance of the Sabbath is very partial. It is true he prevents his people from beating cloth on the Sabbath; but he expects them to proceed with staining that which is already prepared; so that what he does is not at all the result of principle,¹¹⁴ but merely to save appearances. He prohibits a noisy employment and requires attention to one that may be prosecuted without any noise whatever.

He has had the company of Ratu Moa a Bou chief and his suite for two or three weeks, and appeared from Moa's first arrival to be ashamed of his profession of Christianity.

Whether he will be any better or not when Ratu Moa leaves him remains to be proved. He certainly is a deep designing man.

¹¹⁴ The true principle is that *every* day is God's day, and that days are made holy more by conscientious work willingly undertaken than by any other means. The Methodist missionaries in the South Seas were quite as strict about the Sabbath as were the Puritans in the seventeenth century in England. It may, no doubt, be a very desirable convention in some circumstances; but the missionaries made far too much of it in their letters to London, and to their friends in England. The natives were glad to get a rest from field work once a week, and the vast majority of them regarded it as a holiday rather than as an opportunity for communion with God. See H.F.F., pp. 235-7.

1844

"TIME sometimes signifies the period of human life; All God's dispensations in respect to us, whether of Providence or grace, refer to this period, and have their limits fixed by it. This suggests a most important thought, that, in this respect, there is not an action we perform in our present probationary state, but has some reference to eternity, but will, in some measure, contribute to our eternal joy, or our eternal pain."

Rob. Watson's Works, vol. iv, p. 196.

"Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap."

St Paul to the Galatians.

JANUARY

January 1st—Moses returned from Bauma.

January 4th—Set sail for Vuna a town situated at the S.S.W. extremity of this island and about 12 miles from the Mission station. We had an unpleasant voyage especially toward the latter part of it when the rain and violent gusts of wind made sailing rather difficult.

We had no regular breeze, but were hurried on by occasional and violent puffs of wind from the mountains at one time, and then left motionless until another gust drove us through the waves with astonishing rapidity. Consequently great watchfulness and care were necessary to prevent the canoe from being overset.

Arrived at our destination, we received a sort of semi-

welcome from Ko raai oso, alias Tui Vuna. Finding the public house or *buri* (a house for the reception of voyagers and strangers) occupied, I inquired of him where I was to take up my abode. He directed me to the house of a man who combined the characters of the English quack doctor and wizard. It is astonishing how great an influence he exerts over the minds of the mass of the people. I suppose they would not refuse him anything reasonable that he might ask of them.

Vuna is just recovering the effects of the war in 1841,¹

¹The date given here is inaccurate, the war was waged from August to November 1840. John Hunt who was with Lyth in Somosomo at the time gives an account of it which will serve to illustrate the character and methods of Fijian warfare, in which the main objective was the capture of a fenced town. The following is a summary of the contents of three letters which he wrote to London including extracts from his Journal; the first dated 9 August 1840, the second 3 January 1841, the third 6 January 1841.

The cause of the war is uncertain; but perhaps this—A Vuna canoe was in distress, and Seru (Thakombau) rendered assistance. By way of acknowledgment the people of Vuna decided to give a feast in honour of Seru. Tuilaila, to whom Vuna was subject, considered this an act of disloyalty, and decided to make war upon them. Hunt says that the underlying cause may really have been to prevent an alliance between Vuna and Mbau which Tuikilakila dreaded. Because of a misadventure experienced by one of the gods of Somosomo on his way to Mbau the people of Vuna had for long been treated with much more dignity and hospitality in Mbau than were visitors from Somosomo.

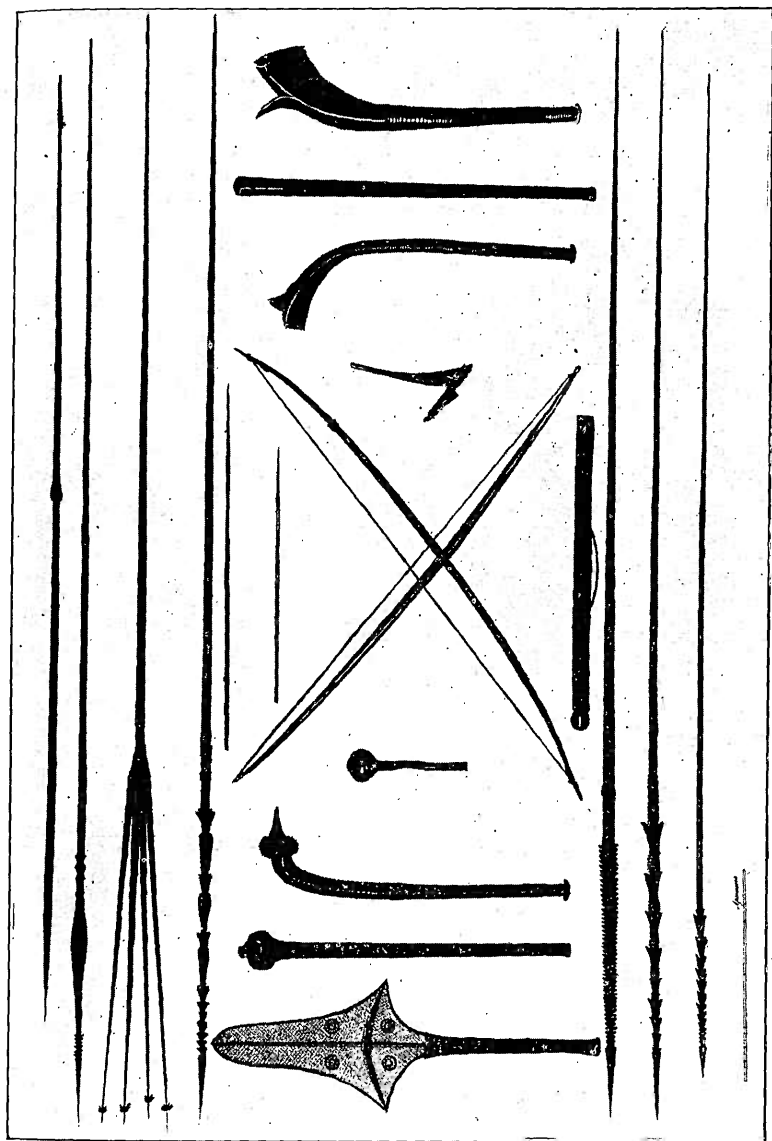
The first step taken by Tuikilakila was to find out the mind of the gods respecting the proposed war with Vuna. A day was fixed, and, early in the morning, warriors might be seen dancing in the market-place with coconuts on their backs—some a number; others a single large nut. The temples were prepared by having all the grass and rubbish removed. Then the high priest, inferior priests, king and several *nggasi* (old men) of Somosomo entered the temple. Hunt and Lyth asked permission to be present, and it was granted. They took their seats near the high priest and the king. Some of the old men looked serious; but most of them showed no sign of devotion. After they had sat for some time, the warriors left the market-place, came and danced in front of the temple, then entered it and laid the nuts before the king. After a short period of silence the king rose, and, taking a bunch of coconuts in one hand and a whale's tooth in the other, "began to *soro* or petition the god through the priest, or the priest as god, I do not know which, and I scarcely think they did. He politely apologised for offering so little; begged the gods to be of good mind—that Vuna might be destroyed, and they live. He addressed

the gods in the same language as a common man or inferior chief might address the King—with great respect, but little devotion. He called the god *turaga* (chief), and urged his petition by promises of food, etc. The old King was certainly importunate in his request, and had confidence in his god, whatever the idea of the nature of his god might be.”

The King stood up to pray and the priest sat down, listening with the most profound attention till the prayer was ended. He then rose; received the whale's tooth and bunch of nuts, and promised that what had been asked should be granted. “I believe the act of receiving the offering is a vital promise that the prayer offered shall be granted . . . It was expected, I believe, that the god would have entered the priest while he was listening to the prayer of the king, and, if he had, the priest would have shaken and trembled as if he had had a Lincolnshire ague, and then a revelation from the gods would have been made through the priest. He, however, did not enter into him, so that we had not a shaking meeting.”

The manner in which the priest gave the answer was as follows: He held the bunch of nuts given him by the king in one hand, and then, very ceremoniously, took hold of the small stems with the other hand, and put them into the hand with which he held the bunch. Every time he took hold of the small stem, he made promises of which the stem was the sign and seal. Then swinging the whole bunch backward and forward he counted one, two, three, four, and at four shook the bunch with all his might making the nuts fly in all directions. Those who sat near a place where a nut happened to drop, took it up and kissed it; by which means it became, in their opinion, a kind of charm which would protect them from the spears, arrows and musket-balls of the Vuna people by making them *cala*; that is, to be missed when they were shot at. The remaining nuts were divided among the chiefs of the towns, and the assembly broke up. A reason was given explaining why the god did not enter the priest; he had gone to Vuna to persuade the people there to come outside their fence that they might be killed. “However,” says Hunt, “he did not succeed in this, for the warriors went two or three days man-hunting at Vuna; but returned without any prey.”

The next business was to appoint a commander-in-chief to take the lead in the war, “and here at least,” says Hunt, “the principal chiefs seem to take the work and honour by turns.” To this commander-in-chief the warriors came from various places, and offered their services. On this day (20 or 26 August: the figure is obscure) about 250 came from Bouma and Wai ni ili “in full pomp of Fijian pride,” making the most horrible yells, and giving every evidence of the high esteem in which they hold themselves as warriors. They performed military exercises for a short time outside the town, and when they were about to enter several men ran to and fro whirling a large native fan (emblem of dispatch in war they say). “It appeared to me like a salute: the warriors came in perfect order past the King's house into the market place which is on the south side of our house, so that we had a full view of the whole proceeding from our window. Many of them had their clubs and themselves dressed in full style. Some were armed with muskets, and others had clubs with a hatchet-head at the end making a most fearful weapon.” After they had arranged themselves in an irregular line in front of the King's house the old chief who was fantastically dressed made a speech, after which he



FIJIAN WEAPONS OF WARFARE
From the Bellinsgauzen Atlas



withdrew from them a considerable distance, and placed himself in front of the rank to receive the offer of their services. Several of the warriors rushed out of the ranks brandishing their clubs and muskets, promising allegiance to their king and country, and declaring that they would use the weapon in their hand to destroy the enemy. "They displayed more of the savage on this occasion than I ever saw before. There was none of the dignity of a true patriot offering his services for his country's welfare. All seemed wild and full of foolish frenzy which is the principal feeling that actuates them in their wars. Many of them acted like maniacs."

The king then presented some whales' teeth to them, and, afterwards some food for which thanks were returned in the usual ceremonious way. "It was quite affecting to see the old king, just dropping into the grave, taking a leading part in these preliminaries to the war. The warriors showed him the greatest respect. When he approached them, they stooped down, and simultaneously expressed their reverence for the old man, and with apparent sincerity."

Thus ended the *bolebole* or challenge. "There are several particulars in the ceremony I have not mentioned, but I have described the most important."

For several weeks the war was more like kidnapping than fighting. Small parties were sent as privately as possible to steal and kill all they could find, and the slain were brought home, cooked and eaten. Sometimes they brought food out of the gardens instead of men; but before the actual fighting began not less than ten men were thus butchered and eaten. They sometimes continue this for a long time, and while it is going on it is dangerous even to attempt to make peace. One chief and three others were, indeed, sent to Bouma to try to bring about peace; but Lewenilovo who ultimately decided to join Somosomo ordered them to be killed. They were, and brought to Somosomo to be eaten. Sometimes they fight on the sea in their canoes when their principal objective is to ram one canoe into another so as to sink it.

But what they consider their great war is the taking of a fenced town as in this war. Having arrived at the scene of action they make a path from their camp to the place where a wall is to be raised for the protection of the besiegers, and from the camp to the sea-coast where the canoes lie. For this the army is divided into two parts; but there is also a path for rapid communication between the two divisions of the army. They are very particular in making the connecting path, and the path from the camp to the sea. Then an earth wall was thrown up near Vuna in a single night to protect them against musket firing from the town. Behind this a wooden fence was erected to protect the chiefs and warriors at a distance. Then the army is divided into several sections, sent to several places to make an attack from various quarters at the same moment. The object of this first attack is to place the banners of the besiegers under the walls of Vuna. The banner consists of a piece of native cloth, usually worn as a kind of head-dress, fastened to the end of a spear in such a way that it will wave in the air. The planting of these banners is dangerous work; but executed at Vuna without loss of life. Then the warriors wished to show their valour by taking the town at once with a rush. The chief would not allow it. One Somosomo youth tried to set the town on fire; but the fence of *green* wood would not burn. Hunt thinks that the king

and the town is rising again from its ashes. The stone walls are now as the Somosomo warriors left them when they razed the defences, gave the place to the flames and took its inhabitants captive to Somosomo.

There appears to be no doubt that their lives were spared through the intercession of Messrs Lyth and Hunt;² yet

showed courage in resisting the desire of 1000 to 1100 men to rush the town at once. He gave the Vuna people three days to make up their minds to beg pardon; and the second chief of Somosomo, a relative of the Vuna chief, went with the party of warriors to the fence to offer pardon *if they would ask for it*. He called till he was tired; but got no answer. Then the king was angry, and commanded his men to fire on the town to terrify the besieged. They did; but without result. Then the second plan was adopted. A war cry or groan which sounded like distant thunder, and was really very terrifying, was raised all round the town to suggest that the enemy was everywhere.

Next morning when all were ready to storm the *koro* the messenger of the King of Vuna was seen coming towards them. Some wished to kill him; but dared not fire without the king's command. The messenger presented a whale's tooth, and a small basket of earth (Lyth says with a reed stuck in it), the sign of absolute surrender, and begged the life of himself and his master. Tuikilakila received and treated him with kindness. The chief who had previously gone to exhort the besieged returned with him. On the day following, the King of Vuna came to Tuikilakila bringing his daughter as a present to him. Tuikilakila was standing with a large club in his hand, and the chief of Vuna obviously feared him. "Don't be afraid," said Tuikilakila, "come near." He came, kissed Tuikilakila's hand, and begged his life and that of his people on any conditions. "I do not want to kill old men," replied the king, "my father is old, and I want peace. You are the root of this war. You have prepared your town to receive the chief of Mbau so that he may come and destroy me and my people. Your town shall be destroyed, and you and your people shall come to Somosomo. You shall not be forced to do menial work; but when the chief of Mbau comes he will find an empty town. In two or three years you shall return again to your own land."

Then the town was burnt down, and all returned to Somosomo. "Our own chiefs," says Hunt, "declare that the people were saved at our request for which they desired a present which we made them."

² It may be so, but I think there is doubt. John Hunt obviously thought so, and so did Dr Lyth. But Dr Lyth says also that Tuithakau had once been rescued from assassination by Tui Vuna, and that Tuikilakila had that in mind at the time of Tui Vuna's *soro*. Remembering how sincerely Tuikilakila loved his father; that, as Williams tells us, he did not like wasting lives foolishly; that the chiefs who told Hunt that the people were saved at the request of the missionaries *desired a present* in recognition of it; and, finally, that these were the days before his illness when Tuikilakila showed little respect for the missionaries, I am disposed to think that the reason

the people evidently consider themselves under no obligation to Missionaries.

The evening was too wet to allow of my conducting service out of doors; so that I endeavoured to improve the time by instructing the people in the King's house and, afterwards, a considerable number of adults, some grey-headed, whom I found in the principal temple.

I concluded the evening with service in the house in which I expected to sleep. The night was a very long one to me. There was not room for me to lie at full length, and the roof did not defend me from all the rain which continued to fall during the night.

January 5th—The old chief visited me early in the morning and partook of my morning's repast.

About seven o'clock I conducted service in an open space situated near the centre of the *koro*. I took my stand beneath the shade of a large tree, and called upon the people to turn from their evil ways and live. Malachi Pootooke seconded my invitation.

About three scores of people of various ages, residents and strangers assembled to listen to us.

Some of the people slid their doors a little to one side, and peeped at us in a somewhat similar manner to what I suppose they would look upon a lion or bear of the forest.

From this place I removed, attended by some of the male part of my auditory, to the temple where I passed a portion of last evening. (For the most part the temples are sacred³ to females throughout Feejee.) Here I again endeavoured to persuade the adults assembled that, in serving the devil, they did injury to their bodies and souls; to their families

for Tuikilakila's clemency was gratitude to Tui Vuna, and his own conviction that in the circumstances the kindlier way was also the more politic. He made any future expedition on the part of Thakombau to Vuna quite futile for the next three years, and at the same time preserved the lives of his tributaries.

³ That is, *tambu*, prohibited.

and to the land in which they lived; but, oh, how lamentable the influence which Feejeean chiefs exert over their subjects: "Let our chiefs embrace religion first"⁴ was the general cry. I noticed that during the whole of the time that Tui Vuna was drinking his yagona and the water after it his people continued clapping their hands in a very musical manner.

After having given Tui Vuna to understand that his conduct towards me was not at all such as it should be I prepared to re-embark. The old gentleman accompanied me to the beach assuring me that he had great love to me; that if I would stay the day over he would have food made for me, and, in short, that the land was mine, and I was at liberty to do as I pleased in it, and a deal more such *vaka viti* talk.⁵

The wind being against us, we reached Waica chiefly with

⁴ A mere evasion. There is abundant evidence, to show that the people of Taviuni had no desire to embrace the Christian religion. Williams like all the other missionaries blamed the opposition of the chiefs for their failure or at least their disappointing progress in the various centres. What the chiefs were opposed to was not the Christian religion, but the interference by the missionaries in matters of government, and their scathing denunciations of the old heathen gods. On 6 December 1843 Dr Lyth, after the recovery of Tuikilakila, asked the king to give his consent, in explicit language, that the people might embrace Christianity if they desired to do so. "His reply was that they might embrace religion, and that he would not be angry with them if they did. He repeated this, saying that he was willing that I should make it known." Lyth took care that the king's will should be known among the people; but it did not make the slightest difference. It was at this time, too, that the missionaries believed Thakombau was making efforts to prevent the people from embracing Christianity. But after John Hunt had been at Vewa some time, he wrote to say that he had never heard Thakombau speak ill of Christianity, or knew him to prevent a single subject from *lotuing*. What Thakombau did object to was the undermining of the loyalty of his people, especially in regard to their duty to serve him in time of war. The missionaries greatly exaggerated the influence of the chiefs over the minds of the people in matters of religion. See H.F.F., pp. 265-8.

⁵ Fijian talk. But, in my opinion, the talk of a man who did not want the religion advocated by Williams, but wished to be courteous in all things. Williams is obviously disappointed, and indulges in a cheap sneer. Under the circumstances Tui Vuna had behaved like a kindly host who has a mind of his own on religious matters.

the assistance of our sculling oars. We found only a few women in the place, the men being out in the gardens.

In the evening they returned home and found us making ourselves as comfortable as we could in their *bure*. They behaved very courteously, and throughout manifested a great willingness to accommodate us as far as they had the means.⁶

At the public service which we held as the sun was setting, most, if not all the village, were present, and sat very quietly.

When we returned to the *bure* we had a long discussion on the utility or futility of offerings presented to Feejeean gods. The people of this village are the king's turtle fishers, and declared it to be their opinion that it would be altogether useless to set their nets without having previously presented their god with a quantity of prepared food. They mentioned instances in which they had gone out to fish under the displeasure of their god; but could take nothing after several nights' efforts.

They returned to prepare an offering and inquire of the god concerning the cause of his displeasure.⁷ These points settled, they returned to the fishing, set their nets and the turtles readily came to them.

I lay me down amidst an abundance of company. In a space of about eight superficial yards we crowded ten men, four sitting ducks and a friendly pig.

January 6th—After a short service this morning we again went on board, and the people returned to their gardens.

January 13th—Employed during several portions of the week on the Lakemba Hymns.

Finding my medicines out of order I set myself to making

⁶ They would, notwithstanding the manner in which he invariably abused their gods.

⁷ How many Christians are there in the most enlightened countries of the world who are altogether above the idea of making a bargain with their God; or of doing right simply for right's sake?

a chest in which to dispose of them to advantage. Laid down a plan and superintended the making of one for Bro. L.

Great talk of Ratu Moa's intending to attack Netewa that he may have a dead body to present at the approaching festival. Tui vei Kau disposed to meet in class.

Mosesi came from Bauma. Again reported ill of Leweni lovo.

January 26th—For some days past Bro. Lyth has been considerably exercised respecting the case of a young chief from Koro who is staying at this place with his brother Ra Belo, chief of the Koro warriors.

The young chief was attacked by violent fever. Bro. L. was applied to (I think the patient had first taken Feejeean medicines) and undertook his case with pleasing prospects of success. But after the chief had taken medicines a few times, those about him said it was no use as he got no better, it was not a common illness, or one that Englishman knew. He was suffering, they said, from the evil workings of one of the Koro gods who was enraged at their having given away some yangona that was sacred to the said god.

The only remedy they said would be to take him to Koro and there make an offering to appease the angered God. They got permission to go; but a bad wind prevented them. At another time they declared that he was dying in consequence of the man at whose house I slept at Vuna having bewitched him, and that it was he only who could procure his recovery.⁸

Bro. L. was applied to a second time, and again visited him; but having sent him medicine twice or thrice had again the pain of mind to see his medicine returned with a message that the man did not want it; it was not useful to him &c.

Today we were going to Dreketi to conduct our usual out-

⁸ Good instances of the manner in which Fijians diagnosed diseases of the body.

door service, and passed Ra Belo and several of his people amusing themselves with a game very similar to the English game of "duck stone." He inquired where we were going, and when Bro. L. answered him, and had turned a little from him, Ra Belo put out his tongue and grinned most contemptuously at Bro. L. We pursued our course; but finding the stream so swollen as to be impassable we returned when Ra Belo again accosted us, and, as he was some distance from his companions, Bro. L. told him gently of what he had done, and requested him not to do so in future. He took the reproof kindly and the affair seemed likely to end peaceably; but suddenly he remarked: "Ah I just see your move: you came back to pick a quarrel with me because my younger brother would not have your medicine;" and then proceeded in a strain of hectoring and abuse such as I have never heard from a Feejeean before. He even went so far as to threaten to burn down our houses. At that point we thought fit to stop him and inform him that he had better not indulge in such remarks too freely. He settled down a little, and took up the subject of his Feejeean gods, assuring us that they only were true, referring to what he had lately experienced in proof of what he said; declaring the *lotu* to be new, false and what else I know not.

It is not unusual for us to receive such pay as this for our attention to the poor Feejeeans.

On reaching home Mr L. got a small article as a present, took it to the angry chief and so made friends with him. Mr L. said "So far as I am concerned." He took care not to intimate his intention to me until his return. Rather kind thus to push his squabble wholly on my back!⁹

⁹ It may be confidently asserted that Dr Lyth had not the remotest intention of doing so. There is another very obvious reason for Lyth's use of the words: "So far as I am concerned." This is not the only occasion on which Williams has a fling at Dr Lyth in his correspondence. See the footnote, p. 285.

Finished looking over Bro Lyth's share of the Lakemba hymns.

Whilst I was at Vuna a man brought a large toad (a rare creature in these parts of Feejee) to sell to us that we might take or send it to England as a curiosity, and that the people in England might have a stock of toads from it!

Sun. January 28th—Today the carcase of a poor Netewa man killed on the island of Rabi was taken for Tuilaila to eat at Loucala.

January 29th—My 29th birthday.¹⁰ Oh, to have lived so long to so little purpose. I stand astonished at the rapid flight of time. Oh, for grace to improve the future.

Towards evening a Feejeean doctor called at my house, the man who was called in to administer medicine to the brother of Ra Belo; but finding Mr Lyth in the house he refused to enter. Mr L. made a few pleasant remarks to the man and I added a word or two, all of which he appeared to take in good part, and we passed on to the house of Mr L. to make our correction of the Lakemba hymns.

Soon after our departure the man left our premises. About an hour after Bro.¹¹ L. and I again returned to my house when the gallant son of Esculapeus¹² followed us, and charged us with having accused him of dealing in false medicines &c. &c, in return for which he gave us an abundance of abusive language, and must needs threaten to burn down our houses. Being quite a common man we thought it advisable to inquire of the king whether or not we were to be so treated by any and every one; but to give the man a chance we agreed to accept an apology, and, with this in view, sent a messenger to the man's abode to inquire if he

¹⁰ See footnote, p. 57.

¹¹ "Bro." Lyth again. The last two references have been to "Mr" Lyth. Personal discords between the missionaries quickly gave place to harmony. In general they were all members of a united family.

¹² The god of healing.

really meant what he had said when under the influence of excitement. We informed him at the same time of what we intended to do.

After an absence of about half an hour our messenger returned with something like the following message: That he had very great love to us, and to the *lotu*, and always spoke well of us. He had saved us from great evils! Because of that he felt his mind pained to think that any reflections should be cast upon the virtue of his medicines, and in the heat of his wrath said things which he did not really mean. He had no ill feelings against us; but if we pursued our intended course of bringing him to account, he would proceed at once to Rabi (an island distant about 12 miles) and see what he could accomplish upon us.¹³ If we thought our God was stronger than his god we had better try.

He also said that it was the intention of the Somosomo gods to burn up our premises because we blasphemed their names in our public services.¹⁴ His god had been to him to tell him to set us on fire; but that our God went to him and told him not to do it, but to put the fire out, and for so doing he should receive very great riches. "I did put your fire out," he said, "but I got no riches for my trouble." At the next breath he remarked: "The gods being determined to burn you up, I received orders to set fire to your premises, which I did, and received a hatchet as pay." The people amongst whom he lives did render us some help for which I paid them well.

January 30th—Moses returned from Bouma, and reports

¹³ Probably by burying the nut, or secreting folded leaves.

¹⁴ An indication here of what the people were really thinking about the abusive attacks so frequently made by the missionaries on their gods. It was only when a Fijian was in a rage that the missionaries were likely to hear of this. Ordinarily the chiefs and priests were capable of great self-restraint in such matters. Few things a Fijian chief guarded himself against more carefully than an unmannerly exhibition of temper. Such explosions were nearly always followed by contrite apologies, even, as we shall see later, by a man so highly placed as the old King Tuithakau.

that in reply to his inquiry of Ratu Lewe ni Love as to whether he purposed to serve God sincerely or not he received the following answer: "When I get an English missionary then I will *lotu* truly; but I shall only deride the *lotu* of you Tonguese."¹⁵ Poor Ratu!

January 31st—Set out for Bouma taking my dear little John with me for the benefit of his health. We made a tack or two; but finding we gained little thereby, lowered our sail, and pulled along the coast. There being a heavy surf on several parts of the shore, most of the crews of our two canoes—we had two canoes because Mosisi's goods and family had to be removed at this time—lost their foothold and were precipitated into the water, some of them more than once.

About two hours after sunset we reached Wai ni kili, and spent the night in a wretched shed erected at as little outlay of labour and material as possible for the accommodation of strangers who may call there.

The town¹⁶ is about a mile from the beach; but, as we had to leave at daybreak in the morning on account of the tide, I had no opportunity of visiting it, notwithstanding a visit to this place formed part of my original plan.

We have here one member, a young man named Ratu Ubu.¹⁷ During the latter part of /42 and the former part

¹⁵ Not to be wondered at if all that the missionaries have to say about the roving Tonguese and their Christianity is even approximately correct.

¹⁶ Wai ni keli had been a powerful place until Tuikilakila made war upon its chief. There was a sea-fight in which Tuikilakila rammed their canoes, and 100 of their men were drowned. From that shock Wai ni keli had not recovered.

¹⁷ Dr Lyth comments on this case in his Journal under date 23 April 1843: "A young man named Ratu Ubu came to us on Tuesday from Wainieli and desired to *lotu*. The reason for his becoming a Christian is in the hope of receiving benefit to his body. He has had a bad foot for nearly 12 months which originated in a stumble against a stone. He said he had *soro'd* twice to his god presenting him with an offering of *vaalolo* (native pudding); but he took no notice of him; so, partly through anger towards his god, and partly from a desire to try the effects

of /43 he suffered considerably from a diseased foot. For several months he made offerings to the gods of Feejee; but did not recover. The means used by the Feejeean doctors succeeded no better; so that, as a last resource, he put himself under the care of Mr Lyth, and, although at times difficult to manage, he persisted in the use of Bro L's remedies until the disease was checked, and eventually recovered. Considering that the *lotu* God had saved him, he took upon him the profession of a *lotu* man, and thus far has maintained it through evil (plenty of this) and good report.

FEBRUARY

February 1st—Pursued our course for Bouma early this morning although the wind was not at all so favourable as we could have wished. After considerable toil we reached our destination at about 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

I took up my abode in Mosisi's new house, to settle about which was the main object of my present visit; as the chief Ratu Lewē ni Lovo, after having engaged to build the house gratuitously, had in a very angry manner demanded payment for the house.

Perhaps I had been seated about 20 minutes or so when R.L.L. was seen approaching in the road which leads from the village, distant from the site of Mosisi's house about a five minutes' walk. He was followed by his wife who bore in her hands a native dish charged with a rich native pudding, and three or more heads of *dalo*.¹⁸

He, R.L.L., accosted me by name and appeared glad to see me. His appearance is very different from that of his

of *lotuing*, which he appears quite determined to do, he has come to me and placed himself under my care and instruction." This explains the usual procedure on the part of the natives on Taviuni who manifested a desire to *lotu*.

¹⁸ "Dalo (*Arum esculentum*) is the taro of sea-faring men, and the Fijian 'staff of life,' surpassing all his other esculents in nutritious value." See F.F., vol. i, pp. 61-2.

Brother Tuilaila. He is tall, thin and rather gentlemanly in his appearance. His countenance is not pleasing, even when he has done his best to make it so. His face is rather long; forehead low rather than otherwise; his eyes are prominent and have a peculiar (I had almost said unnatural) appearance, capable of expressing the utmost malignity and ferocity; they appear to want protection from the brows, and the lids are thin. His nose is aquiline, and slightly curved inwards at the lip—a rare deflection in a Feejeean nose. His mouth is tolerably well formed; his chin hidden in a moderately large beard.

We had exchanged only a few common-place remarks when some of his people brought in a baked pig and taro. After the lapse of a few minutes another pig, &c., was brought, and these were followed by two good-sized pots of hot fish and soup with dishes of boiled yam.

After our repast I introduced the business about which I had come, and, instead of attempting to deny the truth of the arrangement made between him and Mr Lyth, and maintaining his claim to remuneration for the teacher's house, he no sooner heard me repeat the terms specified by Mr Lyth when here last than he remarked: "Yes those were Mr L's words, and it is right. I meant nothing by what I said to Mosisi. He is your love to me; the house is built, and I give it as my thing of love to you."

As I felt satisfied that his covetousness was at the root of his desiring a teacher I did my best to let him know that we were fully awake to what he was about, and exhorted him to consider his ways; because, whether he believed it or not, God observed them, and would bring him to account respecting them. He again repeated his oft asserted determination to *lotu* truly; but I could not for one moment think him sincere.

R.L.L. passed the evening with me, and conversed at

length respecting their first intercourse with European vessels. From his account I should judge it to be about 30 years since Feejeeans became acquainted with the use of tobacco.¹⁹

The first iron instruments of which the Somosomo were possessed were brought to them by Tonguese, and passed as articles manufactured by them in their own land. Amongst the first which they received was the half of a carpenter's drawing knife sharpened at the end where it had been broken. This they valued much. It was hafted like an adze, and named *Vulivuli* after the chief who brought it to Feejee. One of the first hatchets they got from the above mentioned source was named *Sitia*, another *Tafola*, a third *Tuifoa*—after the respective chiefs who brought them.

February 2nd—Passed the greater part of the morning in very serious conversation with R.L.L. I think I fully cleared myself of this man's blood. I found that he was so deceitful, so intent upon dissembling, that I used the greatest plainness of speech, and, although he intimated that my words were very heavy, he admitted the truth of them, and exercised astonishing patience toward me,²⁰ for which I bless the Lord.

¹⁹ Ships sailing to Mbua Bay from Sydney *via* Tonga for sandalwood, would, in the first decade of the nineteenth century, pass between Koro and Taviuni. The *El Plumier* was the first of these ships. She called at Koro and reached Mbua Bay toward the close of 1801.

²⁰ This "astonishing patience" might have been suppressed malignity. Before Williams left Fiji he was well aware that, beneath the outward show of patience, a Fijian chief could harbour thoughts of murderous revenge. (See Williams's description of Tui Wainunu in F.F., vol. 1.) Lewenilovo was a dangerous man. In John Hunt's report dated 31 March 1842 he is described as "a man of the most violent passions, and yet of a cold, calculating and cruel disposition." He was strongly suspected of having murdered a Scotchman named John Cameron before any white missionaries went to Somosomo, and of having tried to murder an Englishman named Joseph Rees later on. His mother was a Bouma woman, and being *vasu* to Bouma he could take just what he liked there with impunity. He was so powerful that, though he had run off with one of Tuikilakila's wives and kept her at Bouma, the king was unable either to get her back, or punish

The rest of the day I passed amongst the people chiefly. They are such people as I like—plain, open and pleasant. In order to get to the settlement a considerable stream of water had to be crossed. A young priest at once offered me the loan of his back, quickly placed me safely on the opposite bank, and seemed glad of the job.

Bouma is divided into three parts by two mountain streams. The houses of which the town is composed are neat, and, for the most part, very clean in the interior.

Many of those with whom I conversed heard me with seriousness and attention. In one house I was happy enough to meet an aged priest and two of manly aspect, and evidently about 30 years of age. I suppose we conversed together for nearly two hours. They asked me many questions and appeared more than half convinced that their progenitors at one period served only one God, and that one the true God.

During our discourse I remarked to the oldest priest that the time was not far distant when his children would blush when they had to acknowledge that their father was one of the devil's priests. He instantly hung down his head,²¹ and remained silent for a length of time.

A sick man with whom I spent some time promised to pay attention to the instructions of the native helper Mosisi.

As a messenger from Tui Bouma was going from Mosisi's house to Lewena a village about 4 miles distant I thought it advisable to send Malachi with him that he might deliver our blessed Lord and Master's message of mercy to the

him in any other way than to exile him, for a time, from Somosomo. Lewenilovo was a law unto himself, and what Williams calls "astonishing patience" here may have been masked hatred. See what Williams himself has to say about the self-control of a Fijian harbouring thoughts of deadly revenge in the instance already referred to in F.F., vol. i, pp. 108-9.

²¹ Williams would have us believe that this old priest hung down his head for shame of his religion. To my mind there is hardly any doubt that he did so from shame at what he would consider the blatant discourtesy and blasphemy of the missionary.

inhabitants of that place. The people were rather talkative during the service, and occasionally presented pieces of sugar-cane to him, as though they desired him to desist speaking and join them in eating it.

During our evening's conversation R.L.L. mentioned a son of his, and in answer to my inquiry: "How old is he?" he replied: "He is a man; he has committed murder already!"

Once during the evening he stopped me rather abruptly, and said: "I have an inquiry to make of you Mr W. He then proceeded: "How do you account for it that our fathers and grandfathers spoke of the *lotu* before they knew of such a thing?" I asked him to explain himself, and he said: "When they saw anyone sitting in a pensive position or apparently lost in thought they would exclaim: "Oh! what is this? why that child (man) is preparing to *lotu*." A Tonguese woman, who was sitting by, said she had heard the aged people in her own land express their surprise respecting the same subject.

February 3rd—Passed a portion of the morning in instructing R.L.L. and his son, a youth of about six years of age, in the alphabet.

During the day I visited two villages, the first, Nasea, was distant about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles; the second Navatu about 3 miles.

Nasea is a place rather famous for the supply of red or scarlet feathers (*kula*) obtained here from a species of parroquet. The Tonguese used to visit it in former days to procure these feathers which they conveyed to Samoa and exchanged for the fine mat dresses of that people.²²

The articles of trade which the Tonguese repaid the Nasea people comprised small articles of European iron ware,

²² In the account of their voyage to Samoa in 1830 Williams and Barff state that they (the Samoans) make good mats, and the Tongans come their 600 or 700 miles to buy them for their chiefs. Seven canoes had lately come from Tonga on this trade.

yagona bowls, cut at Lou (Lakemba and its dependencies), and the use of their wives, sisters and daughters for a night or two.

The birds are captured by means of nets.

The people said they had no priest, the person who had lately filled that office being dead; but that they dared not *lotu*, their chiefs not having led the way.

From hence we proceeded to the village of Navatu, and during a heavy shower of rain I continued in the chief's house conversing with several persons who from motives of curiosity had come in to see me. When it was fair I proceeded to an open space near the centre of the village where most of the people assembled to hear my message. A more attentive heathen congregation I never saw. After service I conversed with some adults and asked what they thought about the things of which I had spoken, and they answered: "We believe you have told us the truth. We wish our chiefs would *lotu*."²³

During the day news of an attack of the Netewa people on the *koro* of Nanuthu reached us. The Netewa people were defeated. Three of their people killed and sent to Somosomo where they were cooked. Two were shared out amongst the Somosomo people, and the third was taken to Tuilaila who, at the time, was turtle fishing off Loucala.

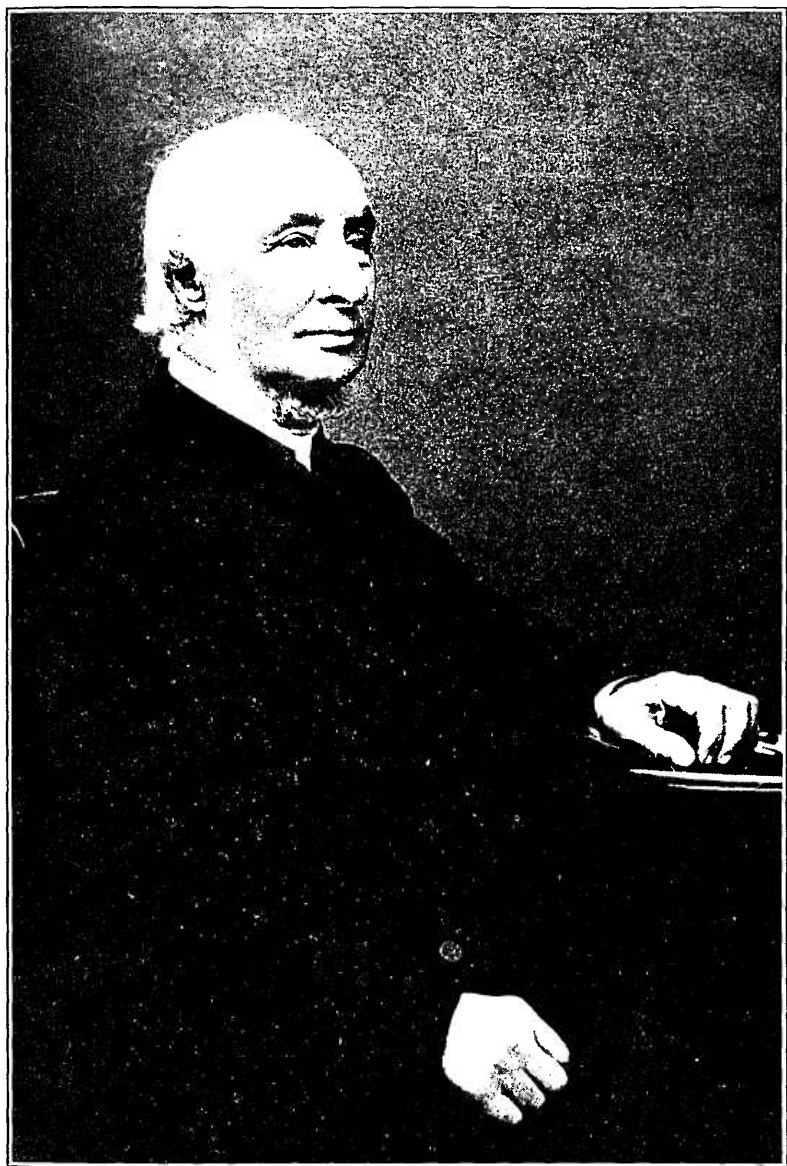
News also reached us today of a rupture between the principal families at Yaro. Koroi Jijji is said to have been insrtumental in bringing it about (see p. 204²⁴). It is said Somosomo will have to interfere.

R.L.L. opened out this evening respecting the conduct of the first European captains with whom he was acquainted, and also respecting the (in) famous Charley²⁵ and his com-

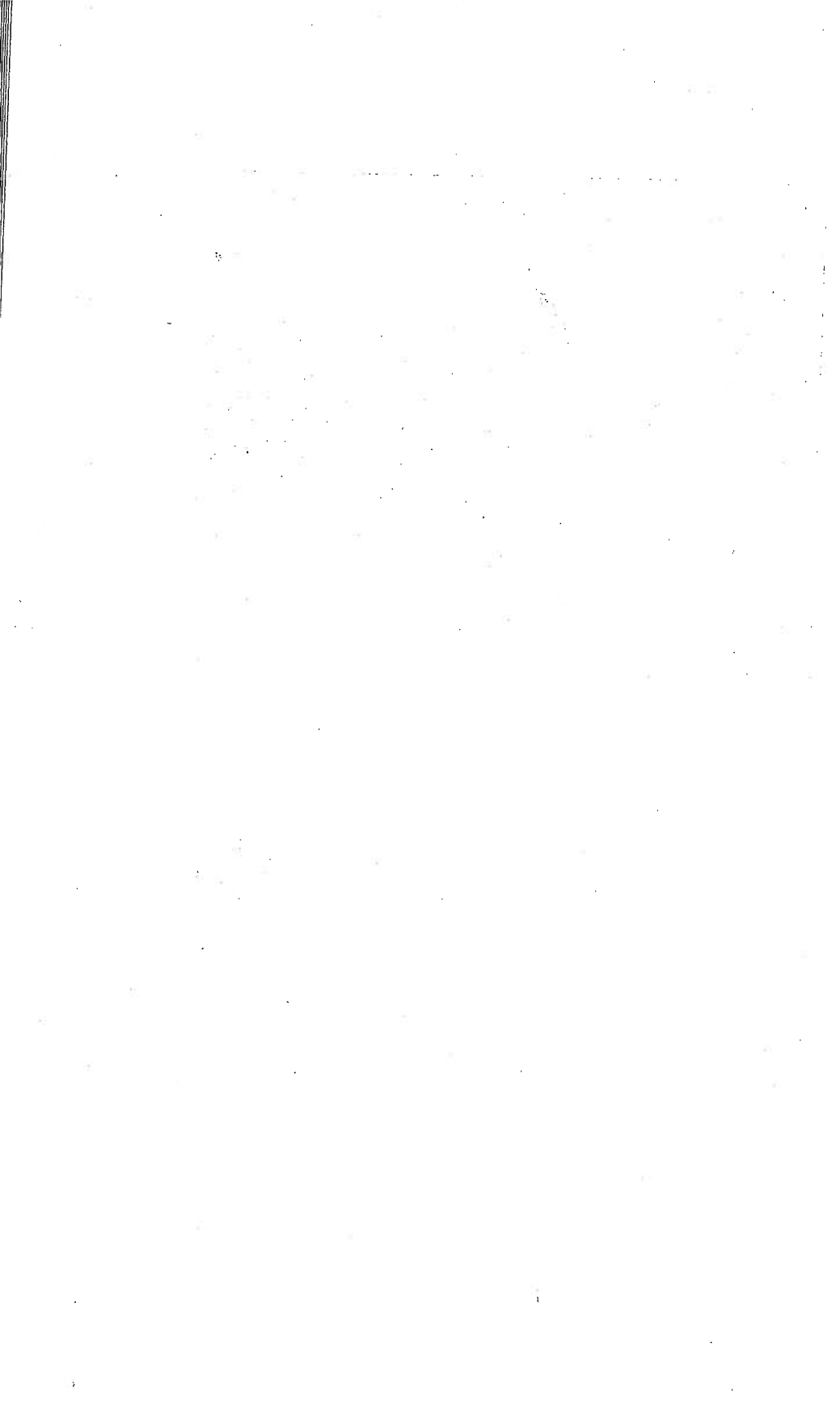
²³ Another courteous evasion.

²⁴ Where he has already been scathingly condemned.

²⁵ Charles Pickering, a thorn in Thakombau's flesh, who had the reputation of fearing neither God nor man. In May 1844 he was wrecked in the



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panions. Some of his narrations were fearfully bloody. Whilst delivering them his eye lighted up, and his whole countenance assumed at times an all but fiend-like aspect. His very costume at the time served to make him look frightful: his head was tightly bound by the black Norwich crepe handkerchief so arranged as to form small lapels near his temples; from the shoulders to the loins he was covered by a loose native woman's upper dress with short sleeves and drawn tight at the waist. The dress was new and made of white calico (of course his black beard shewed itself in full relief on such a ground) and his head and carcase seemed strangely at variance.

Sun. February 4th—Knowing that if I had not early services I should have bad congregations I rose at dawn, and, accompanied by the resident Teacher and the crew of my canoe, I proceeded at once to the central division of Bouma named Wai ni niu.

R.L.L. had left his own house; but I found him near the principal Bouma chief's dwelling, and invited him to unite with us in worshipping the only true God. I was neither surprised nor discouraged at his excusing himself from publicly joining us on account of his having to take yagona with the chiefs of the place. I told him he had no

schooner *Jane* at Thithia Island. Two white men and all his trade were lost; but he escaped, and made his way, with the help of some white men at Levuka, to Rewa, where he took part in the war against Mbau. Thakombau was so annoyed that he drove the white people out of Levuka to find a home in some other more distant island where they would have less chance of embarrassing him. According to John Hunt there were at this time 30 whites, English and American, at Levuka who with their wives and children made up a community of 200. They were obliged to leave behind them nearly all their property including a 70-ton vessel on the stocks. They settled down at Solevu and Na Waido on the south-west of Vanua Levu not far from Nandy Bay. After four or five years' exile they were glad to get back to Levuka, and Thakombau was equally glad to permit them. The loss of trade had hit the king harder than he had anticipated. But the exiled whites never forgave Thakombau, and in the confusion of 1855 they sought his life.

cause to fear, as the service would be over in all probability before the drink would be ready. But in admirable keeping with all his previous conduct he slipped into Tui Bouma's house, and left us to go on with our service.

I took my stand so near the chief house that those within could hear all the service. As we numbered eight individuals, our singing was heard at a distance, and a considerable number of persons got together, the major part women and children. They did not venture to draw near to the spot which we occupied on account of our proximity to the great man of the place. In order to remedy this evil I spoke in a louder tone than usual, and I think all heard me.

My circumstances forced upon my recollection the words of our blessed Lord: "Ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men: for ye neither go in yourselves; neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in."

At the close of the service I entered the house in which R.L.L. had seated himself, and found him in company with two chiefs of the place, a priest and some attendants. I spoke to them on the folly of serving Feejeean gods, and R.L.L. seconded some of my remarks.

When the yagona was ready I observed that the man who sat at the bowl brought his hands to the edge of the bowl nearest the centre of his body, and then moved them gently along the circumference of the bowl until they met on the opposite side, when he flattened his hands, elevated, and clapped them together. His conduct was followed by all present excepting R.L.L. and Tui Bouma.

The first cup was presented to Tui Bouma who drinks before R.L.L. by right of office. Before he drank he turned towards an old dirty bowl, and poured about two tablespoonfuls of the contents of his cup into the bowl observing: "This is the drink of the gods,"²⁶ and then drank the remainder.

²⁶ Additional evidence that the yagona ceremony was sacramental as well as convivial.

When his water was served, a man (the priest) brought the god's share of water in a leaf, and proceeded to pour it in with the yangona and then rub the leaf with some ceremony; but whilst going through his part he caught my countenance, and, seeing that I smiled at his proceedings, he laughed aloud and said: "See that priest of religion derides us only." I said to Tui Bouma: "Do you think your gods can be pleased with what you have done? The bowl devoted to them is very filthy, and their portion scarce sufficient to slake the thirst of a fly." He answered only: "It is our way."²⁷

From this place I proceeded to a large house occupied by the young single men of the place—the *Lovilovi*. Here I found a good congregation, and, taking my stand at one end of the building, I preached Jesus to those within, and was pleased to observe that the young men heard me with much greater attention than I had anticipated.

After I had been seated in Mosi's house about half an hour R.L.L. came to me and informed me that he had said a great deal in favour of Christianity to the Bouma chiefs after my departure. I said: "I am sorry, Sir, that you did not say it when I was there; or that I was not there when you did say it, as you said only a little in my presence.

He appeared to feel my incredulity a little, and assured

²⁷ The situation here cries out loudly for comment. Williams has entered this meeting uninvited, and this is how he behaves to the chiefs and the king while they are engaged in a ceremony partly sacramental; and this is the language in which he addresses the king immediately after he has performed the most solemn act of the ceremony. The king's modest reply to his mocking taunts is: "It is our way." What admirable forbearance! How would Thomas Williams have felt, and what would he have said if any one of these chiefs had entered his chapel at Somosomo when he was administering sacrament, and made such offensive remarks? It was well for the Methodist missionaries in Fiji that the dread of a British man-of-war was never absent from the minds of the Fijian chiefs in those days; and, also, that courtesy and self-command were essential, in the opinion of a Fijian chief, to the maintenance of his self-respect. Before very long we shall find that even kind old Tuithakau can bear these insults to his gods no longer, and then Dr Lyth will run for his life, leaving his coat-tails behind him in the grip of the enraged king!

me that what he said was true, and that he had said so much as led Tui Bouma to suppose he was angry with them, and, in real Feejeean style, to propose that one man out of each village under his rule should be selected and ordered to *lotu*! Again R.L.L.'s real disposition shewed itself. Finding his remarks were producing a greater effect than he desired, he quickly informed them that there was no need for anything of the kind at present. But R.L.L. was nearly caught.

In the after part of the afternoon I visited that part of Bouma named Gota inhabited by strangers, chiefly fugitives from Vuna. I took my stand upon what I suppose to be the mound of some former temple. Our singing drew a great number of people about us who listened attentively to me whilst I endeavoured to shew them that there is only one God, and that He is a God of love.²⁸

I think this was the largest congregation I have yet addressed on this island.

The congregation on the remaining division of the town, Vunipipi, was of another description: indifferent as to number, and worse than indifferent as respects behaviour. Yet, after a time, these outcasts became more orderly, and listened whilst I called upon them to turn from their evil ways and live.

O, that some of the many words which I have this day spoken may fall upon good and honest ground and bring forth fruit into perfection. Even so, Amen.

Conversed for several minutes with a group of men, who sat at my back during the last service, on the evil of their

²⁸ On both these doctrines I find an extraordinary inconsistency in the teaching of all these early Methodist missionaries. (1) They sometimes declared that there were three Gods—the Father, Son and Holy Ghost; and (2) they declared that God had prepared a place of unending torture for people who were not “saved;” i.e., all those who had not heard of the Gospel of Christ, or having heard had not received it! For some observations on these extraordinary inconsistencies, see H.F.F., pp. 280-3.

wars. A fine young man appeared interested in my remarks, and, when I had said: "Your race is almost extinct,"²⁹ he subjoined: "We the inhabitants of Feejee are finished by war." He sighed, sprang upright, and ran to get quit of his serious feelings³⁰ amidst the noise of a dance.

As I returned to my abode I had to pass the young men's house, *Lovilovi*. In front of it the young men were dancing. One or two of them stepped out of rank, and, with great good nature, accosted me in some such way as this: "Priest you preached to us in the morning, now, if you will stay a while, we will dance to you tonight."

The teachers visited three villages in the cool of the day. At Nasau an old man sent some boys to request the people to come out of their houses and assemble to hear the *lotu*. The people did as requested and behaved well. As our people returned the old man said: "Beg of our chiefs at Bouma to *lotu* that we may follow."

During the evening R.L.L. explained the import of his name, or rather why it was given to him—because of his continual murders he filled their ovens with human flesh.

February 5th—Prepared for returning home, and by about 7 o'clock we were ready for getting under sail.

During my stay at Bouma R.L.L. did his best to make me comfortable and supplied me with an abundance of food. Yet from what I have seen I do not think that he is at all desirous of serving the true God.

He will conform a little to religious customs in the teacher's house, or when out of sight of his own people. What he does is not so much the result of his love to God or to his servants as a desire for European property. He regularly attended our evening and morning family worship;

²⁹ Williams himself estimated the population of Fiji at 150,000 in the year 1856. See F.F., vol. i, p. 102.

³⁰ Perhaps, being a young man, he had quite different reasons for running off to the dance.

not that he loved prayer; but because he liked to regale himself on a cup of sweet coffee, which, to the exhausting of my little stock of sugar, he did regularly about prayer time.

He took me to see the waterfall at a little distance behind the town. It is a beautiful fall of about 100 ft, varying in width according to the rains from one to several yards. He put off his *masi* and swam round the basin passing under the fall, or rather diving under it.

R.L.L. is Tuicakau's son, brother to Tuilaila, and only a little older. He fled to Bouma to escape the anger of Tuilaila one of whose wives he had persuaded to elope with him. I think she is the best-looking Feejeean female I have seen.

R.L.L. was the cause of much of our Missionaries' sufferings during the second year of their stay in Somosomo.

Having again conversed with him respecting what we expected from him; viz., respectful conduct towards the teacher and full permission for him to preach in Bouma and its dependencies; so that, if he will not benefit by the *lotu*, the people will have the opportunity at least of hearing the truth; and, having exhorted him neither to be deceived, nor deceive himself, nor think he deceived us, I went on board my canoe, and hastened homeward, the wind being fresh and fair. It was my intention to have crossed the Straits of Somosomo, and passed a night at Rabi; but as foul weather appeared to be setting in I was easily dissuaded from my purpose.

At about noon I reached home, and had the happiness to find my dear wife, children, colleague and family well.

A little after dinner Bro. L. was called upon to visit the old King Tuicakau, as his mouth was bad, and he required Mr L's advice.

Finding the old gentleman alone Bro. L. thought it a

good opportunity to converse with him respecting his soul, and the necessity of preparing for death by seeking the favour of Jehovah. After conversing a short time the old man said: "Ours is a land of chiefs, and our gods rule in Bulu. We do not know Jehovah; we do not want him. Is he the god of *bakola*? If I was to kill you could Jehovah prevent me?" Here Bro. L. said: "Yes!" Whereupon the old king got up in a rage, seized Bro. L. by the arms and said: "I will kill you." He called out to his wife to club Bro. L., and, when she refused to do it, and expostulated with him on what he was doing—he loosed his hold of one hand to feel for his club. Not finding it, he struck at Mr L.; but his wife interposed and prevented the blow. Bro. L. now endeavoured to get at liberty; but the old king held the skirt of his frock so fast that it was only by leaving a part of it in the old man's hand that he got at liberty. This effected he ran away, as for life, and reached my house pale and trembling, without either hat or stick.³¹

³¹ The account of this adventure, given by Dr Lyth, is as might be expected more vivid. In his Journal under date 5 February 1844 he says: "A somewhat new and unexpected trial occurred to me this afternoon. The old King Tuithakau sent for some medicine for his mouth. I thought it best to go and see him that I might diagnose his complaint. I found him lying on his mat, and, having inquired about his mouth, thought it was a favourable opportunity to speak to him about his soul, and particularly as none were present but myself and his principal wife (Moalevu). So I spoke to him as faithfully and affectionately as I could—indeed my heart yearned over him. But he could not bear it, and, interrupting me, he said: 'Is Jehovah the god of *baolas*? As for you Englishmen you are liars.' Did I think the Thakaundrovi people would *lotu*? 'No, they are a land of chiefs, and their gods have to do with earth as well as Bulu (the place of departed spirits). I hate you for what you have now said.' I told him not to be angry, and that what I said was true. He replied that I should be killed, and that he would kill me just now. Would Jehovah save me? I said, I thought he would; on which he rose up, seized both my wrists, and ordered his wife to club me. She prayed him to forbear. But he ordered her to bring him his club. Seeing that she would not do as he bid her, he let go with his left hand, and was about to strike me when she sprang in between us! He then felt on the ground for his club. His wife now besought me to pull myself away from him, and to flee the house; so I tore my hands away. He then held me by the coat which,

with a little force, gave way, and I hastened home leaving my hat, stick and part of my coat behind me After recovering from my first excitement my mind was calm and free, trusting the Lord. I had a pleasing consciousness that I had been in the path of duty, and that the Lord who had been with me hitherto would still protect me, and that, come what might, all would be well. During the time of the King's anger all the women in the other part of the King's house took off. The old man's sister was the first to come and comfort me in my trouble; another soon followed with my hat and stick, and, at last Moalevu came with the King's message to his child as he called me, begging that I would be of a good mind, and that he would send his women to catch fish for me.

"What I spoke to the King before he attacked me was as follows. I began by saying: *Ratu* (the word of respect for chiefs) you are getting old; you will soon have to die; for chiefs you know have to die as well as common people. I love your soul, and I am afraid lest, should you die without seeking the favour of the true God, you will go to a bad place. What the priests of Fiji teach concerning the place where Fijians go after death is not true. We must therefore seek to be reconciled to God, or, when we die He will punish all our sins. And many have been your sins; and God declares He will punish them unless you repent. He will punish murder, adultery, lying, worshipping false gods, the breaking of the Sabbath, etc. Be of good mind *Ratu*, and believe what I say; for I speak only out of my love. It was this that led me to leave my own land, my father and mother, to come and teach you the truth; for what your ancestors have believed and taught is not true! This is, as near as I can recollect, what I said to the old man when he could bear it no longer and became angry.

"All my experience of this chief confirms me in the opinion that he is a confirmed Heathen and exceedingly haughty, and full of enmity to God and religion (Lyth means Christianity. Tuithakau was very sincerely religious). When religion is out of the question he is very complaisant towards us, and has always been our friend. Perhaps he was more irritable on this occasion in consequence of having eaten human flesh two or three days before. This I have observed to be the effect of cannibalism on Feejeeans—their minds are more excitable and irascible at such times. In one of our former trials which occurred about this date four years ago, when the chiefs were very ill-disposed toward us, they had just had a cannibal feast."

On the following Sunday, the 11th, Tuikilakila returned from his turtle fishing, and shortly afterwards old Tuithakau sent Oroirupe, one of the priests, to Lyth with this message: "I was foolish and angry; but it was soon over. Be of good mind that we may continue to have intercourse and meet together, and be not angry." Having delivered the message Oroirupe presented Dr Lyth with a reed, saying "and this is his *soro*."

This form of *soro* was called *matanigasau*, and it imported that the king was willing to humble himself before Dr Lyth. Having lost his self-control, he now felt that his self-respect was compromised, and desired forgiveness in deep sincerity.

The incident is very instructive, revealing as it does the devotion of each man to his own religion; the forbearance of the old king till the strain reached the breaking point; his determination to kill the man he

He requested me to go with him out of doors and whilst I was getting my shoes Mrs W. observed his excited appearance and exclaimed: "O, Mr L. what is the matter?" When the awful sentence: "Tuicakau is in a rage and threatens to kill me" dropped from his lips. We were astounded and thought for a moment our end was at hand. Bro. L. then sat down and related the fore-mentioned particulars.

After a pause we all proceeded to the house of Mrs Lyth communicated to her our situation, and then sat down in a state of painful suspense and silent prayer from which we were partly relieved by the appearance of the old King's sister, an excellent old creature who, upon seeing Mr L. run away from Nasima went there to inquire the cause, and seeing Mr L's hat and stick picked them up, and, placing the hat on the top of the stick, seized the stick about midway, a leaf being between her hand and the stick (a mark of respect), and ran as well as her aged limbs would allow her to our premises; and when she got in begged us to be of a good mind, assuring us that the King would soon relent.

This good old woman, having done her best to comfort us, returned to the settlement; but was met on the way by, and returned with the old queen who was sent by Tuicakau—

loved because of his abuse of the gods he honoured; the workings of his sensitive aristocratic mind afterwards. There were evidently some workings in Lyth's mind too. He decided that in future it would be enough if he prayed for the king instead of talking to him about his soul and his false gods. It is quite possible that on his return from turtle fishing Tui-kilakila reminded his father of the words of Captain Wilkes in 1840.

Lyth, of course, meant well, and like all his colleagues, thought he was only doing his duty in denouncing the religion of the Heathen; but the plain fact is that the missionaries had far too little respect for the religious susceptibilities of the natives, or indeed any people who professed a religion different from their own. It was a lesson to Lyth for the time; but as time passed the impression wore off. In 1850 he brought himself into the same predicament again at Lakemba, and narrowly escaped being clubbed to death by Puamau, King Tuinayau's son, because of his attack on the Roman Catholic religion to which Puamau was a convert.

"To pray or entreat his child (Mr L) to be of a good mind and forgive him."

This painful event as well as others which we have had to endure of late is principally attributable to the unsettled state of the people, and the bad effects produced upon their minds and tempers by eating human flesh.³²

This the anniversary of the hurricane of /39.³³

During my stay at Bouma Bro. L. had got the Lakemba hymns completed so that we commenced our final revision of them tonight.

February 6th—Anniversary of the day on which Tuilaila threatened to murder Messrs Hunt and Lyth in the year 1840.³⁴

February 7th—Visited Dredre, found him much reduced, but encouraging the hope of living. All his friends have

³² Not so. It was "principally attributable" to Lyth's attack on the religion of Tuithakau as the doctor's account of the adventure plainly reveals.

³³ Williams, of course, was not in the archipelago then; but Dr Lyth was in the neighbouring group at Haabai, Friendly Islands; and, in his journal under date 8 February 1839 he gives a vivid description of a devastating hurricane that had just swept over them. This would, no doubt, be the one referred to here by Williams.

³⁴ The cause of this was the incessant begging by the chiefs and the reluctance of the missionaries to give them everything they asked for. Dr Lyth in referring to the critical occasion tells how Tuikilakila and Lewenilovo came to him and Hunt complaining that they had to beg for what they wanted instead of receiving gifts, and when a small present was given them they went away with a sullen expression on their faces. At a yagona meeting shortly afterwards Tuikilakila declared that John Hunt should be roasted. This was followed by long discussions among the assembled chiefs. The missionaries had no sleep that night, fearing a murderous attack. On Friday there was some improvement in the social atmosphere, and on Saturday Hunt and Lyth visited Tuikilakila to make him an additional present. The king was pleased and soon recovered his good humour. But those were anxious days for the missionaries at Somosomo—the days before the visit of Captain Wilkes and his threat to blow up both kings and their town if the hair of a missionary's head should be touched. In Rewa in 1839-40 the missionaries were having similar experiences with the chiefs, because they would not give "without a lot of talk." John Hunt predicted that if ever a missionary were injured in Fiji, it would be because the chiefs coveted his property. The prediction was not verified; but it was dangerous to refuse a chief what he asked.

forsaken him. I found the house in which he lies dirty, especially that part near to him, and cleaned it a little. Bro. L. and I talked to and prayed with him. He has got a little light. (See p. 217.)

February 8th—Prepared an Index to the Lakemba Hymns and wrote out two fair copies of it.

February 9th—The Hymns being done out of the Somosomo into the Lakemba dialect, I commenced today (according to agreement) a translation of Bro. Hunt's Lectures on Theology into the Lakemba from the Bou dialect. The Lord help me and favour me with his Spirit whilst thus employed.

Sun. February 11th—Whilst engaged in service, the distant blowing of conch shells and the shout of war broke upon our ears. A little later we found it was Tuilaila returning from turtle fishing. He returned with four canoes bringing turtle. A messenger from Tui Mathewata came this evening to ask assistance, it is supposed, in the war against a chief who has usurped dominion over his territories.

February 14th—Read the account of the centurion to Dredre hoping it would assist him in coming to a right conclusion respecting the nature of saving faith.

The sound of my voice attracted the attention of some women who were passing the poor man's solitary abode, and they drew near to us to display in its fullest foulness the awfully degraded state in which Feejeean females are sunk. They broke our comparatively deathlike stillness, and interrupted our devotions by repeated and loud bursts of laughter. As I passed out of the house I expostulated with them on their ill-timed mirth, and observed that they must be very destitute of feeling to see one of their countrymen thus situated and yet refuse to supply him with a little water (this was the case); but the only answer to my remarks was another loud laugh succeeded, when my back was turned,

with foul and contemptuous remarks made to the poor dying man. A slight specimen: "You are dung. Who would be troubled in fetching water for such dung as you."

Though he is despised of men and forsaken by all earthly friends, we are not without hopes that Dredre is nearing the kingdom of heaven. He seems desirous of our prayers and instructions, nay, even anxious for them. Tuicau soro'd to Bro. Lyth.³⁵

February 15th—Assisted Bro. L. to prepare a fresh bed for Dredre and to lift him into it. He often, as today, expresses his thorough conviction of the truth of religion.

Today we received a letter from Bro. Calvert.

February 16th—Assisted by Bro. L. I washed the skin-covered bones of Dredre this morning,³⁶ so that with this and the new coverlid and pillow he expressed himself as comfortable. Many people gathered around us; but none helped. Having made him comfortable, we baptized him giving him the name of Lazarus. O that he may reach Abraham's bosom.

February 17th—O! heathenism. Poor Lazarus was full of trouble today. Early this morning a little chief attended by a second person entered the house (in which, from choice, he continues to lie) with intent to kill him by clubbing him; but he, overhearing them, kept his eye on them, and after abusing him for lying on a mat which he had previously given Lazarus Dredre the valiant man took his departure without accomplishing his design, not however without intimating that during the night he might be strangled. Although he is entirely dependent upon us for food, clothing, &c., his countrymen are impatient at his lingering so long. I

³⁵ See the concluding portion of the footnote on p. 248.

³⁶ Thomas Williams detested shams, and despised weak sentimentality; but in the presence of genuine suffering he could be tender as a woman and quite as serviceable.

never before saw a Feejeean heathen man weep;³⁷ but on this occasion, as the poor creature told us his tale of woe, his feelings overpowered him and tears stood in his eyes. Finding that it was most likely that if we left him at night we should look in vain for him in the morning, we removed him into our own premises where he said he was pleased to be.

Sun. February 18th—Preached in English at 11 o'clock from "Godliness is profitable etc." It was my design on entering the chapel to have spoken from: "I was sick and ye visited me," our native teachers not having displayed a disposition to help in the case of Lasaruse Dredre.³⁸

February 21st—During the afternoon of today several canoes arrived from the N.N.Easterly portions of this island, and from islands in the above and a northerly direction.

Those from Raby brought melancholy intelligence. It appears that two canoes were sent by Tuilaila a few days ago to assist the Rabi people in bringing their portion of the food which is being collected for the coming feast.

The canoes sent belonged to the Butoni people who are considered subject to Bou.

The food consisting of uncooked yams, taro, land crabs &c, with the new *masi* dresses and ornaments for the dance were received on the canoes on the 20th, and the crews passed on towards a lone and uninhabited part of the land to pass the night and gather an additional quantity of land crabs.

Towards day-break the Butoni people were surprised by a number of canoes, probably 20, making towards them. A fight commenced; the Butoni canoes endeavoured to clear

³⁷ An interesting statement. Williams had been in Fiji 3½ years, in close contact with the natives nearly all the time.

³⁸ Before he left Fiji Dr Lyth organized a number of people associated with the church in Lakemba whose duty it was to visit the sick regularly.

off. One succeeded; the second, after a slight effort, returned towards land; and, after some slaughter, the canoe was captured by the Mathewata people, as the strangers turned out to be.

Toa levu was chief of the expedition. He lost one canoe, four men from his own crews, and one from the Koro people. A Rabi man was also killed in opposing the Mathewata people. It appears the Raby man had speared a Mathewata chief, and had lifted up his club to complete the business by beating him on the head, when the club of a Mathewata man laid him dead by the side of his victim chief.

It is supposed that at least four of the Macewata party were killed, though they only secured one to bring with them, but the Butoni people could not speak accurately as they fled in haste to get clear of what they represent as a shower of lead. In addition to muskets the Macewata people had small cannon.³⁹ Some think they were in search of Tuimacewata, who is at Raby.

No sooner was the news spread than the air was filled with sounds of weeping and woe. We visited several of the principals concerned, as well as the king, to beg that the wives and mothers of the slain might be saved. One old woman was anxious to testify her love for her slain son by being strangled; but was prevented.

All the men concerned assured us that they would save the woman. R.L.L. arrived from Bauma.

February 22nd—Went round to several of the houses which we visited last night to see how far the promises had been attended to and had the happiness to find all alive even to the old woman.

In one house was a new male's dress very much torn.

³⁹ These may be seen lying about in different parts of Fiji. They were used for barter by trading ships.

Asking what it meant I was informed that it had belonged to one of the Mathawata men, and was brought to this people that they might have the poor gratification of revenging themselves upon it. The poor dress was torn into shreds. Whilst I was in yesterday a little child, related to a Butoni man who was slain, was cutting the dress with a knife for revenge.⁴⁰

Poor L. Dredre appeared very weak in the morning. As this weakness increased Bro. L. and I passed more time with him until he closed his eyes in death at about 3 o'clock in

⁴⁰ A passion for revenge was one of the most formidable characteristics of the Fijian. He was encouraged in boyhood and youth to cherish it, and in mature years he would nurse it for years till the hour for satisfaction arrived. In N.O.F., vol. iii, p. 96, Williams says: "Many are the ways in which the Feejeeans nurse their wrath to keep it warm. One places a stick where he must often see it, or hangs over his bed the dress of his murdered friend. Another deprives himself entirely of food that he much likes or daily needs, or foregoes the pleasures of the dance. From the ridge pole of his house another will hang a roll of tobacco, until he can take it down to be smoke-dried on the dead body of some one belonging to a hated tribe. A man may be seen with the exact half of his hair cut from one side of his head, because his wife was one of a party slain while fishing on the reef, and he will wear his hair thus till he has revenged her death. Sometimes a powerful savage of sober aspect is seen in the village Council, sitting there in silence, replying to inquiries only by whistling. His son who was the hero of the village has fallen by a treacherous hand, and he has vowed to abstain from the pleasures of conversation until he can unseal his lips to report the corpse of his son's murderer, or bless the man who has deprived it of life. Songs are sung to keep the flame of slumbering wrath burning."—Entered in Note-book, February 1852.

The length to which Fijians could go in their gratification of revengeful passion will be apparent from an instance recorded by Dr Lyth in the fifth volume of his Journal on the authority of one of Thakombau's attendants. A Dreketi man, the murderer of two Soso women, had been captured, and "all the people of Soso were assembled to see him flayed alive in the *rara* or public area of their town (on Mbau Island). The criminal was bound and then mutilated in the following manner: one eye was hooked out with a fish bone, and his nose was cut off; the hair of his head was burnt off, and a burning fire-brand applied to the tips of his fingers. Then the fingers of both hands were cut off, grilled, portioned out and eaten before his eyes. His arms were then hacked off near the shoulders; then the legs, the toes having first been disposed of as were the fingers. Up to this time Lolohea asserts that there were signs of life. His insides were then opened; his head taken off and the whole body laid on the fire, grilled and eaten without further ceremony.

the afternoon. In the evening we committed him to mother earth, not without some hope of his experiencing a resurrection unto life. Bro. L. delivered a suitable address to a number of people near us who manifested a serious and attentive disposition.

In my morning's walk I saw the various parts of the poor Macawata man lying by the side of an oven; one foot had been partly roasted, and the head at that time was resting on the hot stones and blazing fire. Thinking all would be clear after we had put L.D. into his grave we took a turn amongst the people; but happened to be just in time to see about 60 young, middle-aged and grey-headed men feasting upon their horrid fare. A man who walked before us part of the way had a thigh in his hand which he was taking as R.L.L.'s share; but I was glad to observe, before we had reached the house in which he is staying, that he sent the limb away just as it was taken. I have been exceedingly squeamish all day. When the people have such feasts, we have to fast. The effect of one and the other depresses me much.

In the same house in which I saw the rent dress I also noticed the hand of a little child about four years of age almost swimming in blood. Its finger had just been cut off⁴¹ as an indication of its love for its slain father.

February 24th—Today the great offering was made to the gods of Somosomo to secure their assistance in the premeditated attack upon Netewa.

The offering comprised approximately the following: 40 whales' teeth; 10 mounds of yams (average of each mound of yams 1000); turtles roasted and alive about 30; large roots of *yagona* 40 (some of these required two men to

⁴¹ This was a common practice in Fiji to show respect for the dead. On the death of a great chief 50 to 100 little fingers would be cut off, each one placed in the slit end of a reed. Hazlewood says it was rare to see a man with all his fingers.

carry one); of native puddings many hundreds, weighing perhaps tons; *vasuas*—an immense kind of oyster—150; a considerable quantity of land crabs, taro, and ripe bananas; about 15 water melons and a few drinking nuts.

Tuilaila supplied the place of his aged father, presented the above property and requested the favour of the gods of Somosomo in the coming expedition. After the priests had given him an answer the purport of which I did not hear, he began to unfold his huge *masi* dress, new and made for the occasion. This he threw off entirely, and for some minutes stood exposed before his people. Several other dresses were then thrown off and added to the amount of property.

February 27th—Some canoes returned from Koroi Vono stating that the people there expected an attack from Netaewa very shortly. They sent word to the king that, if their enemies should come by land only, they would do their best with them; but in case of their coming both by sea and by land they would stand in need of prompt assistance; and of this they would apprise the King by discharging their largest piece of ordnance. A few hours after this report, at about 8 o'clock in the evening, a loud boom fell on the ears of many, and was considered the specified signal for help at Koroi Vono.

February 28th—Today nine canoes from Somosomo and three from Wei lagi set sail at an early hour for the other side.

February 29th—The whole of the fleet returned today, the gun heard was not fired by the Koro Vonu people.

Veratta who has been out of health some time left Mr Lyth a few days ago purposing to take up his abode in the Tonguese settlement. Mistrustful of Bro. L. he wished to put himself under the care of some Feejeean doctors, the more so as Bro. L. had opposed his being cut in the privates some time back believing that he was not in a state to bear it.

His illness was not serious; but he appeared low in his mind.

At times he seemed to act as though he wished to pain our minds. All our measures were suspected by him, and he appeared unwilling to receive any help from us. At one time he would converse on religious subjects; at another he would not. His disease lay in the lower region of the stomach. With intent to ascertain more correctly the nature of his disease, whether spasm or inflammation, Bro. L. grasped the part affected, and to this Veratta attributed the pain which he suffered!

Bro. L. visited him yesterday evening, and reported an improved state of health, but was surprised to find that he was much worse this morning—so much so that he was at a loss how to account for it.

Bro. L. came to inform me of this, and I returned in company with him and was truly astonished to observe the change in Veratta's appearance. Bro. L. and a Tonguese returned for a little chloride of lime; the place in which he (Veratta) lay, smelling very bad. Whilst they were absent the sick man conversed freely with me; declared his adherence to the religion of Jesus; united with me in prayer, and, amongst other things, let me into the secret of the change which had not only surprised but alarmed us.

During the night he perspired. This did not accord with his views of the fitness of things, so he crept out of his resting-place and lay himself down on the earth, saturated as it was with heavy rains, and remained in this position for some time.⁴² I believe it was raining during a part of, if not all the time he was out.

I told him that he had done enough to kill himself, and

⁴² This is the sort of thing that happened when epidemics of influenza and measles were raging in Fiji. The patients would plunge into water as the easiest and most speedy way of getting cool. Of course they did not understand the probable effects any more than Veratta. But this practice, combined with that of going to sleep in their damp clothes, carried off large numbers of natives in the South Seas.

urged him to put himself under Mr L.'s care. He consented to this in the hope that it would relieve his pain. Under Dr L.'s direction we proceeded to foment the part affected with flannels dipped in warm water; but we were too late; the vital spark was going fast. In answer to my inquiries as to whether he was relieved by the application of warmth, he answered: "Yes;" but shortly after: "No."

Bro. L. asked him if he continued to believe in Jesus Kraisiti, to which he replied by indistinctly repeating: "Jesu." He could scarcely articulate the blessed name, and it was his last effort at speaking. He lingered about a quarter of an hour after, and then died.

We buried him on a spot of ground which he himself had selected. He seemed to have no friend save us. A distant waterfall moaned his funeral knell, and the clouds wept abundantly as we committed his poor remains to the dust.

Veratta was not the evenest of characters; but I trust he found mercy for his Redeemer's sake. Other references to this man may be found in p. 142 and p. 186 of this Journal.

MARCH

March 1st—Revised twelve of the Lectures translated into the Lakemba dialect. A Lou native assisted me,⁴³ and I was gratified on finding he had only a few corrections to make.

Sun. March 3rd—Tui Masi eloped with Randi Lua, a daughter of Tuilaila betrothed to Ratu Moa, *vasu* to this place, and just on the eve of being taken to him. Ratu Moa is greatly exasperated, and determines to return at once to Bou, and seek assistance to fight this people.

⁴³ It was the regular practice of the translators to make use of the services of intelligent natives. John Hunt in his translation of the New Testament was assisted by one of his teachers who had been with him for years, and he treated his opinions with great respect.

This step places the King in a very unenviable situation with Bou⁴⁴ from which place they have so long looked for help against Netewa.

It is said that the old King Tuicakau intends proceeding directly to Bou to present the two large *soro* canoes, and endeavour to adjust matters at headquarters.

March 6th—Tuicakau left today for Bou with a fleet of nineteen canoes, including Ratu Moa's and those of the Butoni people who are returning to Bou.

I accompanied Bro. L. to wish the old gentleman good-bye. He was sitting on the *Marama*, one of the large canoes which he is to present to Tanoa. He appeared to be in excellent spirits.

As we stood on shore I noticed a man sitting on the water's edge occasionally stroking the end of the canoe and weeping bitterly. Upon inquiry I found that he was a King's carpenter, and was thus manifesting his love and affectionate remembrance of the chief of the King's carpenters, under whose superintendence a great part of the canoe was built. That chief perished at Moarly, either in the water or on land in company with Ra Bithe in the year 1839. At a short distance from him I observed another of the same class watering the ground with his tears.

Tuilaila seemed to feel keenly the separation from his father. As he stood on the beach, and watched the canoe, on which his aged sire sat, receding from him, his huge body heaved, and he wiped away many a falling tear.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ It will be noted that Williams has used this spelling for the capital city throughout. There was a specific reason for it. On the old maps of Fiji the island, Viti Levu, was called *Ambow* after Mbau, notwithstanding that the usual spelling in the missionary correspondence is Bau. Generally speaking there is little or no uniformity in the spelling of names and places, as this Journal will indicate. That is not surprising. There was no written language in Fiji till after the arrival of Cross and Cargill in 1835.

⁴⁵ The entries for this day should be noted by those who incline to the belief that the Fijians of this era were "without natural affection." Dr

March 13th—The wind has been blowing hard for some days past. Today it increased so much that I thought it advisable to pack up my books and prepare for rough weather; and well I did, for it soon blew a gale. Slight buildings and trees began to find their way to the ground, and, judging from the heaving and pitching of my house, I expected it would quickly go likewise. But after considerable suspense and effort to prevent the dreaded evil, I was relieved from my fears for the safety of the body of the house. The violence of the wind chiefly affected the roof which was eventually riven open from one gable end to the other. The W.N.W. side fell in towards the house; the E.S.E. flattened in the breeze like a banner.

Whilst the work of destruction was going on I had time to provide for the safety of my wife, children and household

Lyth commenting on the same subject in his *Journal*, vol. ii, p. 175, says: "Brother Williams accompanied me to bid the old King farewell. Tuilaila was seated with him on the canoe. After having parted with his father, and returned on shore, he stood on the beach wiping his eyes with his *masi*, and his manly bosom heaved again and again with emotion as the *Marama* moved off. We saw Tuilaila in the evening, and found him in a sorrowful frame of mind lest his father should die during the voyage when no remedy would be available; for he was an old man. Tuilaila's affection for his father is a pleasing trait in his character, and, indeed, after many opportunities of observing Tuilaila's social conduct, I can but admire it as being characterized by an unusual share of kindly feeling." A little later Dr Lyth says:—"It is a sentiment of the mind to which the heathens show themselves no strangers—that there is no place like home." Yet notwithstanding this, and all the evidences of sincere affection we have had in the *Journal* up to date Williams in a letter to London as late as 27 September 1845 says: "The portraiture of these people is correctly and ably drawn by St Paul in *Romans i, 31*," in which the words "without natural affection" occur; and all the Methodist missionaries up to that time would have agreed. On this subject Williams altered his opinion very radically before he left Fiji; but it was many years before he could shake off the impression of earlier years. The explanation is that he and his colleagues were so appalled at first by cannibalism, widow-strangling, burying old people alive, and the treatment of the sick as well as some of the more fiendish cruelties practised by the Fijians, that they could not understand how people with natural affections could commit such atrocities, much less believe that they did commit some of them *because of their affection* for the victims. For a discussion of this very interesting and important subject see H.F.F., pp. 62-8.

stuff. The furniture was secured by being snugly piled together in the most sheltered part of the house, and Mrs W's safety and that of my children by being placed under the comparatively sheltered and compact roof of Bro. Lyth.

For some time we feared that the evils of our situation would be multiplied by the waves of the ocean breaking in upon us; and, but for the circumstance of the wind blowing directly against the tide, I believe this would have happened. As it was it washed up to the foot of our fence. Thanks to that gracious Providence who made our destroyer subservient to our preservation in this respect.

The appearance of the sea for many hours was really terrific, especially at a short distance from us where its onward course was contested by the furious rush of a mountain torrent. We passed the time, a night and day, in watching and prayer, and the Lord remembered mercy: a change of wind brought us a favourable change of weather next morning.

Two of our places were overturned; the roofs of all more or less injured, and 900 yards of fencing blown down. Our banana beds are quite destroyed, and such is the effect produced upon the vegetable garden that everything there looks as though it had been exposed to the action of flame. The bread-fruit and shaddocks are sadly spoiled.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Dr Lyth in his account of the hurricane makes this additional note: "We afterwards learnt that an offering had been presented by Vaalolo and some of the people to their god, Nusimanu, to put an end to the gale. The reply which the priest is reported to have made was that, had they been much longer in coming to *soro*, the whole land would have been destroyed. Tuilaila attempted, in vain, to cross the mountain stream in order to present the offering in person, so his son Vaalolo acted as his substitute. Tuilaila, because he had failed to make the offering, had his head shaved in token of humiliation." Then Lyth makes a characteristic reflection: "Vain humiliation. I referred to the subject when visiting him some days after, and told him that in order to pray to the true God there was no need to cross the stream. He smiled. He trusts his own lying vanities." Thus the good doctor under the influence of theological bias! But he must not be permitted to get away with such unfair and illogical abuse. Let us put

March 14th—Bro. Lyth has kindly received us into his house, and handed over his study to our service as a sleeping-room. For the present we shall abide here. May peace be in our dwelling and light in our Goshen. Employed in removing our goods to a safe place.

March 18th—Did a little at my house: sank the ridge two ft, and recovered the spars to their right place.

March 20th—Fine weather allowed us again to proceed with our house. Assisted Bro. L. to pack his home box.

March 22nd—Report reached us of 80 Rewa people being cut off by the Bou people; one son of an European was killed.

March 23rd—Arrived the *Black Hawk*, an Ovalau cutter.

We hear that Bro. Jaggar has been obliged to remove into the Rewa settlement by the order of Tuidreketi.⁴⁷ Lord save him from the horrors of war.

March 25th—Had some conversation with Henry Gravit⁴⁸ respecting his escape from Thekombea about eight months ago, when an Englishman and two natives, his companions, were murdered, and their boat; ten muskets; six casks of powder; several axes and many lb. of shell were taken from them. He tells a sad tale.

On board the little cutter was a respectable looking young

the case in slightly different wording: The missionaries pray to their God to stop the gale, and "in His mercy" He remembers them; the wind veers round, and there is a favourable change of weather next day. Tuilaïla and Vaalolo petition their god in their own way—a way that involves risks of life and actual deprivation—to put an end to the gale, and their god remembers them, though he chides them for their delay. The gale ends, and fine weather follows. The missionaries would have us believe that *their* petition was an act of requited piety, while that of the Heathen was nothing better than lying vanity! We cannot accept that. Rather we believe that the *attitude of mind* in both parties was the same, and the result identical for both! As to the further question—whether the God of the one or the god of the other interposed *directly* on behalf of either, we refrain from discussing that here. In H.F.F., last chapter, there are some observations made that may interest the reader.

⁴⁷King of Rewa, friend to the missionaries.

⁴⁸One of the white men on board the *Black Hawk*.

man, an American adventurer said to be the son of a Minister (perhaps Presbyterian) in New York. He commenced his career by uniting with another young man in freighting a vessel which was cast away and, with it, many of their brightest hopes. A few weeks since he transported himself to Rakiraki a town on the land named Great Feejee⁴⁹ with the intention of building a drying house and fishing for bêche-de-mer; but the natives, taking advantage of his unprotected state, appropriated his property to themselves, and were on the point of taking his life also (it appears he made too free with the ladies) when, to his joy, a chief with whom he had some little acquaintance came to his relief, killed a Feejeean or two and took Mr Hives⁵⁰ to a place of security. Mr H. does not know Feejeean.

March 29th—Returned to the shelter of our own roof after having been most kindly entertained by Bro. Lyth during the past 16 days.

About four hours after midnight in answer to the call of Mesake I accompanied Bro. Lyth to see poor Abel Vakatheri who desired to see and speak with us. We found him exceedingly weak but composed. He seemed desirous to speak; but was hindered, in part, by weakness. I prepared, and Bro. L. administered, two or three dessertspoonfuls of weak sweetened wine and water and he was much refreshed. He proceeded to mention two or three things which lay heavy on his mind, and then appeared increasingly comfortable.

His closing scene was a great advance upon anything of

⁴⁹ Viti Levu.

⁵⁰ There is a good deal of information about this man in Dr Lyth's Journal, where his name is spelt *Ives*. He was generally on friendly terms with the missionaries at Lakemba, and contributed an article in praise of the Methodist mission to an American journal. His relations with native women were, however, very unsatisfactory, and Dr Lyth who had worked himself into a strong position in Lakemba spoke his mind very freely to him on the subject, and little more was heard of Mr Ives afterwards.

the kind which I have yet seen in these islands. His affliction was a sanctified one.

As he felt his end approaching he requested his mother to embrace him, and then called upon his sister and brother and kissed them. He took a similar farewell of us and those around him, observing: "You will stay; but I shall go; I am going." When very near his end Bro. L. asked him whether he still maintained his hope of heaven, when he emphatically replied "Yes." I then prayed in Feejeean and a few minutes afterwards his eyes were sealed in death. He left this world to enter upon another and a better state of being.

APRIL

Sun. April 7th—At 2 o'clock I catechised the people under our care, and afterwards heard Moses conduct a somewhat singular service. I had seen him an hour before the service, and thought there seemed something peculiar in his countenance; but as he approached the rostrum, I could not resist the conviction that he was revolving some great achievement in his mind. He got on indifferently with the first hymn; in prayer he made sad confusion amongst a cluster of plural pronouns that he happened to stumble upon; but the Lesson was to be the part in which he meant to shine. He produced a MS. copy of the 20th Ch. of John's Gospel, and, having informed us that he was about to read it to us, rose to his full height, turned himself towards the window, and commenced; read a word or two, and then looked towards the window, as much as to say: "Who is that blocking out the light?"; then stammered on again until he had, with great difficulty, got to the end of the 1st verse, when he truly made a full stop, shut to the book, and began to descant upon the "strength of the Lord" which he said was so plainly displayed in what he had read to us.

Finding things did not "go well" in Feejeean, he gave

out his text in Tonguese. Having talked awhile in Tonguese, he again tried Feejeean, and succeeded better. I firmly believe that this poor fellow, in many respects a worthy man, had incapacitated himself for his work on the present occasion by allowing his mind to be puffed up with the idea of reading his lesson from his *own copy*. He had the same subject in print, in both languages, and one, if not both, in the pulpit with him at the same time.

April 8th—Tuilaila has been out two or three weeks at the S.S.E. end of the island seeking turtle. His priestess encouraged him to go, promising him ten turtles. A day or two back she heard that no turtles were secured; so, fearing the anger of the king, she ran away.⁵¹

April 10th—Commenced the First of a series of chapters on the customs &c of Feejee.⁵² I labour in concert with Bro. L. Our design is to detail some of their customs, and so introduce native phraseology therewith as to serve the purpose of an English, Feejeean and Tonguese dictionary. We

⁵¹ Clearly these priests and priestesses were not without responsibility for their oracular promises to the kings who were not disposed to accept trifling excuses. In N.O.F. over date June 1849 Williams has the following under the heading: "Not quite certain"; "This was the state of mind in which a priest of Viti Levu found himself a month or two back. After having invoked the god on the subject of war, he promised the warriors success and pledged them seven bodies. The war party was much delighted; but the priest was not quite as certain as they of the result. On their going to fight he told his wife to go away to a distance from the town in which they lived, taking with her their property and his child; so that, if they should not conquer, she might be ready to run away and take shelter in a place he appointed. However the result was favourable. The party won, and got the number of bodies promised. So the wife returned to share the congratulations of her husband, the certainty of whose prediction and its fulfilment was talked of by all.

⁵² And so begins definitely the work which ended 14 years later in the publication of the first volume of *Fiji and the Fijians*. It will be noticed that Dr Lyth was collaborating with Williams. Besides that, Williams made use of the journals of other missionaries, and reports by them in the Quarterlies. For information about the customs and history of Mbau in the early days he made free use of articles—written by William Cross. But after the departure of Dr Lyth from Somosomo, and while he was at Mbua from 1847 to 1853 he relied almost entirely on his own observation and

hope with this net to catch a number of straggling words, and so improve our knowledge of the language.

April 17th—Ratu Vovo, a young chief of this place, murdered a Lou man, declared by some to be a *kai Lakemba*.⁵³ It was said that the Lakemba man had been too intimate with the wife of a brother of Ra vovo. The murder was a very deliberate one. Ra vovo and his companion followed their victim several miles before they overtook him. When they did, he was near Navutu a small village near to and dependant upon Bauma, and here they clubbed him and left his body in or near the road. The King appeared angry and the young chief has to keep out of the way.

This Ra vovo is the heroic youth who wanted to show his valour upon the emaciated body of Dredre (see p. 252, Feb. 17th).

April 22nd—The Bauma people appear to have been quite indignant when they learned of the murder, and today the chiefs of that place sent a messenger to the king to ask why it was done, and if at his command.

April 24th—Vakalolo, the king's son, was dispatched with whales' teeth and an apology which he was to present in his father's name. It is stated that the individual murdered was entirely clear of the crime laid to his charge further than that he was a relative of the guilty party who remains unpunished.

Sun. April 28th—A continuance of rather unsettled weather. Several individuals are suffering from dysentery; but more particularly such as are very young. Some two or three children have died of it near to us. We have two

judgment, and what he has to say henceforth in the Journal applies mainly, but not exclusively, to Somosomo and the Mbua circuits.

To Williams the work was most welcome and congenial. He soon discovered that he had an aptitude for it, and in the failure of his religious work at Somosomo he needed some other definite task to occupy his mind and keep him from brooding over wasted time.

⁵³ Lakemba man.

rather obstinate cases on our premises. One is a youth of about 12 years, and the other a child of one of the Tonguese Teachers. Lord use what means thou seest best, only awaken this people to a sense of their lost condition. Surely no people were ever more heedless⁵⁴ or more wrapped up in themselves.

MAY

May. 4th—Occupied in preparing books for native teachers &c.

Sun. May 5th—During the past week we have been visited, and rather troubled by the King.

May 6th to 11th—Kept close to correcting and recopying Lectures.

May 11th—An exceedingly stormy day, a good part of which was occupied in strengthening and bracing my house, a repetition of the events of the 13th of March being very probable. Towards midnight the roaring of the wind and the ocean was so loud as to prevent, in a great measure, our taking rest in sleep.

Sun. May 12th—Bro. L. sat up in his sleeping room during the English service. During most of the past two days he has been confined to his bed with slight fever and disordered throat.

May 17th or 18th—A fleet of five or six canoes left this land to make an attack upon some part of the Netewa district. Perhaps they are a little emboldened by a tolerably well-grounded report that one of the chief warriors among their adversaries was attacked, killed, cooked and eaten by the chief of another party with whom he had a quarrel. Ratu Vaalolo (native pudding) is at the head of the party. His is certainly a poor name for either an admiral or general.

Kept close at lectures.

⁵⁴ About Christianity. They were very much alive to the need of defending themselves against surrounding enemies.

Sun. May 19th—English service prevented by the attention Kalo required while she was in labour pains. At 3 took Bro. L.'s appointment in native, he being occupied in attending to the child which had just then entered this world of sorrow with so much mucus in her mouth as to prevent respiration. My congregation was a small one comprising four adults (two of whom were Local Preachers), three young men and about half a dozen children.⁵⁵

May 20th—Mosisi returned to Bouma. His reports are anything but encouraging as respects R.L.L., and are, therefore, confirmatory of the opinions which I formed of that man.

May 22nd—Some four canoes left this place today to reconnoitre in the neighbourhood of Korivono and Ngele hoping some opportunity would present itself of knocking out the brains of some straggler, and thus making of him a *bakola* for Somosomo ovens.

May 25th—The party returned today amidst torrents of rain which so cooled their courage that, had they not shouted the usual *who oa*, or word of respect, we should scarce have known of their return.

However it appears they have learnt something if they have done nothing. It seems that, when the war between Somosomo and Netewa began to be prosecuted with vigour, the people of a *koro* named Tuniloa, finding they should be exposed to the attacks of both parties, determined to give up their settlement. Such as were favourable to the interests of Somosomo settled in Koroi Vono, whilst those who were of another mind settled in Ngele a town subject to Netewa. Thus they have remained until the present time.

However whilst Vaalolo and his people were at Koroi

⁵⁵ This will give the reader some idea of the failure of Christianity in Somosomo. The mission began in July 1839. The congregations were never much larger except on occasions when visitors arrived from other parts.

Vono on their return, if I mistake not, to this place (having ascertained that Ngele people were on the look out), a Tuniloa man came to the Tuniloa people at Koroi Vono to say that he and his friends at Ngele wished to desert the services of Natewa, and hoped that Somosomo would enable them to come over to its interests by attacking and destroying the people of Ngele, in which work the Tuniloa people (who had thus far been sheltered by Ngele) would, of course, assist. The message was delivered to Vaalolo and Co. who, rejoiced at such a prospect, hastened back to inform his father of it. Tuilaila received it joyfully and entered into the project at once.

During the night a messenger was sent to Bauma to order a party from that place to proceed at once for Ngele. Tuilaila with about seven canoes set off next morning (Sunday 26th), although at the time it was blowing so fresh as to make them afraid to put up their sails. His name or rather one of his names is *Vunivalu*, the foundation of war. He certainly delights in it. On the present occasion he was well dressed (in native cloth of course), seemed in high spirits and looked better, to my thinking, than I had ever seen him.

It is to be hoped he will proceed cautiously, as the affair thus far wears a very similar aspect to that of Butha which took place in November 1842, by which this king lost 15 men; and, had the Netewa people made most of their opportunity, he would have lost many more. If Ngele is situated, as we are told it is, beyond Netewa this should be sufficient to excite suspicion.

Sun. May 26th—Mrs. W. lying on the sofa suffering considerably from ophthalmia, and, as her sufferings increased, I devoted the rest of the day to her. At times her pain is almost more than she can bear.

May 31st—Tuilaila and his fighting men returned as the

sun was setting. Considerable noise was made by the men in the canoes and by the women on shore; but it was pretty evident that, in spite of their desire to keep up appearances, they *felt* that "It was (not) a glorious victory."

It appears that the people in Ngele came to an agreement to evacuate quietly, with permission for those who favoured the interests of Netewa to proceed thitherwards, and for those who wished to side with Somosomo to fall back into Tuniloa. Thus the favourers of Netewa escaped the plot laid for them. Perhaps the step they took was attributable to some hint given them respecting their situation. Be that as it may an empty village was all that was left for the Somosomo chief to exercise upon.

The first thought was to return home; but Tuilaila observed: "If we do not shew ourselves the Netewa people will say we have no canoes with which to assist our friends, let us go on." When they arrived on the beach near Ngele they perceived the recent foot-marks of a small party, and following these marks, came to a spot where were assembled a party of young men who had come to see the deserted village. They no sooner perceived their unexpected, as well as unwelcome, visitors than they took to their heels and made for the bush. All escaped save one who, after some resistance, was dispatched by the club of a Somosomo man.

Taking with them the dead body they returned to Tuniloa where it was cooked and eaten. After this they returned home.

James Clarke returned from Bauma on the 30th, his general health improved; but his leg as bad if not worse. His reports respecting Lewē ni lovo are very discouraging. He does not pay a shadow of respect to the Sabbath, and even sends people to work near the house of the Teacher on that day. He expects the teacher to do anything to which

he sets him. He is foremost in all the public offerings to the gods of Feejee. Has made an offering to one god that his chief wife might conceive, and promised to build a temple for another if he will restore his son to health.

JUNE

Sun. June 2nd—Tuilaila attended service and sang as usual. The moment it was concluded he said: "I am come to you about my pigeon cote."

June 3rd—Accompanied Bro. L. to the king where we eat fish; advised with him about his pigeon cote; had to turn drummers and then get away. We visited and conversed with some heathen whom we perceived in a temple a short distance from us. The god to whom the temple is dedicated is named Daucina, and is reported to be the destroyer of all the chief and handsome women that they may become his wives. We told them of a god who can create and can destroy. O that they would serve Him.

Considerable portion of the week occupied in attention to matters preparatory to the approaching D.M., such as preparing reports, personal accounts &c. Prepared three Lectures for copying.

June 8th—Morning occupied in making a folio book in which to enter the furniture and other Mission property on this station, so that in future an account thereof may, with very little trouble, be presented every succeeding District Meeting.

Sun. June 9th—Before the sermon I had the gratification to hear one of the members of my little establishment publicly renounce the worship of the gods of Feejee, and declare her intention to love and serve Jehovah. This was Kalo, the wife of a German,⁵⁶ who from choice became a member

⁵⁶ James Clarke.

of my household about three years ago, and has continued with me thus long. In days past his wife, a native woman, caused me considerable trouble, and since we have been on this island she was only prevented from effecting her own destruction by the use of force. However bless the Lord for the change effected in her, which though far from amounting to conversion, is a great one.

She was thoughtful and evidently under considerable emotion during Bro. L's address to her, tending to shew her the nature of the step she was about to take. At the conclusion of the address she was baptized, and then presented (i.e. she and her husband) her infant daughter for baptism.

My mind was considerably exercised during the day in consequence of our dear little babe W.W.W. suffering from dysentery. The attack was sudden, and continues with sufficient severity to excite serious apprehension. Lord in the midst of judgment remember mercy.

June 10th—Our dear child was very restless on the night of the 7th; but, knowing that he was cutting two if not three teeth we were not surprised, but attributed his restlessness to teething. On the 8th we perceived a speck of blood in one of his motions. Bro. L. was in at the time and prescribed and prepared medicine for him without delay. During the night the disorder grew upon him.

But on the afternoon of the 10th symptoms of inflammation of the brain were evident, and cold lotion was applied without loss of time; but, notwithstanding our unwearied efforts, its progress was so rapid and alarming that at about 8 o'clock p.m. Bro. L. exhorted us to prepare our minds for losing him. O what were my feelings at that time! My strong, healthy, active, sprightly little William of whose life I felt almost certain was pronounced near death. From his birth until now he had had uninterrupted health. Deter-

mined to use all means we examined his mouth and lanced such of his gums as needed it (two or three). A Tonguese woman then shaved his head, and Bro. L. administered a powder. Cold lotion applied without intermission. And to all we added our earnest prayers for the blessing of God upon our efforts, and for resignation to His will. Next day the inflammation had considerably subsided, and we had great hopes of his restoration.

The young king called in to see him; appeared to feel for the dear little sufferer, and, perceiving it was affrighted at him (his face was painted vermilion and sky blue) he retired to another part of the room. He made many inquiries respecting the child: how we were treating the disease &c, and observed: "If it was an adult it would be well enough; but to see such a child suffering from such a disease makes us love (pity) him."⁵⁷

A canoe from Tonga (*Hiki mai faliki*) arrived, bringing news of the *Trition's* arrival at Tonga, and of two Missionaries⁵⁸ and their wives being on board for Feejee. Should this good news be true there will not be wanting hearts in Feejee to praise God and thank the Committee for such a timely supply.

June 18th—Today the sufferings and mortal career of my beloved William terminated at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon. He lay, as he had done for the greater part of the past six or seven days, in a state of drowsiness or stupor, with occasional intervals of consciousness, until a few moments before he expired, when he uttered a faint murmur, opened and fixed his eyes upwards, shut his little hand, and,

⁵⁷ Another of Tuikilakila's characteristics was his love of children. From the description of him given by Williams it is clear that in his more leisurely moments he acted just like an overgrown boy, except when a sense of his royal responsibilities was upon him.

⁵⁸ John Watsford and David Hazlewood.

after breathing a few times with but little difficulty, died without a struggle or a convulsive effort.⁵⁹

Before it knew them, his happy spirit escaped the troubles and vexations and sins of this life; gained the port without encountering the dangers of a long voyage. Bless God for the provision made for the salvation of infants—for the sake of the Lord Jesus. Bless God that a consideration of the benevolence, justice and mercy of God, produce in my mind the strongest assurance that my child no longer suffers pain. Bless God for the evidence on record that Christ was himself a lover of children; and for those gracious words which proceeded from his own lips: "Suffer the little children to come to me, and forbid them not for of such is the Kingdom of God." He cannot come back to me; but I will strive to go to him.

It did not tend to sooth my mind to turn from the dear remains of my child to become the maker of his coffin! But there was a needs-be for it. I could not bring my mind to the idea of putting him into a common box, and there was no one on the station who had any idea how the bends at the elbows were accomplished. So I came to the conclusion that, painful as it was, I would bring myself to the task for the benefit of the living as well as the dead. I did not want for help. My German, lame as he was, assisted by two natives, did the roughest part of the work. Bro. Lyth assisted me with the sides, and in covering the coffin with calico. Although every stroke of the hammer vibrated upon my bleeding heart,⁶⁰ yet I felt a small degree of melancholy satisfaction in thus far securing the decent and Christian-like interment of my child.

⁵⁹ Dr Lyth says that he died "of a severe attack of dysentery, complicated with water on the brain that terminated fatally in a few days." The child was three days less than one year old.

⁶⁰ The language used by Williams here, and also in his letter to his brother-in-law William Watson reveal the quality and intensity of his family affections.

June 19th—We followed the remains of our dear child to his long home this morning. Bro. Lyth read the former part of the burial service in the house, and then a hymn was sung in native. After this we proceeded towards the grave.

First:—

The Coffin:

(carried by) two Tonguese Teachers dressed in black.

Thos. and M. Williams,

John Waterhouse and Thomas Whitton Williams.

Rev. R. B. and Mrs Lyth.

Mast. R. B. Lyth.

James Clarke.

Fourteen Natives;

Two and Two,

dressed in Native cloth, stained black.

Great decorum was observed by the natives in passing to the grave, and during the remainder of the service. My dear little John W. W. did not appear conscious that he had lost his little brother until the coffin was lowered into the grave, and then, as though just aware of the awful truth, he wailed; gave a shriek; burst into tears and continued weeping bitterly some time after we had left the grave; and all our attempts to console him were useless. He complained that "they had put dear little Willy in the ground," and, when told that it was only his body that was put into the earth and that his soul had gone to heaven, he replied: "I want to go to heaven," and some hour or more after he addressed his mother in a mournful tone: "Mother let us go to heaven also."

For two events connected with this day I felt thankful. Early in the morning the chief of a settlement next to us

paid us a visit accompanied by another old man. The purpose of his visit was to assure us that he sympathized with us in our loss and (after the manner of his country) to present us with a root of yangona as a proof thereof. The old man kissed the hand of my William and said: "It is a heavy thing that has befallen you, Sir. It is bad that such a child should die. It would be good for us old men to die; but let the children live."

When we had been only a few minutes seated, after our return from the grave, Adi Viou an older daughter of the young king came with her attendants. She sat on the ground near to Bro. Lyth's chair, and mingled her tears with ours. The sadness of our domestics, and the many tears shed by some of them, showed that they, too, felt a loss.⁶¹

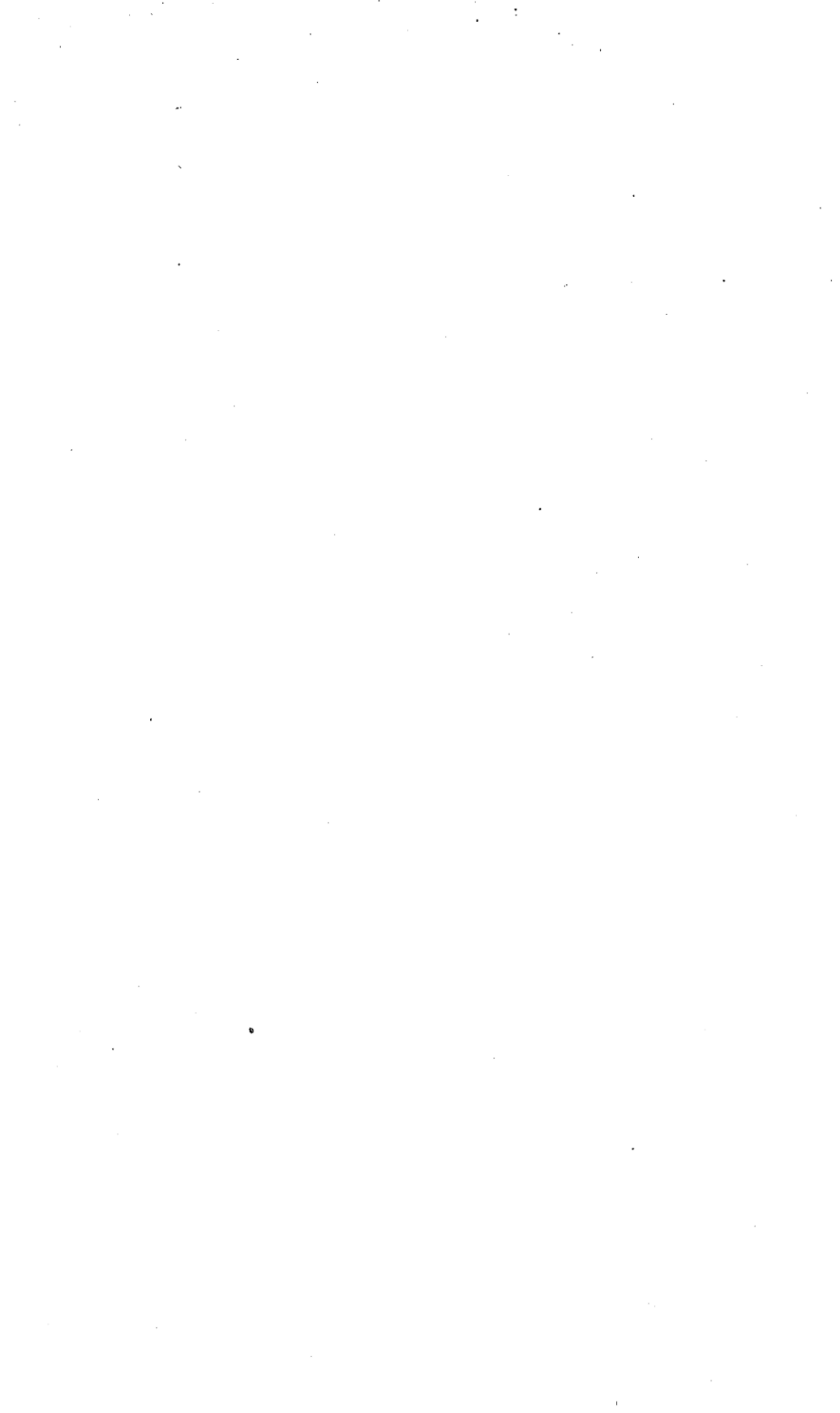
Edwin and an American youth arrived in a small boat from Ovalau. Edwin purposes to take up his abode with Mr Lyth. He has a wife and child.

June 24th—Brother Lyth left for Vuna in Edwin's boat. On the 20th Ratu Kili, the old man mentioned on the other

⁶¹Experiences of native sympathy such as this gradually force Williams to revise and alter his early impression that the Fijians are "without natural affection" and to recognize a combination of contrary qualities in their nature: courtesy and affection at the one extreme, diabolical treachery and murderous ambition at the other. In my footnote to p. 146 I have given an extract from N.O.F. in which Williams draws attention to the way in which Fijians of that time had been misjudged by their visitors. He was thinking also of his own early impressions. It is very important that students of old Fiji should note carefully what Williams has to say about the characteristics of the old Fijians after he had lived among them for 10 years. The assumption that they were "without natural affection" will only lead to bewilderment and confusion. There is abundant evidence to the contrary. Tuikilakila of Somosomo was a typical Fijian, and both Lyth and Williams tell us that, though he buried his father alive, had women strangled and ate his fellow men, he loved his father, was fond of children, and, speaking generally had a kindly nature. It is quite obvious that old Tuithakau who insisted on having 17 women strangled on the death of his son Rambithi was essentially kind and courteous.

page, showed his respect for us by bringing cooked food to us, a Fijian custom of showing respect to those who have recently lost any member of their family, and also showing love to the individual deceased.

June 30th—Since the 26th I have had to lie up in consequence of an abscess forming on my left knee.



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