



FRONTIER SOCIETY IN FIJI

1858 - 1873

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in the University
of Adelaide. 31 December 1968.

By

John M. R. Young, M.A. (Auckland) B.A. (Oxford).

This thesis is the result of my own work, carried out while I have been a member of the Department of History at the University of Adelaide. It contains no material which has been presented for another degree in any other university, and to the best of my knowledge it contains no material previously published or written by another person except in cases which I have acknowledged.

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
SUMMARY	ii - v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vi - vii
INTRODUCTION	viii- xi
ABBREVIATIONS	xii
CHAPTER 1 The Invading Culture	1 - 33
CHAPTER 2 The Beach c	34 - 78a
CHAPTER 3 The Settlement of Lau, Tavuni, and Vanua Levu, 1860-1870	79 - 120
CHAPTER 4 Adventurous Spirits: the Settlement of Southern Viti Levu	121 - 183
CHAPTER 5 The Great Fiji Rush	184 - 237
CHAPTER 6 The Beach City c	238 - 278
CHAPTER 7 Economics and Acculturation c	279 - 345
CHAPTER 8 Politics and Social Change	346 - 443
EPILOGUE	444 - 448
APPENDIX 1 Map: Fiji in 1870	449
APPENDIX 2 A Sample of Settlers	450 - 455
APPENDIX 3 Passenger Arrivals and Departures at Levuka, 1870 - 1874	456
NOTES ON SOURCES	457 - 461
BIBLIOGRAPHY	462 - 475

SUMMARY

Frontier society in Fiji in the period 1858 to 1873 was composed chiefly of planters, or of people dependent ultimately on the profits of growing cotton. They came mainly from the slightly older frontier societies of the Australian colonies and New Zealand, motivated by depressed conditions following the end of alluvial mining in Victoria, and economic stagnation in New Zealand, and attracted by the high price of cotton and the favourable publicity given to Fiji in the Colonial press.

Planters, however, were relatively late arrivals among the European invaders of the area and they came to a society which was already the product of a long period of inter-cultural reaction. Firearms were widespread, Christianity was widely accepted, and political power had been concentrated in the hands of a few powerful chiefs. Small communities of Europeans had established themselves within the group, enjoying the protection of the most powerful chiefs, in return for which they attracted European trade by the services they were able to provide to visiting ships, and later, to land purchasers. They had intermarried with the local people and had become part of the society in which they had been an important modifying influence.

Unlike their predecessors, however, the planters who came to Fiji, and in particular the numerous arrivals of the period

1868-1871, regarded themselves in a special light as the pioneers of a superior civilisation, and they expected to colonise Fiji with the same success as had been achieved in Australia and New Zealand. But in Fiji, the key to success proved to be adaptability and a readiness to ignore theoretical notions of supremacy in favour of a pragmatic accommodation with local conditions. Those who made this discovery were far outnumbered, however, by the more impecunious settlers, often from the gold fields, who took up land in the less secure areas of Viti Levu, and whose ignorance and anxiety, coinciding with local political instability, made for a rapid deterioration in race relations, and ultimate ruin.

The popular resolve, to make Fiji another 'white man's country', was strengthened by the short-lived cotton boom of 1868-1871, by the more frequent communication with the Colonies which this brought about, greater investment, and the inducement which prosperity gave to the migration of women. For a time, the adaptability of the men, and their tendency to modify their distinctive cultural characteristics, was checked. Levuka, the commercial centre, changed its appearance and character, providing a sample of Colonial urban life in the centre of the group. In the remote areas, planters' clubs, hotels, and group activities such as church services,

musical evenings and punitive expeditions, fulfilled a similar psychological function.

But the deterioration in race-relations, caused by the new confidence on the part of the European community, contributed to the undermining of the economic foundation on which the confidence was built. When goodwill was sacrificed, land was difficult to occupy, labour proved recalcitrant, and the superior numbers and armed strength of the Fijians placed settlers at a disadvantage. The use of imported labourers proved at best a temporary solution. Their loyalty depended on continued prosperity and in the meantime their presence increased Fijian resentment, which in the long run made matters worse. Successful planters were not those who tried to bend the country and the people to their will, but those who, like their beachcombing and trading predecessors, accepted things as they found them, respected the people's customs and the authority of the chiefs and were prepared to live, for practical purposes, as their subjects. The fall in the price of cotton after 1871 made life difficult for those who clung to their historic role as the pioneers of Colonial civilisation, and especially for their wives, and they reacted to this situation either by leaving Fiji or by becoming even more aggressive than before. This was the

social and economic process which explains the politics of the period. The communal homogeneity, achieved briefly in 1870, vanished with the fall in the price of cotton, to be replaced by wide variations in prosperity according to the degree of success in accommodation with local conditions. The political division in the community in the period before secession was basically between those who clung to their historic myths in the face of the evidence, and those who came to terms with reality.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The help which has been given to me in writing this thesis has been of many kinds. Firstly, my thanks are due to Professor J. W. Davidson of the Department of Pacific History in Canberra, who aroused my interest in the subject, was sufficiently patient to wait for the results to come from Adelaide, and, as my external supervisor, was always willing to provide guidance and advice regardless of his own convenience. I have gained much too from discussion with other people working in Pacific history. Professor H. E. Maude filled me with enthusiasm, and Dr. P. France, Dr. D. Scarr and Dr. D. J. Routledge all discussed their work with me while they were writing their theses on subjects related to mine. Professor R. G. Ward allowed me to see his unpublished work on the beche-de-mer trade. J. D. King and E. J. Munro of the University of Otago allowed me to see their work on New Zealanders who settled in Fiji; and Miss Caroline Melville was similarly generous with her work on the beach communities and the historical geography of Levuka.

A thesis of this kind could not have been written without spending some time in Fiji: I was helped there by Mr. Ian Diamond, the Chief Archivist, who not only guided me in the use of the official records in his care, but allowed me to use other manuscript

sources which he is editing for publication. In retrospect it seems that the time spent travelling in Fiji and talking to some of the descendants and successors of Fiji's pioneer settlers was one of the most enlightening and productive periods of all, and it would have been impossible to do this without the generosity, interest and hospitality of many people. In particular I should like to thank Mr. Laurie Simpson and the members of the Savu Savu Planters' Club, Mrs. Elizabeth Hennings of Naitauka, Seteraki Miu of Levukana, Vama Balavu, Mr. and Mrs. Volikane of Nuniu, Mr. and Mrs. T. Donally of Levuka, and Mr. Stan Whippy, Mr. and Mrs. L. Rolls, Mr. J. Barron, Mr. Paul Ellis, Mr. and Mrs. T. Stuart and the McKeogh and Simpson families of Suva. Finally, I am most grateful to Miss Pamela Bailey and Mrs. Edna Hawke, who typed the manuscript, and to my wife, for her co-operation and help in the whole process.

INTRODUCTION

In his inaugural lecture, the first professor of Pacific history at the Australian National University argued that in studying the internal history of a colonial territory, the concept of empire was of only limited usefulness.¹ If this is true of colonial territories, it is even more true of areas which had yet to become part of the formal empire of one of the major powers. Until comparatively recently, however, the materials available for the study of Fijian history have been largely limited to the official external correspondence of men who were the agents of British imperial power, Consuls, Naval Captains and Colonial Governors, and this did much to determine the kind of history which was written. Even R. A. Derrick, who made one of the first attempts to write Fijian history from a Fijian point of view,² was obliged to rely on official British records and to supplement them where possible from secondary published sources.

The result of this state of affairs was that the main themes in Fijian historiography have been the offers of Cession in 1860 and 1874, the reasons for them, the British reaction and subsequent Government policy in the Crown Colony. These themes have attracted scholarly attention, not so much for their illumination of Fijian history proper, but for the light they shed on the history of the

1. J.W. Davidson, The Study of Pacific History, an Inaugural Lecture Delivered at Canberra on 25 November 1954, A.N.U., 1955, p. 6.

2. R.A. Derrick, A History of F.I.H., Suva, 1946.

British Empire. Cession, and the events leading up to it, have been studied as an illustration of the factors involved in policy-making at the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office, and the purity of British motives in adding another jewel to the Crown.¹

Pre-Cession government was studied by G.C. Henderson as an example of progress from club law to constitutional monarchy on the British model,² and the Labour trade has been studied as a factor which influenced the formation of British policy, rather than as something which affected the lives of the recruits, the recruiters, and their employers, the planters.³ Professor J. D. Legge obtained greater insight than his predecessors into the situation in Fiji during the period covered by this thesis by using Fijian newspapers and diaries as well as the official sources, and thus establishing a relationship between political developments in the period before cession and the social and economic factors behind them, but his frame of reference was nevertheless imperial rather than local.⁴

-
1. E. Drus, 'The Colonial office and the Annexation of Fiji', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 4th Series, XXII, 1950. W.D. McIntyre 'New Light on Commodore Goodenough's Mission to Fiji 1873-74', Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand No. 35, 1960. J. W. Ward, British Policy in the South Pacific, 1786-1893, A Study in British Policy Towards the South Pacific Islands prior to the establishment of Governments by the Great Powers, Sydney, 1948.
 2. G.C. Henderson, 'The Evolution of Government in Fiji', Unpublished M.S. South Australian State Archives.
 3. O.W. Farnaby, Britain and the Labour Trade in the Southwest Pacific, Durham, N.C., 1964.
 4. J.D. Legge, Britain in Fiji, 1858-1880, London, 1958.

With this exception, social history has been ignored. Where the Fijians have been discussed, they have appeared simply as the innocent victims of European exploitation, while the planters appear as the 'stalkers on the beach',¹ a villainous chorus to the drama of Cession.

The organisation of the Archives of Fiji and the Western Pacific High Commission by Mr. Ian Diamond and his colleagues has made it possible, however, to study Fijian history with a Fijian perspective. The records of the Land Claims Commission have provided a major source for a study of Fijian land tenure which has discredited a number of myths which surrounded it,² and the records of the Cakobau Government have enabled D.J. Routledge to study its problems and achievements in their local context, rather than as an ignominious prelude to inevitable colonisation.³

The present study is an attempt to understand the society of the planters, traders, beachcombers, storekeepers and other immigrants which established itself in Fiji in the pre-colonial period. This has involved an examination of the social origins and ideas of the settlers and their motives for going there, and it has also involved a consideration

1. King Cakobau in a speech about H.M.S. Pearl, 23 September 1874. cit: R.A. Derrick, A History of Fiji, p. 248.

2. P. France, 'The Charter of the Land'. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, A.N.U. 1966.

3. D.J. Routledge, 'Pre-Cession Government in Fiji'. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, A.N.U., 1965.

of the local circumstances in the areas where they settled. The variations of fortune which they experienced, the relations which they established with the Fijians and other Pacific islanders, and the attitude which they adopted towards political developments, had their origin not only in the background from which they came, but also in the conditions under which they lived in Fiji.

The records of the Land Claims Commission have been used extensively to illustrate the extent to which the pattern and conditions of settlement were determined by Fijian requirements at the time. They contain evidence about the circumstances in which the original purchases of land were made, the 'trade' which was paid for them and the extent to which settlement was successful. They also contain letters which were produced as evidence of purchase by claimants, and these throw considerable light on the motives and experiences of early settlers. The other major sources on which this thesis is based are the letters and reports of the British Consul in Fiji, local and colonial newspapers, and a number of settlers' diaries and letters, some of which have not been used before.

The primary aim has been to write social history, but it also seemed appropriate to relate what I thought I had discovered about society to the political events of the period I was writing about. The final chapter is therefore an attempt to establish this relationship.

ABBREVIATIONS

British Parliamentary Papers	B.P.P.
Land Claims Commission, and Executive Council Sitting for the re-hearing of Claims to Land, 1875-1887; papers relating to claims. (See 'Notes on Sources').	L.C.C.
<u>Mill Times</u>	<u>E.I.</u>

Errata
(throughout)

For Richard Philip, read Richard Philp
For G.W.H. Markham read G.H.W. Markham.



Chapter 1

THE INVADING CULTURE.

A frontier society is the product of a balance between the forces of its cultural heritage and those of its new environment. The culture which Fiji's European settlers brought with them was the product of a basic British tradition to which had been added more recent colonial experience, mainly in Australia and New Zealand. Its character was illustrated, at a popular level by a list of 'Anniversaries, Festivals, and Remarkable Days', printed as they occurred throughout the year in a publication entitled Turpin's Fijian Nautical and Commercial Almanac and Fiji Directory,¹ published in Levuka in 1874, when Fiji was about to become a British Colony. Twenty-eight of the memorable occasions were European. For those who turned the pages of the new Almanac in search of cultural orientation, European history began in 1509 with the birth of John Calvin, for though not a deeply religious society it was a protestant society. (The other date of religious significance which required mention in Turpin's view was '4 April 1869 - Bibles allowed in Spain'.) Moreover, it was a society in which the outward and visible signs of divine approval were regarded highly. If these were evident, then it was prepared to take inner godliness for granted. 'One man is as good as his neighbour.' wrote the Editor of the Fiji Times in a rare reflective mood. 'So long as he pays his way, ... We are

1. E.J. Turpin, Levuka, 1874.

all here in one common cause, namely, to make money.¹ The next event in European history of significance to the inhabitants of the Levuka beach was the birth of Napoleon. His battles, and all the major military events in Europe were listed, down to the bombardment of Paris in 1873. It was not that military history was of great significance for Fiji's frontiersmen, but rather, that for them, Europe meant little else.

British history was the story of vigorous commercial activity, beginning with the commencement of a National Debt, placed in 1500, and recording among a total of twenty-nine events, the foundation of the Bank of England in 1732, the foundation of the London Times in 1785, and the opening of the first tunnel under the Thames in 1843.

Queen Victoria rated highly in importance, with five events of her life recorded. Admiral Blake and the Duke of Wellington were the important martial figures and literature was commemorated by the deaths of Shakespeare, Wordsworth and Dickens. There were nine memorable days in American history, with the emphasis on the Founding Fathers and the recent civil war which has been of such economic benefit to Fiji.

Cognizance of the extra-European world began with the death of Mahomet, but became quickly Eurocentric with the voyage of Columbus, the doubling of the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn, and

1. Fiji, 9 January 1875.

then, in 1857 the inhabitants of Cawnpore were massacred and Lucknow was relieved - seven events in all. In the meantime Tasman had sighted the Australian coast in 1606 and it was in the forty remarkable happenings in Australia since then and the fifteen in New Zealand that the more immediate interest of the reader was presumed to lie. There were few names of colonial governors in this list; the emphasis, in keeping with the social background of most of the settlers and the reason for their presence in Fiji, was on mineral discovery, at Burra in South Australia, at Turon in New South Wales, at Bendigo in Victoria and in Otago and the Thames in New Zealand. Events which were memorable because they had been lived through by many readers included the Eureka uprising, 'Black Thursday' in Melbourne, the declaration of martial law in Taranaki and the massacre at Poverty Bay.

In Fiji itself there had been forty-one remarkable events, highlights in the history of a new people, and most of them had taken place since 1864. Up till then there had been four deaths, the establishment of two missions, a battle, the baptism of the leading chief, a hurricane and a fire. Events most worthy of note since then were the marks of political progress, the appearance of newspapers, the expeditions against Fijians to punish attacks on settlers, and most noticeably, six deaths of Europeans at the hands of Fijians or imported labourers - martyrs to the secular cause which bound the community together.

The relative importance of Australasian and Fijian events in the historical perspective of the community was a reflection of the fact that Fiji was an Australian frontier.¹ The early search for a staple export from Sydney with which to pay for imported food and manufactures had led by 1804 to the arrival of Australian ships on the coast of Vauva Levu to get cargoes of Sandalwood for the Chinese market.²

Until 1810 Sydney merchants retained a large share of the market and there is a tradition that some of the earliest Europeans to settle in Fiji were 'an adventurous party of escaped convicts from New South Wales who "found their way in an open boat to the islands and were treated kindly by the natives"'.³ More concrete than tradition was the undeniable presence of Paddy Connel living on Viti Levu in 1842 when he was found by Commodore Wilkes. He had been a convict, but had left New South Wales a free man in 1808 aboard the Trial.⁴ Wilkes describes him living by repairing muskets

-
1. For a discussion of this point see J.M.R. Young, 'Australia's Pacific Frontier', Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand, No. 47, Nov. 1966.
 2. See D.R. Hainsworth, 'In Search of a Staple': the Sydney Sandalwood Trade 1804-9, Business Archives and History, Vol. V, No. 1, Feb. 1965.
 3. H. Britton, Fiji in 1870, p. 6. Other sources for the tradition include the log of the ship 'Clay' kept by M. Osborn 1833. Thomas Williams, Fiji and the Fijians, ed. G.S. Rowe (2 vols., London 1853), Vol. 1, p. 3 and G.C. Henderson 'The Evolution of Government in Fiji' (MSS in the State Archives, South Australia) but I have found no real evidence for the voyage.
 4. Sydney Gazette, No. 257, 4 December 1808.

and telling stories at the court of the chief of Rewa together with a hundred wives and forty-eight children.¹ But by 1842 Paddy Connel was an isolated example of Australian influence. Australian vessels wishing to participate in the luxury trades of the Pacific Islands were handicapped by the monopoly of the East India Company over trade in the Pacific, which was not removed until 1834. Luxury articles such as sandalwood, pearl shell and beche-de-mer were dependent on the Chinese market, and entry to this was prohibited to Australian vessels. The prohibition was far from effective, but it did place Australian merchants at a disadvantage compared with Americans who could ship their cargoes direct to Canton or Manila, and from 1810 until the opening of the sandalwood trade in the New Hebrides in 1841,² Australian commercial activity in the Pacific was concentrated on New Zealand and Tahiti, legally within the domestic jurisdiction of the Governor of New South Wales, and excluded from the East India Company's monopoly.

The beche-de-mer trade, which began as a sideline to whaling in the early 1820s, soon became a predominantly American activity. Australian contacts with Fiji were maintained, however, through the use of Sydney as a port of call for American ships, as a centre for

1. C. Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842*, (5 vols., London 1845), Vol III, pp. 67-70.

2. See Dorothy Shineberg, *They Came for Sandalwood*, M.U.P., 1967.

the recruitment of crewmen, some of whom later deserted when they reached the islands, and as a source of 'trade' for use in the islands. J.H. Egleston of the American ship Mermaid records an encounter with an Australian ship engaged in the trade in 1836, the Sir David Ogilby, belonging to William McKiesce of Sydney.¹ It was probably from an Australian ship that Tanco, the chief of Bau at that time, obtained the sheep shears with which he used to cut off the tongues of 'rebels'.²

Although American trade was the dominant external influence, and most settlers in the 1830s and 1840s were American,³ by the end of the 1840s William Owen, a merchant from Adelaide, was interesting himself in the beche-de-mer trade, and agreed to supply Cakobau, Tanco's successor as Chief of Bau, with a ketch in return for a cargo of it. The ketch arrived in 1851⁴ and a year later Cakobau's

-
1. Journal of Captain J.H. Egleston. Log of the Mermaid May 1836, A.N.U. microfilm 97a, Department of Pacific History.
 2. Ibid., 3 May 1836.
 3. Reports by W.S. Cary, Wrecked in the Feejees, Nantucket 1928. J.H. Egleston (Typescript of Journals in the Barr-Smith Library Adelaide, originals in the Peabody Museum, Massachusetts) William Diaper ('Jackson's Narrative' and appendix to J.E. Erskine Journal of a cruise in the Islands of the Western Pacific, including the Feejees and others inhabited by the Polynesian negro races in N.M.S. Havannah, London 1853 and M. Wallis, Life in Feejee by a lady, Boston 1851. These all show the extent of American activity and describe the growth of a predominantly American community at Levuka.
 4. R.A. Derrick, A History of Fiji, Suva 1946. 2nd edition 1950, p. 105.

business connections with Owen were still important enough for him to cancel a cannibal feast when Owen threatened to break off all contact if the feast took place.¹ The activities of Owen lend force to the assertion of Henry Britton that Fiji would have attracted the large-scale attention of Australians much earlier than it did

... but for the gold discoveries in 1851, which drew all the adventurous spirits to Victoria, and it is only now that there is a decline in the yield of our mineral treasures that interest in Fiji has again revived.²

Britton wrote in 1870, but his remarks apply to the period ten years before, when the period of alluvial mining and the chance of rapid individual fortunes was over in Victoria and New South Wales.

William Hennings who reached Fiji by way of the Australian gold-fields operated on a larger commercial scale than any settler before him, and had a decisive influence on Fijian history by extending credit to later arrivals, by his excellent relations with the leading chiefs in the group, and, ultimately, by his influence over the European community. He was born in Bremen, Germany, on 5 May 1827,

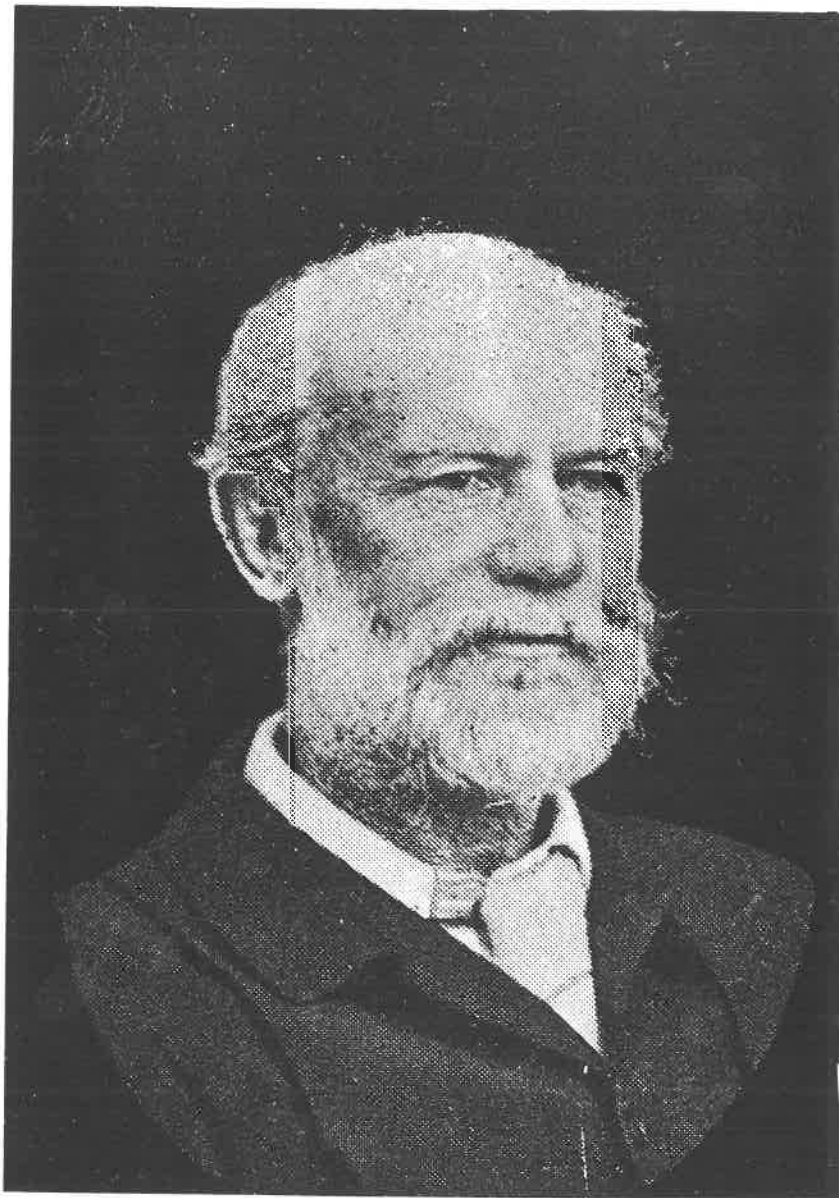
1. H. Britton, Fiji in 1870, p. 30. W. Owen arrived in Port Adelaide South Australia in 1838 aged twenty-three, and became 'well known in mercantile, shipping and political circles'. He was also President of the South Australian Temperance Society, which perhaps explains his close and friendly relation with the Wesleyan missionaries in Fiji. Up to 1855 he was a large importer of Eastern produce - so it is likely that his interest in Fiji arose from a desire for cargoes of beche-de-mer to take to China. [See his Obituary notice 19 October 1869 in the Register Newspaper, S.A.]

2. H. Britton, Fiji in 1870, p. 6.

and spent the first few years of his career in a Bremen office. In 1852 he came to Australia and spent five years in Victoria and New South Wales, moving from one gold field to another and then settling in Sydney in 1858. He was not there long before he met Caesar Godeffroy, who was already employing Fred Hennings, William's brother, as a clerk in Samoa. Godeffroy persuaded William Hennings to go to Fiji where he opened a trading post at Lomaloma in the Lau group. Frederick was sent to Levuka in 1860 and the two brothers were joined in 1864 by a younger brother Gustav, who set up his commercial headquarters on the Kewa.¹

Initially the main products which interested the Hennings brothers were coconut oil, beche-de-mer, tortoise shell and cotton, in that order of importance,² and it is likely that most of this went to Sydney. Owen reported, in July 1863, that in the past six months fourteen vessels had come to Levuka, and all but two of them were regular traders from the port of Sydney.³ Most of the records of the firm of F. and W. Hennings before 1870 have been destroyed.

1. Cyclopaedia of Fiji, 1907, p. 304 and information given verbally by Mrs. Elizabeth Hennings, daughter-in-law of William Hennings, February 1966.
2. Export values in 1862 were as follows: Coconut oil 59,900, Beche-de-mer 41,920, Tortoise Shell 6800, Cotton 2360, British Consular Report, 31 December 1864.
3. British Consular Report, 11 July 1863.



William Hennings

(From the Central Archives of Fiji and the Western
Pacific High Commission, Suva.)

but later evidence indicates that they were not only the local agents of Godseffroy and Son, but also of Babone, Fees & Co. of Sydney, with whom the greater part of their external trade was carried on.¹ The expansion of the Australian population which resulted from the gold rushes made Australia itself a larger market for tropical produce and a competitor with the traditional oriental markets. Captain H. Jones, V.C., the British Consul in 1865, noted that the demand for beche-de-mer had recently increased because of the market created by Chinese migration into Australia.²

In the meantime, a great deal of interest in Fiji had been stimulated by the attempt of W.T. Fritchard, the first British Consul, to bring about the cession of Fiji to Britain in 1859. Colonial newspapers had given coverage to the mission of Colonel Saythe to investigate the offer, his advice against acceptance, and the dissenting report of the botanist, Barthold Seemann of Kew Gardens, who accompanied him and travelled extensively within the group during his visit. Saythe had been particularly required to comment on the suitability of the Fiji islands for growing cotton. He thought the difficulty in obtaining labour could not easily be

1. A large part of the Hennings papers have been destroyed. Mrs. Hennings says her father-in-law 'was very interested in the old records and used to go through them all before burning them'. Five tin trunks full still survived, much of them in an illegible condition. They have not yet been cleaned and sorted.

2. Consular Report, 26 December 1865.

overcome, but Seemann reported that 'If I understand nature and the requirements of cotton aright, the Fijis seem as if to be made for it'.¹ It was the views of Seemann rather than Smythe which appealed to Australians.

The outbreak of the American civil war in 1860 led to a steady rise in the price of cotton from 1s. 3d. a lb. to a peak of 4s. 6d. for the best variety in 1870. This made the prospect of migration to Fiji attractive, but if there had been similar market conditions for coconut oil or sugar, the response would have been rather different. Cotton was an ideal poor man's crop, because a first crop could be obtained within four months of planting, and so Fiji was a particularly appealing prospect to those whose migration to Australia had brought a degree of disillusionment. Ex-diggers who had made a little money, but not the fortune they expected, and squatters forced to sell through drought, were attracted by the opportunities Fiji seemed to offer; so too were townsmen who could raise the seven pounds for a steerage passage to Fiji on a small island schooner, but not the deposit on a selector's block and the money to get to it. Land in Fiji was cheap; it was still selling on Taveuni, the most fertile island of all, for 4s. an acre in 1867, and unlike squatters, Fijian chiefs were anxious to part with land for knives, cloth, axes,

1. B.K. Seemann, Viti: An Account of a Government Mission to the Viti of Fijian Islands in the years 1860-1861 (Cambridge, 1862), p. 48.

outdated military muskets, powder and shot. Labour costs were reputedly low; payment of labourers could be largely postponed until the expiration of a year's or three years' contract, and credit was much more easily available from traders like Hennings than from Colonial governments or banks.

Smythe, writing on 1 May 1861, reported that already:

From false information given in the Colonial Journals regarding the acceptance of Her Majesty of the sovereignty of the Islands, and their advantages for settlers, a considerable number of people were induced to visit them last year. Discovering on their arrival the true state of affairs, many of them hastened to return to the colonies, and the greater number of the remainder will probably follow.¹

But if the remainder did follow, they were soon replaced by others, encouraged to begin with by private reports such as that sent by David Wilkinson on behalf of a group of Adelaide businessmen who formed the 'Fijian Company Ltd.' in 1861.² Settlers sent back private letters, some of which were published, often in obscure local newspapers in Australian and New Zealand country towns.³ From 1866 on there was a growing volume of favourable comment in the form of serialised reports in the Australian and New Zealand press.⁴

-
1. Report of Colonel Smyth, R.A. Seemann, B.E., Fiji, Appendix II, p. 424.
 2. Fijian Company Ltd., Prospectus... Also extracts from Mr. D. Wilkinson's Report, Adelaide 1861.
 3. E.g. Australasian, Sept., Oct., Nov. 1866. Private letters were later produced as evidence of occupation or purchase in the evidence presented to the Fiji Land Claims Commission. Others exist in the Ryder Papers in the Mitchell Library.
 4. E.g. Australasian, July to August 1868; Bruce Herald, March, April, May, October, November, December 1869; Illustrated New Zealand Herald, March 1868.

In the first half of the decade, cotton production increased, but coconut oil was still the most important export. The Consul reported the activities of two Australian companies using steam machinery and other equipment for the extraction of coconut oil, in the case of one, worth £7,000.¹ It was from 1865, onwards, however, that the increase in the number of settlers who came to buy land and set up plantations was most marked. The consul reported:

Many immigrants have arrived here during the past year from the Australian Colonies. Several tracts of land for immediate occupation have been purchased by them from the natives.

Cotton exported that year was estimated to be worth £9,200, but in 1867 its value had risen to £34,004, while the export of pigs had declined, not because production had decreased, but because settlement from the colonies had created a considerable local market.³

Until about 1868 it was unusual for settlers to bring wives, and Karl Van Dams, who visited the group in 1866, reported the presence of only two settlers on the island of Ovalau who were married to white women.⁴ Settlers of this period were, characteristically, adventurers, who came from the inland frontier where men worked and lived alone or in pairs; men like George Rodney Burt of Sigatoka

-
1. British Consular Report, 11 July 1863.
 2. British Consular Report, 26 December 1865.
 3. British Consular Report, 31 December 1867.
 4. Australasian, 3 November 1866.

river and Kadavu:

... who had been a speculator in the States, a gold miner in California, a stock-rider on the Darling Downs in Australia and at one time a crack billiard player, well-known at the tables of the 'Albion' and the 'Bill and Mouth' in Bourke Street.¹

Another transference from the inland frontier to the Pacific was that of the Ryder brothers in 1864. Thomas Kirk Ryder was the son of Thomas Urnison Ryder, who had been a merchant in Sydney but by 1860 had gone to live in retirement at Geelong taking his wife and youngest son George, and leaving Thomas, his eldest son, employed by the Bank of New South Wales in Sydney, and four other sons on 'Tandara' the property of the husband of his eldest daughter in Victoria. Thomas, the eldest son, was posted to the Dunedin branch of the Bank where he stayed for two years, until he saw a 90 ton topsail schooner, the Ocean Maya, in Dunedin Harbour, about to sail on an Islands voyage.

... calling at all the principal islands, on many of which there were traders, who lived permanently on the island, trading with the natives, and collecting their produce in their stores and awaiting a vessel's arrival to do business with them.²

The Ocean Maya brought Thomas Ryder to Lemaloma where he met William Hennings who offered to sell him the island of Mago if he could pay for it and commence settlement by 1 August 1864. Thomas Ryder returned to Dunedin, then to Melbourne, then to 'Tandara' Station,

1. Australasian, 26 October 1866.

2. G.L. Ryder, 'Pioneering in the South Seas' an autobiographical account in the Ryder Papers in the Mitchell Library. G.L. Ryder was the young brother in Geelong at the time.

where he succeeded in persuading his brother Edmund, and later George, to abandon their project of purchasing a new 'run' and to go with him to Mago. They sailed from Sydney on the Rotumah on 12 July 1864, and reached Tonga in twenty-one days. Rather than wait until the Rotumah sailed for Fiji the three brothers launched the open boat they had brought with them on deck and set sail for Lomaloma four hundred miles away on 11 August. Their first landfall, fifty-two hours later, was Moco, from whence they island-hopped to Mago, another thirty miles. They had missed their deadline but eventually obtained possession of the island, after consular arbitration.¹

The Ryders were comparatively wealthy; at the other end of the scale were men like G. Clough, who came originally from Canada, but had lived for some years in Victoria, and purchased a piece of land on the Kewa in 1861. He then returned to Bendigo, but finally sailed for Fiji at the end of 1867 to settle.² He wrote back to his mate, Friarose, who was still in Bendigo, encouraging him to join him as soon as possible. His letters illustrate not only the prevailing mood of enthusiasm but also some of the underlying anxiety felt by a man who, like most settlers of the period, had little wealth or education, and only the experience of the very different conditions

-
1. Details of this transaction will be explained in Chapter 3. The narrative is from G.L. Ryder, op. cit.
 2. Clough's movements are reconstructed from the evidence in Report No. 778 Land Claims Commission. His letters were produced in evidence.

of Australia's inland frontier to guide him. The first letter was written on 12 April 1868 from an established plantation at the mouth of the Rewa where Clough stayed before going to settle on land which he had purchased further upstream:

I would like to see you Down you will like the climat you can works here Better than on a Hot Day in Victoria there is about 100 whits all told.¹ We air in the Best Part of the iland for sea cotton and sugar cane and coffe cattel and sheep that is what Every Body says.... I wish you were Down But It is Better for you to wate untill things air quite².... It took 52 Days from Sydney to Ovalau had wind all the way I am stoping with Mr. Morrell a Bendigo friend he came here seven years ago he is very comfortobel and all the whits are very comfortobel Mr. Hunter came to settel on his land next to ours he got here last week about 30 came from neuse land to settel last week I am wating for the fight to git over with Before I go down on our Land as our chief and people air gon to the wars and I could not git anything don.

The war continued for another sixteen days and then Clough finished his letter:

I starte to Day for our land I have Heard a man that speaks figi at one pound per week I could not do anything without one - I will write to you in about 2 weeks and Hope to see you. I will tell you all you want to no In Haste. Dont Stir untill I write againe.

Clough went to see his land and returned to Levuka to arrange credit and a supply of goods to settle and commence planting. For both he

-
1. An underestimation: The British Consul estimated that there were three hundred white landowners in 1864, three hundred and sixty-six in July 1867 and four hundred and ninety-two in December 1867. Figures from the respective Consular Reports.
 2. i.e. quiet. This refers to the murder of the Rev. Thomas Baker on 21 July 1867 by the Vatusila people at Nagadelavatu village, near the source of the Sigatoka river, and Cakobau's expeditions to apprehend the murderers, which failed.

was dependent on the firm of F. and W. Hennings, and their Sydney connections. He wrote again on 10 May 1868, from Levuka.

I got back from our Land yesterday and found it all right and start back tomorrow to settel on it It is better than I teought It was It is a beautifull Peace of countrey the land is all Beaught up on Both side of us for a long ways and people air planting on it I have got a few goods from Mr. Hennings so that I can live untill you come Down you will please fitch me money as I shal ow it all I have promised to pay it in 3 month Believe us when I tell you that it is a fine eliset I never want to see the Digins agane you will sa so when you come.... If you dont come wright [i.e. write] down Please send an order to me on one of the Banks in Sydney as Hennings does his Bennis in Sydney - aress [i.e. address] British Consul Ovalau I hope to see you soon.

An important effect of increasing settlement from Australia was the increased importation of European merchandise. J.B. Thurston, who was the Acting British Consul in 1867, estimated the value of goods brought in by settlers at £3,000 for the year, and that brought in by traders to cater for their needs at £26,000. The only analysis of imports to survive has been that for 1866, when their value was estimated at £25,200. The largest item was 'Manchester goods' at £10,000. This statement is, however, to be strongly suspected. The Consul probably wanted the Foreign Office to believe that land was being paid for with harmless cotton prints but in fact this figure probably conceals a substantial importation of muskets and ammunition which from the Fijian point of view was the main object of land

sales.¹ Ironmongery and cutlery was the next largest item, at £7,000, and this too would include the axes and knives which often made up a large part of payments for land. The settlers imported £3,000 worth of wine, beer and spirits - which among a population of three hundred and sixty-six,² meant a high average consumption, especially when compared with the value of groceries and provisions imported, which was £2,000. Ship-chandlery, wearing apparel, tobacco and machines and implements, none of them in large quantities, made up the rest of the list.

Shipping was becoming more frequent. Twenty-seven overseas ships visited Levuka in 1867, but settlers found the irregularity of communication a nuisance. The Consul reported that:

... a certain number of vessels are engaged in the trade but they all arrive generally about the same time and during the remainder of the year the residents are dependent for the mails on any vessel that may touch here on her way to Samoa, Tahiti etc.³

Times for the passage varied, but the average from Sydney to Levuka was twenty days. The skipper had the choice of taking the route via Lord Howe Island and Norfolk Island, giving a good chance of favourable

1. Williamson writing to Des Vaux on 23 September 1869 stated that 'The consideration is usually stated in deeds as paid in "true and lawful money etc., "whereas in fact we know that the almost invariable rule was to pay in trade and if any cash was paid at all it was only a small proportion of the consideration named'. L.C.C. R1152. There evidence in the L.C.C. Records includes details of the 'trade' actually handed over to the owners in land purchases it almost invariably consists largely in ornaments, cloth too had a military purpose, to provide 'flash', see the evidence of John Starck, L.C.C. R1156.

2. See note 1, page 15.

3. British Consular Report, 31 December 1864.

winds for most of the way, or the more direct route straight to Fiji, which usually meant a high proportion of head winds. The average time for the return passage was twelve days,¹ because favourable winds were usually experienced.

One cargo of particular importance for Fiji was the thirty bales of cotton which left the island of Mago early in 1867 on the barque Rotumah.² It was transhipped in Sydney for Liverpool, where it sold for 3s. 6d. per lb. or £65 per bale. The news reached Sydney at the beginning of 1868 and it was followed by a spate of favourable publicity for Fiji in the colonial press.³ Articles emphasized the salubrious climate, the fertile soil and its suitability for growing cotton, the cheapness of land and the amenability of the natives if 'properly handled'. The pull of Fiji as a 'New Eldorado' coincided with a recession in Australia and New Zealand. In the words of a settler of 1871:

The price of wool had fallen preposterously low, the gold diggings had ceased to yield so profitably as heretofore; the Maori war had ruined many settlers... a new field was offered in Fiji and not a few availed themselves of it.⁴

-
1. British Consular Report, 31 December 1864.
 2. G.L. Ryder, 'Pioneering in the South Seas' (typescript), p. 26.
 3. E.g. Australasian, Sept. to Nov. 1870. The Argus, Sept. to Nov. 1870. These articles were the work of Henry Britton, later published in book form with the title Fiji in 1870. Australasian, July to Aug. 1868. Bruce Herald (N.Z.), March, April, May, October, November, December 1869.
 4. Mitton Forbes, Two Years in Fiji, p. 276.

The result was 'what was known in Australian parlance as the "Great Fiji Rush"'.¹ Part of the rush came from Melbourne where a 'Polynesian Company' was formed in 1868, destined, so it was believed, to become the 'East India Company of the Pacific'. It agreed to pay off a debt of \$43,531 or 29,000 on behalf of Cakobau, chief of Bau, to the American government, in return for 200,000 acres of land, and certain monopolistic rights within the group.² The Company vessel, the S.S. Alhambra, arrived in September 1870 with seventy-four settlers. By then, however, this was nothing exceptional. A total of one hundred and fifty-eight ships reached the port of Levuka that year, most of them from Australia and New Zealand. They included forty-three from Sydney, forty-three from New Zealand and eight from Melbourne;³ and, although they took a few passengers back to Australia when they left, they increased the European population from approximately 1250 in December 1869 to 1966, a net gain of 716, which was followed in 1871 by 706 more, bringing the total and the highest figure before cession up to 2760. All except forty-nine of the new settlers came immediately from either Australia

1. A.S. Brewster, King of the Cannibal Islands, p. 62. Brewster joined the rush, arriving in Levuka in September 1871.

2. The activities of the Polynesian Company will be discussed in Chapter 5.

3. F.I., 7 January 1871.

or New Zealand.¹

The kind of motives which induced people of moderate means who had already migrated to Australia or New Zealand to migrate once again to Fiji can be illustrated by the example of William Burns, who like many other Fiji settlers had emigrated from Britain to Australia in the hope of achieving modest wealth and security. He had come to Australia as a single man in 1854 on the ship Marco Polo and found the voyage long and monotonous, apologising to his brother John for not keeping a daily log to send back to him because 'I do not think any person would find it in any way interesting'.² Between 1854 and 1868, no details of his life are available, but he was in Melbourne in 1868 and was one of the foundation members of the 'Polynesia Company'. Like many others, Burns regarded the Company with some suspicion. On 19 May 1870 he wrote to his brother David who was still in Scotland³ and explained:

... finding that the management was carried on rather loose and reckless, as I fancied they would either make a spoon or spoil a horn, I sold out, altho persuaded it would turn out a profitable spec if judiciously managed.⁴

-
1. The British Consul reported that the total European population in December 1868 was 862 - an increase of 370 in the past year. There are no figures for 1869, but an increase of the same amount as in 1868 would have brought the population to 1232. The figure of 1250 is an estimate based on the impression from newspaper reading that the rate of immigration was increasing. The other figures were obtained by a count of passenger arrivals from the shipping news in the L.I.; see the graph and tables which form Appendix³.
 2. William Burns to John Burns, 15 October 1854, L.C.C. R1013.
 3. David's address, and presumably William's place of origin, was 'Marthill of Ogro, Aberdeen'.
 4. William Burns to David Burns, 19 May 1870, L.C.C. R1013.

At the time of writing, Burns had settled at Albury New South Wales, and was married 'to a land-surveyor's daughter whose three brothers are surveyors for this district'.¹ The brothers had become interested in Fiji, possibly through contact with Burns, and had recently left for the Fiji islands:

... intending to cultivate South Sea Island cotton... which I am told can be grown for 5d. per lb. and fetches in the Liverpool market from 3/6 to 5/- and 6/-.

Burns had been left, by his brothers-in-law, in charge of a vineyard property, and his will describes him as a 'chemist of Albury', but at the time of writing he was growing restless. His letter illustrates the kind of factors which induced young men, sometimes with newly acquired family responsibilities, to give up the indigent security which Australia offered them at the time and take a gamble on the Great Fiji Rush.

Dear David, 'Tis now some time since I have had a scrap from you on any subject, neither do I think I have written, however I am still 'in loco suo', but how long I may remain, 'tis doubtful as this part of the country has answered my turn and I now purpose looking out for green fields and pastures new as this place is rather slow and money scarce although the population is increasing but not the moneys.... I am only now awaiting authentic information before I take any steps to realise here, but realising in property here is no easy matter as money is so scarce.... Farming does not pay at all here as there is no outlet for the produce until we have a railway which is now about to be commenced, to North Eastern from Melbourne, and will terminate on the other side of the Murray (opposite this).

1. William Burns to David Burns, 19 May 1870. L.C.C. K1013.

Winter is now settling in very wet and cold Temp 55 now and this climate is not all it is represented in England, two months ago it was 110 in the shade and is sometimes insufferably hot and at other times equally cold the tropics are far more uniform in that respect.

So at the beginning of 1870, throughout Australia and New Zealand, men like Burns were weighing the unexciting prospects of their immediate condition against the reports of likely profits and the glamour of tropical islands in the Pacific, disposing of their assets and crossing themselves and their possessions on to the small schooners which carried practically all of the island trade.

Richard Philip was an Irish lawyer who had practised for a time at Bendigo and then at Sandhurst, Victoria, but 'I did not make much money, indeed I did not pay my expenses'.² He describes how on 27 August 1872 he boarded the schooner Quickstep, which eventually sailed for Fiji on third of September, arriving in Levuka on the twenty-fourth. He was taken aback when he saw the small size of the vessel as she lay alongside the wharf:

... but when we went aboard and squeezed ourselves into a little bit of a cabin choked up with packages and parcels and were told that that was the only cabin for eating drinking sleeping or anything else I really began to think it was rather too much to get over.

-
1. William Burns to David Burns, 19 May 1870. Burns arrived in Fiji at the end of 1870. L.C.C. R1013.
 2. Richard Philip 'My Diary, notes of a Voyage to Fiji and two months residence there'. M.S.3. In the Fiji Museum, Suva. Philip was attracted to Fiji with the promise of a legal post (which did not materialise) with the Cakobau government.

For Philip, a gale on the first day out of the heads made seasickness inevitable. The smell of 'bilge water mixed with cocoa-nut oil is something awful' and he made his berth 'or rather what stood for my berth: for it was only the bench on which we sat during the day, with a hair cushion on it and nothing like a mattress or blankets'. For most of the time walking on deck was impossible because of the violent motion, so the choice lay between sitting on deck 'and that is cold work' or the cabin which 'is too close and ill-ventilated to be tolerable'.¹

There was still no jetty in Levuka in 1870 and passengers were landed on the beach, with all their goods, in small boats. The Fiji Times described a typical batch of new arrivals as consisting of 'Hawkesbury farmers, squatters, Victorian vine growers, diggers, New Zealand flax-dressers and merchants looking for less competition and higher profits'.² Motivation for coming to Fiji can be assessed to some extent by such comments and by the comments of the settlers themselves, but contemporary description is much less satisfactory as a guide to the social composition of the new immigrants. Most

1. Richard Philip, 'My Diary, Notes of a Voyage to Fiji and two months residence there'. The Quickstep was built for the Ryder brothers of Mago by Messrs. Mort & Co. at Waterview Bay Sydney, and launched on 11 October 1871, especially for the island trade. She was 68 feet overall, 16' 6" beam 3' 3" depth of hold. Registered tonnage 50 tons. She was considered a fast vessel and on her first voyage reached Levuka in 15 days. She carried 5 passengers at the time Philip sailed in her, but earlier on the same year had sailed from Fiji to Sydney with 11, including 2 women. F.I., 23 October 1871, 13 December 1871, 7 February 1872.

2. F.I., 7 May 1870.

observers show a tendency to regard their own contemporaries as being a great improvement, socially and morally, upon their predecessors, but even those commenting on the same people do not always agree. Forbes described the settlers of the 1860's in flattering terms, 'with scarcely an exception men of respectability, birth, education, capital, naval and military officers, younger sons, fresh from home,'¹ while by 1871, he claimed, 'this semi-criminal class in the islands had increased to such an extent that "Gone to Fiji" bore the same significance in Australia as "Gone to Texas" did in America a few years ago'.² Consul March, writing in December 1869, when numbers were increasing rapidly, was less critical however, and praised those whom Forbes criticized, as an improvement on their predecessors.³ John Gaggin, writing in 1870, was also complimentary about his contemporaries.

... young fellows from all the colonies and the old land... Younger sons of the great squatting families - well-known names among the wool kings, sinners from every diggings were among us. ⁴

A less subjective impression of the kind of people who came to Fiji in the Great Fiji Rush, and where they came from, can be gained from analysing a sample of sixty-seven settlers who arrived between 1868 and

1. L. Forbes, Two Years in Fiji, London, 1875, p. 276.

2. Ibid., p. 277.

3. British Consular Report, December 1869.

4. J. Gaggin, Among the Man Eaters, London, 1900, pp. 18-19.

1872 and whose personal backgrounds can be compared from the information available.¹

Sixteen of them were born in England, one in Wales, nine in Scotland, five in Ireland, five in Australia, four in New Zealand, two in India, and one each in Ceylon, the U.S.A. and St. Helena. The birthplaces of the remainder are unknown. The place of immediate origin was in most cases Australia or New Zealand, and many settlers had moved more than once between the two. Of the fifty-nine whose whereabouts before coming to Fiji can be ascertained, twenty-nine came from Australia, twenty-seven from New Zealand, one from the U.S.A. and one from India.

Only a few of them can have been wealthy men before they came to Fiji. G.H.H. Irvine and Joseph Glennie had been planters in Ceylon and Aumé Augustus Muen had been a Victorian squatter. James Borron came from a wealthy family, but in 1871 he was not yet wealthy himself. He had joined an elder brother as a squatter in Queensland, but had been ruined by drought in 1870. His first job in Fiji was that of plantation overseer on the island of Cicina, and it is unlikely that he brought such capital with him.²

-
1. See Appendix 2. Personal details of these settlers have been gained chiefly from obituary notices in the Fiji Times and Colonial newspapers, correspondence in the evidence of the Land Claims Commission and the Cyclopaedia of Fiji (Sydney 1907). It is therefore likely that the wealth and social status of this sample is above average however, as only the comparatively wealthy and successful became sufficiently important to warrant an obituary notice or a mention in the Cyclopaedia.
 2. Cyclopaedia of Fiji 1907, p. 297 and an interview with James Borron, his son, Suva, March 1966.

The rest relied mainly on their own talents and experience as a means to fortune. These can be judged from what is known of the previous occupations of fifty of them. They can be divided as follows:

Mining	14
Commerce	6
Tradesmen	5
Services	4
Lawyers	3
Schoolboys	3
Pastoralists	2
Planters	2
Seamen	2
Doctor	1
Surveyor	1
University Student	1
Photographer	1
Civil Servant	1
Policeman	1
Architect	1
Chemist	1
Politician	1.

But beneath the formality of occupational categories lay wide differences of achievement. Financial success had varied enormously from that of J.V. Farte who had been a wealthy grain and flour merchant at Ballarat during the gold rushes, to the experience of Alexander Eastgate who had migrated with his family from England to Australia in 1856 and had been on the move ever since. He had moved from Sydney to Melbourne, then to Otago, where he read the articles of F.J. Moss in the Otago Daily Times,¹ which played a large part in his

1. They were later published as a book, F.J. Moss, A Planter's Experience in Fiji, Auckland 1870.

eventual decision to come to Fiji.¹ But first he tried Auckland where, in 1870, he went bankrupt, summoned a meeting of his creditors which, it is alleged, he opened with the words 'Let us pray', and left for Levuka.² Between the two extremes were men like John Beaumont Giblin, born in Tasmania and educated at Scotch College, Melbourne, who 'took up commercial work but found it not to his liking' and came to Fiji in 1869; H.A. Treacy, invoice clerk to Dickson Bros., warehouseman of Melbourne, who came in 1870; and Simeon Lazarus, who emigrated from London to New Zealand in 1815, dug for gold at the Thames, speculated successfully in land and mining and set up as a general trader in Levuka in 1870.

The largest group, fourteen in number, came to Fiji after spending a considerable time digging for gold in Australia or New Zealand, and sometimes both. Two of these had some education though none had much. R.L. Holmes, for example, had spent only a year at the University of Dublin before migrating to Victoria in 1852. He left for New Zealand in 1859 and gained employment 'in government positions' before coming to Fiji in 1869. The rest were men who had no academic distinction and little wealth, like Thomas Fenton, who was

1. Cyclopaedia of Fiji, p. 265.

2. J. Gaggin in Among the Man Eaters refers to a member of the Cakobau parliament who had 'in another colony, opened a meeting of his creditors with prayer'. In February 1966 I found a copy of Gaggin's book on the island of Munia in the library of the present owner Mrs. Veikuna. Her father, H. Steinmetz, who reached Fiji in 1850, had known Eastgate personally and had identified him in a pencilled marginal note.

born in Staffordshire in 1837 and arrived in Australia in 1856. He went to the Owens goldfield and then in 1863 to Tuapeka, New Zealand, where he stayed for about six years, and came to Fiji in 1869.

The average age of the whole sample in 1870 was twenty-seven, and only fourteen were married when they arrived. If they truly represent their peers it seems that Fiji was settled by young restless men of no great wealth who had already crowded a varied colonial experience into their short lives. Coming as they did from the slightly older frontier societies of Australia and New Zealand, they saw themselves as participants in what English-speaking people had come to regard as a process of continuous expansion which had been going on since the beginning of the century, and thought it their destiny to bring those 'blessings of civilisation' which already held sway over the former wilderness of America, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand to the last stronghold of barbarism, the Pacific Islands. But unlike the more organised societies which they sought to emulate, the Fiji settlers had no first fleet, four ships, or great trek to look back upon. Fiji was the cultural terminus of a quarter of a century of disorderly migration, chiefly by young men willing to risk much to make a quick fortune, who had spent their lives trying to do so, and who so far had failed.

The collective culture which the settlers shared was a product of the historical experience of the previous two generations from which they came, and this meant that they were representatives of

the British Empire. In the opinion of the editor of the Fiji Times

Fiji may almost be termed an offshoot from the
mother of empires.¹

J.B. Thurston, who arrived in Fiji in 1865 and succeeded Captain Henry Jones at the British Consulate in Levuka, eventually settled on the island of Taveuni in 1870. He reveals the light in which he saw himself and his contemporaries in a letter to his friend Captain Hope of H.M.S. Brisk. 'We have the honour', he wrote 'of being, despite the rejection of our interests by H.M. present government, the most outer or remote British settlement in the world.'²

But on to the imperial tradition of Britain had been grafted particular colonial experience. The bonds the settlers felt with the colonies they had recently left were still strong. News of floods on the Hawkesbury river in New South Wales was accompanied by an appeal for charity: 'Could not we, with our splendid crops of cotton this season, contribute somewhat to relieve the distress of our fellow-colonists?'³ asked the Fiji Times. Their civilization, and the civilization which they sought to establish in the Pacific, was dependent on its colonial source of supply.

1. F.I., 12 November, 1870.

2. J.B. Thurston to Capt. C.W. Hope, 6 September 1871. (Letters Journals of Capt. Hope of H.M.S. Brisk).

3. F.I., 4 June 1870.

with the exception of timber and a few American goods we obtain all our supplies from the Sydney market. Our slaves (as the world in general seems to term the labourers on Fijian plantations) wear prints from the George St. warehouses, clear the ground with knives and axes obtained from the mother colony, and all the grog and beer with which we sustain our spirits in this enervating climate comes from the same source.¹

Civilisation meant the material culture of colonial society, and Fiji was seen as the base from which civilisation would advance to the conquest of the rest of the South Pacific, indeed there seemed something inevitable about it. Thurston reported, after returning from a labour cruise,

During my late trip I have felt more than ever I did before the wonderful permeating force of the British language and commercial enterprise ... Manchester and Birmingham goods are in the possession of almost everybody. The ... stone age is disappearing at an astonishing rate.²

In Tonga, in the other direction from Fiji, settlement was retarded because Tongans were forbidden to sell land and it could only be leased, but in the opinion of one settler, the situation could not last, 'but with all their absurd restrictions', he wrote:

They will find their efforts to stay the tide of immigration useless and once the labour question is settled ... the Anglo-Australian race will settle and find a living in the Friendly Islands, in spite of all the laws passed by Kings and Chiefs, backed by interested advisers.³

1. F.I., 12 November 1870.

2. Thurston to Hope, 6 September 1871, Hope Journals.

3. Letter by 'An Unfortunate Settler', F.I., 22 October 1870.

The inevitable partner of an identification of British and Colonial material culture with civilisation was racialism, and this too flourished in a local colonial form. Empirical observation, especially in Australia, had led to the belief in a general law of nature which decreed that dark-skinned races were destined to die out when confronted with European settlement and material culture and that therefore, in Fiji:

The native population is doomed to the melancholy fate of [all] the aboriginal inhabitants of those countries where the sons of Japeth have settled.

Social Darwinism came to Australia in time to lend support to the conviction of racial superiority and superior destiny which was there already, and as in contemporary Australia, Darwinism, and its supposed implications were subjects of intense interest among settlers.² The way in which this doctrine was actually applied varied according to the historical experience of the settlers. One settler pointed to the resemblance between Fiji in 1870 and New Zealand in 1845, the native inhabitants outwardly friendly and willing to sell land for muskets, but he foretold the time when they would regret it as the Maoris had done and try to recapture the land they had sold with the arms they had been given for it.³

1. H. Britton, Fiji in 1870, p. 73.

2. G.W.H. Markham records a Sunday morning discussion of Darwinism at a neighbour's plantation, 8 June 1872 (diary). It was also a subject of discussion in editorial and correspondence columns of the newspapers from time to time.

3. F.I., 26 February 1870.

G.W.H. Markham, who came from Christchurch, had no doubts about his racial superiority, and went on several punitive expeditions, but his attitude was strongly tempered with realism so that he was apt to reflect, when the excitement was over, on the inexpediency of causing antagonism when so heavily outnumbered.¹ Australians, on the other hand, whose experience had been with a people organised for survival in a harsh environment rather than war, saw no inexpediency in using in Fiji the methods they had learnt in Australia, and they expected to meet with similar success. When a British Consular clerk warned two ex-Victorian settlers against settling on land which he regarded as improperly purchased he was told:

We did not come to you for advice, as we are no babies ourselves. We had plenty of trouble with the natives in Victoria ... and I can tell you that a few bags of flour and a pound of arsenic go a long way to settle the native question.²

If it did come to a fight, then the settlers were convinced of their physical superiority as well as their intellectual and moral elevation above other races. The Fiji Times conceded, presumably from historical experience, that: 'An average New Zealander or Kaffir is about the equal [physically] of the average Englishman'. But it declared that: 'No other savage is even that ... a very large proportion of them are greatly inferior to any Western Man, and could not enter into any physical contest with them with any hope

1. E.G. Markham's diary, 27 August 1871.

2. Australasian, 24 November 1866.

of victory'.¹

These were the components of the settlers' own vision of their place in history; historic destiny, racial supremacy, immunity from other cultural influences, and above all, as befitted a people who traced their cultural legacy back to the birth of Calvin, the moral justification of all that this implied. Macaulay's vision of an intangible but imperishable empire had been transmuted by a variety of colonial experience and a common unsatisfied yearning for material wealth into something rather more pragmatic, though no less optimistic. H.S. Smith was an ex-Victorian solicitor who came to Fiji early in 1871. He was more commonly known along the beach as 'Daphne Smith', after a notorious case of kidnapping in which he was involved, but even heatched Macaulay's moral conviction when he gave the local version of the Imperial Idea to a Levuka audience:

I shall endeavour if elected as one of your representatives, to obtain such a Constitution as will secure to the white race that pre-eminence in the government of the country to which it is entitled by intellect and civilisation ... should we now succeed in establishing a government, the prosperity of these islands will be assured, and we shall gradually extend our dominion over the countless islands, whose useless luxuriance is awaiting the advent of our race, to be converted into beneficial fertility, and whose savage inhabitants we shall teach the divine religion of work.²

1. F.I., 9 December 1871.

2. F.I., 15 July 1871. Smith was part owner of the Daphne, a Melbourne vessel, licensed to carry 50 labourers from the New Hebrides to Queensland. She arrived in Levuka, however, in 1869, with 100 labourers, who were disposed of to Fiji planters for twice the amount per head which would have been received in Queensland. G. Palmer, Kidnapping in the South Seas, Edinburgh 1871, p. 111.

The settlers who found their way to Fiji from Australia and New Zealand in the period following the gold-rushes, came to a society and an environment which had already been subjected to considerable western influence. The sandalwood trade from about 1804 to 1812^{and} the beche-de-mer trade, which began in the 1820s and still flourished in the 1860s, had greatly modified the way people lived throughout the group.¹ As a result of these trades, Europeans had come to live in Fiji in considerable numbers and their permanent presence had greatly increased the power of the chiefs who protected them. They themselves had intermarried with the Fijians, and with women from other parts of the Pacific; and formed communities of their own inter-related families. In their way of life, their group loyalty and sense of mutual obligation, and in their form of leadership, there were points of similarity between the beachcomber communities and the tribes among which they lived, but in their attitudes to some forms of property, the trade and the land on which their livelihood depended, they were the pioneers of the west.

The political effect of trade and settlement was to increase the power of Bau, Rewa and Ovalau - especially Bau. It was even assumed, by Europeans, that by 1843, Cakobau the chief of Bau was the 'Sovereign

1. An exception was possibly the central highlands of Viti Levu, where contact had been slight and indirect. Henry Danford took up his residence at Nasesi, some distance inland, in 1842. L.C.C. R1202.

and Supreme Chief of the Pejean Islands'.¹

The early supremacy of Bau is not easy to account for in view of the fact that the earliest trading contacts were made not with Bau at all, but with Sma, at the western end of Vanua Levu where sandalwood grew abundantly.

It is likely that Bau owed its initial military supremacy to the easily accessible supplies of heavy timber in its immediate vicinity and the naval advantage which this gave to its chiefs. In particular, it made Bau the most attractive focus of Tongan interest in Fiji. Since the mid-eighteenth century it had been the custom for parties of Tongan warriors to visit Fiji and to give military aid in return for chiefly gifts which consisted of large sailing canoes.² The Tongans were willing to trade man-power, of which they had a superfluity, for the vessels which their homeland lacked the timber to build. The direct consequence of this long-standing alliance was the subjection of most of the islands in the Koro Sea to Bau, at the hands of Tongan war parties conveyed in Bauan canoes, and the continued ability of Bau to exact tribute. The indirect consequence was that Bau was bound to benefit from the effects of European commerce no matter where, in Fiji, its attention was directed. The coral reefs and islands of Lomaviti were a net set to catch the floats of western trade which

-
1. C.O. 209/32 Clayton to Stanley, 9 August 1844. Cit. A. Ross, New Zealand Aspirations in the South Pacific in the Nineteenth Century, Oxford 1964, p. 22.
 2. Basil Thomson, The Fijians: A study of the decay of custom, London 1908, p. 295.

chanced that way, and it was the chief of Bau who hauled it in.

The brig Eliza (Captain M. Correy) was a particularly important catch. She was an American vessel from Providence, Rhode Island, serving as a British privateer.¹ About the middle of 1807 she put in to the river Flats, and took on a cargo of 40,000 Spanish dollars, the property of local noblemen who were alarmed by Napoleon's activities in Europe and intended travelling in the Eliza to England. The crew mutinied, but the Captain was able to regain his ship, recruit a local crew, and sail for Sydney, which he reached on 9 February 1808.² The Captain then decided to try his luck in the Fijian sandalwood trade and left Sydney on 1 May 1808.³ The first landfall was Tonga, reached on 12 May.⁴ There she took on two men,

1. W.S. Cary, Wrecked in the Pacific: Experience of a Nantucket man, the sole survivor of crew of whaleship 'Congo' who lived for nine years among cannibals of South Pacific, Inquirer and Mirror Press, Nantucket 1928, p. 30.
2. E. Im Thurn and L.C. Wharton (eds.), The Journal of William Lockerby, p. 14 B. 4. C. Wall, in a paper given to the Fijian Society, 'Seachcombers', Transactions of the Fijian Society 1911, places the events in Buenos Aires early in 1808. He states that the decision to place the treasure in the Eliza was a response to the news that Napoleon had placed his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, on the Spanish throne, but this did not occur until March 1808, by which time the Eliza was in Sydney with the treasure aboard.
3. Patterson's Narrative, an appendix in Im Thurn and Wharton, op. cit., p. 74.
4. Patterson's Narrative, Im Thurn and Wharton, pp. 94-95. Most sailing ships bound for Fiji from Australia went by way of Tonga in the first half of the nineteenth century, before the charts of Wilkes became available. The route lay by way of the Three Kings, and sometimes the Bay of Islands, utilising the westerlies across the Tasman. There was then a good chance of reasonably fair winds to Tonga, and the trade winds from Tonga to Fiji. This meant that ships bound for Bau had to sail through the middle of the Fiji group.

John Hearsey or Husk, and Charles Savage, survivors of vessels which had called at Tonga and had been captured by the inhabitants.¹

The Eliza sailed safely through the reefs at Lau but on 20 June 1808 was wrecked on the Mothea reef to the south of the island of Nairai, an island in the Koro sea and subject to the political influence of Bau. John Hearsey was drowned in the wreck,² leaving Savage the only survivor with any beachcombing experience. With his knowledge of Fijian affairs and the ability to make himself understood, he crossed to the mainland of Viti Levu, and made his way to Bau, bringing a number of muskets, some Spanish dollars, and some gunpowder, saved from the wreck.

More important perhaps than the arrival of Savage at Bau with his muskets was the long-term effect of the wreck at Nairai. Thirty-four thousand dollars had been taken off by the survivors who had been forced to give them up to the people of Nairai, who though ignorant of

1. Charles Savage was to play an important role in Fiji. His antecedents are obscure. Thomas Williams believed that he was an escaped convict from New South Wales, which is compatible with his presence in Tonga in 1808 but unlikely if he was a Swede, as most writers have claimed. Eagleston however, says that he was English (see J.H. Eagleston, 'The Voyage of the Peru' (typescript of original), p. 44) which is also compatible with convict origins. There is a curious parallel between the actual events of the life of Charles Savage, and the story told by Oliver Brown to E.J. Turpin about the arrival of 'Paddy Connor' in Fiji; see E.J. Turpin, *Narratives* (typescript), p. 119 ff, and also with the story told by H. Danford to the Land Claims Commission, about his arrival in Fiji by canoe from Tonga in 1826 (L.C.C. K1202). A close comparison of these accounts, though irrelevant to this study, would be an interesting contribution to early Fijian history.

2. In Thurn and Wharton, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

their value, liked their appearance. The other four thousand remained in the wreck. It was an attractive prospect for enterprising seamen.

Three of the survivors set off from Nairai in a small canoe for Bau where they hoped to gain assistance for the remainder who stayed on the island. They contacted several ships from New South Wales and the United States, as the sandalwood trade was at its height.¹ The news of the Eliza's treasure was the beginning of a beachcomber boom from which Bau derived the ultimate benefit. Peter Dillon who visited Fiji for the second time in 1813 wrote that:

The seamen aboard these vessels became allured by the report of so many dollars being on shore at the neighbouring islands. With a view to enriching themselves, some deserted, and others were regularly discharged by their commanders and proceeded to the field of wealth. Some of these men, with the few dollars then procured, bought firearms and gunpowder, with which they rendered important assistance to the king of the neighbouring island of Bau, and were on that account thought highly of by the islanders from among whom they procured wives and lived very comfortably.²

Information about this first company of beachcomber-warriors is scanty.

-
1. Ships at Bau at this time included Jenny, the Elisabeth and the Mercurite, see Im Thurn and Wharton, p. 111.
 2. P. Dillon, Narrative and successful result of a Voyage in the South Seas, performed by order of the Government of British India to ascertain the actual fate of La Perouse's Expedition interspersed with accounts of the religion, manners, customs, and cannibal practices of the South Sea Islanders (2 Vols., London 1829), Vol. I, pp. 4-5.

Their numbers were reported to have reached a maximum of thirty,¹ all living at Bau under the leadership of Charles Savage. When not engaged in military duties, they found the sandalwood trade a rewarding alternative source of wealth, and it is likely that if there had been more sandalwood Bau would have eventually have proved a more attractive place of residence than Bau. As it was, Bau retained them until the sandalwood trade was in rapid decline. Dillon records how the captain of the Hunter gained the services of the white men living at Bau and:

... employed them to work in the ship's boats, for which they were paid at the rate of £4 per month, in cutlery, glass beads, ironmongery etc., at a fixed price, and to return to Bau when the ship was prepared to proceed on her voyage.²

It was in the attempt to recover some of these men from the service of Tui Bau that Charles Savage was killed at Dillon's rock on 6 September 1813. These first settlers were seafaring men of various nationalities. They stayed in Fiji, not because they wished to convert its people to new beliefs, or to change its social forms, but because they liked it as it was, or at least preferred it to the life they had known in the ship's focs'le. What changes they wrought in native society occurred without premeditation, and the changes they made in their own lives

1. J.H. Eagleston Day Books, A.N.U.A. 97a. See 'Note on Sources'.

2. Dillon, op. cit., p. 7.

were made in the interests of survival.¹

If there had ever been a chance that ultimately, Bua, and not Bau, would become the leading chiefdom in Fiji, it was destroyed by the discovery in 1803 of a Chinese market for beche-de-mer, the black sea-slug which lives in the shallow waters of coral reefs.² The first cargo of beche-de-mer to reach China from Fiji was collected by the Hunter (Captain Robson) in 1813. The chart of the Fiji group (Appendix I) reveals the reason why the beche-de-mer trade augmented the already great power of Bau. It is placed in the centre of a great mass of reefs stretching down the whole eastern side of Viti Levu and extending ten miles into the ocean and joining with the reefs surrounding the island of Ovalau. It was on Kaba point on the southern end of this great area of shallows that Captain Robson set up the first collecting depot for beche-de-mer, about ten miles south east of the island of Bau, on whose chief he depended for assistance and who gained the Hunter's cargo of ironware and muskets in return.³ The Roscoe, an American ship, obtained a cargo from the vicinity of Bua in 1822, but for the next ten years, the trade was concentrated on the south and east coasts of Viti Levu.

-
1. See H. Maude, 'Beachcombers and Castaways', Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 73, No. 3, September 1964.
 2. Flinders met a fleet of 60 Malay beche-de-mer vessels off northern Australia in 1803. R.G. Ward, 'The Pacific beche-de-mer trade and its consequences, with special reference to Fiji' (unpublished paper 1967), p. 7. I am grateful to Professor Ward for allowing me to have a copy of this paper.
 3. R.G. Ward, op. cit., p. 11.

The first group of beachcombers had by this time almost all been killed, and it is alleged that only one of them, Paddy Connel, survived.¹ He was joined, however, in 1824, by the crew of the Laurico, a Spanish vessel from Manila, whose crew mutinied at Viria and delivered the ship and all she contained into Fijian hands.² By 1831 a rush had set in and, as R.G. Ward has written, 'what pork did for Tahiti, beche-de-mer did for Fiji'.³ In both cases chiefs who had already gained an advantage over their neighbours were able to satisfy the security requirements and provide the cargoes of visiting traders, and a small advantage became permanent dominance.

Sandalwood traders had seldom brought firearms as part of their 'trade', most muskets introduced being those from wrecks. Beachcombers had been in demand to service them and to fire them rather than to provide them. Bau, by the 1820s, was accustomed to firearms, and unlike Dua, at the beginning of the century, would accept nothing less. Captain J.H. Eagleston, who visited Fiji for many cargoes of beche-de-mer, records the rate of exchange at twelve piculs⁴ for a musket or a keg of gun powder, five piculs for a pistol, two piculs

1. See p. 48-49 below.

2. R.G. Ward, op. cit., p. 12. Some of the mutineers were later deported to Manila in the ship Clay.

3. R.G. Ward, op. cit., p. 23.

4. A picul was a keg of dried beche-de-mer with a net weight of 133½ lbs.

for an axe.¹ The trade involved elaborate labour arrangements. The fishing was done by divers operating from their own canoes, who then brought their catch ashore to be dried. After an initial attempt at sun-drying, smoke-drying became the universal method.² A large hut was built especially for the purpose containing a double raised platform, the 'batters' over a trench running the whole length of the hut in which a slow fire was kept burning continually. The fire alone required the labour of fifty to sixty people, divided into watches so that fifteen at a time were always in attendance. They, like the divers, were not paid directly, but through the chief, who was paid for the product of the operation. It required half a cord of firewood to cure one picul of bache-de-mer and this too was purchased from the chiefs at the rate of twenty cords for a musket.³

In the early 1830s, when the animals were still plentiful, it took as much as six or seven months to fill a ship, and the scale of operations and the numbers of people involved justified Eagleston's description of 'our little city'.⁴ Success depended not only on a

-
1. J.H. Eagleston, 'The Voyage of the Peru', 23 June 1831, A.N.U.M.F. 97a. See 'Note on Sources'.
 2. The first smoke-dried cargo was prepared by the Spanish vessel, the Laurica. The Captain of the Magana engaged one of the crew, who had remained ashore, to demonstrate the technique and supervise operations, in 1824. R.G. Ward, op. cit., p.12
 3. T. Wilkes, Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition in the years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842 (5 Vols. & an Atlas) (London 1845), Vol. III, p. 219.
 4. J.H. Eagleston, 'The Voyage of the Peru', p. 11.

steady supply of labour but on security. A formal agreement with a powerful chief, sometimes involving the taking of an important member of the chief's family on board the ship as a hostage, was an essential precaution.

Eagleston describes his reception at Bau on 10 June 1831, when he opened the proceedings by presenting a whale's tooth:

It was received by the speaker who made quite a speech, bidding us welcome to the island, and hoped we would be successful in obtaining the articles wanted ... and hoped that we would bring them plenty of muskets, powder, lead etc.

Between 1824 and 1834 Ward calculates that well over 5000 firearms were introduced into Fiji, and as many again between 1842 and 1850. The largest share of this went to the chiefs who could provide the greatest security to visitors and they were those who were well armed already. Minor chiefs found it more and more difficult to resist the demands of chiefs from more populous islands and they in turn were forced to recognise the supremacy of Bau. This magnetism of power applied to European settlers as well as to firearms. Beachcombers could keep muskets in working order, and they could also act as interpreters and pilots. A visiting trader was much more likely to commence operations where there were already a few Europeans living in safety, than to take a chance with an unknown chief. William Cary, who was wrecked on Vatoa, in southern Lau, in 1825, soon found

1. J.H. Eagleston, 'The Voyage of the Peru', p. 287.

himself kidnapped by the Tui Nayau from Lakaba, who was in turn forced to relinquish him to Bau. The chief of Bau told Cary that:

He was the father to all white people who came to stop with him, and so long as I was under his protection, no one would molest me.¹

So Cary reluctantly agreed to join Bau, in spite of the obligation he felt towards the 'King of Lachember' for his hospitality. Later, he describes the result of superior fire-power on the part of Bau, in an expedition against Koro:

Our army was composed of about 4000 warriors of whom about 100 had muskets ... the enemy attacked us with arrows and showers of stones. We then opened fire with the muskets, which frightened them so that they made offers of peace, offering all their whales' teeth and the chief's daughter.²

The offer was refused, and the Bauan forces entered the town and killed forty of the inhabitants. Then they took six women prisoners and removed the bodies for a feast.

Cary repeatedly wished to leave the service of Bau, but when he wished to make contact with a ship at Bau he says:

The king told me I must come back and not go in the ship, but tell the captain to come and trade with him for beche-de-mer, all of which I readily promised.³

It was not without justification that by 1831 Tanoa, the chief of Bau,

1. W. Cary, Wrecked in the Pacific, p. 30.

2. W. Cary, Ibid., pp. 31-32.

3. W. Cary, Ibid., p. 44.

was accorded the title of 'King of all the Feejees' and the ceremony of a five gun salute by visiting traders,¹ but by then the trade had entered a new phase which was eventually to result in a more even distribution of power between the leading chiefs.

Initially, each voyage had been an individual speculation. Captains were able to fill their ships within a few months by direct negotiation with a single chief, and usually the profits were large. Captain Egleston for example, took on an assorted cargo of 'a great variety of notions from muskets to the smallest size beads, and invoice cost just \$3000'. The profits of this particular voyage, after seven months trading, were \$25000.² From 1831, however, supplies of beche-de-mer were becoming depleted. Profits were smaller, because the time taken to fill the ship was longer. This was something regretted just as much by the Fijians, and the temptation to secure the contents of a ship by capturing it or plundering it when it was wrecked grew correspondingly greater. Five vessels, the Glida, Charles Bonnet, Ravn, Mascara and Aimable Josephine were either wrecked and looted or captured between 1830 and 1834.

The results were far-reaching. Each wreck contributed to the European population in the group, and eventually to the growth of a part-European community. The founders of some of the largest part-

1. J.H. Egleston, op. cit., p. 285 (9 June 1831).

2. C. Wilkes, op. cit., p. 224.

European families in Fiji at present, Magouns, Dispensers, Drivers, Connors and others, first stepped ashore in these years.

The difficulty experienced in obtaining cargoes rapidly meant that captains began to seek for other employment for their ships while the cargo was being collected. In some cases, several shore stations were set up, in widely scattered parts of the group such as Kadavu and the Macuata coast. This contributed to the rise in wealth and power of Tui Cakau in Vanna Levu, and smaller chiefs like Tui Dreketi of Rewa and Tui Lovata of Ovalau. It also provided the beachcombers and their part-European offspring with employment; as pilots and interpreters and as the supervisors of operations on shore. Eagleston records how he made use of the fifteen-year-old son of Paddy Connell in 1831, 'as he would be a good boy for the shore party when curing fish'.¹

Another solution to the problem of scarcity was to seek for other cargoes altogether. Eagleston, for example, put in a voyage from Fiji to Tahiti and back in 1834 for a load of 'tortoise shell, pearl shell, birds' nests, or anything of value'.² In the meantime, his predicament provided employment for beachcombers as the builders and sailors of small vessels which acted as tenders to visiting ships, bringing small quantities from outlying islands to the better known

1. J.H. Eagleston, *op. cit.*, p. 297 (30 July 1831).

2. J.H. Eagleston 'An Account of the Voyage of the ship Emerald', Extracts. See 'Notes on Sources'.

and therefore safer waters towards the centre of the group.

Eagleston was one of the first traders to make use of beachcomber services in this way. On 17 July 1834 he wrote to the owner of his ship, S.C. Phillips:

I mentioned to you before leaving home of the Whites residing at these Ids. having a small vessel under way [i.e. on the stocks] and that I should employ her if possible. She will be ready to launch on my return from Otahete and if I can obtain masts for her I shall put her in commission, while she is under my orders she will answer to the name of opposition. Walls I shall make for her out of some of the ship's old ones. I think of putting Mr. [Litch?] as skipper of her, and some of the owners as pilots.¹

Later accounts by Eagleston and Wallis,² and by official and naval visitors,³ all mention the vigorous activity within the group by small vessels built by members of the European community.

Shipbuilding required timber, and the builders needed to reside on the building site for extended periods of time. Builders therefore sought to make agreements with chiefs involving the exchange of trade goods in return for recognition of the right of permanent tenure.

Europeans involved in such transactions were often illiterate, and it

1. J.H. Eagleston Letters, A.N.U.M.F. 97b.
2. M. Wallis, Life in Feejee or, Five Years Among the Cannibals (by a Lady), Boston 1851, republished 1967, Greg Press Inc., Ridgewood, N.J.
3. J.E. Krakus, Journal of a Cruise among the Islands of the Western Pacific including the Feejees and others inhabited by the Polynesian Negro races, in Her Majesty's Ship Havannah (London 1853);
B. Seemann, Mission to Viti; Mrs. Smythe, Ten Months in Fiji.

was not until the establishment of the consulates that it was usual to execute a deed, or to include the right of inheritance by the children of the purchaser in the transaction.¹

Alienation of land on this basis was accelerated by the second period of intensive activity in the beche-de-mer trade which began with the arrival of the brig Gambia of Salem, in 1842,² and lasted until the mid-1860s. It was also encouraged by the development of coconut oil as an alternative or additional cargo as beche-de-mer grew scarce. The period 1842-65 saw a transition in both cases from individual speculative voyages to an established industry in which beachcombers played an increasingly large part as the managers of depots in which they stored cargoes purchased from the Fijians and from which they sold them to visiting ships.

One effect of the transition from speculation to industry was the wider distribution of European goods throughout the group. Thomas C. Gunn, a resident trader, was a prominent participant in the process. He established a beche-de-mer station on the island of Nukunibati in Natowa Bay in 1846, and also owned two vessels, the Pilot and the Dragon, on which he employed William Cuzack and Oliver Brown as skippers.

1. An example of this kind of agreement is the case of William Serwick, an American Negro who claimed to have arrived in Fiji 'before Pritchard' i.e. before 1838. He was employed by Fred Hennings on the island of Moturiki as a boat builder, and was fortunate enough to be working on a boat when the island was visited by Cakobau, who then employed him to build a vessel, the Tai Nalouai, for him on the island of Koro. Serwick claimed the land on which the vessel was built, as payment for it. (L.S.G. 2643)

2. R.G. Ward, op. cit., p. 17. There had been a gap in trading activity since 1835, broken only by the visits of Eggleston and the Sir David Ogilby from New South Wales.

In 1856 he placed Brown in charge of the depot on Nukubati and also established a general store on behalf of Hert Brothers of Sydney with a stock worth £2000 to £3000.¹ The following March he reported on the growing opportunities for commerce in Fiji in a letter which he wrote in the cabin of the Dragon anchored at Bau:

The islands seem to me to be undergoing a very great change, the most remote parts are now renouncing heathenism and embracing nominal christianity; there is a very large demand for cloth of all kinds, and places that never had anything to sell are now offering to make oil and fish beche-de-mer in order to obtain white man's trade.²

Economic development brought about important changes in the life of the beachcomber. At the beginning of the period of transition, there were still a few beachcombers who fitted the accepted definition: 'persons who ... temporarily or permanently detached from one group, enter the web of social relations that constitute another society, and come under the influence of its customs, ideas and values to a greater or lesser degree'.³

Faddy Connel, for example, was the first permanent European resident on the Rewa, possibly a survivor from the Bauan warriors of

1. L.C.C. R832.

2. Thomas G. Dunn to B.E. West, 16 March 1857. A.N.U. M.F. 97a.

3. A. Irving Mallowell, 'American Indians White and Black: the phenomenon of transculturalisation', Current Anthropology IV 519-531. This is the definition accepted by H.E. Mauds in 'Beachcombers and Castaways', J.P.S., Vol. 73, No. 3.

the sandalwood boom, since descriptions by Cary who was in Fiji in 1829 and Cheever (1834) correspond closely with that of Wilkes.¹ Connel's own stories about his origin and arrival in Fiji cannot all be true. He told one to Wilkes, and another quite different one to E.J. Turpin.² Wilkes records his residence at the court of Bau in 1840, living by telling stories and supplied with a hundred wives:

He appeared perfectly contented, and was more readily allied to a savage in feeling and taste than any other white man I met with during the cruise.³

Possibly the two best-known beachcombers in the Pacific were 'Cannibal Jack', whose real name was William Diaper, and Henry Danford, usually known as 'Harry the Jew'. Diaper was perhaps the most prolific writer of all the beachcombers - though only a small proportion of his work survives - and Danford the subject of a good deal of contemporary comment.

Diaper reached Fiji in 1840 and settled first at Somo Somo, Taveuni, and then, after forming a war party with Bonavidego, the Vui Macuata, he settled with him at Natewa Bay. There he collected

1. Cary, after commenting on the followers of Charley Savage, says 'They are now all dead but one, Old Barry'. This was in 1825. Another account, written in 1834, mentions a settler who had been in Fiji thirty-five years. 'He is generally known as Old Barry, he has a beard of inordinate length and altogether looks like one of the first settlers.' Eagleston Day Books, May 1834 (A.N.U. M.F. 97a). (This was apparently written by Eagleston's first mate, Cheever.) Wilkes, visiting Fiji in 1840, refers to Paddy Connel and says 'the natives call him Barry (Vol. III, p. 68).

2. E.J. Turpin, 'Narratives and Diary'. See 'Notes on Sources'.

3. Wilkes, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 232.

tortoise shell until 1843 when he left for Manila to sell it. In 1844 he was back again, this time at Bau, making bullets, and then at Suva where he saved timber. He offended Cakobau in some way and was forced to flee, first to Lau, where he worked for the missionary Richard Birdsell Lyth, at Lakeba, and eventually to Tonga, where he traded in pigs.¹

Unlike William Diaper, J.E. Danford was almost illiterate. His normal practice was to place his mark on documents requiring attestation, though on one occasion he produced the hesitant signature below.



The earliest literary reference to him occurs in an article written in 1857, which describes him as 'a small, thin, spare man, apparently in very ill-health from the absence of those comforts which an Englishman's constitution demands'.² Other accounts of Danford are given by

-
1. From C. Legge, 'William Diaper': A biographical sketch, Journal of Pacific History, Vol. I, 1966. Legge identifies the author of 'Cannibal Jack' as the author of 'Jackson's Narrative' an appendix to J.E. Erskine, Journal of a Cruise
 2. J.D. Macdonald (Assistant Surgeon of H.M.S. Herald Captain E.W. Denham). Proceedings of the Expedition for the Exploration of the Rewa River and its Tributaries in Na Viti Levu, Fiji Islands, Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. XXVII, 1857, pp. 252.

Seemann and Baythe, while his own account of himself appears in his evidence before the Land Claims Commission of 14 February 1873.¹ From these sources it appears that he was born in London and was repeatedly apprenticed, but failing to agree with his employers he took to the sea. He left an unidentified vessel in Tonga and came from there to Fiji in a canoe in 1826. He also claimed to have been in Melbourne, though he did not say when, and to have settled at Namosi in 1842, where he was 'formally adopted into the Daka Daka tribe'. He occupied land at Raiwagu on the Navua river in 1859 and eventually purchased it on 10 January 1861, the price being, as he put it, 'for \$100 and 22 years service'.²

The factor which Coanai, Diaper and Danford had in common was their personal attachment to powerful chiefs upon whom they depended for a livelihood. By the middle of the century, the process of economic change had made room for a new kind of beachcomber-trader who had little to do, directly, with powerful chiefs, and lived by supplying the needs of small Fijian communities and visiting traders. By 1865 they had become a numerous and permanent part of the European population. The Consul, Captain H. Jones V.C., obviously enjoyed writing about them:

1. L.C.C. R1202.

2. L.C.C. R1021.

About one half of the entire number are seafaring men who in the generality of cases have deserted from the trading vessels that frequently touch at these islands. They gain their livelihood by acting as local agents for the head traders at Levuka, from whom they receive calico and hardware to exchange with the natives for beche-de-mer, tortoise-shell, and coconut oil. Sailing in their small boats round the shores of the different islands, and stopping wherever there is a prospect of successful trade, this indolent life with its freedom from care or hardship is especially attractive to men of this class... their thriftless habits and habitual intemperance prevents them from making money, and as there is little probability of their suffering from want in these islands they feel less disposed to deprive themselves of any enjoyment which they possess the means of gratifying.¹

In this category could be included Jack Macomber, a resident trader on Namuka island in 1849, whose skull was fractured, at some low point in local race-relations, by a Fijian club. He was assumed to be dead, but was nursed back to health by a number of women, one of whom he eventually married. Macomber later became owner of Luncala island off the northern tip of Taveuni where, in 1871, Edwin Turpin worked for him as an overseer. 'Though a confirmed drunkard', says Turpin, 'he was always kind to the Fijian women who had saved his life.'² An early neighbour of Macomber was William Seddoes, the colourful Jack-of-all-trades of Taveuni, blacksmith, beche-de-mer trader, land speculator, and eventually planter. On 8 January Edwin Turpin became his inadvertent ebituarist:

1. C.L., Jones to Sect. of State for Foreign Affairs, 24 November 1865.

2. E.J. Turpin, *op. cit.*, p. 54. The woman Macomber married was in fact a part-European called Lydia Valentine, daughter of another trader - beachcomber William Valentine, who set up a beche-de-mer station at Vuna point, Taveuni, in 1841.

It is a beautiful day, the 'Jacko' arrived from Lava Lava ... bringing the intelligence of the death of William Seddoes, alias The Blacksmith; 'Matai in Lavesama' a man of iron constitution, had been a prize fighter in California, was a remarkably good mechanic and could work the chiefs in this group as well as any white - a great blackguard and frightful drinker he had, like many more of his stamp, redeeming qualities, one of which was charity. He died ... on Jany 3rd of Dalarius Tremens; Macomber declares he will never drink again.

The position of such men as the servants of two cultures with two different attitudes to property is clearly illustrated by the case of John Stark. He conformed with Consul Jones's later description of seafaring men; as he told the Land Claims Commission in 1878 he 'used to go all over the group and mixed with the people trading', while one of the Commissioners noted solemnly that 'witness prefers expressing himself in Fijian'.² In 1846 Stark came to the Macuata coast and set up a depot for the collection of beche-de-mer. Like many of his kind, his 'purchase' of land was an informal consequence of his trading activities. To begin with he simply came to an arrangement with the people of the village of Veisego in the same way as the captains of ships had done in the 1830s, only on a smaller scale. It was one of several depots, and Stark occupied himself sailing from one to another collecting cargo from them for visiting ships. One of his visits to Veisego, in 1848, coincided with an attack on the village

1. E.J. Turpin 'Diary and Narratives', p. 12.

2. L.C.C. R1050. General evidence on the Yasawas.

by an inland tribe. Stark's description of events was colourful:

I came into the town the day before the affair commenced. They were out of ammunition and I supplied them with a 25lb. keg of cartridges and gave them cloth besides with which to get up flash.¹ I fought myself - a ball went through my hat. The mountaineers were repulsed. When the fight was over the Veisago people acknowledged me as a chief for having saved the town - was told to go into the town and levy pigs or anything I required. A small piece of land was also given me.²

The way in which the role of trader was kept compatible with that of beachcomber in this period is shown by the conflict of evidence in the subsequent case. Stark, speaking from the vantage point of a Crown Colony in 1878, claimed to have considered, in 1848, that he had bought the land for the keg of cartridges and his military services, but the Fijian point of view was that he had merely fulfilled the communal obligations incumbent upon residents, and could derive no permanent individual advantage from having done so. Kotune, a Fijian witness, said:

Had it not been for that powder we could not have driven them back. We did not give him any land on account of that assistance. We considered we had a right to ask him for powder as he was among us fishing 'beche-de-mer' he had been two seasons here when he gave us assistance in the war.³

-
1. The inclusion of great quantities of cloth in lists of trade which otherwise consists of implements of war may be explained by this reference. The people did not wear it, but put it in their muskets so that the flames would terrify the enemy.
 2. L.C.C. 21156.
 3. Ibid.

Other witnesses, however, affirmed that Stark was still regarded as the owner of the land in the 1860s, and it was only because the boundaries were not clearly defined and a deed was lacking that the claim was disallowed. In the period when Stark played a role which was useful both to visiting traders and to the people of Veisege, that is, until the mid 1860s, John Stark was the owner.

Charlie Pickering was a particularly interesting beachcomber who succeeded in making the transition from courtier-beachcomber to trader, and yet retained his earlier style of living. He was far from average, yet in some ways he was typical of his class and time. He was born in Sydney in 1814¹ and probably arrived in Fiji in the early 1840s, eventually settling on Laucala island at the mouth of the Rewa. He soon gained a reputation for obstreperous behaviour. Mrs. Wallis records the abduction of a young girl from the household of a chief by Pickering 'the white man of Rewa' in 1845, and the subsequent death of an innocent man, Wilson, at the hands of the chief while Pickering escaped the blame.² Eyskine, who visited Rewa in 1849 had already been told of Pickering before leaving Sydney as 'the perpetrator of many enormities - Thakombau [i.e. Cakobau] had hinted since that his deportation would be a great service to the

1. Australasian, 17 November 1866.

2. M. Wallis, Life in Feejee (by a lady), pp. 45-47.

islands'.¹

But beyond the fact that Pickering flaunted the fact of his having numerous wives and children in front of the missionaries, Erskine could find no reason why he should be deported.² It is easy to understand the missionaries' displeasure. E.J. Turpin claimed to have heard from Pickering the story of a Wesleyan Visitor to the Fijian mission, who called at the Pickering household and was sufficiently inquisitive to desire to know who all the children of the establishment belonged to. Pickering replied that they were all the part-European children of missionaries who paid him to look after them. It took the missionary body, assembled in Levuka by the Visitor, some time to refute the scandal.³

Erskine alleges that he 'was constantly, for his own ends, stirring up enmity between the white residents and the natives'⁴ and that he was shunned by the rest of the white community. He must have been an easy man to forgive, however, for it was the sanctuary given to him by the Europeans of Levuka in 1843 which caused Cakobau's displeasure and led to their temporary removal to Solvu.⁵

1. J.E. Erskine, Journal of a Cruise . . ., p. 195.

2. Ibid., pp. 196-197.

3. E.J. Turpin, 'Diary and Narratives', pp. 45-46.

4. Erskine, op. cit., p. 196.

5. Ibid., p. 174; see below p. 71.

A detailed account of his style of living was published in the Australasian by a visitor who encountered Pickering for the first time in 1860, when he was living in a single-roomed house 'a quarter of an acre in extent', used 'for all domestic purposes'. There were a large number of women, some Fijian, some Tongan, and his most recent acquisition, a part-European. He told visitors that he had acquired the status of a Fijian chief and that he had acquired proprietary rights over land in various parts of the group through his marriages.

... and at times he is so overflowing with love and kindness that he is prepared to let you pick out for yourself an island in any part you like.

Eating was a more or less continuous process:

First Pickering and his white guests are served. When they leave the table, and the host has said, briefly, 'Thank God', the half-castes fall in, then the women, then outside to the fowls and dogs.

Dress varied according to the mood of the moment 'Jolly old Pickering had only a shirt on'.²

Guests were told that the plentiful supply of food on his table was tribute brought to him by his many loyal subjects, but in fact the basis of his wealth seems to have been successful trade, chiefly in coconut oil. Rewa roads were a secure anchorage and Laucala was excellently placed as an entrepot for the Rewa delta. The diary of W. Lomborg, a rival trader in the same area, shows how heartbreaking

1. Australasian, 17 November 1866.

2. Ibid.

a task it was to compete with Charlie Pickering. After a long tale of increasing poverty during the first half of 1862 he wrote on

17 July:

I am not getting a single drop of oil now
the natives are bringing it all to Charlie
I don't know the reason.

25th

Charlie is all the go now the natives don't
come near me at all with any oil I wish the
vessel would come this is awful tiresome work.¹

Pickering found it to his advantage as a trader to live as a Fijian, but as rumours of annexation reached his ears in 1860 he acted with an eye to the future in a British Colony by beginning to purchase land in a formal manner. He entered into partnership with Robert Sherston Swanston who arrived in Fiji in either 1856 or 1857.² Together they purchased Davuilevu on the Rewa in 1860, and Pickering made at least one other purchase on his own account in 1861.³ Swanston's evidence was that:

I purchased a piece of land in 1860 with C. Pickering
from the natives of Davui Levu. I bought it because
I wanted the land. It was a land speculation
This was almost the first piece of land of any extent
bought in Fiji.⁴

-
1. Diary of W. Lomborg, Mitchell Library.
 2. Swanston gives both dates at various times, but in evidence given to the Land Claims Commission, says 'resided at Levuka for the first six months after coming to Fiji in 1856'. L.C.C. R213.
 3. Vuni Vuni, L.C.C. R179. Swanston also joined with Brower, the American Consul who came with Swanston from Samoa, in purchasing the Island of Wakaya.
 4. L.C.C. R186.

For a land speculator, Pickering was an ideal partner because of his knowledge of the language and geography of the area and because of his standing with the local people. Swanston said:

Pickering had a great influence with the people. He lived like a native chief in all particulars, including polygamy. He was a Catholic.¹ Was on very good terms with Mr. Moore.² They were both from New South Wales.³

Catholic or not, Pickering got into trouble with the head of the Catholic mission in Levuka and in 1864 was writing to Consul Owen to apologise for his behaviour, whatever it was, which he put down to being 'under the influence of intoxicating liquors':

He begs to apologise ... and he writes that he felt so much ashamed of himself that he has taken the pledge before the Rev. Mr. Moore of Bau and intends for the future 'not to make a beast of himself again'.⁴

He died in July 1867,⁵ without making a will; it would have been a somewhat complicated document if he had.⁶

-
1. This conflicts somewhat with the evidence of the Rev. W. Waterhouse, 'He was one of the original sailor settlers. He was a man of his word, but not in good repute. Was not a member of the Wesleyan church or of any church. He would get drunk at times.' L.C.C. R186.
 2. The Rev. W. Marshall Moore, head of the Wesleyan mission in Fiji, described by J.S. Thurston as land speculator, planter, and labour trader.
 3. L.C.C. R136.
 4. G.L., Owen to Father Breheret, 25 February 1864.
 5. L.C.C. R179.
 6. The Fiji Weekly News and Planter's Journal, 5 September 1868 contains an advertisement for the sale of Pickering's intestate estate by Gtly Gudlip, auctioneer.

Pickering's success in furthering his economic advancement by means of the status he enjoyed among the Fijians affords a parallel with the history of the Europeans and part-European communities which grew up at the mouth of the Rewa, and at Levuka, from which offshoots were established on the island of Wakaya and at Waisumu on Vannu Levu. Pickering became a successful trader by assuming the role of a Fijian chief and by accepting the burden of the Fijian style of hospitality and obligation to his dependants. The beach towns were subject to similar pressures, and their response was analogous. As cohesive social units, composed of a number of inter-related families, and acknowledging a common leader, their pattern of obligations had considerable resemblance to those of the Fijian communities about them. Even in their ownership of land, individual titles seem to have been late rationalisations of the fact of previous communal use. Their conformity with the local situation gave them such security as they enjoyed and the ability to provide visiting traders, and later, settlers, with the variety of services they required, as ship-builders, pilots, interpreters and diplomats, and although many early settlers visited them only occasionally, they served as the cultural centres of a distinct community.

The two chief settlements of this kind were at the mouth of the Rewa, and at Levuka, on the island of Ovalau. The first of these was described by William Diaper, in the guise of Jackson, as it was in 1842, consisting of:

... several Europeans' houses, built after European fashion; most of them being mechanics or hand-craftsmen. They were sawing timber, building boats, making boxes, repairing muskets etc. Some of those sawing immediately left their work to conduct me into their house, and prepare me something to eat, it being customary with the Europeans that are naturalised, as it were, through their long abode in the Feejees, to be hospitable, a practise which they have adopted through the example of these savages.¹

The site of this settlement cannot be precisely defined, but it was probably on Laucala island² in which case their tenure of the land must have been informal. It was not until 1846, when J.B. Williams arrived to become the first American Consul, that an attempt was made to formalise the situation. Williams purchased Nukulau island, which stands three miles from shore in the middle of the main Rewa mouth, and also Laucala island. According to Danford, whose assistance was enlisted for the transaction, the purchase was made from Cakaunoto, chief of Rewa, who had adopted the name of Phillips, after S.C. Phillips, the Salem owner of Eagleston's ship, the Peru. Cakaunoto 'spoke English well, no interpreter was necessary in doing business with him. He spoke French too.'³

Williams lived in Nukulau until 4 July 1849, when he set fire to his house by firing muskets out of the windows in patriotic celebration.

-
1. J.E. Erskine, Journal of a Cruise..., p. 460.
 2. This was where Pickering lived, though at some distance from the settlement itself.
 3. L.C.C. R413. Cakaunoto had been taken as a young man as hostage aboard the Peru, the ship of Captain Eagleston, who gave him his name, and presumably he had spent some time aboard the Aimable Joséphine as well.

He then moved to Laucala island, two miles away, and stayed there until 1858, when he moved to Levuka.¹ On Laucala 'He laid out and sold allotments... and in time quite a little town made its appearance. There were some eight or ten families there.'² The description which Brower gave of this community to the Land Claims Commission points to a continuity of membership with that described by Jackson in 1842, in which case J.B. Williams must have been successful in persuading them to move on to his allotments in return for consular patronage, or simply to accept his title over the land on which they lived. Members of the settlement included the following 'at one time or another':

Thomas Ryder (carpenter),³ J. Wilson (sawyer),
 C. Rounds (trader), C. Pickering (trader), E. Hale
 (cooper), E. Heritage (trader), B. O'Hare, A. Baillie
 and wife, Wetherall and wife, Mr. and Mrs. Hobbs,
 two daughters and sons, James Dunn, (sawyer),
 G.R. Hart, Manuel Joy.⁴

It was a transitory community. Charles Rounds, for example, came to Fiji in 1851⁵, but only lived at Laucala for one year in 1856.⁶

-
1. I.W. Brower's evidence B.P.P. [C358a] 1883. In the meantime he had set up a United States commercial agency in Levuka in 1851 with David Whippy in charge [Danford's evidence L.C.C. R413].
 2. Brower's evidence B.P.P. [C358a] 1883.
 3. He was an American, and no relative of the Ryder brothers of Mago island, who came from Australia. Thomas Ryder mentions him specifically as a namesake.
 4. L.C.C. R413.
 5. Ibid.
 6. L.C.C. R490.

George Rodney Burt spent only six months there from October 1856, before moving on to Kadavu.¹ James Dunn, the sawyer, moved about from place to place on the Rewa, presumably to wherever timber was available, and eventually settled on the Navua river at Togunu. For part of the time, he was in partnership with Jimmy Dyer who, like John Stark and many other beachcombers, was able to make capital out of the needs of the Fijians and his own informal residence.² He was living on Toga island in the neck of the Rewa delta in 1855 when Rewa and Bau were at war. James Dunn, the sawyer, explained that,

The Toga tribe is a small one ... a kingdom under Rewa ... after Bau took Rewa do not know where they went to Heard from natives that Dyer was made a present of Toga island for hand work and labour Work means trade in Fiji. Labour means powder, guns, balls etc. and anything he could get for them.³

In contrast to the European settlement at the mouth of the Rewa, which owed its existence to its commercial advantages - its safe anchorage in Rewa roads, and its ability to act as an entrepot for the Rewa

1. L.C.C. R413.

2. It is possible to make a partial biographical reconstruction of Jimmy Dyer from the account of his brother Michael in the Cyclonadia of Fiji 1867, p. 278. Michael came to Fiji in 1871 to join his brother. The family came from Ireland, but left in 1843 for Ohio, then Chicago. Michael left Chicago for Melbourne in 1862 at the age of 21 and spent 5 years on the 'Jin Crow' goldfields and then 4 or 5 back in America before coming to Fiji. It seems likely that Jimmy left home and went to sea when the family moved from Ohio to Chicago. He was reputed to have been involved in putting the steamer Caroline over the Niagara Falls. Dunn says: 'was known in Fiji as a 'blower' - talked plenty had a good character among the natives'. They gave him the nickname of 'Jimmy Lasu Lasu' i.e. Jimmy the liar, but in spite of this 'They thought him a good, honest, upright man'. L.C.C. R400.

3. L.C.C. R400.

delta - Levuka appears at first sight to have none of these advantages. It is situated on the eastern side of Ovalau, an island only about six miles in diameter and about ten miles from the nearest point on the main island of Viti Levu. The island has a barrier reef, but opposite Levuka the gaps in it are wide and the anchorage is exposed. The strip of flat land on which the town is placed, between the sea and precipitous slopes rising abruptly to nearly two thousand feet, is only about two hundred yards wide. Its chief advantage seems to have been that it was the nearest anchorage to Bau which is both deep and easily accessible to a sailing ship without a pilot with local knowledge. The whole stretch of water between Bau and Ovalau is shallow and full of coral heads and reefs. These reefs, to whose colonies of sea slugs Bau owed its greatness, made it impossible for ocean-going sailing ships to reach Bau without a pilot. It was therefore much more use to Tanea, the chief of Bau, to have Europeans living in Levuka where they could provide a pilotage service, and thus maintain the supply of war materials, than to have them at Bau. The Tui Levuka was of course amenable, since he was thus enabled to protect himself against the Levoni people who lived in the interior of Ovalau, and to assert more independence of Bau than would otherwise have been possible.

The earliest mention of Levuka as a European community occurs in the log kept by J.H. Eagleston aboard the Bery. His entry for 6 June 1831 reads:

About this time a boat came alongside with five whitemen from Labouka a town on the east side of Ovalau.¹

and in 1834 he mentioned the settlement as:

... the chief residing place of the white men, there are now twelve belonging to the settlement there was formerly more but some of them were killed at Cantab,² and other places. A man named David Whippy is their chief, he is called by the natives 'Mutakin Bowe' or Ambassador. He has resided here 9 years and has of course a thorough knowledge of the language.³

The community proved itself equally useful to the ships which visited the group as it did to Bau. At least three small vessels were built between 1830 and 1835 at Levuka, the Jana, the Rob Roy and the Opposition, which acted as tenders to the traders, and Eagleston was able to get the services of the Levuka carpenters to re-caulk the decks of the Peru in December 1832.⁴ They were able to inform ships' captains of Fijian plans to capture their vessels on several occasions, and as monopolists, they were able to drive a hard, capitalistic bargain. Eagleston wrote on 20 March 1833, sending gifts to Whippy and 'George':⁵

-
1. J.H. Eagleston, 'The Voyage of the Peru', pp. 282-3. The residence of David Whippy at Levuka is mentioned by Cary, who was there in 1829, but at that time, Whippy's residence in Levuka was not permanent - he spent a considerable part of his time at Bau.
 2. Kadavu.
 3. J.H. Eagleston, 'An Account of the Voyage of the ship Emerald to the Fiji Islands 1833-36'. May 1834, A.S.U. 1797a. The earliest literary reference to David Whippy is in Cary's account, 'Wrecked in the Feejees' in which he says that Whippy, who came from his own town, told him that he had left the brig Galder thirteen months before, at Bau, to collect turtle shell, but that he had by then given up hope of her return. Wilkes, however, believed that Whippy had deserted from a ship commanded by his brother, and places the date of his arrival at 1822, not 1825.
 4. J.H. Eagleston, 'The Voyage of the Peru', p. 422.
 5. Possibly George Trask, an early Levuka settler, or Hunter, whom Eagleston mentions with approval without giving his first name.

... which I hope will be acceptable to you both as they come from one who has a good opinion of you... I am sorry that is not the case with those around you... you have around you a set of d....d rascals, without principle or truth in them. Give them the ship and cargo for what time they have been employed by me I believe they would not be satisfied, but would request to have shirt from my back to make up the balance.¹

After 1835, the beche-de-mer trade declined but Dumont D'Urville, who visited Levuka in October 1838, describes a community reminiscent of the Flickering household, yet multiplied, and giving promise of a future metropolitan character:

Les habitants paraissent doux et paisibles mais un peu importuns. Une poignée de blancs qui vit au milieu d'eux paraît leur faire la loi. Ils ne sont qu'une dizaine et ils ont pour eux seuls une quarantaine de femmes au milieu desquelles ils vivent dans l'oisiveté la plus honteuse; ... J'éprouve un véritable plaisir à penser que peut-être un jour, par les soins de ces quelques hommes à demi-civilisés et pour la plupart l'écume de notre société, les naivires trouveront à Levuka un excellent port de ravitaillement, si les nouveaux arrivants persistent à se jeter dans une voie de progrès et à se livrer à une vie plus active, qui semble leur promettre de vives jouissances achetées par peu de fatigues.²

After that, there is no more literary evidence about Levuka until the visit of Wilkes in 1840. He reported a well-conducted community of twelve 'who were all married to native women and generally had large families'.³ William Diaper, who happened to be in Levuka a year later,

1. Eagleston to Whippy, 20 March 1833. A.N.U. M.F. 97b.

2. Dumont D'Urville, Voyage au Pôle du Sud et dans l'Océanie sur la corvettes L'Astrolabe et la Zélée Exécuté par ordre du Roi pendant des années 1837-1838-1839-1840, Histoire du Voyage, Paris 1842 (10 vols.), Tome Quatrième, pp. 219, 229.

3. F. Wilkes, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 40.

told Erskine there had been about twenty-five white men:

Mostly Americans, who had left beche-de-mer vessels, residing, having at that time their four and five wives each, and some of them as many children. They appeared to be comfortable enough.¹

It was about this time that the first land sales in Levuka took place. James Magoun was in conflict with Eagleston over a piece of land allegedly bought by the latter in 1838 at Vagadace.² T.J. Ryder, whose usual place of residence was at Laucala, bought a piece of land in Levuka, Ma Iora, which he sold to James Magoun on 8 April 1841,³ and a man named Shakley purchased land in 1842. The deeds of these early sales, if there ever were any, are lost, and the evidence about them is largely at second hand, but it seems that land ownership was only individualised and formalised under certain circumstances as the result of a dispute, or in settlement of a debt. Lydia Connor, for example, the widow of William Cusack, who became the wife of Charlie Connor, was speaking on behalf of Alexander Cusack, son of her first husband, in the matter of his claim to a piece of land called Yaga:

First of all it was given in a friendly way, afterwards property was given and the soil was given actually there was a deed made out.⁴

Gifts of land, later formalised, were originally given, as in the case

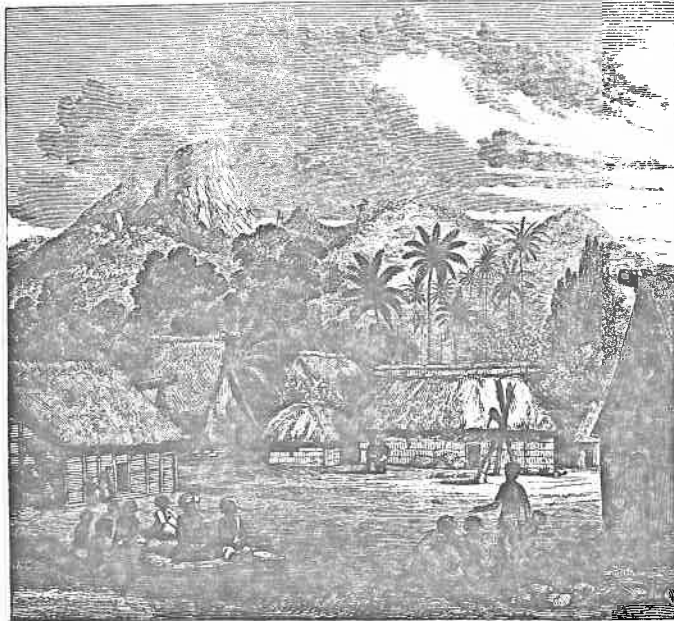
-
1. J.E. Erskine, Journal of a Cruise ..., p. 453.
 2. L.C.C. R570. Vagadace is a village a few hundred yards north of Levuka separated from it by a bluff coming down to the sea.
 3. L.C.C. R1065.
 4. L.C.C. R27.

of individuals like John Stark and Jimmy Dyer, because of the services given by white men to their Fijian hosts, without any notion of fev sinnle being involved. Moreover, it was apparently a family, rather than an individual, which was often the initial recipient. Charley Wise, the grandson of an original settler, explained that Ha Tora

... has been in occupation for 30 years and more [i.e. since 1848] most of the Magoun family were born on it ... Caroline Magoun¹ gave it to my mother Emma Wise. Caroline and James Magoun gave it to my parents who were always giving presents. It was not a sale but a gift, in a relationship sort of way. My mother and Caroline Magoun were sisters.²

It was with the arrival of J.B. Williams as American Consul, and the appointment of David Whippy as his agent in Levuka in 1846, that the process of formalisation and individualisation of titles, at least on

1. Apparently so-called because she came from the Caroline islands.
2. L.C.C. R1065. The fiction of individual ownership was not always maintained by part-European families. One of them claimed 350 acres of land in Tavuni as tenants in common not as joint tenants. As one witness put it, 'We are in the habit of helping in the customary ceremonies connected with land in conjunction with the rest of the people'. (L.C.C. R922). The idea of communal ownership seems to have persisted until much later than this, among the part-European community. The island of Uci Macoi was purchased on 18 March 1871 for \$200 by a large group of part-Europeans as a communal purchase. The purchasers were: David Whippy, Matthew Riley, James Watkins, Thomas Smith, Alexander Sanders, Richard Smith, Benjamin Robinson, Thomas Osborne, Isaac Magoun, Charles Wise, John Phillips, Andrew Uson, John Williams, George Watkins, George Brown, Frank Newton, James Ludlow, James Cadigan, Thomas Gibbon, James Taylor, Tukai Alfred, Napoleoni, George Trask - all of whom applied for a single title between them. (L.C.C. R478).



Feejeean Village of Levuka, Ovalau.
(1849)

1.

paper, seems to have begun. Whippy made it his custom to keep all the deeds of land transactions in Levuka in his own house, a procedure which proved disastrous for would-be individual land owner and historian alike. The case of Naisagabulu was typical:

No deed is produced - any such document, if ever one existed, having no doubt been consumed in one of the numerous fires which so often used to destroy the houses of Mr. Whippy.²

Three such fires can be dated to within a year. They occurred in 1850, 1854 and 1858. By that time, the community had survived some

1. An illustration to J.N. Erskine, Journal of a Cruise..., p. 165.

2. L.C.C. 1989.

chastening experiences. There had developed early a sense of solidarity, strengthened by inter-marriage and close living on the narrow strip of land between the Levuka beach and its mountainous backdrop. It was a solidarity which extended even to outsiders like Charles Pickering, who in 1843, was suspected by Cakobau of spying for Rewa. Pickering owned a small schooner at the time, and fled to Lakeba, where the schooner was wrecked. Cakobau sent a party in pursuit, but he was beaten to it by a party of Europeans from Levuka, who enabled Pickering to escape. Cakobau mistook racial solidarity for conspiracy, and demanded the removal of the European settlement from Levuka. A large section of the community then moved to Solevu in Vanua Levu, where they at first prospered. Mrs. Wallis records a visit, while at Sua point, 'principally from the white residents at Solevu' in December 1845, with 'four sail-boats of various sizes and double that number of canoes'.¹ It was from one of these small vessels that David Whippy Junior had a narrow escape in 1848. She was wrecked on a reef near Ovalau, and the young David Whippy spent two days swimming before finding a dinghy adrift and leaking. He grounded it on a reef, repaired it, and eventually reached land.² By 1849, Cakobau had relented, trade had fallen off, and he invited them to return to Levuka, which most eventually did, though they had

1. M. D. Wallis, Life in Fiji (by a lady), p. 157.

2. Ibid., pp. 316-318.

began building two small vessels at Solevu, and some remained behind. In the meantime, obedience to Cakobau's orders for removal cannot have been complete, for in August 1846 a war party from the interior of Ovalau descended on Levuka:

Murdering many of the natives and robbing all the white inhabitants besides killing the native women.¹

Erskine, in 1849, came to a somewhat depleted community consisting of:

... fourteen or fifteen white men ... and their families the women being all natives either of Feejees or the neighbouring islands. The most influential man among them is an American named David Whippy He is a man of excellent character, and has succeeded by his good example in giving a tone of order and true respectability to the community, who govern themselves by their own regulations, expelling or refusing to receive persons of dissipated habits or guilty of egregious misconduct.²

By this time, Whippy had set a further example of movement towards western commercial practice by forming a business partnership with William Simpson, the man who acted as pilot to Erskine, and was described by him as 'a native of London and a very intelligent man'.³ In 1849 they already possessed a schooner of twenty-eight tons, built by William Simpson, who was a shipwright by trade. The two partners were later joined by William Cusack (or Cusick) and formed what was, according to the Cyclopaedia of Fiji:

1. H.D. Wallis, Life in Feejee, pp. 210-211.

2. J.E. Erskine, Journal of a Cruise ..., p. 173.

3. Ibid.

... the first house of business in Fiji ...
a firm which long held the premier position in
their little mercantile world.¹

Profits were considerable. By 1856, Samuel Whippy, David Whippy's second son, had been sent to school in Sydney and was back again acting as interpreter and drawing up the deeds in several early land transactions.²

The conduct of business in a formal manner, the seeking of western education, the 'tone of quiet respectability' and the individualisation of land ownership created considerable tension, both between settlers and Fijians, and within the community itself. Some time in 1853 a boat belonging to Levuka was captured and pillaged by the natives on Malaki island off the Ra coast of the Viti Levu. The first reaction to the situation on the part of the community was the traditional one. They joined with Tui Levuka in raiding Malaki, burning the village and killing a number of people,³ acting, in fact, just as a Fijian community would have done. The natives of Malaki, however, appealed to Cakobau's chief rival at the time, the chief of Viva, who allegedly applied to Cakobau for permission to destroy Levuka. Cakobau refused permission, but a war party nevertheless descended on Levuka from Viva one night and set fire to much of the settlement.⁴

1. Cyclonedia of Fiji 1907, p. 75.

2. E.g. C. Round's evidence in Tonga Island, Newa, 1840: 'Samuel Whippy, half-caste interpreted the deeds to the natives. Sam Whippy had been to the colonies, knew English well. Was at school in Sydney.'

3. James Calvert to S. Hebblewhite, 7 October 1853 in 'Papers re South Sea Islands 1822-1875', Dixon Library.

4. The first of the fires to consume one of the houses of Mr. Whippy.

Cakobau's protection had proved ineffectual. He had dispersed the community in 1843, but the sequel had proved that it was indispensable to him. The reaction of the community this time was to take the risk of forfeiting Cakobau's goodwill and to place their grievances in the hands of the American Consul, who placed them before Commander Beutwell of the U.S.S. Tuscarora on 12 September 1855.¹

Another crisis arose in 1857, for which, according to family tradition, Samuel Whippy was responsible. He allegedly eloped with Pocasi, the daughter of the chief of Batiki, thereby incurring the displeasure of Cakobau, who insisted on the removal of the Whippy family from Levuka, and was able to get the co-operation of Tui Levuka in securing their expulsion.² These events coincided, or almost coincided, with the arrival of R.S. Swanston and I.M. Brower from Samoa.³ They wished to buy land for speculative purposes, and David Whippy advised them to choose the large and fertile island of Wakaya, from which the inhabitants had been removed by the previous Tui Levuka in the course of a minor war against Bau.⁴ The convenient result was that, by 1858, Wakaya had been purchased by Swanston and Brower for \$200 in trade from

1. R. Derrick, History of Fiji, pp. 134 and 135, n. 9.
2. I first heard this story from Mrs. McKeogh of Suva. It has since been corroborated by numerous other members of the Whippy family and other part-European families in Fiji, although there is no confirmation of it in the records of the Land Claims Commission. Another reason for the departure of the Whippy family at this time may have been that their house was once again burnt down in July 1858.
3. Witnesses before the Land Claims Commission generally gave the year of their arrival, or of their land purchases, but were rarely more specific.
4. L.C.C. B393.

Tui Levuka, both men had been to the Colonies, Swanston had disposed of his share in the island to Brower for \$100, and in the meantime, David Whippy, his family, and the families of Matthew Simpson, Isaac Driver, Oliver Brown, Charles Connor and Isaac Hathaway had taken up their residence on Wakaya to establish the possession of Brower and Swanston. Isaac Driver's conclusion was that Cakobau had hoped to remove the whole of the European settlement to Wakaya so that Tui Levuka, deprived of their support, would prove more amenable to authority:

Cakobau said it is all right you white men are all in Wakaya, it is Dr. Browers now that there are no white people on Ovalau [a wishful thought] I shall be able to manage Tui Levuka.¹

The Whippys made a virtue out of necessity by persuading a large number of Fijians from Ovalau to accompany them and assist them to build a town. Tui Levuka ordered them to return, and retaliated by selling some of the Whippys land on Ovalau to later arrivals.²

The little settlement remained on Wakaya until 1862, and it was there that the Paul Jones, the schooner chartered by Seemann in 1860, was built.³ It then dispersed in a number of directions. Some of the Simpsons with William Connor returned to their inheritance in Levuka, before eventually departing for Kadava. Charles Connor,

1. L.C.C. R393.

2. L.C.C. R393 and R989. See evidence of W. Peckham for the sale of Whippy's land on Ovalau.

3. Evidence of George Frank, L.C.C. R393.

William's brother, purchased land in Taveuni,¹ where he had spent a good deal of time trading while based on Wakaya. The largest offshoot however, was at Wainunu, a few miles from the old settlement at Selevu on Vanna Levu. There is no record of any formal land purchase by the exiles of 1843, though some of them remained there, and it was not until this second exodus that formal purchases were made. On 20 October 1860, David Whippy junior returned to Wainunu and together with Samuel Avery St. John, purchased 9000 acres from Tui Wainunu for 5 kegs of powder, 5 muskets, 3½ pigs of lead, 3 dozen axes, 40 canisters of powder, 3½ knives, 500 balls, 10,200 yards of cloth and 10 iron pots, valued in all at \$398. David Whippy settled with a family of three sons and three daughters. They were shortly joined by some members of the Simpson family and St. John sold his portion of the block back to Whippy and to William Simpson's executors, Hathaway and Driver, who bought for the Simpson children, on 24 May 1862.² They in turn were joined by several other families including those of Jacob Andrews, James Stuart, and Frank Johnson, who eventually acquired land of their own.³

Samuel Whippy described to the Lands Commission the venther-board house twenty-four feet square with a seven foot verandah in

1. L.C.C. R60.

2. L.C.C. R533.

3. Ibid.

which his immediate family lived, and described a mixed communal economy of timber milling, shipbuilding, trading, cotton planting and cattle raising,¹ but perhaps the best illustration of the combination of emotional and material well-being enjoyed by the part-European community in its hey-day is the will of William Simpson made on 7 June 1860:

... First I give and bequeath to Walter, Mathew, and Isaac my three children born in holy wedlock my one third interest in the schooner 'Friends' with all her gear, tackle and appurtenances. Second I give and bequeath unto Isaac P. Mathaway my partner and Isaac Driver son in law all my tools and fixtures pertaining to my occupation. Third I give and bequeath to my children all, viz: Betay, Eliza, William, Walter, Mathew, Robert, and Isaac and Sophia all my right title and interest in an undivided tract of land on the island of Mokolai also three lots of land in the town of Levuka on the island of Ovalau known by the respective names of Funivesi Ka Caka Caka and Nai Caka Cure in the town of Vagadaco. Fourthly my house and household furniture I give and bequeath to my two women Mary and Niku ...²

It was here, in Mainumu that the beach town achieved its classic form as a combination of cultures in which Fijian, part-European and European could lead, and still do lead, a harmonious and satisfying existence. On 8 November¹⁸⁷¹ the editor of the Fiji Times, writing from the new bustling frontier town which Levuka had then

1. L.C.C. R508.

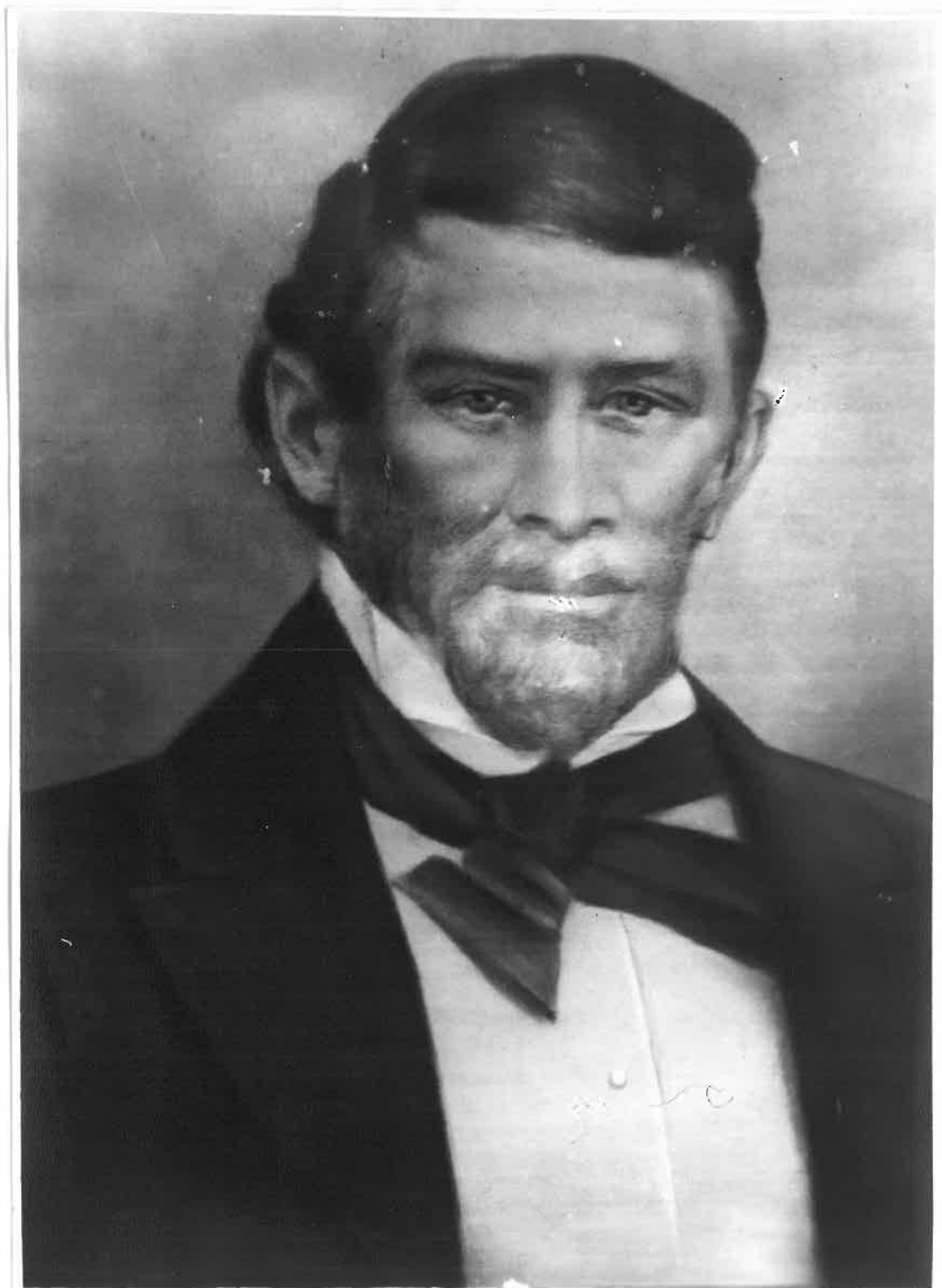
2. I am indebted to the Simpson and McKeogh families of Suva for allowing me to quote this will and to Frances McKeogh for making a copy of it for me in February 1965.

become, thought it appropriate to honour the achievement of the 'Matakis Bowe' or Ambassador who, unlike his Levuka readers, had succeeded in accommodating European aims to Fijian conditions and in creating for the community he led, a present existence within the framework of the past:

The eldest settler, a man who for his good qualities was held in high esteem by both the natives and the residents of Fiji, has passed from amongst us. Death has taken away Mr. David Whippy, who died at his residence, Wainunu, in the seventieth year of his age.¹

1. Fiji Times, 8 November 1871.

78a



David Whippy.

(From a negative in an envelope in the Fiji Museum, Suva, marked 'David Whippy.)

Trade in beche-de-mer and coconut oil, shipbuilding and timber-cutting, had already led to the alienation of land to Europeans before 1860. The new decade was to see the beginning of land sales on an unprecedented scale and a transition from an economy dominated by trade between native producers and European purchasers to one which was dominated by European ownership of the means of production. The change can be partly accounted for by external factors, the rise of the price of cotton and the publicity given to Fiji by Seemann in 1861, and the comparatively slow pace of development in Australia and New Zealand now that the excitement of the gold rushes was over, and the Maori wars had halted further settlement in the North Island. Equally important, however, were the opportunities created for settlement in Fiji by the internal political situation and the use which Fijian chiefs could make of European settlers to safeguard their own interests at a time of intense political and military disturbance.

From 1855 to 1867 the major cause of disturbance was the ambition of the Tongan chief Ma'afu. He had visited Fiji for the first time in 1843 on board a sandalwood vessel bound from Tonga to the New Hebrides. On Ma'afu's advice she put in at Laketa, where there was a colony of Tongans, for additional crew,¹ and in 1848

1. R.A. Derriek, A History of Fiji, p. 51.

he was sent to Fiji by Taufa'ahau, the ruler of a newly united Tonga, in order to be free of the threat Ma'afu posed to his position, and to occupy the Tongan warriors in Fiji so that they would not cause trouble at home.¹

In 1853 Ma'afu conquered the island of Matuku, in Southern Lau, on the pretext of giving protection to the Tongan servants of the Wesleyan mission, and he was prominent on the side of Cakobau at the battle of Kaba in 1855. On the way back to Tonga, after the battle, he stopped at Lomaloma, on Vanua Balavu, where he took up his permanent residence.

He had already gained undisputed authority over the island of Vanua Balavu, though when he did so is uncertain.² From his base at Lomaloma, Ma'afu expanded his influence throughout Lau and Vanua Levu. There was no shortage of pretexts. As the champion of Wesleyan teachers, or rebellious chiefs, Ma'afu and his Tongans turned war from seasonal ritual to permanent conquest, turning the conquered back on their own enemies in a chain reaction of eviction throughout Lau and the coastal areas of Vanua Levu:

1. R.A. Derrick, A History of Fiji, pp. 126-128.

2. F.R. St. Johnston says [South Sea Reminiscences, London 1922], 'soon after Ma'afu's conquest of the Moala group [1843], Tui Cakau, whose dominions included Vanua Balavu ... visited Lakoba to try and get one of the big war canoes for the making of which Lau had almost a monopoly. Toleai Tupou was unable to oblige him, and Ma'afu gave him his own canoe. In return, Tui Cakau gave Ma'afu sovereignty over the islands of Northern Lau'. R.A. Derrick, op. cit., p. 131.

They forced their victims to abandon savage practices and turn to the Lotu; and they plundered, massacred and stole wherever they went.

The other great chiefs of Fiji could not remain neutral. Ma'afu could depend on the support of Tui Busa, whose mother was a Tongan and who always acted as Ma'afu's ally. Tui Levuka was another potential ally, grateful for any leverage which could be utilised in order to gain some independence from Bau. Tui Cakau, the ruler of Cakaudrove, was allied by tradition and kinship to Bau. His relations with Ma'afu had been cordial, but he remained 'the greater bar to the spread of Ma'afu's influence'.² The battle of Kaba in 1855 had secured the dominance of Cakobau in the west over the former rivals Vorata and Rewa, but by the end of the decade it was clear that Ma'afu, who had done so much to place Cakobau in the position he held, had become his most serious rival.

The establishment of consulates, no less than missions, is often supposed to have been the means of ending inter-tribal disputes. In fact, the representatives of the United States and Britain soon found themselves involved in Fijian politics. Sometime shortly before 1857, Ma'afu met J.B. Williams, the American Consul, in Levuka, and spoke to him about the American indemnity. According to I.M. Brower, Williams' successor:

1. B.A. Darrick, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

2. L.C.C. R930, General Evidence on Lau.

... he made overtures by which he engaged to obtain the payment of that indemnity provided the U.S. Government would recognize him as king of Fiji. I have had this from Williams' own lips. There is no doubt that at that time Ma'afu was very ambitious to become king of Fiji.¹

Cakobau's reaction was, in the first place, to agree to Fritchard's proposal that he should cede Fiji to Britain in return for payment of the debt to the United States, and the confirmation of his title as Tui Viti. In the second place, he did what he could to obtain the support of the new settlers who wanted to buy land. Brower claimed that Cakobau chose this time to confirm all deeds to land purchases which had been registered in the British Consulate 'because the Tongans threatened to overrun Fiji'.² It was also an inducement to sell more land. He supported Tui Levuka in the sale of Makaya to Swanston and Brower in 1857, and sold Makogai to William Jennings in 1859. He also ratified the sale of estates sold to Fritchard, Bateson, and others on Ovalau because when he asked Fritchard, the British Consul, whether Britain would assist him against Tongan expansionism, Fritchard replied that action would only be taken in defence of British interests. Cakobau's remedy was, by adding his name to the deeds:

... to form his interests into British interests
 Cakobau never understood anything better
 than that deed in his life.³

1. L.C.C. R930, General Evidence on Lau.

2. Ibid.

3. L.C.C. R305.

The strong possibility of British annexation in 1860 also created opportunities which were eagerly seized by George Mathew Henry of Melbourne. He told the owners of Adwai that the only way in which they could retain their land in the event of British annexation was to sell it to him. Ma'afu attempted to dissuade them from selling, but his logic proved too mystifying and they sold it. In anger, Ma'afu ratified the sale.¹

Cakobau's diplomacy had proved successful, but by 1862, it was clear that, for the time being, at least, Britain was not going to accept the cession of Fiji. A new Consul, in 1864, presented a new opportunity for intrigue. Jones was evidently an admirer of Ma'afu. He spent some time in Tonga on his way to Fiji, and met Ma'afu at Lomaloma in 1864, before he had been to Levuka or made the acquaintance of Cakobau. It is likely that his views were influenced by Europeans whom he met at Lomaloma, like William Hewings, who had had long experience of Ma'afu's rule.² Jones clearly regretted that Britain had supported Cakobau rather than Ma'afu:

His energetic rule would have rapidly reduced these lands to order but the white settlers would have found greater difficulty in acquiring land and consequently this movement was strongly opposed by them.³

-
1. L.C.C. N359. 'Captain Henry' also purchased Vanna Balavu from Tui Cakau (which he was not able to retain) - in partnership with G. Winter. He also began negotiation for purchasing land in Ravuni, Cakaudrove and Northern Viti Levu.
 2. These events are described in G.L. Ryder, 'Pioneering in the South Seas', a manuscript narrative in the Mitchell Library. See 'Note on Sources'.
 3. C.L. 'Report', 17 July 1865.

Brower, having purchased Wakaya, and set himself up as a very successful cotton planter under Cakobau's protection, was a firm supporter of the status quo, and before the Land Claims Commission he made what virtuous capital he could out of his own necessity.

I was told in Toga that after passing through Toga on his way to assume the Consulateship in Fiji Capt. Jones had promised to do what he could to make Ma'afu king of Fiji and Lau. After his arrival in Fiji he made a firm proposal to me to join in so doing. I declined, as being attached to Cakobau. I also told him I would do all in my power to prevent it as with the Fijians it was possible for white men to make progress and obtain lands for settlement whereas this would be impossible if the Togans were supreme and that the Fijians would be enslaved and that there would be no possible settlement of the country by the white race.¹

Faced with the curious logical sequence of this declaration, a sceptical member of the Commission noted in the margin 'I have no hesitation in saying that Dr. B. is drawing upon his imagination', but the account of the extremely cordial relations between Jones and Tupou of Tonga given by G.L. Ryder² indicates that there may be some grounds for believing that Brower's story had some substance. Brower also claimed that in an interview with Tupou of Tonga in 1867, he had been told that:

... had it not been for my official interference he would have that day been King of Fiji and Ma'afu his viceroy.... It was nothing but the action of the U.S. that was the bar to Fiji becoming Toga, the practical outcome of what has been the annexation to Great Britain.³

1. L.C.C. R930.

2. Ryder Papers. T.K. Ryder to G. Ryder (his brother), 17 October 1864.

3. L.C.C. R930.

In the meantime, Ma'afu attempted to gain as much as he could militarily while avoiding damage to his reputation in British eyes. To do this he temporarily left Fiji in 1862, leaving behind his lieutenant, Wainigolo, to whom he delegated the task of furthering Tongan ambitions, on the understanding that he did so at his own risk. If Wainigolo was successful, Ma'afu would be the beneficiary. If he failed, then Ma'afu had a scapegoat.

Wainigolo was not successful. Tui Cakau had become a Catholic, and one of his bitterest foes was his brother, Ratu Kula, a protestant. Wainigolo formed a scheme to overthrow Tui Cakau and replace him as chief of Cakaudrove by his brother under Tongan patronage. In July 1862 he obtained the support of the inhabitants of Mago, Cicia, Lanacea, Naitaba, and parts of Vavua Balavu, and with his own small group of Tongan warriors sailed around the northern end of Tavuni (raiding the plantation of J.B. Macomber for supplies on the way) and launched an attack on Wairiki, on the western side of Tavuni, the stronghold of Tui Cakau. Ratu Golea, Tui Cakau's younger brother, met Wainigolo on the beach and shot him dead.¹

It was accused by Tui Cakau and by most European observers, that Wainigolo had been acting as Ma'afu's agent and not independently, but no one could be sure. Ma'afu told the Land Claims Commission:

1. R.A. Derrick, History of Fiji, p. 154.

I remember going to Toga and leaving Wainigolo....
I remained there three months and in the 4th
returned. When I left for Toga I had no idea
that any war was about to take place. It was
Wainigolo's doing I had no part in it.

But, as Brewer pointed out, Wainigolo was a chief of minor importance. He would not have undertaken a major assault, on the stronghold of such a powerful chief, nor would he have been able to induce the warriors from most of the islands of any size in Northern Lau to follow him, without Ma'afu's authority.² Knowing this, and knowing that Wainigolo had been killed, Tui Cakau awaited Ma'afu's return with some trepidation. In Swanston's words he 'was alarmed at the result of the fight knowing what Maafu was',³ and his solution was to dispose of the lands of the 'rebel' forces which had joined Wainigolo, to white settlers:

The feeling I believe was that by selling the
lands to white men would be the only mode of
defying Maafu on his return.⁴

The largest island, Vanua Balavu, was sold to Capt. Henry of Melbourne.⁵ William Hennings, a resident of Lomaloma since 1860, bought Mago, and Kanocca was sold to Charles Reiman. The deeds were not completed

1. L.C.C. R930.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. 'Vanua Balavu' apparently included all the islands within the reef, i.e. the group known as the 'Exploring Isles'. In 1864 the new Tui Cakau, Ratu Coles, conceded that Vanua Balavu had been given to Ma'afu by his father. It remained Ma'afu's property except for a few small claims in Lomaloma itself, and Henry was compensated by a gift of land at Udu Point, Tavuni.

until 1863, but while negotiations were proceeding, Ma'afu returned (by his own account this must have been in October 1862), and took up his quarters at Waikava harbour, across the Somo Somo strait and almost directly opposite Wairiki. Instead of mounting an attack, Ma'afu decided to 'go to Canassa'. He crossed the strait in a small canoe, accompanied only by two boys, and unarmed, to pull off a diplomatic coup and retain his position in the eyes of the British Consul. His own account before the Land Claims Commission was disarming:

I found on my return a change in the relations and conditions of my lands.... When I heard of it I went to him [Tui Cakau].... I said to him 'The war arose when I was at a distance and the result has been no good and you have sold portion of the land. What profit is there in the death of all these people. I have come that there may be peace'.¹

Ma'afu and Tui Cakau made peace for the time being, but that did not stop Tui Cakau from selling Naituba to William Beddoes and Katakaga to William Hennings by way of consolidating his position. He also claimed the right to sell the island of Muiia to J.B. Macomber, in compensation for his losses on Laucala at the hands of Wainigole, though there was no attempt at occupation. Laucala island itself was sold to Macomber and William Beddoes on 1 January 1863.²

-
1. L.C.C. 1890. Brower's interpretation was that Ma'afu returned 'and abjectly begged pardon of Tui Cakau and Vanua Salavu was restored to him at the same time giving Henry compensation at the point'.
 2. Up until this point Macomber had been merely occupying a trading station on the island. Kanacea had been similarly occupied since 1857 by Leonard Beche, *Cyrenaedia of Fiji 1897*, p. 268.

The following year, in December 1864, when Consul Jones arrived at Lomaloma he attempted to settle the disputes, including those involving Europeans, which had not been settled at Wairiki; Brower made a claim for \$1000 against Ma'afu for damage done to the property of American citizens in the period immediately before his departure for Tonga when he had 'at the request of Cakaurove, Bus and Bau, swept the Macuata coast. This interfered with Dr. Brower's arrangements.'¹

An arbitration court was convened for Boxing Day for the purpose of gaining compensation from the Tongans for damage done to European property and also to settle a dispute which had arisen between William Hennings and the Ryder brothers, over the sale of Mago. A decision was made on the 29th.

Firstly, the respective limits of the authority of Tui Cakau and Ma'afu were confirmed. In Ma'afu's words, 'Capt. Jones said that all the lands inside the Vanua Malavu reef were mine but the islands outside to be under Tui Cakau'.² This meant that the sale of the large islands of Northern Lau to Europeans was confirmed, and it was decided that the Ryders were entitled to Mago. Captain Henry, however, and Macomber, who had bought Munia from Tui Cakau, were left unsatisfied. Henry's chances were always remote as by that time there was a considerable settlement of Europeans at Lomaloma, and small lots of

1. R.S. Swastson's evidence, L.C.C. R930.

2. L.C.C. R930.

land had been purchased by William Beddoes, William Hennings and the Wesleyan mission. Ma'afu could be confident that no attempt would be made to evacuate them. In order to recompense Henry, Tui Cakau was prepared to allow him land at Udu point - but Henry alleged that he had already paid \$800 for land at Udu point and that it was an additional purchase.¹ In December 1867 Henry was still trying to get a deed for Vanua Balavu from Ma'afu, and threatened that when he did, he would sell the island to an American, which would ensure that Ma'afu would lose it. Thurston rebuked Henry for:

... continually acting to the prejudice of the peace, harmony and general interest of the European community in Fiji²

and threatened to have him deported if he did not reform.

J.B. Macomber had to wait until 1867, when the visit of the U.S.S. Tuscarora gave him an opportunity to vindicate his claim to Munia, and Brewer a last opportunity to reduce Ma'afu's power in Lea. Before leaving Levuka, Brewer took advantage of the presence of the Tuscarora to induce Cakobau to sign a new agreement to commence payment of the American debt by the following year, or to forfeit the islands of Nairai, Batiki and Moteriki.³ He then boarded the Tuscarora and sailed for Lomaloma. Captain Stanley seized Ma'afu's own vessel, the Louisa, and ordered him to remove the population of Munia. Reluctantly,

1. C.L., Jones to Swanston, 25 June 1867.

2. C.L., Thurston to Henry, 2 December 1867.

3. R. Derriak, op. cit., p. 177.

Ma'afu agreed to do it:

When I sent my messengers the people cried... and did not want to leave their land but I told them to be of a good mind and to go and live on Area that they might be at peace.¹

R.S. Swanston, who by then had become Ma'afu's personal secretary, was able to reduce the barbarity of the occasion by gaining the consent of Captain Stanley to a gradual evacuation over a period of a year.

In the meantime, Jones had apparently decided that kingsaking on Ma'afu's behalf exceeded his consular duties. Instead, on 8 May 1865 he induced the seven 'independent chiefs of Fiji' representing Bau, Rewa, Lakeba, Bus, Cakaudrove, Macuata and Naduri, to form a 'Confederation', which elected Cakobau as its president and agreed to meet once a year to discuss matters of common concern.² Ma'afu, however, was never an enthusiastic supporter, and with the help of Swanston, gained the support of the chiefs of Cakaudrove and Bus to join with him in forming the Lau Confederation or 'Tovata ke Lau' under the nominal supremacy of Tui Cakau, on 13 February 1867.³ The major factor making for distrust of Ma'afu on the part of his fellow chiefs was the suspicion that he was merely a Tongan agent, but this suspicion was removed by a formal renunciation by the Tongan National Assembly 'of all rights to the government of the Eastern group of the Fijis' on

1. L.C.C. B930. Area is one of the larger islands inside the Vanua Balavu reef.

2. R. Derrick, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 161.

23 May 1863.¹

From January 1867 onwards the chiefdom of Lau itself was placed under Tongan Law regarding the sale of land. Law IV of Lau constitution made provision for unoccupied lands to be leased for fifty years at one shilling per acre with a uniform maximum area of five hundred acres for each lease.² Europeans believed that this was mere savage obstructionism, but Stanston saw the leasehold system as a means of furthering settlement and at the same time avoiding the racial friction which was endemic on the island of Viti Levu. Ma'afu alone was authorized to issue leasehold titles, and the concept of leasehold did not conflict with traditional ideas of tenure:

The idea of leasing these lands was not to raise a revenue but simply to introduce white capital and energy into the country.... [Ma'afu] was thoroughly determined not to deprive natives of lands in any way turned to account by them. He was also equally determined not to allow large tracts of land to lie waste and idle when there were men ready and anxious to occupy and improve them.³

The results from the European point of view were good. The Land Claims Commission reported that:

Almost all these leases have been followed by occupation and we believe in no part of Fiji has the occupation been more substantial and bona fide than in Lau.⁴

-
1. Fiji Weekly News and Planter's Journal, 21 October 1863. The only exception to this was the island of Rabi, which remained the property of the King of Tonga until it was sold to Captain Hill for £1300 in 1870. L.C.C. RI, cf. Fiji Times, 30 July 1870.
 2. R. Derrick, op. cit., p. 177.
 3. Ibid.
 4. L.C.C. R90. The leases were disallowed in principle, but confirmed ex-gratia for 50 years, with a right of renewal for 50 years at 4/- per acre.

The reason for the 'substantial' nature of the occupation lay largely in the fact that the Fijian authorities could still feel that they controlled their own destiny. At the same time, the periodic payment of rent meant that the supply of European trade was continuous. The chiefs therefore favoured settlement and were willing to provide the necessary conditions for European success whether land was leased or, as in some cases, purchased. The result was that in Lau, prosperity was greater than in any other part of Fiji, and there was a noticeable absence of 'outrages' - i.e. Fijian attacks on Europeans, and punitive expeditions, such as punctuated the history of Viti Levu and parts of Vanua Levu. In the early part of 1869, settlers were beginning to think that the real security offered by Ma'afu was preferable to the legal security offered by Cakobau, which was worth no more than the force available to defend it.¹

From the commencement of European settlement, Ma'afu had lost no time in demonstrating his good intentions to the new purchasers of land in Lau. At the beginning of 1865 he removed the population of Nago, some seven hundred people from five towns, and re-settled them on Vanua Balavu. According to the sworn statement of Thomas Ryder this was not done at the Ryders' request and Ma'afu was not paid in any way for their removal. It is likely that Ma'afu simply wished to demonstrate his ability to guarantee undisturbed possession to European

1. C.L., Thurston to the Earl of Belmore, 2 February 1869.

settlers, in order to gain the support of the British Consul for his own political ambitions.¹ His success was by no means complete. In the next few years the British Consul remonstrated with both Ma'afu and Tui Cakau on behalf of the Ryder brothers about the activities of the ex-inhabitants of Mago returning to their own island in canoes and departing with whatever produce they could take.² On one occasion a large party returned,

... and with great respect asked to be allowed to stay a month to recuperate as they had no food at Lona Lona... We decided that as we could not force them to go back (200 of them) to agree to what they wanted.³

The recuperation party immediately began to build a fighting fence around one of the towns. Ma'afu had left Lomaloma temporarily and they stayed on Mago until he returned three months later, learnt of their absence, and sent a party of fifty warriors to depart them once more. Depredations continued during 1866, partly from visitors, and partly from a remnant of twelve of the original inhabitants who had never left the island and were discovered living in a cave in the interior.⁴ It was not until the end of that year that the Ryders were left with Mago to themselves. A canoe was sighted taking a cargo of yams from the island and the White Swan set off in armed pursuit:

1. L.C.C. 86.

2. Jones to Tui Cakau, 5 October 1865; Jones to Ma'afu, 4 January 1866.

3. G.L. Ryder, 'Pioneering in the South Seas,' p. 36.

4. One of their number was discovered while out catching fish. The Ryders forced him at gun point to lead them to the cave where the rest were hiding.

It was a case of 'your yams or your life',
but it put an end to the plundering of the
island.¹

For the inhabitants of islands on which Ma'afu was willing for
Europeans to settle, his authority must have been a grievous oppression,
but it could be a protection also. George Kirk claimed much later,
in 1873, to have purchased the island of Matuku from Cakobau. Matuku
was Ma'afu's first conquest in Fiji in 1853 and he was determined to
keep it:

Cakobau had no right to sell it under any
Fijian or Tongan custom. He may have had a
right to do so under some White man's custom
.... Kirk came to me and told me he was about
to take possession of Matuku. I said 'yes,
well you may go there, but you shall not land'.
Kirk went back to Levuka. I told the Tongans
to keep a good look out and not to let his
land on the island if he should go there. He
never tried to do so.²

The other islands disposed of in 1863 by Tui Cakau were settled peace-
fully. Katakava remained in the hands of the Hennings family and
Maitaba became a coconut plantation under the management of A. Moore
- one of the few islands in Lau on which the cultivation of cotton was
never attempted. Kanacea, which had been sold on 19 August 1863 to
Charles Rehman for 360, was subdivided on 10 July 1865, when Rehman
sold the south-east half of the island to Leonard Boehm who had been
a resident of the island since 1859.³

1. G.L. Ryder, op. cit., p. 25.

2. L.C.C. R972.

3. L.C.C. R4, cf. Cyclopaedia of Fiji, p. 266 - refers to Boehm's
daughter who arrived in 1859 and lived on Kanacea in 1859.

Although leasehold land became available in Lau in January 1869 the settlers who arrived in the Fiji Bush were not initially attracted to it. It was not until the beginning of 1870 that the rising price of freehold land in other areas forced them to consider it, and even then the amount of land leased was not large. The most popular islands were Lakeba, Cicia and Vanua Balavu itself. The most successful leases were those of Tokalau and Tabuta on the island of Cicia, granted to McEvoy and Kelsall in 1870 and to McEvoy and Scott in 1871. The combined area of cultivable land leased to the three men actually totalled one thousand seven hundred acres. It was managed as a single concern by James Borron from 1870 to 1873, when McEvoy moved to Kanacea and took Borron with him as manager.¹ By 1880 two large houses, a large drying shed, and two iron houses had been built, and there was employment for ninety labourers. Expenditure was estimated by McEvoy at £30,000 over the decade.²

On Vanua Balavu itself the leading leaseholder was William Hennings, also the owner of Katafaga,³ and the man who financed much of the settlement of Lau. His trading post and general store created an entrepot to which produce was sent from his agents, mostly beachcombers

1. Scott, the original partner, was drowned on Christmas Day 1873.

2. L.C.C. R961.

3. Katafaga was actually sold by Tui Cakau to Gustavus Hennings on 19 August 1863 for trade worth \$150. Gustavus, however, did not use it, so the purchase was presumably made merely in his name. It was to Katafaga that William Hennings eventually retired in 1889. L.C.C. R118, and Cyclopedia of Fiji 1907, p. 301.

like Theodore Hoyt and Joe Long. G.L. Ryder estimated the European population of Lomaloma at twenty in 1864,¹ but it must have fluctuated considerably as traders came in, did their business, and departed. It attracted itinerant beachcombers like W. Wetherall, an erstwhile member of the beach-town of Laukala in the 1850s, who came to Lomaloma to spend his last days. He died in 1854 from an overdose of opium while in a state of intoxication.² Actual lessees of town blocks included only the names of Hennings, Beddoes, Levick, Grant and Emberson. Other settlers, however, included the brothers Gwynne, who occupied three leases on Vanua Balavu, a total of one thousand five hundred acres, from 1870 to 1875, and spent between \$6000 and £7000 before economic collapse, followed by the death of one brother and the suicide of the other.³ R.S. Swanston was also a Lomaloma resident from 1867 onwards, and Herbert Levick who kept a general store and was proprietor of the Lomaloma Hotel, employed a manager named Coaling.⁴ Lomaloma was a thriving port of entry from 1867 to 1874, and usually the first port of call for vessels from Samoa collecting produce on behalf of Godaffroy's. At the time of its greatest prosperity however,

1. G.L. Ryder, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

2. G.L., Owen to J.W. Wetherall of Rocky River, N.S.W., 27 January 1864.

3. L.C.C. 8954.

4. L.C.C. 'Navavoa' (the Report number is missing).

the land most suitable for cotton planting in Lau had been purchased or leased, and it never experienced a sudden influx of settlers as did Levuka. It remained a 'beach town', and never became a 'frontier settlement',¹ and this meant that race relations remained comparatively harmonious. In May 1872, when Levuka was the scene of bitter racial strife, Lomaloma retained its tranquillity. On 24th of the month there was a 'Queen's Birthday regatta' attended by twenty Europeans and some ladies who

... besides being so welcome, acted in a great measure as a check to the few little eccentricities of behaviour and over-exuberance of spirits which might naturally be expected on such an occasion.²

M'a'afu himself was there, indeed he entered one of the races and won it, and at the reception at the Lomaloma Hotel, his son was invited to speak. He

... expressed his satisfaction that his own people should have had an opportunity of witnessing and participating in the variety of amusements arranged by the whites, and that he thought meetings of the sort calculated to inspire and promote more good feeling between the races than could be obtained in any other manner.³

Good race relations aided prosperity. It was no coincidence that the paper currency issued in 1872 by Hennings from Lomaloma was used with

1. This distinction is fully explained in Ch. 6 in the case of Levuka. 'Beach town' is the term applied here to the beachcomber and part-European settlements which remained under the ultimate control and protection of the indigenous rulers, such as Rewa, Levuka, Wakaya and Wainunu in the early 1860s. 'Frontier settlement' is the term used to describe Levuka from about 1868 onwards, when it became an offshoot of Australasian society and hence an exotic phenomenon in the Fijian setting.

2. *F.I.*, 5 June 1872.

3. *Ibid.*

greater confidence than the Treasury notes of the Cakobau government issued from Levuka.

But while, from 1867 onwards, Lau enjoyed a state of tranquillity, the repercussions of the wars of Wainigolo and Ma'afu continued to be felt elsewhere. On Taveuni, and throughout the length of Vanua Levu, the Tongans had caused a profound disturbance of the balance of power, which led to a succession of 'rebellions' of minor chiefs to take advantage of the discomfiture of their superiors, and a cycle of reprisals, expulsions and counter-attacks. The General Report on land sales on the Dreketi river was typical. It referred to the district as 'having been involved in war from times as far back as the evidence reaches down to the annexation of the Colony'.¹

On Taveuni, which became a favourite planting district from 1868 to 1872, the major original purchases began in 1863, when Tui Cakau was expecting the return of Ma'afu. In the opinion of Victor Williamson of the Land Claims Commission, Tui Cakau was able to exercise mere absolute authority in the matter of land sales 'than any chief whose transactions have come under our notice'.² Payment for land was made almost exclusively in arms and ammunition, even when nothing but the value of the land in money appeared in the deed. One sum of £40 for example, paid for land on Taveuni, consisted of '20 Enfield rifles, worth £2 each'.³ The two main purchasers to begin with were Oliver

1. L.C.C. R732.

2. L.C.C. R862.

3. L.C.C. R899.

Brown and William Beddoes. Brown was the original purchaser of Vatu Were on 14 May 1863¹ On the same day Brown purchased the Vuna estate, two miles square, on the southern end of the island.²

William Beddoes, the blacksmith beachcomber, was probably the biggest land purchaser on the island. Together with Males Watson he had already purchased the Ha Sele Sele estate in August 1859, before the pressure from Wainigola began.³ His next purchase, made jointly with J.B. Macomber, was the whole of Laucala Island, bought on 1 January 1863. They divided it between them on 4 April 1867.⁴ In August 1867 he purchased the Una estate, of 7,680 acres, adjoining the land already purchased by Oliver Brown in 1863. Together the purchases of these men then formed a continuous block right across the island. Beddoes added a further purchase of 5,200 acres on 3 October 1867, and a few weeks later, the Lelia Lewi estate on the east side of the island.⁵ All these purchases were completed before the period of extensive settlement which began on Taveuni in 1865. The initial speculative profits made by Beddoes and Brown were considerable, but proved to be only the beginning of a flurry of subdivision and land sales as prices rose to

1. L.C.C. Vatu Were - number missing. The estate was later subdivided or held for short periods as a speculation by R. Bailey, W.M. Kinross, the Rev. W. Moore, Messrs. McKie, Smith & others.

2. L.C.C. N601.

3. L.C.C. R127; the price is stated as \$400.

4. L.C.C. R45.

5. L.C.C. R36.

as much as £1 per acre by 1871. One estate had already changed hands in whole or part seventeen times by 1868 and between then and 1871 the process became universal. Many new settlers preferred to buy land from Europeans, whose possession had tested native displeasure, but William Seddoes continued to make a living by purchasing land direct from Tui Cakau. In 1871 the Fiji Times reported:

The Daka natives, formerly located on the south-east portion of the island, have been summarily evicted from their homes, their houses burned, and themselves turned off land occupied by them for generations.... This last sale of Tui Cakau's has engendered a very bad feeling among the natives. The invincible Seddoes is the purchaser.¹

Other original purchasers on Taveuni included W. Wetherall,² Charles O'Connor,³ and Theodore Hoyt, William Hennings's agent on Kioa Island, who purchased a piece of land called Waisaisai on 23 January 1866, in exchange for a suit of sails.⁴

Taveuni was, from the settlers' point of view, the most desirable island within the area under Tui Cakau's control, and perhaps in the whole of Fiji. It had heavy rainfall, a rich volcanic soil, and no rival chief on its borders. The larger island of Vanna Levu presented a more complicated picture. Duli Dreketi, Ritova and Tui Sa Savu Savu

1. F.T., 4 January 1871.

2. Wetherall died intestate. The estate was assigned by W. Owen the British Consul to F. & W. Hennings, who sold it on 22 February 1869 to W. Peckham. L.C.C. R136.

3. He purchased 'Taboua' on 19 July 1863. It was purchased by J.B. Thurston on 15 July 1867. L.C.C. R164.

4. L.C.C. R150.



were all powerful chiefs; the latter, according to Charles Blyth, had absolute power in the sale of land in his own area, and sought the approval of neither Tui Cakau nor the inhabitants of the land he wished to sell:

The natives themselves admit that they would not have dared to oppose the will of their chief... even, as they express it 'if they saw the oven prepared for them and the club raised'.¹

In the period of Tongan invasion, such chiefs of second rank were glad of the opportunity to assert as much independence as possible, and after the political settlements of 1865 and 1867 which brought comparative tranquillity they were loth to relinquish what they had gained. The resulting complexity of this situation is illustrated by the General Report on the Dreketi river:

The sales in this district have been made exclusively by the ruling chiefs and for arms and munitions of war.... The Nulia people, whose lands extend along the left bank of the Dreketi river, were living at Saroro on the Macusta coast from which they were driven by Mainingole the Togan chief, and after repeated changes of domicile they were eventually replaced at Rai, on their own lands, by the Rai Dreketi, probably during or about the time of the Wainakabolo war in 1863 in which the part of Dreketi people was to keep the Masagrara in check. It was just about this time that the Dreketi were involved in the Masorawaga war which had commenced in 1869 and which continued for more than two years and during which Dreketi was beset on both sides by their old enemies the Masagrara and the Masorawaga.²

1. L.S.C. R200.

2. L.S.C. R200.

Endemic warfare on Vanua Levu was seen as an opportunity for extensive land speculation by a number of ex-beachcombers and traders. There had been a few purchases on Vanua Levu prior to 1869, but the Commission of 1830 pointed out that,

The great demand for land [on Vanua Levu] was in 1869 and the two following years, while those were just the years in which the Dreketi chief was most willing to supply it.¹

Theodore Hoyt was particularly well-placed to take advantage of the situation. He knew Fijian well, and had been employed at one time as secretary to Tui Cakau. His normal occupation was that of storekeeper on behalf of William Hennings, on the island of Kica. In 1868 he went into partnership with James Mackay, the owner and skipper of the cutter Max Herrileag.² In her they sailed about the coast looking for an opportunity to buy land. Mackay described a typical episode of their colourful partnership, their arrival on the Dreketi river in 1869:

The trade we gave was worth over \$600, 3 or 4 cases of muskets containing 2 dozen each. Next day [the chief] indicated his fear of being attacked by enemies from [the] interior we gave him all the powder we had.... We had no intention to buy land at Dreketi but having trade in our hand and the chief offering to sell, we came to terms.

Hoyt and Mackay were alleged to have conducted their land transactions on a larger scale than anyone else in Fiji and also, 'in a manner so

1. L.C.C. 18782.

2. L.C.C. 18513. James Mackay, born in Grafton N.S.W. in 1842, educated in Sydney and became a shipbuilding apprentice. Came to Fiji in 1864 to build ships for F. & W. Hennings, lived in Levuka and eventually became overseer for Dr. Brower on Makaya. (Cyclonædia of Fiji, p. 296.)

involved and confused as to render any attempt to frame a consistent and clear report upon it a hopeless task.¹ Elsewhere in Fiji the usual practice was to define two points at high water mark, or on a river bank, and to define the side lines going inland from these points as compass bearings, their lengths being given in fathoms. In a large number of cases the purchasers, the major vendor and a miscellaneous group of beachcombers acting as interpreters and witnesses, would then walk round the boundaries. Hoyt and Mackay, however, did most of their business from the deck of the Mag. Morrillson and induced Tui Cakau to talk in terms of miles and portions of miles rather than fathoms, although he does not seem to have understood how far a mile was. The result was that the back boundaries of land sales in Cakaudrove (and Taveuni) were often ill-defined and as subdivision commenced they were sold several times to different people. It is probable that, to quote the General Report on Cakaudrove; Tui Cakau

... cared very little for the back lands as the interior is sparsely populated and no one would be injured in these days by even an unlimited grant.²

The greatest concentration of settlement in Cakaudrove occurred in Savu Savu bay, the result of a constant state of war between Tui Ra Savu Savu, a minor chief, and the people living eastward along the coast

1. L.C.C. R1165.

2. L.C.C. R362. In Cakaudrove there were 57 claims altogether in 1880. 25 of them were at that date, still in the hands of the original purchasers. Only five of these had been made before 1869, but there were five in 1868, three in 1869, seven in 1870 and four in 1871, and no more until the last in 1874. The highest number of sales thus occurred when a high rate of immigration coincided with local political disturbance.

and inland from the head of the bay. According to the Commissioner:

His existence depended on possession of firearms which he could get from the whites and he also acquired a taste for gin and brandy.¹

Further westward lay the chiefdom of Bus. This had been the area of earliest large-scale contact with Australian and American shipping, but when the beche-de-mer trade had played into the hands of Bau, it had sunk into comparative obscurity until its revival with Tongan support in 1859. In that year, Bus commenced the subjection of the surrounding tribes in a campaign which Charles Mitchell says 'seems to have partaken to a certain extent of the character of a religious war'.² As a result, in 1865, when the provincial boundaries were defined by agreement between Consul Jones and the leading chiefs, at Levuka, it was agreed that land within the Bus boundary could only be sold under the land grants of the kingdom of Bus.³ This authoritarian influence may have been partly derived from Tongan example, but an additional element was the presence of David Wilkinson, who arrived in Fiji in 1860 as an agent of the Fiji Company of Adelaide, which had been floated by William Owen and others of that city for the exploitation of the island of Kioa.⁴ The company failed in its bid

1. L.C.C. R2000.

2. L.C.C. R586.

3. Ibid.

4. Prospectus of the Fiji Co., Adelaide 1861, State Library of S.A. Kioa had been obtained from Cakobau (who had no right to sell it) by Owen, in 1853, in default of a cargo of beche-de-mer. (R.A. Derrick, A History of Fiji, p. 107.)

for support, and on its collapse in 1863 Wilkinson moved to Suva. He became secretary to Tui Suva in 1865.¹ Under his influence, it was provided that any tribe within the boundary of the kingdom as defined in 1865 which rebelled against Tui Suva, could be removed from its lands, and those lands sold. The first beneficiary of Wilkinson's scheme was Robert Swanston. David Wilkinson had already taken up a large area of land under lease for purposes of grazing, and had taken Tui Suva as his business partner.² In 1869, Swanston imported sheep worth £775 for this enterprise, and Tui Suva was unable to pay it. Conveniently enough, the people of a town called Kororata rebelled, and their land was transferred to Swanston to pay for the sheep on 13 August 1869 while their town was still under siege.³ G. Martin was the recipient of a similar piece of land given as payment for the yacht *Jarifa* which had originally been purchased by Cakobau, who had sold it to Na'afu who sold it to Martin. She then became Tui Suva's private yacht and Martin became owner of *Marcavoa*.⁴

Arrangements of this kind, however oppressive they must have been to the inhabitants, were within the powers of the chiefs concerned

1. L.C.C. R782. General Evidence on Dreketi River.

2. L.C.C. R586.

3. L.C.C. R666.

4. L.C.C. R586. For details of the *Jarifa* see P.R. Stephenson, *Sydney Sails: The Story of the Royal Sydney Yacht Squadron's First 100 years (1862-1962)*, Sydney 1962, pp. 43-57, 62. The *Jarifa* was built in 1863.

to make, and settlers who were prepared to become, in effect, the subjects of Fijian chiefs, like the beachcombers before them, were able to obtain substantial advantages.

The settlement of those parts of Fiji which formed part of the 'Tovata Ko Lau' thus followed a pattern which distinguished it from Viti Levu. Tongan influence had strengthened the power of chiefs over their people and they had been able not only to claim an absolute right to sell land without reference to the inhabitants, but in most cases to maintain the purchasers in possession. Newcomers from 1869 onwards were faced with the choice of making their own initial purchases on Viti Levu, at a low price, but often from a chief who was unable or unwilling to give protection, or of paying a higher price to beachcomber speculators like Oliver Brown or William Seddoes. The price was high, but security was real. Settlers in the 'Tovata Ko Lau', and especially in Lau itself, found an identity of interest with the ruling chiefs, which they were reluctant to disturb. Recognition of their real interests did not incline them towards extravagant myths of racial supremacy. They regarded the delusions of the New Chums of 1869 and 1870 with a certain detachment, and their attitude to political experiments based on the assumption of European dominance was therefore unenthusiastic.¹

The early fortunes of men who bought land in the 'Tovata Ko Lau' must be largely a matter of inference from their later prosperity and

1. See Chapter 8.

political moderation, because the first sales of land occurred at a time when the newspapers of Levuka had no means of obtaining regular information from remote districts, and visitors, such as Van Damme, Mair, and Moss, confined their attention to Ovalau and Viti Levu. But while it is unfortunate that records are so few, those which do survive are extremely informative. The Ryder papers, in particular, illustrate a number of theses which can be applied to the history of settlement throughout the group. They show how far the success or failure of the planters was subject to local conditions, and how far it was due to the individual qualities of the settlers themselves.

It should be remembered, however, that the Ryders were far from typical. They began with exceptional advantages, and good sense was added to good fortune. Unlike many later arrivals, who were perpetual itinerants with a long record of failure behind them and who had little idea of Fijian conditions before they got there, the Ryders had a stable social and financial background, and the preliminary expedition by Tom Ryder, his meeting with William Hennings and his visit to Mago meant that they knew a great deal of what to expect, and they had the backing to prepare for it.

Thomas Uraison Ryder, their father, was a merchant of some wealth in Sydney. An indication of his financial status is the fact that in 1850 he took his wife and the whole of his family of at least eight children on a visit to England.¹ The brothers all spent some time on

1. G. L. Ryder's narrative includes an episode from this voyage, on the ship Hatfield. The names of six brothers, Rupert, Tom, Edmund, Henry, Charles and George, occur in the narrative. Two sisters are also mentioned.

Hago, their parents and sisters visited the island and each of them made periodic visits back to Australia, which indicates not only considerable wealth, but a high degree of solidarity and compatability. An indication of the strength of this solidarity was its exclusiveness. Tom had arranged in 1863 for a German named Camradt to reside on the island in order to retain possession, and he was there when the brothers arrived in 1864. David Wilkinson, who met Camradt on Kica, described him as 'a very agreeable and intelligent man ... from what I saw of him during my stay he is certainly an exception to the generality of the white residents of Fiji'.¹ The Ryders' account of him is strangely conflicting. It is clear that within the restricted confines of the island, there was no breach in the close-knit Ryder unit, but it was something which could not include Camradt. According to Edmund:

... he began to make himself so officious and in the way, besides being selfish and useless and interfering in things that did not concern him that we could not stand it longer and had to give him his discharge. Tom took him to Levuka this last trip and George and I find him a good riddance.²

The compatability which excluded Camradt was an advantage to this Jack, Ralph and Peterkin of reality. They were able to live for many years in the same house with no apparent friction. Edmund describes a routine of vigorous activity motivated by a desire to fulfil their

1. Prospectus of the Fiji Co., Adelaide 1861, p. 6.

2. E. Ryder to T.U. Ryder, 21 December 1864.

parents' expectations:

We work the greater part of each day early and late resting during the hottest portion, which we spend in reading, carpentering and sometimes writing but not often. I keep a regular diary which I hope to show you some day.¹ The time slips away in a dreadful hurry and the days which are very long here dont last any time and the meals are dreadfully close together.²

They soon became closely identified with the island as their home.

Other settlers often continued to identify themselves with their place of origin and thought of their condition as a temporary sojourn in the midst of an alien barbarism. Tom, however, records how he returned to Mago after an absence of three weeks and saw George sailing out in the dinghy over the reef to meet him: 'Wasn't he glad to see us' he wrote, 'and the Island was'.³

~~Added to psychological advantages was practical intelligence.~~

George learnt to sail a boat in Geelong harbour, while Edmund spent his time in the libraries of Geelong and Melbourne taking notes on the cultivation and preparation of cotton, coffee, tobacco and sugar. He also had experience of pig breeding and boiling down, gained at an establishment on the Richmond River, Queensland.⁴ He mentioned to Tom

1. E. Ryder to T.U. Ryder, 21 December 1864. The brothers all kept diaries but the early ones at least were lost when the first house they built was destroyed by fire in 1866.

2. Ibid.

3. Postscript to E. Ryder to T.U. Ryder, 21 December 1864.

4. E. Ryder to T.U. Ryder, 2 April 1864.

various relatives from whom it was possible to get advice on various forms of agricultural activity, and stressed the importance of first-class preparation of produce to command high prices to offset high freight costs. Tom saw cotton growing at Lomaloma in 1863 from seeds obtained from Brewer's plantation on Wakaya, and decided to specialise in the production of sea island cotton, while distributing seed to Fijians for them to plant, and going in for the production of tobacco and pig farming as a standby.

The capital at their disposal was considerable. By 1863, when George, the youngest son, was nineteen, the family owned one pastoral property, 'Tandara', and had just sold another, 'Tavong Springs'. Edmund and Henry were contemplating investment in another station, had not Fiji seemed more attractive. In addition to family capital, the brothers were able to arrange external credit. Edmund asked Tom to 'arrange with any Sydney firm to carry us on for 12 or 24 months'.¹ It seems that Tom did so, as George remarks in his narrative that 'we did our business in Sydney through Messrs. Mart and Co.'. It was Messrs. Mart & Co. also, who were responsible for building the schooner Quickstep on behalf of the Ryder brothers, in 1871.² Even from the commencement of the enterprise, adequate capital meant an ability to do without middlemen, and to be the middlemen for others as well as

1. E.H. Ryder to T.K. Ryder, 14 April 1864 (Ryder Papers).

2. E.H., 28 October 1871, see Ch. 1.

producers themselves. Probably their most important item of equipment was their boat, the White Swan, which they had specially built at Balmain and took with them on board the Rotumah as far as Tonga. She was double-ended, thirty-three feet overall, with a beam of eight feet and two feet six inches draught. She carried a ton of internal ballast ranged the length of her keel for an easy motion. Schooner rigged, painted white, with a vermilion streak two inches wide around her gunwale, she proved a versatile craft. In her, the three men made the four hundred miles ocean voyage from Tonga to Nago. She could carry a load of twenty labourers from Viti Levu or over three thousand yams from Tavuni, and yet was not too deep to be brought close inshore over the island's fringing reef. She sailed well too, beating the King of Tonga's yacht in a race, and making several passages at continuous speeds of six or seven knots. Initially the White Swan enabled them to obtain food from the cheapest source of supply, and later, when they had set up their own machinery, to earn money by purchasing cotton from as far afield as the Hawa and bringing it to Nago to be ginned and pressed. They brought a primitive gin with them on the Rotumah and made a press to drawings made by Edmund. Both gin and press were driven by a windmill, put up by George, with the assistance of Captain Henry, charitably described as 'an old sea captain and resident of Lomaloma'. The gin was replaced in 1867 by a McCarthy knife-gin, and the place of the windmill was taken by a Ransome and Sims steam engine of six horse-power.

The White Swan was on one of her trips to Taveuni for a cargo of yams when she was lost, early in 1867, together with Edmund, and a beachcomber called Stephen Loomer who was employed as an interpreter. This incident did nothing to diminish the confidence of the Ryder parents in the ability of their sons. They sent Rupert to investigate and assess their needs and chances of success. His report must have been favourable because it was on his return to Sydney (the parents had by this time moved to Surwood) that new machinery was ordered and an order was placed for a forty ton ketch, the America, to be built as a replacement for the White Swan. Rupert became a partner of his younger brothers in the plantation. The loss of Edmund and the White Swan was not their only setback. A hurricane in 1865 destroyed their first crop of cotton, just as it was ready to be picked. (It is worth noting that a similar event, in March 1871, ruined many later settlers who lacked the financial leeway needed for survival.) It was not until late in 1866 that the first cargo of cotton left the island. They were dependent at this time on the chance visit of a ship, the William and Mary, from New Zealand.¹ The skipper bought all their cotton for one shilling a pound. This was far below the market price, but communication with the outside world had been meagre, and the Ryders had to take what they were offered.² 'In a few weeks

1. An unusual vessel for the Pacific trade, she was described as being flat-bottomed like a Thames barge and fitted with leeboards. G. L. Ryder, op. cit., p. 23.

2. Edmund had written in December 1864 to his parents: 'I wish there was a more frequent communication between Fiji and Sydney (at the last hurricane 6 or 7 vessels were lost, regular traders, and since then 2 more drifted onto reefs in a calm which now reduced the number to 3.'

more' wrote George, 'we should have to have made garments out of goat skins like Robinson Crusoe'.¹

In 1867 the Ryders' credit must have been considerably stretched. There was one debt to F. and W. Hennings, of \$449, still unpaid at the end of the year,² and this was the year when a great deal of new equipment was imported including the steam engine and the ketch America. With her in service however, they had another source of income, and regular access to Sydney. It was the next year, after this heavy expenditure, that they made their first real gains. The third crop they had planted produced thirty bales of cotton which sold for an average of \$65 each at 3s 6d per lb - fetching a total of £2,100.³ From then on they were financially secure.

Enterprise, capital and adaptability, however, would have been no use without successful race relations. George's appraisal of the situation when they reached Mago was realistic:

I have often thought since ^{of} our temerity, three of us landing on an island, inhabited by some seven hundred men, women and children to take possession of it, it seemed a risky thing considering that there was no law in the country, might was right, and club law was the only law.⁴

1. G.L. Ryder, op. cit., p. 24.

2. G.L., Thurston to Ryder brothers, 30 November 1867.

3. G.L. Ryder, op. cit., p. 40.

4. Ibid., p. 13.

The Ryders were not sentimental. It made sense from their point of view to gain the support of what might there was available. It would have been easy, in the political circumstances at the time of purchase, to have been eliminated in the struggle between Ma'afu and Tui Cakau, to have become a pawn between them. The Ryders succeeded in taking a neutral stand between them and gained the support of both. Ma'afu moved the inhabitants of Nago to Vanua Balavu - not because the Ryders asked him to but to retain favour with the British Consul, and to keep them in Vanua Balavu under his eye, so that there would be no danger of their supporting Tui Cakau. Tui Cakau visited Nago in March 1865 and was received in a manner appropriate to his station. Amicable relations were clearly established from the beginning as he made his men help in the work of clearing the plantation and always remained on good terms afterwards. For the Ryders, this was a prime necessity and they were prepared to go to considerable lengths to keep on good terms. In early 1867, George, Edmund and Stephen Leamer went to see Tui Cakau at Nairiki to get a cargo of yams to feed their labourers. The transaction was delayed by the arrival of a trader with several cases of gin, and a drunken orgy began which lasted four days.¹ When the orgy was over the sizeable flotilla of canoes and local vessels left for Natusa Bay. Tui Cakau chose to travel in the White Swan, and on arrival at Karcalsai, 'set aside ten thousand

1. G.L. Ryder says Tui Cakau 'had another name 'Ungotelea', or great drinker, from his capacity to drink yagons (Fiji grog), also square gin; the great drink amongst the whites in Fiji'.

yams and seven of the largest pigs for the whites to take back to Mago'.¹ It took them three trips to do it. In the meantime, another trader arrived with a case of gin, with the inevitable result. 'Hennings called out "we had better get to our boats" which we did in quick time.' Tui Cakau however, was eventually induced to let off steam by sailing round the bay in his yacht the Caroline, firing cannon at the shores, and racial harmony was maintained.

Good relations with great chiefs, however, were not enough. The contingencies of life on an isolated island also demanded a working relationship with labourers, whether, as to begin with, they were the inhabitants of Mago, or whether they came from elsewhere. In both cases the Ryders were heavily outnumbered, and prosperity and even survival could only be assured by a mixture of friendliness, tact, and courage. When they arrived on Mago, they found, in addition to Camradt, a beachcomber called Joe Long who was in the employment of Hennings. Camradt had been able to purchase what food he needed from the islanders, but Joe Long, on Hennings' instructions, persuaded them to sell none to the Ryders, in the hope of starving them out. He would then have been able to sell the island to someone else at a higher price, but the Ryders outflanked him:

... we had made friends with two or three of the native men, and they brought us what we required.²

1. G.L. Ryder, op. cit., p. 28.

2. Ibid., p. 15.

The Ryders commenced operations on a purely beachcomber basis by trading with them for tortoiseshell, which gave the natives an interest in their continued presence on the island. When clearing commenced, they made arrangements with the five 'towns' on the island for five men to come from each one, for a week at a time, to be paid and fed in return for work at clearing and planting. This seemed to work for a time, but the novelty soon wore off:

Our friends the Mago natives, unused at any time in their lives to anything like continuous work, finally wearied of it and we were left with the land on our hands, covered with fallen timber.

No more work could be done till the visit of Tui Cakau, three weeks later. Together with the Mago natives, the warriors tackled the job 'the Chief supervising the work, joking and laughing at his men when they pretended to be weary'.² But this could only be a temporary expedient. It was clearly no use attempting to introduce the wage system into the self-sufficient economy of Mago, and so the Ryders abandoned it and adapted themselves to local custom as it applied to the execution of communal tasks. Edmund wrote:

George and I with an interpreter went in the dinghy right round the island ... visiting the different towns (5) and making arrangements for a grand feast to come off on the following Monday. All the towns agreed to come and work ... in consideration for which I was to give each town 1 pig and 100 yams with a leaf of tobacco to each man per day. They came, cut down all the scrub I wished, and had their feast.... I wish I had done this at first, I should have made greater progress.³

1. G.L. Ryder, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

3. Ryder Papers, E.M. Ryder to his parents, 21 December 1864.

This system was only possible however, so long as the natives of Mago could be persuaded that the Ryders did not want them to leave the island. When Ma'afu ordered them to go, the Ryders were blamed for it, identity of interest no longer existed, and relations deteriorated rapidly. In late 1866 it was discovered that fourteen men had returned from Vanua Balavu in two canoes, and were living in one of the old towns. The Ryders surprised and disarmed them, but encountered forty more walking along the beach. The crisis was better than Ballantyne:

Standing firearms in hand, with our backs
to the wall of rock nearest the sea, we stood,
awaiting their oncoming.¹

The Fijians performed a war dance, but the Ryders stood their ground, and since only they possessed firearms, the attack never came, though had relations been more strained it would have done. It would have cost three lives at most to repossess the island, but instead negotiations were opened through Zedaviki [Seturiki] a Mago man whom the Ryders knew personally, and a truce was arranged, followed by the inevitable deportation on Ma'afu's orders.

It was clear, some time before this, that local labour was inadequate and unsatisfactory, and in 1865 the White Swan sailed on a recruiting trip to Viti Levu Bay on the Ra coast and called at three villages:

1. G.L. Ryder, op. cit., p. 24.

The custom was on going ashore to make the chief of the town a present of some trade, and also several parcels of trade, one parcel to be handed to the chief for each young man he induced to come.¹

Twenty men were obtained by this means and they were billeted in one of the old Mago towns. This remained the practice until after cession, when labour was obtained from the New Hebrides. It was usual to return the men at the end of a year:

They were paid off and sent back to their homes, and when they spoke so well of the treatment they had received and that we were kind to them and paid them well, that many of their fellow townsmen were anxious to come to us and we had no difficulty in filling the vessel.²

The impression that the Ryders realized the value of maintaining good race relations and the futility of harsh treatment is corroborated independently by Sir Arthur Gordon. Rupert Ryder was in his opinion 'A good sort, I think, a gentleman'³ - an epithet unlikely to have been used of anyone who did not share Gordon's views on the treatment of Fijians. Gordon also singles out 'Mr. Ryder of Mago and Mr. Barrack of Savu Savu' as men who, during the measles epidemic of 1875 'have shown great humanity towards the natives, and careful attention to them'.⁴ The Ryders in fact imposed a successful quarantine on Mago

1. G.L. Ryder, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

3. Stanmore, Records of Public and of Private Life. Vol I., p. 129.

4. *Ibid.*

at the time of the measles, with the result that everyone on the island escaped the disease.

Good race-relations proved sound economics. By the end of 1869 the Fiji Times reported that:

The Ryders appear to have got over all the difficulties that are ever springing up to thwart the plans of a new beginner in a wild country.¹

Two hundred and thirteen acres were producing cotton, there was a stone jetty, and a building for gins, packing and pressing, sixty feet by thirty feet. The price of Mago cotton, which reached 4s 6d per lb. in 1870, was achieved as a result of careful preparation, itself evidence of a co-operative work force, disinclined even to passive sabotage:

Every morning, before going to work, each picker has to pass the whole of his previous days picking through his hands and to remove every particle of leaf, stick or extraneous matter of any kind.²

In that year, they exported 'something like \$6000 worth of cotton',³ and they were on the road to making a fortune. The island which they had bought for \$350 was sold, twenty-seven years later, for \$50,000.⁴

The news of the price which the 1867 crop from Mago had reached

1. E.I.T., 18 December 1869.

2. E.I.T., 18 December 1869.

3. H. Britton, Fiji in 1870, p. 21.

4. Cyclopaedia of Fiji, 1907, p. 296.

was a major factor precipitating a vastly increased rate of migration from Australia and New Zealand by people who expected the same success. But their case was not the same. The Ryders knew what they were coming to and had the capital, patience, and ingenuity to make the best use of it. They were also fortunate in their ability and inclination to establish realistic relations with the Fijian people with whom they came in contact and also in obtaining the support of powerful chiefs. This proved a recipe for success, in European terms, which was successfully followed by others, especially in Lau and Taveuni, though paradoxically it was achieved through interfering with Fijian society as little as possible, and by serving the purposes of the Fijian chiefs as well as their own.

Chapter 4

ADVENTUROUS SPIRITS:The Settlement of Southern Viti Levu

The success story of the Ryder brothers and the confident enterprise of other large scale operators like Swanston, Brower, and Alexander Barrack proved a seductive magnet to men of lesser means and knowledge, and especially to the restless generation on the gold-fields of Australia and New Zealand, stranded by the receding economic tide of the 1860s. Mining communities were especially prone to fluctuations in prosperity even when mining was financed on a company basis. Men who had migrated to Australia in the early 1850s had not been members of any particular colonial community for long enough to develop a sense of deep identity with it, and the fact that men greatly outnumbered women, especially in mining communities, meant that personal ties were few. By the early 1860s thousands of men had migrated again from Victoria to New Zealand, sometimes back again to new gold-fields in Australia or on to the west coast of the South Island.¹ In the area comprised by what the editor of the Melbourne Argus called 'the colonies of the Australian group',² further migration was the habitual solution to local economic stagnation, and as the price of cotton

1. See P.R. May, The West Coast Gold Rushes (Christchurch 1967), pp. 120-122 and especially Appendices 1 and 2. These show that on this gold-field 'the progress, Australia-Otago-West Coast is obvious and it was difficult to find exceptions to this pattern'.

2. Argus, 4 December 1861.

continued to rise and increasingly favourable reports of Fiji came into private hands and into the Colonial press, Fiji seemed to many to be the next place to go. For those whom Dr. Litton Forbes described as 'adventurous spirits',¹ hearsay could be a more potent persuader than accurate knowledge. The lesson of colonial experience and especially of the gold rushes was that fortunes were made by first-comers. If the facts and the risks were common knowledge, it was too late already. Even for some men with wives and families, Fiji proved a popular alternative to the frustration of waiting for colonial parliaments to provide men of small means with access to the land. John Cormack, of Tuapeka, Otago, eventually came to Fiji with his family in 1870, but was thinking of it at least two years beforehand. He told a meeting of the Tuapeka Land League:

Scarce a week passes without people leaving the district who had told him that a few years ago, they intended first to make a little money and then buy a farm and settle down. Yet so blind was the Government that all this agitation was necessary to compel them to do an act which both justice and common sense required. The general talk now was 'I'll go home', or 'I'll go to the Fijis', and this among men who two years ago, had not the slightest intention of leaving the district.²

Settlers like John Cormack may have expected the same degree of success as the Ayder brothers and others like them, but they started at

-
1. A. Forbes, Two Years in Fiji (London 1875), p. 2. Forbes himself was wealthier than most of his contemporaries and became a planter on Taveuni.
 2. Tuapeka Times, 7 November 1868. cit. J.D. King, 'Otago and Fiji 1868-1870', p. 6. See 'Notes on Sources'.

a disadvantage. In the first place, they generally had less capital. This meant they wanted cheap land, which could most easily be obtained on Viti Levu where constant warfare between coastal and interior tribes created a demand for muskets. The Ryders did not seek to change the political conditions which they found, but to use them for their own purposes, while they had the self-assurance which made it easy to be adaptable. The newcomers on the other hand, the ex-diggers, small farmers and tradespeople, who came to the very different environment of heavily populated river valleys and deltas of the largest island, saw themselves in the role of colonists who would make Fiji another Victoria, New South Wales, or New Zealand. They were people who had always kept moving to forget the failures of the past, and whose one hope was a successful speculation. It made them, as a group, extremely anxious and prone to self-delusion.

The first inducement to migrants of this kind was the publicity given to Fiji by Consul W.T. Pritchard's advertisements and letters in the Colonial press in 1860.¹ Few stayed when it became clear that Fiji was not to become a British Colony after all, though in 1866 Pritchard's little colony on Ovalau still survived, consisting of a Melbourne store-keeper, an ex-Indian army soldier and his wife, a wheelwright, his wife and family and 'four men of the labouring class'.² They were joined

1. E.g. Sydney Morning Herald, 11 July 1860. See also R.A. Derrick, op. cit., p. 146.

2. Australasian, 3 November 1866.

temporarily by a party of people who arrived from Auckland in a small schooner 'a luckless set of passengers who, it seems, deluded by the accounts of Fiji that had appeared in the colonial papers, had left Auckland in the expectations of making their fortunes in the islands'.¹ In Pritchard's view these early settlers were 'not of the right sort'² and he clearly found their comparatively humble status a disappointment, but they were a fair sample of the kind of migrant Fiji continued to attract. Shortly after his arrival in 1864 Consul Jones reported that cotton production had showed a marked increase,³ which was due to the individual efforts of settlers:

... for the most part men without any capital who having obtained some land from the natives cultivated it by their own personal labour.... Fiji offers many advantages to those who are unable to endure the severity of an Australian climate or whose capital is too small to promise a sufficient return in the colonies.

Six months later, though convinced that the development of the country would require settlers with more capital, he said that most settlers were still dependent on their own manual labour for their livelihood.⁴

Statistical reports of economic progress reposed unseen on the shelves of the Foreign Office; but, despite the absence of publicity in the Colonial press until 1866, the consular records show that individual settlers must have had plenty to write home about:

1. Baythe (Mrs.), Ten Months in the Fiji Islands (Oxford 1864), p. 123.

2. Australasian, 3 November 1866.

3. See table on p. 125.

4. C.L. Reports, 17 July and 26 December 1865.

Shipping increased too, though the British Consul only began to keep a systematic record in 1865. The aggregate tonnage¹ of overseas shipping entering the port of Levuka that year was 3,326. In 1866 this increased to 4,024. In 1867 it was 3,797 and in 1868, 7,101. The number of ships was included only in the reports for 1867 and 1868, when they totalled twenty-five and fifty-one respectively.² Imports not only increased, but like exports, reflected a gradual change from a predominantly trading to a predominantly planting community.

Imports 1863-1867

	1863 (24 Jan. - 30 June)	1866	1867	
			By traders	By settlers
Manchester goods	£4,025 ³	£10,000		
Ironmongery & Cutlery	950 ⁴	7,000		
Wine, Beer & Spirits	1,500	3,000		
Ship-chandlery		1,500		
Groceries & Provisions	2,000	2,000		
Wearing Apparel		500		
Tobacco		500		
Machinery		700		
Totals			£26,000	£3,000
	£8,275 [£16,000]	£25,200	£29,000	5

-
1. Presumably the registered tonnage.
 2. Consular reports for 31 December 1866 and 31 December 1868.
 3. This figure includes wearing apparel - listed separately in 1866.
 4. This presumably includes ship-chandlery - listed separately in 1866.
 5. Compiled from the Consular reports of 11 July 1863, 31 December 1866, and 31 December 1867. The total value of imports for 1863 can thus be estimated at about £16,000.

To the settlers themselves it seemed that they were making remarkable progress, and it is reasonable to assume that their letters to friends and relatives in Australia and New Zealand said so. One of them wrote to the editor of Fiji's first newspaper:

The advance, during the last five years ... is wonderful ... during the next five years who can calculate on our future if only the right class of people make their homes among us.¹

By 1866, advertisements for settlers were no longer necessary. Fiji gained increasing attention from the colonial press because of its news value. Kari Van Damsse, for example, a young man from Melbourne who obtained a clerical post in the British Consulate in 1866, wrote a series of articles about Fiji which appeared in the Australasian. Cotton prices, and other marks of economic progress, were a recurrent item of news in the Sydney Morning Herald, the Argus, the South Australian Register, the New Zealand Herald, the Otago Daily Times, and probably other major newspapers as well. In small rural communities from which settlers had migrated to Fiji, local newspapers either published the articles which appeared in the metropolitan papers or in some cases, such as those of the Taranaki Times and the Bruce Herald, appointed their own correspondents. Common to all these communications was a note of high optimism. The Illustrated New Zealand Herald told its readers on 1 March 1868 that:

1. Fijian Weekly News and Planter's Journal, 5 September 1868.

The climate is one of the finest in the world, land is easily procurable, and so rich is the soil, that it will produce almost anything. Cotton simply requires to be planted and gathered to find a ready and remunerative market.¹

Newspaper editors published 'emigrants' letters', a well-tried form of publicity for new colonies, and at least some of those which remained unpublished were obviously effective inducements to those who received them. The result was an increase of the European population from 400 in December 1866 to 631 in December 1867 and 1248 in December 1868.² The increase can be tabulated as follows:

1. Cit. J.D. King, op. cit., p. 14.

2. From Consular reports of these dates.

	Dec. 1866	Dec. 1867								Dec. 1868							
		British	British 'Part- Europeans'	Total British	Amer- icans	Amer- icans 'Part- Europeans'	Total Amer- icans	Various	Total	British	British 'Part- Europeans'	Total British	Amer- icans	Amer- icans 'Part- Europeans'	Total Amer- icans	Various	Total
Men	316	252	85	337	31	23	54	40		491	95	586	42	26	62	50	
Women	31	45	63	108	1	21	22	1		89	65	154	2	22	24	2	
Children Under 12	53	114	90	204	6	57	63	2		174	114	288	8	64	72	4	
Totals	400	411	238	649	38	101	139	43	831	754	274	1028	52	112	164	56	1248

It will be seen from the table that the number of settlers increased sharply in 1867 and 1868. The rate of migration continued to increase for another two years.

But, though they may have possessed the courage and even the intelligence of those settlers whom they hoped to emulate, the conditions they encountered on arrival in Fiji were already very different. The most favourable districts for settlement were in eastern Fiji where islands could be cleared of their inhabitants or remain under the authority of all-powerful chiefs. After December 1865 however, the factors which had led to the sale of the islands of northern Lau were no longer operative.¹ In Taveuni, the large areas of land which had been purchased by Oliver Brown and William Beddoes were available for settlement, but initially new arrivals preferred to obtain the cheaper land available in the valleys of the longer rivers of Viti Levu. In these areas, Cakobau was nominally supreme, indeed he was accepted as the leading chief throughout Fiji, but his local authority was really much weaker than that of either Tui Cakau or Ma'afu and, when it came to buying land and settling on it, effective local authority was what counted.

Fritchard, the first British Consul, had claimed to be accredited to an authority which existed only in his imagination. Jones, who was appointed Fritchard's successor in August 1863, did not reach his post until twelve months later. He was at once confronted with the

1. That is, after Tui Cakau and Ma'afu had agreed to allow Consul Jones to settle their differences.

need for a competent authority to whom he could present his credentials. He hoped that the Confederation of 1865 would fill this need, but its existence, which was merely formal, lasted only for two years until the creation of the less ambitious but much more effective 'Tovata Ko Lau'. Settlers in Viti Levu found that Cakobau was either unwilling or unable to protect them and sought to bring pressure on him through the Consul. Jones wrote to him in June 1865:

As you of your own free will voluntarily accepted the post of President of Fiji the white settlers now look to you for redress of grievances or injuries committed by your people.... Hitherto, notwithstanding your promises, nothing has been done, and the settlers on the Rewa river are in imminent danger of losing their lives and property.... If you cannot do justice and keep order within a few miles of your own town of what use are you?¹

The political problem in western Fiji was that the chiefs had no permanent interest in the outcome of settlement. Their ends were served once payment had been made for the land, and yet they alone had the power to govern. Ma'afu had used the interests of settlers to consolidate his authority and so gave them the security they needed. Jones argued that Tonga was Cakobau's best potential ally and that, as in 1855, Tongan help would enable him to consolidate his position.² Settlers, however, were more shortsighted. They feared the Tongan leasehold system and urged Cakobau to remain hostile toward Tupou

1. C.L., Jones to Cakobau, 7 June 1865.

2. C.L., Consular report, 12 July 1867.

'alienating the only friend who has the will and power to serve him'.¹ Alternative advice was offered by two men, William Haskins Drew and Samuel Avery St John. St John first came to Fiji in 1854, spent a few years elsewhere, probably in Australia, and also in Hawaii, and then returned in 1860 to take up residence in Levuka.² He married a Maori woman shortly after his arrival and became a close adviser to Cakobau.³ Jones reported on 18 July 1867 that St John had recently become Cakobau's 'secretary' while he himself said that he had been Cakobau's 'minister' for the whole of 1867.⁴ His closest collaborator was W.H. Drew, an Englishman from Bath, Somerset, who became Cakobau's commercial agent in 1866⁵ and replaced St John as Cakobau's secretary in October 1868.⁶

According to Jones it was the secession of the 'Tovata Ko Lau' from the Confederation of 1865 which promoted Cakobau to take advantage of a recent victory over a few neighbouring tribes by having himself crowned as king of Fiji and issuing a code of laws and a constitution.⁷

-
1. G.L., Consular report, 18 July 1867.
 2. L.C.C. E753. St John claimed to be descended from the 17th century parliament-man of the same name, who fled at the Restoration of 1660. S.A. St John had been in California before coming to Fiji in 1854, and was an American citizen.
 3. A.B. Brewster, King of the Cannibal Islands, p. 26.
 4. L.C.C. H1000.
 5. R.A. Derrick, op. cit., p. 163 n. 22.
 6. Fijian Weekly News and Planter's Journal, 3 October 1868.
 7. G.L., Consular report, 18 July 1867.

The real initiative, however, was probably St John's. In a recapitulation of events which he gave to a public meeting in 1871 he said: 'In 1867 there was trouble up the Rewa river and it was necessary to get some protection'.¹ St John's first step, in March 1867, was to summon a meeting of between sixty and seventy European settlers from 'all parts of Fiji except Bau and Lau' and to persuade them to agree to pay a royalty of one shilling per acre to Cakobau on all land purchases in return for protection against the local inhabitants.² In expecting Cakobau's authority to prove effective, the settlers were being unrealistic. Thurston described him, nine months later, as merely one of the more powerful chiefs in Fiji: 'Many of the tribes over whom he claims to rule will not even have heard of him let alone acknowledge his authority'.³ Optimistic settlers nevertheless paid up and by the end of the year Cakobau had gained from £200 to £300 from this source. It was not a sufficient sum, however, to defray the costs of punitive expeditions against distant tribes, since the salary of the secretary alone was to be £400 a year.⁴

The settlers next agreed to adopt a formal constitution and the secretaries of the leading chiefs determined to use their influence in getting their masters to acknowledge the supremacy of Bau and to

-
1. E.I., 28 June 1871. St John was referring to the war between Bau and the tribes living on the upper part of the Rewa, which took place in December 1866 and January 1867 and which in fact preceded the settlement of the area by Europeans.
 2. L.C.C. R1000. Cross examination of St John by W.R. Scott.
 3. C.L., Consular report, 31 December 1867.
 4. C.L., Thurston to Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 23 August 1869.

accept the constitution, modelled on that of the Kingdom of Hawaii. That accomplished Cakobau was crowned on 2 May 1867 in the church at Bau with a crown made of zinc by a Levuka carpenter at a cost of four and a half dollars.¹ The wording of the constitution made the intentions of St John and the settlers extremely explicit. This was not an attempt at the civilized government of a plural society but simply a means of utilising such authority as Cakobau possessed for the protection of settler interests. The 'Declaration of Rights' which accompanied Cakobau's coronation was more remarkable for its omissions from its American prototype than anything else. 'God hath created all' it read, but there was no mention of their equality, while 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness' was expanded to include 'the right of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property and obtaining safety and happiness'. Slavery was not to be tolerated within the new kingdom, 'for a longer term than the king may deem necessary', while 'involuntary servitude for the punishment of crime shall be and is according to law'. The chief purpose of the government was made manifest in article XVIII, to 'make wholesome and just laws for protecting the life, property and interests of all foreigners residing in his kingdom'.²

The chances of this purpose being achieved were remote. Within the chiefdom of Bau, and on the islands of Lemaiviti, Cakobau's authority,

1. Sydney Morning Herald, 30 July 1867.

2. Ibid.

which resulted from the long-standing naval supremacy of Bau, could continue to be effective,¹ but it was ineffective in distant areas such as Ra, Rati, Sigatoka and the Upper Rewa where naval supremacy was no advantage.² Even within the limited area of Cakobau's authority the unashamedly pro-settler aims of the government were unlikely to gain Fijian co-operation, and Cakobau himself proved less and less enthusiastic as settlers gained in numbers and confidence and became less inclined to take his authority seriously. What counted, in the river valleys of Viti Levu, was whether the local chiefs and people could be reconciled to European settlement. Before 1860, contact with Europeans had been slight and European goods were only to be acquired by trading, or more frequently, by fighting with the people of the coast. The European desire for land from 1860 onwards gave the inland people the kind of opportunity which had been presented to those of the coastal areas in the 1830s, the opportunity to acquire European armaments and implements, and they took it with the same enthusiasm. It was easier, after all, to place a mark on a piece of parchment than to fill a ship with beche-de-mer.³ It was easier still if the land in

-
1. Even here his authority was restricted. He attempted to quell Moala in 1871, but the inhabitants succeeded in maintaining their independence and continued to acknowledge the authority of Ma'afu. *F.I.*, 28 June 1871. He did however succeed in establishing his authority over the Yasawas where Ratu Abel, of the house of Bau, was able to sell land and maintain the purchasers in possession against the wishes of the inhabitants, who continued to regard themselves as belonging to Bau. L.C.C. R1050. General Report on the Yasawas.
 2. Jones made this point in his report of 18 July 1867.
 3. See F. France, 'The Charter of the Land', unpublished thesis, A.N.U., 1967, pp. 106-107.

question had first been conquered from somebody else, as was very often the case. The trouble was that once the purchase had been made the trading was done. European monopoly of the means of production excluded the local inhabitants from a continuing commercial relationship, unless they forced its continuation by helping themselves to the good things the Europeans brought with them, and as race relations deteriorated, they often did. When plantations were sacked and settlers slaughtered it was not always because the people objected to their occupation of the land, it was often because their monopoly of wealth was a standing affront, and in many cases terrified settlers were prevented from leaving because if they left the local people feared that their only chance of obtaining more goods would be gone.

The settlers who came to Fiji from the country communities of Australia and New Zealand could not know of the cloud which hung over their enterprise, and in any case their previous colonial experience of expansion and economic progress at the expense of indigenous inhabitants led them to believe what they were told. The Rewa, with its apparently vast quantities of fertile alluvial land together with the easy communication provided by the river itself, was the first area to attract their intensive interest, and they were delighted by the prospects it appeared to offer. Henry Upton Thomas, for example, was a settler who arrived from Napier, New Zealand, in 1863 and bought land forty-five miles from the mouth of the Rewa. He wrote home immediately urging his friends and relatives to sell their properties

and join him:

Rewa is the finest country I have ever seen without exception. If the Napier sheep farmers were only ¹ to see this country it would make their eyes water.

The cost of getting a Fijian-style house built was between £2 and £5 and food was cheap, provided the settler was prepared to live on local food. Thomas claimed it cost him ten shillings per week. The climate was kind, fires were unnecessary, he claimed: 'you can always go about with a pair of trousers and shirt on and no shoes on I don't wear any'.² The scenery he described as beautiful, and he claimed that the Rewa was navigable by a one hundred ton steamer for sixty miles, which was only a slight exaggeration. The Fijians seemed to him, in this period of early innocence, an interesting people to whom he felt no hostility:

I like the natives very well what I have seen of them some of them have got such huge heads of hair that they can hardly get in the doorways. They are a very interesting people take them altogether. They are always fighting somewhere but never interfere with the exception of some fools who go right to the very place where they are fighting and eating one another. The country where I am they never did eat one another.³

The early land purchases on the Rewa did little to disturb the optimism with which such settlers arrived, because they were made for purposes

1. L.C.C. R39

2. Ibid.

3. L.C.C. R39.

of either trade - which the Fijians wanted just as much as the Europeans did - or for speculation rather than settlement, which from the Fijian point of view was a one-sided bargain in their favour.

As Thomas saw it:

... the old hands have not done anything to make the place go ahead, while they can get plenty to eat and plenty of grog to drink they care for nothing else.¹

Jimmy Dyer, for example, the purchaser of Toga island in the Rewa delta, used it merely as a trading base until he sold it to John Austen on 23 August 1861. Austen was a master mariner, and his partner, Otty Cudlip, was an auctioneer. Austen remained at sea and Cudlip returned to New Zealand before eventually settling in Levuka in 1864.²

A contemporary, and another offshoot from the international beachcomber community of Laucala, was the Frenchman Joubert who purchased Ka Dawa on 31 August 1857, a site of fourteen acres above the point where the Rewa divides into the streams of the delta. It was not until 1868 that he sold it to Silas Freeman Page who wanted it for a sawmill.³ Swanston and Pickering were also early speculators who made their initial purchase in 1861 but apart from minor subdivision in favour of the

1. L.C.C. R39.

2. L.C.C. R407 (Toga Island), R175 for Cudlip's purchase of Wai ni Sasi, Upper Rewa, in 1864. He did not live there either. In 1867 he was running a small island schooner and in 1868 his advertisements appear in the Fijian Weekly News & Planter's Journal, so Levuka was his probable residence from 1864 or thereabouts. He became a leading citizen of the Levuka of 1870, and his wife was regarded as a leader of society.

3. L.C.C. R363.

Wesleyan mission no settlement resulted until 1867.¹ A strikingly successful speculation was that of James Magoun, who purchased the island of Nukumoto on the Upper Rewa on 12 April 1860, and sold it on 12 July the same year to Swanston for \$450. Swanston sold it to Jacob Storck for an unspecified price in January 1861 and he in turn sold it to F. & W. Hennings on 25 June 1862 for \$600. Such transactions as these left racial harmony undisturbed.²

Jacob Paul Storck deserves to be regarded as the pioneer of European settlement on the Rewa, as he was the district's first successful cotton grower. Storck was born in Strosberg, Hesse Darmstadt, on 21 October 1838, and arrived in Sydney in 1856 where he was employed at the Sydney Botanical Gardens. In 1860 Berthold Seemann selected him as his botanical assistant for his visit to Fiji. Storck gave his own story of subsequent events as follows:

I came to Fiji as assistant to Dr. Seemann, botanist. Then the American cotton dearth set in, and Seemann and Pritchard persuaded me to stay in the country and commence planting cotton. I stayed about five weeks at Magoun's at Burebagasa³ while my house was being built at Nukumoto... I put in doors and windows and lived there, did a year's work and in time got the whole island under undisputed control... Natives had portions of plantations when I first went there, and in time, by tact, and perseverance, I got them off one by one.⁴

-
1. L.C.C. R177 and R187.
 2. L.C.C. R358.
 3. A village near Nukumoto where Magoun was presumably living with the Fijians.
 4. L.C.C. R358. Storck next established a cotton plantation on the Viti estate with the support of F. & W. Hennings. He was joined by his brother Gottlieb in 1864 when he placed in charge of the Nukumoto plantation (see Cyclopedia of Fiji 1907, pp. 241-2). J.P. Storck married Alexandria Sophia Haag of Karlsruhe, Baden on 15 October 1868 at the Catholic mission, Levuka, see Fijian Weekly News and Planter's Journal, 21 October 1868.

Tact and perseverance, coupled with the expectation of a continuous supply of trade which settlement would bring, made it possible for the early settlers to prosper. Storek was closely followed by J.B. Snytherman, originally a Wolverhampton merchant¹ who reached Fiji by way of Auckland, New Zealand, in November 1860.² He grew sea island cotton successfully on Makuluu island and sent a sample of it to the London exhibition of 1862.³ He did not remain long on the Rewa however, but became an overseer for F. & W. Hennings on the island of Mokokoi.⁴ W.M. McIntock possibly shares with Snytherman the distinction of being the first to grow sea island cotton in Fiji. He arrived in New South Wales in 1861 and left almost immediately for Fiji, having arranged for some sea island cotton seed to be sent there from the United States. He returned to Australia after obtaining his first crop because 'the Fijians, being then uncivilised, refused to work'.⁵

From New Zealand came Amos Witherow, who had made £1800 on 'the diggings' and purchased two hundred and eighty acres of land in Hawkes Bay and more in Canterbury, where he set himself up as a potato merchant.

-
1. This is clear from a biographical note on his son, F.C. Snytherman, born on the Rewa in 1863 (Cyclopaedia of Fiji, p. 287).
 2. L.C.C. R39. A notebook belonging to Snytherman was produced in evidence on a dispute between H.U. Thomas and A. Witherow. The entry for 16 May 1867 gives some biographical details. Snytherman arrived with his wife, having been married on 10 March 1860.
 3. Australasian, 17 September 1870.
 4. Thurston to F. & W. Hennings (C.L.) n.d. 1867.
 5. Cakobau Government, Miscellaneous correspondence, folio 2. McIntock lived in Queensland for some time, and then returned to Fiji in 1871 with his family, an 80 ton schooner, and equipment for the establishment of a plantation on Taveuni.

He came to Fiji, probably in 1862, with his wife, and set himself up as a trader with a stock worth £600, before turning to the purchase of land.¹ Also from Christchurch came Edward Reece, who arrived on the Nawa in 1860. It was not, however, until he was joined by his brother William in February 1868 that he commenced planting on Naitasiri, the property he had purchased.² Most influential of all the pioneer settlers of the Nawa was Fred Hennings who arrived in 1859 from Nanca. Godeffroy's had purchased the deceased estate of Kort, a Sydney trader, and the initial intention was that Hennings should simply take over the existing business. The local interest in cotton however, soon created new opportunities. In 1863 Hennings put up a windmill in Nawa town, to drive a cotton gin, and from then on was in a position to finance settlement on future crop liens. Credit was freely extended; so much so that settlers of small means were tempted to overburden themselves with debt. By the time the Land Claims Commission sat, at least thirteen properties on the Nawa originally established by individuals who borrowed from Hennings had fallen into the hands of the firm.³

1. L.C.C. 839.

2. L.C.C. 8623.

3. S.P.P. [c 3815 enclosures no. 5, German claims]. It is interesting to note that the pressure on the British Government for settlement of these claims came not from the German government, but from Rabone, Pees & Co. of Sydney from whom Hennings in turn had borrowed when the fall in the price of cotton had resulted in many bad debts among his own clients. Gordon to G.O., 27 February 1883, S.P.P. [c3584] 1883.

Settlers who, from the early 1860s, were prepared to settle on the Rewa in spite of its unstable political condition, were not usually wealthy and they needed credit badly. Consul Owen reported in 1864 that economic progress was retarded 'owing to the almost entire lack of capital'. Only three plantations at that time exceeded twenty acres of cultivated land, most were between ten and fifteen acres each and there was almost no agricultural machinery in use.¹ Two years later Jones reported the ruin of many settlers on the Rewa whose lands had been flooded and crops uprooted by a hurricane. They were 'men of small means who had invested all in their plantations'.²

These general observations by contemporaries are at variance with the impression given by the surviving records of individual settlers, but it was the records of the comparatively wealthy which have mostly survived. Their capital enabled them to overcome the difficulties which overwhelmed others, and in time, they were commemorated as Old Identities, or else their superior education enabled them to write about themselves. F.J. Moss, for example, the ex-treasurer of Otago, left Lyttelton for Fiji on the schooner Banshee on 1 June 1868, largely

1. C.O., Owen to Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 9 April 1864.

2. C.O., Consular report, 31 December 1866.

because of political defeat at the hands of Julius Vogel.¹ He established a plantation on the Rewa, and wrote a series of articles on Fiji for the Otago Daily Times which later appeared as the pamphlet A Month in Fiji. He returned to Dunedin for his wife and eight children and departed again with them on the Lovet Peacock on 23 November 1868, for the Rewa.² He formed a partnership with Nathaniel Chalmers, another married settler, from Moa Flat, Otago,³ and also with his brother-in-law, W.S. Carow, a New Zealander, who later gained prominence as special agent to the interior tribes of Viti Levu under Sir Arthur Gordon. He also became a member of the Land Claims Commission.⁴ Another settler of some means was Henry Bentley, an old Estonian, who came to Victoria in 1853 and sent his

-
1. Frederick James Moss was born at St. Helena in 1829, went from there to the Cape Colony, where he joined a business house. He served in the Kaffir war in 1859 and then emigrated to Canterbury, New Zealand. At the outbreak of the Maori wars he joined No. 3 Company of the volunteers and rose to the rank of Captain. In 1862 he joined the gold rush to Otago and became a member of the Otago Provincial Council, finally becoming treasurer in 1866. He was thrown out of office the same year, and left for Fiji in 1868 where he spent two years. After his return to New Zealand he became a member of the Auckland Provincial Council, but also retained an interest in the Pacific; and eventually became the Administrator of the Cook Islands. His personal papers are in the Auckland Museum and include the brief 'biographical notes' from which these details are taken. His publications include A Month in Fiji, (Auckland 1869), A Planter's Experience in Fiji (Auckland 1870), In the Great South Sea (London 1859) and Through Atolls and Islands in the Great South Sea.
 2. J.D. King, 'Otago and Fiji 1868-1870', p. 13.
 3. Ibid., p. 23.
 4. Encyclopaedia of Fiji, pp. 196-7.

son to Scotch College, Melbourne. Bentley senior arrived on the Rewa in 1867 and purchased a plantation at Wai Vuka.¹ It was men like these who led both contemporaries and later historians to exaggerate the respectability and social status of the community as a whole.

Slightly less respectable, at the time of his coming to Fiji, was G.S. Hare, a South Australian who purchased Vunibicibi, a block of one thousand five hundred acres on the Upper Rewa with John Thomas Smith, on 22 September 1866.² Hare was the ex-manager of the South Australian Railways, dismissed on 3 May 1865 for causing the derailment of a train transporting an official party to Port Adelaide to visit H.M.S. Falcon. A commission of enquiry found that Hare, with undue exuberance, had instructed the driver to make the train go as fast as possible and 'from that time he was lost to South Australia for some years'.³

1. Cyclopaedia of Fiji, p. 245.

2. L.S.C. R333. Hare was born in London in 1814 and employed as a bank clerk until the bank failed and he migrated to America. After returning to England he reached South Australia in 1836 as secretary to Sir John Morphett. A period of miscellaneous activity, as clerk, quack medico at Port Adelaide, and marine contractor was followed by entry into political life in 1849 when he delivered a public speech against State Aid to Education, and supported the miners of Burra, who were on strike. He opposed the renewal of transportation to Australia in 1851 and in the same year was elected as member of the House of Assembly for West Torrens. In March 1857 he entered parliament again as member for Intala, but his parliamentary career was cut short by his appointment in July 1860 as manager of railways - South Australian Register, Obituary notice, 24 June 1882.

3. Ibid. He was back again in South Australia in 1875, contesting an election at Wallaroo. During his campaign he gave a reputedly amusing speech about his experiences in Fiji but I have been unable to find an account of it.

The well to do, however, and those who could afford to be high-spirited, were heavily outnumbered by those who had found prosperity elusive. William Ford, for example, came originally from Melbourne and reached Fiji by way of the New Zealand gold-fields.¹ In 1863 he was in debt, and the Attorney-General of Victoria requested the British Consul to take steps towards recovery. Thurston replied that Ford was a working overseer on a very low salary and owned no land which could be sold.² Many comparatively poor settlers over-reached their resources by spending them on land speculation. This certainly suited the Fijians who often offered land and urged settlers to buy it, but it meant that there was little money left for the introduction of capital equipment. Henry Upton Thomas, for example, wrote, probably in 1863, to a relative in Napier, New Zealand:³

I have bought a piece of land about 13 miles up the river with all kinds of fruit trees on it... there is about 8 or 9000 acres of it.... I am now trying to get another piece about the same size and an island with about 50 acres on it to run cows on.... The place I have bought as [sic] cost me about \$400 I believe if this place goes ahead it will soon be worth \$1 an acre, say in two or three years time there will be a rush here as soon as it is known what kind of place it is.... If I buy much more land my money will soon run out.⁴

-
1. He wrote to the Fijian Weekly News and Planter's Journal on 8 August 1863, to complain of misrepresentation in the Weekly Press of 20 June and in the West-Coast Times which had presumably been sent to him by New Zealand acquaintances.
 2. C.L., J.B. Thurston to H. Genders, 1 June 1863.
 3. The name of the person to whom the letter is addressed is illegible, and the date on it is 17 November 1760, which is clearly a mistake. L.C.C.P39.
 4. L.C.C. P39. Thomas left Fiji in 1863 intending to return to Napier and obtain stock for his land, but his ship, the Aquila, never reached her destination. Thomas's heirs stated that he had left the deeds of his land with Witherow for safe keeping, and produced letters in evidence. Witherow claimed he had purchased the land from Thomas.

The rush did come, as Thomas said it would. When Tom Ryder visited the Rewa in the White Swan in late 1864 the banks of the river were sparsely settled, though he did visit one plantation with about sixty acres in cultivation.¹ In 1865 after the Confederation was formed, however, Cakobau attempted, with only partial success, to subject the chiefs and people of Viria and their allies to his authority. This attempt led to a demand for European settlement - or at least land purchase - on the part of the people living on the Upper Rewa. Charles Lockwood, a trader of long standing on the river, told the Land Claims Commission that the chief of Viria:

... asked me to find a white land purchaser for land next to mine. There was trouble with natives at the time and they wanted arms and ammunition.... I₂ spoke to Mr. Page and asked him to buy the land.²

Cakobau also attempted to consolidate his gains by selling land. George Lee, Robert Graham and David Waterton purchased land from him at Fouca in 1865 for \$321 in 'trade'; Lee said it was 'after his conquest of the land from the Viria chiefs. I purchased it in Bau, the chief of Viria was a prisoner in Bau at the time.' The trouble was that the inhabitants did not recognise the authority of Bau. 'They paid no attention to me' said Lee, and it was only through the intervention of Ratu Timoci the chief of Naitasiri that Lee was able to remain.³ Less fortunate was J.C. Flugger. He came to Fiji by way of Auckland in 1866 and made his

1. Ryder brothers to their parents, 21 December 1864.

2. L.S.C. R277.

3. L.S.C. R274.

first purchase of land at Nagaregare for 11 guns, 15 lbs. of powder and 1500 caps, which he paid to the inhabitants who were then fighting against Cakobau. Unfortunately for Pfluger, Cakobau was victorious and he was obliged to pay a further sum to him. He then went to Sydney, where he had left his family and returned with them, but they soon decided that the land was too small and proceeded upstream to take advantage of further military needs as war spread into the interior.¹ Once more he was obliged to help both sides:

I went up to Bailega and bought some land from the chief of Bailega, now dead. I paid him eighteen guns and fifty or one hundred pounds of powder equal to 175 dollars cash, cost price in Levuka. As I and my family were on the road to take possession of the place the natives who sold us the land met me ... about ten miles below the land and appeared very frightened ... It came out Cakobau had sent a messenger to them telling them ... that they had no right to do so as he had conquered them just before.²

Pfluger had to pay Cakobau as well, and must have considered himself reasonably secure, but two years later it became clear to the inhabitants that the bargain had been a one-sided one after all. The advantage had been a temporary one while his, if he stayed, was permanent. His payment to them had given them the means of resistance, and in 1863 Pfluger and his family were driven from their newly established plantation.

Luks and Hiddale were also German settlers and they became

1. L.C.C. 8342. His first purchase was eventually subdivided between J.H. Peterson and Edmund and William Ford.

2. L.C.C. 8346.

Pfluger's neighbours. Maraivailu, a Fijian witness, outlined the local situation which, when complicated by Cakobau's search for power, gave them their opportunity to purchase 'Ma Ma Nuku' on 6 June 1867.

The land was disputed between two tribes, the Kai Tai who were the original inhabitants, and the Matailobau who were temporary allies of Bau, and to whom Maraivailu belonged:

Their [i.e. the Kai Tai's] reason for selling the land was enmity between our forefathers and theirs They gave us the lands now in question because they clubbed a great number of our tribe on these lands... it was done by way of forgiveness and mutual declaration of peace. We used to plant quantities of food on the land then. These Kai Tai people saw this and did not like it. They craved for the white man's yau, and were envious of our possession of the land. We quarrelled again, and they sold the land to the whites.¹

The constitution of May 1867 had just come into operation, and so Laks and Ridsdale sought to consolidate their dubious position by paying Cakobau a royalty of \$37 50s. No sooner had they done so, however, than the new government faced the first test of its authority. On 21 July 1867 Thomas Baker, a Methodist missionary, was murdered by the people of Nagagadelavatu village on the headwaters of the Sigatoka river. Support of the Bau government by the British Consul had been half-hearted,² but Thurston, left behind by Jones as his

1. L.C.C. B271.

2. Jones wrote to St John in April declining an invitation to Cakobau's coronation, though he gave the project his half-hearted blessing. C.L., Jones to St John, 23 April 1867.

deputy, had no alternative but to demand that Cakobau should apprehend the murderers, and thus, tacitly to acknowledge his authority over the inland tribes. Cakobau refused to move and in January 1863 Thurston wrote a strong letter of rebuke :

You wanted to plant yams; the planting season is long finished. You wanted to plant cotton; the season is now over. You wanted fine weather; all last month the heavens were clear and bright and inviting you to action. But you answer to heaven as you do to man - wait.

It was not until 2 April 1863 that Cakobau took action. In the meantime the settlers on the Upper Rewa were left to make the best of the situation. William McLaren Kinross, the partially deaf miner from Otago, arrived in Fiji early in 1867 and purchased 'Uci Ni Keli' on the Wainiabuka, a tributary of the Upper Rewa on 8 June 1867. He stayed only a short time himself, before leaving the place in the care of Edwin James Turpin.² Turpin's relations with the local people deteriorated rapidly. Ignorant of the language, he attempted to intimidate them when they disputed his authority by threatening to shoot one of them, who turned out to be the son of their chief. Turpin saved his life on that occasion by presenting his prospective victim with £2 10s worth of trade. Relations did not improve, though the people wanted him to stay as a potential provider of trade. Turpin records how he heard of Baker's fate, a short distance away, and became

1. G.L., Thurston to Cakobau, 7 January 1863. He went on to threaten that if Cakobau remained dilatory he would advise the British Government to support some other chief in a bid for supremacy.

fearful. Finally on 22 July he wrote that:

I set the men to their respective work and without letting them know of my intention got into a takia or small canoe and paddled down the river to my next neighbour, Messrs. Luks and Hiddale.¹

Meanwhile, on the lower reaches of the river, land had been subdivided and had changed hands, in some cases several times. In September 1868 Thurston, as Consul, reported that 'settlers arrive almost weekly ... the favourite locality last year was the district of Nava river, Viti Levu, but most of the water frontage left ... being now purchased and occupied, settlers have to seek planting grounds in other quarters'.² The total settler population of the Nava district in 1870 reached between sixty and seventy, scattered among about thirty plantations.³

-
1. E.J. Turpin, 'Narratives', p. 43. The next overseer was Henry Bentley, the old Estonian, who had come down with Turpin on the City of Melbourne from Sydney. He stayed for six months before being driven off. L.C.C. R267.
 2. C.L., Thurston to Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 8 September 1868.
 3. Australasian, 29 October 1870.



1. This map is reproduced from F.J. Moss, A Planter's Experience in Fiji (Auckland 1870).

As early as 1867 the Rewa district had become a distinct planting community. The focal point of the old trading community had been Asucala island under the patronage of the American consulate, and it had remained there after the consulates moved to Levuka. The focal point of the new planting community was the township of Rewa itself. This was where Gustav Hennings set up his store in 1859, and in 1863 he sold land to Spiers, Sullivan and Frankland.¹ In 1868 it was described as a small European township. Its main features were 'a large store, a steam cotton gin and Mr. Spiers' Caladonian hotel'.² In addition to the social facilities provided by a hotel was the 'Planter's Association', founded on the Rewa early in 1867, the first such association in Fiji.³ Secular comforts were followed by those of religion. Repeated requests were made, from 1868 on, to the Wesleyan missionary body, to provide the settlers with the services of their own minister. Placed as they were, on the frontier of christendom, among a large number of Fijian christians, the cleavage of race was nevertheless more important to them than that of religion. There were facilities for worship at Bau, and at Rewa, but the settlers still regarded themselves as 'almost cut off from the ordinances of religion'.⁴

1. L.C.C. R565.

2. Bruce Herald, 14 April 1869. Thomas Muir, the writer, dates this account 23 October 1868.

3. Jones wrote to Jacob Storek, the first secretary of the Association, on 13 May 1867 to ask the names of the white settlers on or near the river Rewa, with an indication of which of them were members. C.L., Jones to Storek, 13 May 1867.

4. H. Britton, Fiji in 1870, p. 42.

An expression of growing communal self-consciousness was therefore the gift of a piece of land by a settler named Tait to the community to be used as a burial ground and eventually for a building which was used both as a meeting house for the Planter's Association and also as a church. John Dods, a settler from Otago, said: 'Five or six people have been buried there. Planters subscribed and built the church.'¹ Hurricanes destroyed successive buildings but the site remained, and it meant enough to the new community for them to build new churches in its place.

Westward along the southern coast of Viti Levu, the next river of any size to reach the sea is the Navua. There, as on the Rewa, trader, speculator and settler succeeded each other to the accompaniment of steadily deteriorating race relations and a growing sense of settler exclusiveness. The earliest settler of whom any record survives was J.H. Sanford, who lived in the village of Raiwaga from 1846 onwards.² F.H. Davis was another early settler who set up a trading station at Deuba on an informal basis, after the military requirements of the local chief had given him a foothold:

1. L.C.C. B579. The land was part of a block which was leased to A. Eastgate, which places the event late in 1869.

2. L.C.C. B1021.

I was living on the Nawa river in about 1860. I afforded some assistance to Kuruduadua, giving him powder, cloth, etc. in return for which he gave me the island of Deuba. There was no contract of any sort between us.¹

Mrs. Smythe, who reported on the district after her visit in 1860, said that Kuruduadua, the most powerful chief in the district, was unique in claiming the sole right to sell land.² Acting on this assumption, which they were no doubt happy to share, and which they probably suggested to her, a party of newcomers used the opportunity of accompanying the Smythe commission to go in for some extensive speculation. The Paul Jones, on which the party sailed was crammed with trade goods, worth £1500.³ Swanston, Brower and W.T. Pritchard, the British Consul, purchased Deuba island in spite of the informal agreement which had already been made with F.H. Davis in September 1860. It was an area of 12,800 acres, lying between the two branches of the Navua river running into the sea. Brower explained the syndicate's motives: 'Every possible precaution was taken in the purchase: we wanted to buy off every claim so as to be able to give valid titles, and to induce people to settle there'.⁴ Danford acted as interpreter and also adviser: 'Pritchard', he said, 'told me he had been speaking

1. L.C.C. R319.

2. Smythe (Mrs.), Ten Months in the Fiji Islands, p. 75.

3. L.C.C. R319.

4. L.C.C. R661.

to Kuruduadua, about buying some land, and asked me what was the best place'.¹

In fact the situation was not as simple as Brower pretended to believe. A.P. Maudslay of the Land Claims Commission explained that before 1848 the best land on the Navua river was divided amongst three tribes, the Dravuni people, the Deuba and the Koroleva who had been in a state of continuous war from 1848 to the time of the first purchases. In Maudslay's belief:

... during the whole of the period under review the real ownership of the soil appears never to have changed. Powerful overlords like Kuruduadua might possess great influence, and easily persuade the taukeis to part with land but the whole of the evidence taken on this subject goes to show that in this district no sale by an overlord was lawful without the taukeis were consulted and acquiesced in the arrangement.²

By 1860 however, the whole delta had been largely depopulated, which made such theorising unhelpful. Genuine settlers found themselves, as they did on the Rewa, unwilling auxiliaries in a contest which they did not understand. After Danford and Davis, the next settlers were three boat-builders James Dunn, Thomas Farrell and Henry Bailey. They were living at Toganu and suffered from the depredations of Kuruduadua on the coast, probably in 1862.³ In 1865 they purchased

1. L.C.C. 1861.

2. L.C.C. 1323.

3. See Owen to Chief of Serua, 4 April 1863. Captain Jenkins of H.M.S. Miranda had awarded them \$1000 for damage done to their property, but there is no evidence that the sum was ever recovered.

the piece of land on which they were living, from the inhabitants, and Jann paid the sum of £35 to Kurudundua for it as well.¹ They became the interpreters, witnesses and agents in later negotiations on behalf of the first settlers who came to the Navua to plant, G.R. Humphrey² and W. Inchboard. The two men arrived in Levuka from Queensland in November 1865 with a stock of trade in company with two other men, Campion and Thompson, on the Adolphus Yates. They chartered a cutter in Levuka and set out on a land purchasing cruise. First port of call was Rewa, where they met G.R. Burt, who promised to act as pilot. He intended to take them to the Sigatoka but they were forced into the Navua river by an approaching hurricane, and gained shelter off the Farrell, Jann and Bailey establishment. Farrell explained that:

I knew all the natives well, having lived some length of time with them.... One Ratu William, of Deuba, had requested me, on several occasions, to try and use my endeavours and bring some white men, to come and purchase land and settle amongst them.³

They purchased six thousand acres, one thousand of which was allowed by the Land Claims Commission after continuous occupation since the date of purchase.⁴ Further up the river, at Sarabela, W. Thompson, Alfred

1. L.O.C. R659.

2. G.R. Humphrey was born 8 June 1842 at Hanswick Grange, near York, England, educated at Radclyffe College, Leeds, and then worked in the office of E.F. Dale, Solicitors, of Leeds. In 1863 he left England for Queensland, in company with Inchboard. Cyclomedia of Fiji, p. 260.

3. L.O.C. R659.

4. Ibid.

Missen and W. Inchboard purchased more land from 'Satailabua and other chief owners of the land', without reference to Kuruduadua at all. Edward Missen, Alfred's brother, arrived from Auckland to run it.¹ Adjoining Thompson and Missen's on the downstream side of the river was the plantation of Miller and Lionel Daley, who also purchased their land in 1863. The original purchase was made from Kuruduadua, but this did not prove sufficient. Thurston, the Consul, wrote to 'the chief and people of Deuba' in October in response to Daley's complaints 'that he is subject to such annoyance and insult at your hands'.² Hair describes him soon after his arrival, rushing down to the river with a white umbrella over his head:

He allowed nobody to go up the river without spending a night with him ... he had not had time to put in any cotton, having only been a few months on the place, but had planted maize which was doing well. Mr. D. works his place with about 20 Fijian boys ... he had got into the particular knack of humouring them and they all seemed very much attached to him.

Yearly wages were a musket a piece, and keep, consisting of regular food and tobacco.³ Above Daley was Charles Hounds who had come to Fiji in 1851, but had finally settled at Gau after a life as a beach-comber and boatbuilder. He now accorded to himself the title of 'planter' and having, as he put it, 'a large family', he managed without

1. L.C.C. R1188.

2. C.L., 19 October 1868. Daley was eventually forced to purchase their consent to the sale as well in order to be left in peace. L.C.C. R321.

3. Argus Herald, 14 April 1869.

any additional supply of labour.¹

Thirty miles further west, the second largest river in Fiji, the Sigatoka, flows into the sea, and like the Rewa, its extensive flood plain provided intending settlers with an inviting prospect. As in Savua and Rewa, the situation was one of continual skirmishing between coastal and inland tribes. Among the earliest to take advantage of this situation were Moses Work and his partner James Byrne, of whom Victor Williamson remarked that 'they seem to have taken a delight in acquiring small, and generally utterly useless pieces of land'.² Their chief function, to begin with, was to act as suppliers of arms and ammunition to the enemies of Mata Kini, the powerful chief who dominated the coastal people. Mata Kini, in turn, depended on F.H. Davis who purchased the islet of Yasuca, in Cuvu harbour. He told the Land Claims Commission that 'Moses Work was supplying the opposite side with ammunition and the Madrogans had none when I put into Cuvu in my schooner'.³ The next sale of any significance was Kovokai na gasau, eleven miles up the river. The purchaser was

1. L.C.C. R676.

2. L.C.C. R1149. J. Byrne was born at Newark, New Jersey U.S.A. in 1836, came to Fiji in 1861. Not all his land dealings were useless. He obtained a lease, with his partner, Work, on Vativati on 18 August 1868 with an option to purchase within five years (L.C.C. R731) and he later purchased 'Sasolo' in 1871 (R717). In his relations with Fijians he was apparently extremely successful. 'Colonel' A.W. Hamilton described him on the Sigatoka in 1871: 'He so truly understands the native... that he is enabled to manage them to suit his own will, and that without any apparent effort'. (L.I., 3 April 1871.)

3. L.C.C. R1143.

George Rodney Burt, who reached an agreement with the local chief and people on 4 January 1866, with no reference at all to Ratu Kini, the powerful local overlord.¹ There were no further sales until 1868 when the tribes living further inland, twenty miles up the river, made a descent on the coast and massacred the inhabitants of a coastal village. Ratu Kini resolved to make this a pretext to consolidate his authority and sent his tabua to a number of coastal settlements between Serua in the east and Nadi in the west.² Having assembled a considerable force, he invaded the upper Sigatoka. This began a spate of land selling, both by the enemies of Ratu Kini, and his friends who feared reprisals and wished to arm themselves:

The sales of land before the war, had been few, but no sooner was it over than a rage for dealing in lands would appear to have possessed the natives for between February 27th and August 25th we find that 15, that is all the principle sales were affected.³

The sales were made by the chiefs Ratu Kini and Nagadru, both of whom 'seem to have been animated by some jealousy of each other ... we find Nagadru hurriedly selling land which he suspected was likely to be sold on the following day by Ratu Kini'.⁴ This kind of situation naturally

1. L.S.C. R706.

2. A Tabua is a whale's tooth. When accepted as a gift the receiver was bound to reciprocate according to the giver's wishes.

3. L.S.C. R706. General report on the Sigatoka district.

4. Ibid.

placed the purchasers in a dangerous position. Muir explained to his Otago readers that although the Sigatoka contained some of the finest land in Fiji:

There are difficulties existing in relation to land which will leave the place in Chancery for many years to come, the land having been sold by a non-resident chief of the name of Ratu Nena [i.e. Ratu Kini] who claims the right of having conquered it, and as the resident natives do not participate in the purchase money they do their best to prevent the purchaser settling.¹

It was of course not uncommon in Fiji for chiefs to sell land without reference to the wishes of those who lived on it, indeed maximum security could often be gained by such a purchase but in cases of recent conquest such as these the situation was dangerous, because the people could look to their own chief for redress. Corimer Fison, whose theories on Fijian land ownership were to have a decisive influence on British Colonial Policy,² may well have derived support for his general theory of legal inalienability from a misunderstanding of this particular example. He visited Nadroga on 19 October 1868 and wrote afterwards:

I remember telling Ratu Kini that it was bad of him to expose the purchasers of the lands to the dangers attendant upon such purchases. 'You know the taukeis are in the hills' I said 'and there will be mischief'. Whereupon he replied with a beautiful composure 'It is true, but the white men have many guns. They are a war-fence to my back'.³

1. Bruce Herald, 5 May 1869.

2. See P. France, (The Charter of the Land, pp. 219, 230-231.

3. Fison to Haffernan, 25 January 1880 - included in L.C.C. R772.

Mischief indeed there was; not on a scale such as might have been organised by a few resentful commoners, but on a scale and with the precision and thoroughness which denoted chiefly organisation.

Europeans were usually assured of a welcome when they came to purchase land, and even to settle on it so long as a continued supply of trade could be anticipated. G.R. Burt and Achilles H. Underwood had, however, settled on the land and adopted a provocative attitude from the beginning, especially by importing labourers from Tana, who became recipients of the trade they possessed, instead of the Fijians. When Burt arrived in Fiji is uncertain,¹ but he was there in 1859, living on Kadavu. He seems to have been unusually cruel. Royce, the Wesleyan missionary, describes how one of the numerous Fijian women with whom Burt was living ran to him for protection:

Burt had marked her by cutting off one of her toes, and branding her private parts and arms, her body was one mass of scars with his stripes, and her ankles in a fearful state where she had been manacled.²

On Kadavu he had set himself up as a trader, then, in partnership with a man named Taylor, as a planter. In 1866 he was employing some men from the As coast. Fifteen of them ran away because of his harsh treatment. They were recovered through the authority of Cakobau,

1. See Ch. 1, p. 13.

2. Royce Journal, 23 August 1859, *cit.* W.H. Gunson 'Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas 1797-1860'. Ph.D. thesis, A.N.U., 1959, p. 328.

whereupon Burt tied them up, flogged them, stung their backs with nettles and gagged them with their mouths full of hot peppers. They soon escaped again.¹

Burt purchased Kovokai na Gasau for trade worth \$300 consisting of '12 guns, 10 small knives, 10 large knives, 12 tons of powder, 12 hatchets, 12 axes, 12 battle axes, rest not remembered'.² In spite of his already lengthy residence in Fiji and extensive co-habitation with Fijian women he does not seem to have learnt the language, for he employed a man named John Brown as his interpreter. A year later, in early 1867, Burt occupied the land, and began planting 'in partnership with the notorious Achilles Underwood',³ compared with whom, it seems, Burt was a man of moderation. The Land Claims Commission formed the opinion that the eventual tragedy which befell the partners might never have occurred 'had it not been for the personal character of Underwood, who was the resident partner'.⁴ Burt's view was that:

Underwood was not a generous man but I believe he was just. If he thought he was right he stuck to it. He had very strong ideas on rights of way. Do not think he ever objected to natives going down the river. It is not true he wouldn't let them come down the river and shot at them. Underwood never to my knowledge committed any assaults on the natives except in self-defence.⁵

1. C.L., Jones to U.S. Consul, 9 January 1867.

2. L.C.C. R724.

3. Ibid. Underwood had been in Fiji since at least as early as 1857, and came originally from Homer, Michigan U.S.A. L.C.C. R422.

4. L.C.C. R706.

5. Ibid.

On another occasion he defended Underwood's humanity, and indeed his own:

I can conscientiously say that our men have been well looked after and well treated by our seives. And when some of them was poisoned they were taken into Mr. Underwood's own house where they remained sick till they died. And I do not believe there are many planters that can say the same. ¹

The partners commenced operations on a large scale by importing sixty-five labourers from Tana and employing a motley crew of European assistants: R. C. Cox had recently arrived from Auckland on the Dot with Ellis, Lee & Fitzgerald, men with an evil reputation;² Dan Scott came immediately from the Rewa; and Albert Banning, commonly known as 'all serene Jack', was a resident of some standing who was employed as a ploughman.³ When Muir visited the plantation in October 1868 he found the labourers kept armed at all times against the Fijians, and he counted twenty-five loaded muskets 'while chatting in the house'. He thought this might possibly be a sensible precaution but was 'quite convinced that in no other part of the group is there the least necessity for such protection'.⁴ In twenty-one months from the date of occupation they established what the Land Claims Commission described as 'about the most complete and extensive

-
1. Part to Thurston, 12 June 1869. Misc. correspondence British Consulate 1870.
 2. Ellis, the owner of the Dot, had left Auckland without ship's articles or a proper clearance, and had exchanged her, when he got to the Rewa, for 200 acres of land. C.L., Thurston to Collector of Customs, Auckland, 16 January 1868 and Thurston to Ellis, 20 June 1868.
 3. L.C.C. R724.
 4. Bruce Herald, 21 April 1869.

plantation which we have heard of in Fiji', with two hundred and twelve acres of cotton, ten acres of yams, fifteen acres of kumaras, forty acres of corn, six of sugar cane, and a total of eight buildings. They produced, in the period of occupation, over 100,000 lbs. of cotton, 32,500 of it being the sea island variety, valued at \$13,500. The goods imported included a gin, a press, a large quantity of armaments, and a forty foot boat.¹ Underwood also purchased additional land at Annui, by payment to Ratu Kini alone, after his advance up the river, on 27 February 1868. He was soon joined by Alfred Missen, who left his partner Thompson on the Navua river and went even further up the Sigatoka in the wake of Ratu Kini, from whom he purchased Kawamagi on 11 April 1868.² In the meantime, Ratu Kini, who clearly aspired to a degree of independence and importance comparable with the other great chiefs of Fiji, had acquired a secretary, Duncan Murray, who had taken up his residence at Cuvu in 1867. Ratu Kini offered him a salary of £100 a year. According to Murray:

The chief object for which he required my services was to find purchasers for his lands which he was anxious to dispose of owing to the Nadi people having sold extensively and he was afraid of growing weak in power. He desired me to sell land in order to procure muskets for maintaining his position.³

-
1. L.C.C. R724 - Rurt's evidence.
 2. L.C.C. R723.
 3. L.C.C. R1152.

Murray himself purchased 'Qisu i Rewa' an area on the Sigatoka of one thousand two hundred acres, with Thomas Dowie, on 25 May 1868, very shortly after Ratu Kini had won a victory over the inhabitants. He never occupied it however 'because of the unsettled state of the country'.¹ He made other purchases too, for the purpose of selling them to others,² but his chief role was to make repeated visits to Levuka and induce settlers to purchase from his master, although he must have known that they would prove as reluctant as he was himself to settle on them. He did persuade H.L. Kennedy to buy, but he eventually settled at Ra, also Evans and W.M. Kinross, who arrived on 23 June 1868, furnished with an introduction to Underwood. Kinross however 'being perfectly ignorant as to who were the proper vendors', left the management of the whole transaction to Underwood.³

The only genuine attempts at settlement on the Sigatoka were thus those made by Burt and Underwood, and by Thompson and Missen, and the experience of both of them highlighted the problems encountered by settlers throughout Viti Levu, who became a 'war fence' for others. Of these, Missen was perhaps the least provocative. He had been

1. L.C.C. R722.

2. E.g. Lekuri island, L.C.C. R1130, to John Rennie who 'thought it would be a good speculation to possess himself of all the harbours and landing places that he could'.

3. L.C.C. R724.

settled on Kawamagi for only three weeks before he was forced to leave:

On account of a dispute with an interior tribe...
over whom Ratu Kini had no power. They were not
the land owners ... they threatened to kill me
if I did not leave.¹

The plantation was then occupied and the houses which had been erected
were burnt. The partners appealed to the British Consul, only to be
told:

While I regret your losses it is right to inform
you, settlers occupy and purchase lands in this
group of islands at their own risk and
responsibility. Protection or aid may be
afforded by ships of war to settlers occupying
land upon the coast but it is not reasonable to
expect a naval force will ever be dispatched to
the interior to protect individual interest
particularly when settlers knowingly select a
community of heathens and cannibals among whom
to dwell.²

Burt and Underwood stayed longer, but were to experience greater
misfortune. Harassment began at the time of occupation, and strained
race-relations cannot have been improved by a character like Underwood,
who was the resident partner.³ He objected to natives walking down
the river bank past the plantation on the grounds that there was a
road through the middle of it, and also to their fishing on the river
frontage, alleging that they used fishing as a pretext for taking food.

-
1. L.C.C. R723. The probable explanation is that he refused to supply them with armaments as he had supplied Ratu Kini.
 2. C.L., Thurston to Thompson and Missen, 15 August 1868.
 3. L.C.C. R725 - Burt's evidence.

'Often 40 or 50 natives would come down on that pretext' said Burt, 'and load up with food and go away'.¹ Foreign labourers caused offence not only because they were known to be recipients of coveted trade goods but because they carried weapons with them as they worked.

They were shot at by the Fijians with arrows when they went to get food, stoned, and when they were captured they were 'buturakai'd' or jumped upon, with the result that at least one of them died.

According to Burt:

We lost 2 or 3 labourers from poisoning and five from being buturakai'd. The natives tried to seduce our men away to live with them... they used to bring their women out and make them dance naked before our foreign labourers to seduce them away.²

Antagonism was far from one-sided. Thurston alleged that Burt faced possible charges on account of 'nine distinct separate murders... and being the cause of several murders of Tanna men caused by you arming them against Fijians'.³ The twenty-one months during which Underwood and his assistants maintained occupation seems to have been a period of simmering warfare which finally erupted into open conflict on 8 January 1869 when a large party attacked both Kovakai na gusau and Annui, slaughtered their cattle, burnt sixty bales of cotton awaiting shipment, broke the machinery, looted the buildings and then burnt them.

1. L.C.C. R725 - Burt's evidence.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Hope Journals - Thurston to Hope, 22 November 1869.

Most of the members of the establishment escaped. Burt himself sought refuge in the Fijian village of Nakauko, from whence he could hear the guns of the attackers shooting his cattle and see the fires on which they were cooked. Also killed and eaten were one of the Tanna men and two of Underwood's children. Thurston, in reporting events to the Governor of New South Wales, remarked that 'Oakobau, the chief or king of Bau is quite unable to afford aid to the injured parties'.¹

From then on, the two partners restricted their activities to the island of Kadavu, whence they removed their labourers obtained from Tanna. Thurston, as British Consul, attempted to have them removed and returned to their homeland. A letter from Burt to Thurston survives in the Miscellaneous Papers of the Consulate which is possibly the only direct evidence in existence of his way of thinking. On the back of it is the memo '12/6/69 replying to Consul who verbally had charged him with taking men into a barbarian country and not reporting murders committed'. Burt writes:

... the princible reason that I write to your honer is that if you take these men away from us now is that it will injour our cariters [i.e. character] consequently injour our clases for compensation for being burnt out and for ever stop us for ever Planting any more. As no one would ever risk money in our plantashions agans And I hope and trust that after looking the matter over that you will see it in that lile and forgive our neglect. I may have done rong in keeping the men on our

1. C.D., Thurston to Earl of Belmore, 2 February 1869.

place when there was danger And the only excuse that I can offer is that there was English Men in our employ who did not think fit to leave, And we and our children were there also the onley thing I can reproach my self with is that some of our men say that they did not agree to ~~sign but one year~~ I tell them that the counsel [i.e. Consul] has said it a rule that all Tanna men must stop 3 Three years. If the men are taken away from me now I am afraid that I wood not be able to pay them now as I am pushed on all sides for money but if the men can stop the balance of there time, and they are willing to do so as there time is getting short, I will be able to pay them and send them home agane. If it is necessary for Publick opinion that some men must be sent back there can be found plenty that ought to be sent back where there is far more cause than to send our men Hoping that you will excuse this Scralle as I cannot ask any one to corect it for me, being on this pecular subject. I remain yours truly.

[Signed] G.R. Burt.¹

Burt's fears of Thurston's ability to remove his men were unfounded. As an American subject he not only kept them but considered it worth his while to visit the United States in 1871 to attempt to interest Congress, and obtain redress from Oukobau. Meanwhile, on Kadavu, even the three year period since the men arrived in Fiji from Tanna in February 1868, had expired. Underwood had promised them that he would purchase a vessel to take them home, but any profit had been absorbed in sending Burt to America. In March 1871 Underwood was

1. British Consulate, Miscellaneous Correspondence.

murdered by the men who had defended him on the Sigatoka.¹

By then, relations between the Fijian people and the interlopers who had disturbed the commercial tranquility of the 'beach' with their new proprietary assumptions had moved to the point of crisis. Since the beginning of the decade race relations had begun to deteriorate, and the occurrence of incidents involving violence had grown more frequent. The letters of settlers to Consuls grew more demanding, the letters of Consuls to offending chiefs more imperious, and requests to visiting warships for redress more indignant, but at the same time, this method of dealing with conflict, which had served the needs of the European community ever since the 'Mave incident' of 1853,² was clearly inadequate when settlers penetrated into the interior. Consular requests for naval protection were accompanied by counsels of caution to the settlers themselves in a desperate attempt to shore up consular authority. In the end, the attempt failed and settlers who had, as one of them put it, 'been taught to believe, when migrating that the guns of England would cover him in whatever part of the world he took up his abode',³ became disillusioned and began to seek new, violent solutions of their own.

1. E.I., 29 March 1871.

2. See above p. 73. The Mave was the Levuka boat attacked by the inhabitants of Maliski. The European reaction was to seek the support of Commander Boutwell of the U.S.S. Tumgarora in 1855.

3. E.I., 18 December 1869, correspondent 'Viator'.

In 1863, Owen was still confident enough. When settlers in Serua were subjected to threats, he told the chief 'I will have your body taken aboard the warship that is coming and you shall be taught that the whitemen must not be offended'.¹ Jones rebuked Cakobau in a similarly threatening manner in 1864 when Jacob Storek complained to him about the natives of Bau and Rewa trampling on his cotton.² The first sign that the system had its limitations came in May 1865, when Thomas Creelman was the victim of a physical assault. Jones was fortunate in being able to place his complaint almost immediately before Captain Branchley of H.M.S. Curacoa, on 30 July. Unlike the other incidents, this one had taken place some distance inland on the banks of the Wailavu and an expedition was sent in the ship's cutter to investigate.³ The local chief was ordered to pay a fine of six thousand yams in compensation, and payment was promised within a fortnight but by November no payment had been made. Jones was forced to rely on what proved to be the empty threat of a visit from the next man-of-war.⁴

In the following year, Bau attacked and conquered the Viria tribe, and their allies Wugali, Waikalau and Kai Tai, on the upper tributaries

-
1. G.L., Owen to Chief of Serua, 1 May 1863.
 2. U.L., Jones to Cakobau, 13 November 1864.
 3. Branchley, Cruise of the Curacoa, pp. 154-155.
 4. G.L., Jones to Koya mai Viria, 14 November 1865.

of the river Rewa, and as already described, Pfluger, Luks, Ridsdale, Kinross and others followed up by purchasing land in 1866 and 1867. The murder of Baker in June 1867 was followed by the abortive campaign of Cakobau against the mountaineers in the following April. Clough, who (as related in the first chapter) had bought land on the Upper Rewa, and was waiting to settle on it, described the result, introducing a note of temporary pessimism into an otherwise enthusiastic account of his doings:

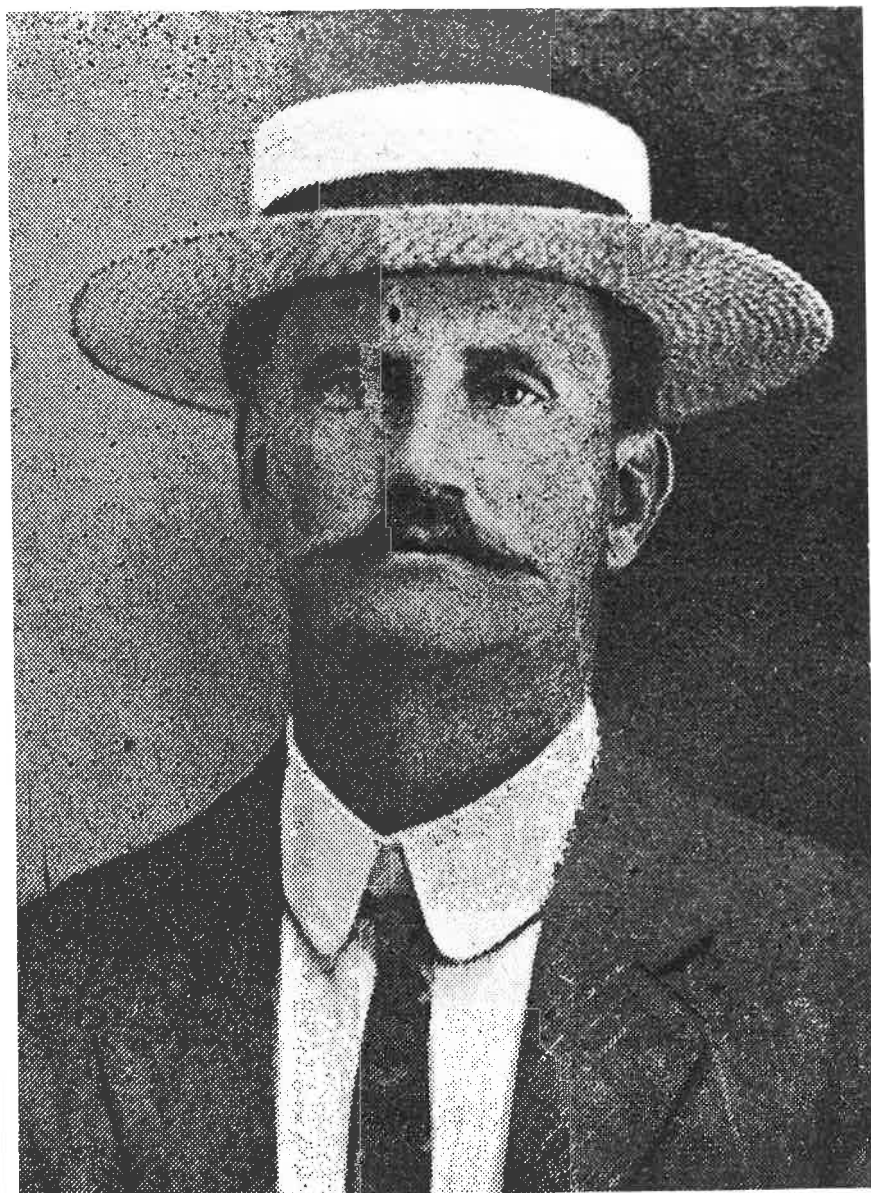
... the Lowlanders are gon to fight the mountain people on account of Mr. Baker and other things word has gon Down that 10 chiefs air killed that is of the Lowlanders I am sorry to heare that But we do not Believe all we heare....

April 26 the war is over the Lolanders were not strong enough for the mountaing men But it makes no Defiference to the whits.¹

Events were to prove that the difference it made to them was considerable. The new purchasers had, till then, been placed in a position no worse than that of Burt and Underwood, and Thompson and Missen, on the Sigatoka, as custodians of recently conquered land. Cakobau, to whom they had paid royalties, had been a guarantee of their possession, but now he had been defeated. J.C. Pfluger was not the kind of man to handle the situation in a diplomatic fashion. Britton reported later, 'Mr. Pfluger is not popular with the natives, who carry on all

1. L.C.C. 8778. Clough to Primross, 12 April 1868.

172a



J.G. Pfluger

(From the Central Archives of Fiji and the Western
Pacific High Commission, Suva.)

the trading with his wife, and carefully avoid the house when he is in it'.¹ W.S. Carew, who knew him as a fellow-settler on the Rewa, as well as being a member of the Land Claims Commission, described him as 'an honest liberal man with natives, although determined and unbending'.² Since October 1866, Pfluger had been living at Maloga, sixty miles from the mouth of the Rewa; in May 1867 however, people living in the village of Deeka, a little upstream, on the opposite side of the river, commenced a campaign of harassment and depredation. Pfluger attempted to solve the problem by purchasing the land on which the village stood, on 6 June 1867, for £300 in trade, on the understanding that the chief would settle the people elsewhere, but the people refused to go and the raids continued. Pfluger's nearest neighbours were fellow-countrymen Luks and Hidsdale whose attitude to the Fijians was also somewhat uncompromising. Turpin records how they lived in constant expectation of attack, and that they prepared for possible evacuation by loading all the guns and preparing a solution of arsenic 'with which they intended poisoning a cask of spirits ... so that if they had to clear out ... the natives would be poisoned'.³ In July 1868 H.M.S. Challenger visited Levuka, and the settlers on the Upper Rewa placed their complaints of continual

1. H. Britton, Life in 1870, p. 44.

2. M.S.C. 8778. Clough to Primrose, 12 April 1868.

3. M.J. Turpin, Narratives, p. 43.

harassment before Thurston the British Consul. The lessons which might have been learnt from the expedition of the Curacao's cutter in 1865 was ignored. Thurston asked Captain Rowley Lambert, of the Challenger, then at Levuka, to send a boat party up the river to Deeka and to hold a conference with the local chiefs. 'I believe the moral effect of such an expedition will no doubt be sufficient to restore order to the district'.¹ The next morning, a Saturday, the Challenger left Levuka, and arrived at the mouth of the Rewa the same evening. Boats were manned the next Monday morning and reached Mallega on Tuesday evening. On Wednesday 29 July, the expedition reached the village of Deeka strengthened by the addition of about fifteen planters and some of their imported labourers. The chiefs were invited to attend a conference, but such to the surprise of Captain Browning, the officer in charge, reply came that they would not do so, and that they had threatened to shoot the messengers. The town was then shelled from the boats for two hours, after which a party of marines landed and set fire to it, meeting no resistance. As soon as they were back in their boats however, they were subjected to heavy musket fire from the cover of the wild canes on the banks of the river.² The pinnace ran aground two hundred yards downstream and was pulled off by the other boats under heavy fire from the shore, after which

1. C.L., Thurston to Lambert, 24 July 1868.

2. Fijiian Weekly News and Planter's Journal, 3 August 1868.

the party returned to the mouth of the river as rapidly as possible, leaving the plantations of Pfluger, Luks and Hidsdale and Kinross to be looted.

Bloody, but still unbowed, the settlers held a meeting at Rewa town on 30 July and appointed a deputation to wait on the captain of the Challenger lying at anchor at Laucala. Thurston introduced them the following morning and they asked: firstly, did he intend sending another expedition? secondly, could he supply the settlers with arms and ammunition? thirdly, what advice could he give them? and, finally, what action would be taken to obtain compensation for their losses? His answers were all negative. A second expedition was impossible as:

Another outbreak of the natives was shortly expected in New Zealand. The number of men were totally inadequate to go through the country, and unless sufficiently reinforced to do so, it would be of no avail.... The settlers must be prepared to defend themselves, as the men of war were unable to defend them; the British would not sanction a war with the natives, which it would amount to. The most he could do was to offer them a passage away if they considered it unsafe to remain.¹

The deputation then asked him if he considered there was any likelihood of the Government ever making Fiji a British Colony to which the Captain replied that he thought it very unlikely 'as the Government had

1. Fijian Weekly News and Planter's Journal, 8 August 1868.

quite enough to do with the colonies they already possessed'.¹

Militarily, the Challenger had achieved little. 'We should have been in a far better position', wrote the editor of the Fijian Weekly News and Planter's Journal, 'if the commodore had never visited us'.² The psychological consequences were therefore considerable. The old reliance on consular support and men of war which had sustained settlers since 1853 was finally discredited when, in September 1868, a notice was posted on the door of the British Consulate in Levuka warning British settlers that 'they have no right to call upon Her Majesty's Government for protection when in the ardour and adventure of their individual pursuits they penetrate into remote and barbarous countries'. A second notice warned that the frequent acts of violence upon the natives at the hands of a few settlers on the Upper Rewa were 'likely to draw upon themselves and their neighbours the resentment of the people, which, exceeding the power of restraint held by the chiefs, is calculated to imperil all white settlers upon the river'.³

Encouraged by Lambert to defend themselves as best they could, yet warned by their Consul that they could expect no help if they failed to do so, the settlers were being pushed rapidly towards extremism. The Fijian Weekly News and Planter's Journal believed:

1. Fijian Weekly News and Planter's Journal, 8 August 1868.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., 12 September 1868.

It is high time the settlers took the matter up energetically, and endeavour to do themselves what was expected from our so-called protectors. The natives up the river are almost masters of the situation, and unless some action be taken it will ruin all.

The matter was taken up energetically by W.H. Drew, who succeeded St John as Cakobau's secretary in October. His conclusion was that if native troops were unreliable, then the hostile tribes of the interior must be conquered by Europeans. In January 1869 he advertised in the Sydney Morning Herald in the same kind of terms as those which had been offered to the volunteers in New Zealand. The conquered lands were to be made available to the soldiers in the following quantities:

Field officer	2000 acres
Captain	1500
Subaltern	1200
Sergeants	500
Rank & file	250. ²

The response would probably have been favourable. W.M. Kinross, from Mt. Ida, Otago, who had been evicted from the Upper Haka, wrote home to his local newspaper supporting the scheme. He suggested that fifty settlers would be able to secure twenty-five thousand acres, and from a consolidated settlement:

-
1. Fijian Weekly News and Planter's Journal, 12 September 1868.
 2. C.L., Thurston to Belsore, 2 February 1869, enclosure B.

... they will be able to secure their allotments in one block, so that they can all live together and form a colony of themselves... they will have secured what will, with little exertion on their part, turn out a handsome profit... trusting to see some 50 or 100 of you here soon.

Thurston, however, was not the man to stand by and see Fijians dispossessed of their land by force, nor to see British subjects expose themselves to the dangers involved in trying to subdue well-armed warriors fighting on their own ground. He urged the Governor of New South Wales to proclaim that volunteers would be acting in contravention of the Foreign Enlistment Act, and would sacrifice their British citizenship.² The settlers were left once more to their own devices. Individual reaction varied. Pfluger returned to his plantation and was forced to purchase his own household effects back from the natives.³ He then left Bailega to his brother and purchased land at Ba, no doubt considerably embittered by his experience. It seems not surprising that he became an enthusiastic participant in many subsequent punitive expeditions into the interior

1. Mt. Ida Chronicle, 26 March 1869, cit. J.D. King.

2. C.L., Thurston to Belmore, 2 February 1869. One would-be soldier settler at least was not deterred. A 'Captain' Morgan, who was to have been in command of the volunteers arrived in Levuka on the barque 'Springbok', but finding his services no longer required 'his propensity for fighting took the milder form of breaking furniture, glass etc. and challenging to duel any who objected to such innocent amusement'. He was deported by a public meeting called by J.C. Smith and Otty Oudlip after challenging a Mr. Minton to a duel, L.I., 2 October 1869.

3. L.C.C. 1345.

of Viti Levu 'and had many narrow escapes from massacre'.¹ Luke and Ridsdale returned too, at the request of the natives in their neighbourhood. At first all went well, they got some of their cotton picked, but relations then deteriorated and they only stayed for five weeks. The reason seems to have been that Luke and Ridsdale were welcome, as Pfluger was, as suppliers of trade, but they were not welcome for their own purposes of permanent occupation and the making of a profit which was not to be shared. Luke seems to have realised where he stood:

No violence was offered us. They however tried to prevent us from leaving. They wished to keep us as what the natives would call a yu ni van. Two months after leaving, for this second time, we returned again but with no better result.²

The partners went to try their luck again at Nadi; Kinross did not attempt to return to his land, but purchased more at Viti Levu bay instead.

Even more percipient than Luke was James Fraser McLoughlin, who had broken in a plantation at Naisorocoro, on the Wainimala on behalf of Wilson L'Estage & Co., merchants of Levuka.³ McLoughlin had arrived in Fiji in 1864.⁴ He had commenced planting in June 1867

1. Cyclopaedia of Fiji, p. 255.

2. L.C.C. R271.

3. L.C.C. R269. The land was purchased on 18 September 1866. McLoughlin was a partner of the firm.

4. L.C.C. Yatukia (the report number is missing) - evidence of George.

but was absent at the time of the Challenger affair. F.J. Moss believed that he returned to his plantation, ignorant of its occurrence,¹ but it seems unlikely since the river was the only means of transit and he must have passed Becks on the way upstream. The story which eventually reached the Fijiian Weekly News and Planter's Journal was different. It was 12 August when Maloughlin began to return to his plantation, by which time the events of 29 July must have been notorious. He had prepared for his return by taking on a boatload of articles acceptable to the local inhabitants. On his arrival at Si Soro Soro he found the house occupied by about two hundred fully armed warriors, who bade him welcome:

The chief of the Solieva tribes, Roma Waikalu, rubbed noses with him in token of his pleasure at his safe return. He said that the enemy came to plunder and burn the place but he would not allow it, so had everything conveyed... to the Korogaga, some few miles distant for safety. A large quantity of cotton, which was fully ripe, was also gathered and stored. As a recompense for their trouble, and in token of safety, a present was made of six pigs, 4000 yams, and 200 taro and a feast was held on the flat.²

Maloughlin also presented a tabua to Waikalu, who passed it to the chief of Vuduka, a town further inland, 'whose people in reply stated their intention of fighting for the whites'.³ The chief stayed two

1. F.J. Moss, A Planter's Experience in Fiji, p. 50.

2. Fijiian Weekly News and Planter's Journal, 5 September 1863.

3. Ibid.

days lest any attack should be made, but all remained quiet. McLoughlin's story, like that of the Ryder brothers, shows what could be achieved through diplomacy and adaptability to local conditions, but the political situation in Viti Levu was much more fluid than in Lau, and the bitterness aroused by the Challenger incident ensured that the attitudes of the European community as a whole would be very different. Even McLoughlin was unable to survive for long on the new frontier line of animosity. Moss states that he remained in occupation for two years, but this is an exaggeration. He had gone by December 1869. Apparently Roma Waikala had been unable to give him continued protection, and a newspaper correspondent used his removal as an argument against trusting the Fijians:

Has 'Englishmen' forgotten the case of the late Mr. McLochlan¹ who was acknowledged by everybody to be one of the best Fijian tacticians in the group. The wretches, after helping themselves to his pigs, poultry, knives, cloth... his mosquito screen.... After doing this they kept watch on him day and night and would not allow him to leave. Several times they told him that he was not fat enough to kill. He eventually escaped at night.²

McLoughlin did escape, and intended to go to Levuka, but his boat capsized on passage between Rewa and Orakau and he was drowned.³

-
1. The spelling is different but the story tallies in circumstances, though not in time, with that of Moss, and with the evidence of Lauks in L.S.C. R209.
 2. E.I., 18 December 1869.
 3. R.J. Moss, A Planter's Experience in Fiji, p. 50.

The community as a whole made no such concessions to the existing situation. They did not think they needed to, and they strained race relations a little more by a sudden realization that since the Fijians had proved themselves capable warriors, it was foolish to provide them with weapons. In particular, the hard-pressed settlers of Viti Levu objected to the settlers from the more tranquil area to the east, who recruited labourers from Viti Levu and paid for them in muskets. Local and isolated attempts to suppress trading in firearms were self-defeating however. The Fijians, as Laks put it before the Land Claims Commission, 'craved for the white man's gun'. For this inducement they would sell land, work, or pillage, whichever seemed easiest at the time. Without this inducement however, they would do nothing. St John claimed that a boycott on the Ba coast on arms trading had resulted in refusal of the local people to work or sell food to those who participated. He protested:

The only hope is that those who are now supplying arms and ammunition will be as ready and willing to use their rifles when the time comes as they are now in hastening that time.¹

Settlers like Pfluger, Laks, Kinross, and many others who were already veterans of migration from Europe and of wandering through

1. E.I., 26 February 1870.

Australasia were still no nearer their journey's end. For them, events like the burning of Kovokai na Casau and the repulse of the Challenger's boats were a spur to try again in areas more distant from the centre of authority, in Ra, Ba, and Nadi, where the best lands were not already taken. Their experiences had not seemed to increase their understanding so much as their bitterness and their debts, and within a year their numbers were to be doubled by the migrants of the 'Great Fiji Rush of 1870' whose understanding was even less.

If accurate information about *Fijian* conditions had been available in Australia in 1863 it is unlikely that the rate of migration to *Fiji* would have increased, but paradoxically, distance, and irregularity of communication, were factors which stimulated migration. They insured that when good news was followed by bad there was time for action to proceed on the basis of the good news before its effect could be spoilt. By the time the news of the repulse of the Challenger's boats reached Sydney, on 3 September,¹ readers of the Sydney Morning Herald had been treated to nine months of intermittent but enthusiastic publicity in *Fiji's* favour. Early settlers like Brower and the Ryder brothers were reported to be well on the way to making a fortune by the end of 1867.² It was this announcement which, in George Ryder's view, led to a 'rush to *Fiji*'.³ News of high cotton prices was followed by news of discoveries of gold and copper in early 1868.⁴ Perhaps most important of all, however, was

-
1. Sydney Morning Herald, 3 September 1863. Even then the report was ill-informed and optimistic about the long-term consequences.
 2. Sydney Morning Herald, 13 December 1867.
 3. G.L. Ryder, 'Pioneering in the South Seas', p. 35. He is supported by Brewster, who writes, 'Their father was well-known in the Melbourne wool business and it was thought significant that his sons had deserted that great Australian staple for its rival, and that therefore fortunes were to be made in the new venture', King of the Cannibal Isles (London 1937), p. 62.
 4. R.A. Derrick, History of Fiji, p. 184, n. 1 and Sydney Morning Herald, 25 August 1868.

the delayed effect of the news that Captain Stanley, of U.S.S. Incarora had, in July 1867, demanded that Cakobau should settle his debt with the United States Government within a year or face the prospect of annexation.¹ News of this was transmitted by Brewer, the United States consul in Fiji, to General Latham, his counterpart in Melbourne, who in turn succeeded in arousing the interest of a group of Melbourne business men in the formation of a company to relieve Cakobau of his debts in return for concessions to themselves.² The Polynesia Company of Melbourne began its formal existence on 11 September 1868.³ As a colonizing company its success was minimal, and as a speculation it was a failure, but it had great influence as a focus of publicity for Fiji and its indirect effect on migration was important.

In an age of bubble mining companies the birth of the Polynesia Company did not seem to lack respectability. Its conception had occurred, almost nine months beforehand, at a meeting of 'merchants and others interested... at the board room of the Chamber of Commerce, for the purpose of ascertaining whether, in the present crisis of affairs in Fiji, any steps could be taken to secure the trade of those islands for this port'.⁴ The meeting was informed that the United

1. ARANA, 4 February 1868.

2. R.A. Derrick, op. cit., p. 178.

3. ARANA, 12 September 1868.

4. Ibid., 4 February 1868.

States Government, through the commander of the Jugwarora, had demanded payment amounting with interest and charges to \$80,000 and that if the money was not paid by 1 May 1863 'the American flag will be hoisted in the archipelago'.¹ The report of the meeting was presented as 'hard news' but it is difficult to regard it as other than a skilful piece of promotion. It went on to point out that though the American action showed a bold sense of opportunism, Australia had a better claim because there were some hundreds of Australian settlers there already, 'principally Victorians'. The report concluded:

What is wanted is, an establishment strong enough to assist the settlers... and to arrange for the settlement of the National Debt; and with good management, a Fiji Company with a limited capital might have obtained the same position in Polynesia as the N.S.I. Company did in India.²

The meeting in the Chamber of Commerce board room served as the prologue to a second one, three days later, which rated three columns in the Argus. There were speeches by two promoters, William Henry O'Halloran Brewer³ and John Cairns,⁴ and Cairns read a paper to the

1. Argus, 4 February 1863.

2. Ibid.

3. Brewer eventually settled in Fiji, but committed suicide in 1874 by strychnine poisoning after his 14 year old daughter had revealed an incestuous relationship with him over the previous eight or nine years. C.L., Layard to Attorney-General, Melbourne, 12 February 1874.

4. Thurston described Cairns as 'An old Fiji resident chiefly remarkable for his commercial failure and intemperate habits'. C.L., Thurston to H. Genders Esq., 1 June 1863.

meeting on behalf of Karl Van Damme who had, for a short time, held a clerical job in the British Consulate, on the strength of which he referred to himself as 'ex British Vice-Consul to Fiji'.¹ The thirty people present at the meeting were invited to consider a prospectus for a 'Fiji Banking and Trading Company Ltd.' with a capital of £50,000 in £1 shares, five thousand to be reserved for residents in Fiji. Cairns explained that he had been in Fiji, apparently as a trading partner with Captain Henry, from 1859 to 1861. He predicted rapid profits because of the extreme fertility of the soil. Van Damme's paper alleged that 'The Government of Fiji was by the exertions of the late British Consul [i.e. Jones], perfectly established and consolidated with Takombau as recognised Monarch. A white gentleman, Mr. P. John [sic], is his Secretary of State. The Government rules according to a code of laws drawn up by the whites, and has an organised black police. But the influences which rule supreme in the islands are the British Consulate and the Wesleyan Mission. All these powers are highly in favour of the project'.²

In order to demonstrate the support of the Wesleyan Mission a letter from William Marshall Moore, its leader, was produced. He not

-
1. Van Damme had been writing occasional newspaper articles about Fiji since 1866. He was employed at the time of the meeting as a civil servant which, he claimed, precluded him from making his own speech.
 2. ALBION, 7 February 1868. Thurston, then ^{Acting} British Consul in Fiji, condemned the proceedings as 'calculated to mislead the Colonial Public' and described the assertions of Brewer, Cairns and Van Damme as 'in disaccordance with fact'. C.L., Thurston to H. Genders Esq., 1 June 1868.

only gave his blessing to the scheme, but strongly hinted that if the business community of Melbourne refused the offer of his support he would make it in Sydney. Finally, Brewer rose to emphasise what a tragedy it would be for Victoria if the opportunity was lost, and to answer questions. Inquirers were blandly assured that the value of cotton exports had increased from £19,000 in 1866 to £60,000 in 1867,¹ and that other products showed a similar advance. 'What protection was there', someone asked, 'against the wild natives who would set fire to anything they could?' Brewer was reassuring:

... there had been no instances of wildness for some time, except the affair of the Rev. Mr. Baker, which happened in the middle of the island of Viti Levu. All the rest were of a quiet inoffensive sort, giving no trouble, unless they were interfered with.²

Shortly after the meeting, Brewer obtained the support of John Lavington Evans, a Melbourne merchant through whom he arranged for a steamer, the S.S. Albion, to undertake a cruise to Fiji and Japan largely for the benefit of forty supporters of the proposed company who wished to visit Fiji and investigate its potentialities. Shortly before sailing time a letter appeared in the Argus over the signature 'Inquirer' which it is difficult to believe was not inspired by the promoters:

1. The figures given in the Consular reports were £19,800 for 1866 and £34,004 for 1867 - see above p. 125.
2. Argus, 7 February 1866.

It seems from all I can gather, the present moment offers few inducements to settle in Victoria. What with the deadlock... [i.e. the constitutional deadlock between the two houses] the fall in wool beyond precedent, and the uncertainty in mining, I am somewhat at my wits end to know what to turn my attention to. In perambulating your streets my eyes were arrested by large placards in flaming capitals, 'Fiji and Japan'. My informants told me that with a little capital I could make a comfortable income in cotton, sugar, maize and coffee growing; that the markets of Australia are always ready to receive the produce, and at remunerative prices, that land of the best chocolate soil can be obtained at from 3s. to 6s. per acre!

The publicists of the Company were, if not responsible, no doubt delighted. A reply, enclosing a letter from a disgruntled settler on the Rewa concluding with the words 'Give my kind regards to all enquiring friends, and tell them to know when they are well off and keep in Victoria, as I wish to my soul that I had done',² was something of a set back - but it enabled both Brewer and Evans to reply at length under their own names and they clearly maintained the confidence of their supporters, for on 21 April 1868 the Albion sailed with eighty passengers and a draft charter, to which it was hoped to obtain the signature of Cakobau.

The Charter took the form of an agreement between Brewer and Evans, and Cakobau. They were to settle the American debt, pay Cakobau and certain other chiefs, whose names were left blank, an

1. ARGUS, 13 April 1868.

2. Ibid., 14 April 1868.

annuity (the sum was left blank too), and to assist Cakobau in defending his kingdom. In return they were to receive, on behalf of a company to be formed on their return to Melbourne, both sovereignty and ownership of 200,000 acres of land which was to be specified. They were also to have rights to all minerals upon them, and a monopoly of banking and note issuing throughout the group, and immunity from taxation. The Albion arrived in Levuka harbour on 22 May 1866 to find Thurston, the acting-Consul, absent on his Favauai plantation. Evans alleged that they sent a messenger to him, explaining their business and asking for his co-operation:

In the meantime, knowing nothing of the Fiji language, it was all important a true translation should be made of the agreement we had brought with us. We were informed W. Moore was considered the best interpreter in the group, and he consented.... On Saturday morning at the hour appointed for the meeting, we found the acting consul had not arrived, and as it was all important the King's signature was attached to the document before the sailing of the Albion... We proceeded to the business of the meeting.¹

But as Evans also pointed out, the owners of the Albion were shareholders in the Company,² which perhaps explains why they felt it necessary for the Albion to get under way with a minimum of delay. Cakobau was treated to a champagne breakfast at 10 a.m., and by noon he had signed, leaving a number of blanks in the charter to be filled in later.

-
1. Evans to Commodore Lambert, 3 July 1866 enclosed in bundle 11, no. 12. Registrar-General's department, Victoria State Archives.
 2. Presumably the Fiji Banking and Trading Company. The Polynesia Company had not yet been formed.

Thurston heard about the transaction the following day and immediately wrote to Frederick Hennings in Levuka, asking him to do what he could to forestall further activity until a ship of war could be consulted.¹ He also wrote to Evans and Brewer protesting against their action, claiming that it was illegal and that Cakobau could not have fully understood the document which he signed.² The timely arrival of H.M.S. Challenger a few days later enabled Thurston to gain his point, and Brewer and Evans were forced to acknowledge that their charter was invalid.³ News of this rebuff reached Melbourne on 13 August,⁴ but it was followed up by a communication from General Latham, the U.S. Consul, enclosing a letter from Brewer, written in Fiji. On 23 July, Cakobau had been persuaded to sign a redrafted version of the original charter, which Latham described as 'quite liberal' but 'much curtailed from the original design'.⁵ By this time Brewer and Evans were back in Melbourne and they put on a brave face for the edification of the investing public:

-
1. C.L., Thurston to Hennings, 23 May 1863.
 2. C.L., Thurston to Evans and Brewer, 25 May 1863.
 3. R.A. Derrick, op. cit., p. 179.
 4. Argus, 13 August 1863.
 5. Ibid., 10 September 1863.

The facts of the case are these. A charter was signed by the King on the 23rd May conferring on us judicial and fiscal powers we should have had difficulty in carrying through, and involving responsibilities we had no desire to undertake. Against that document the Acting Consul protested and in deference to his wish, and on a promise from the King of another being substituted, we acquiesced in cancelling the former.¹

A second treaty had been signed on 23 July in favour of 'any company which might be formed to relieve him of his difficulties'.² Such a company was to be exempted from taxation and to enjoy a monopoly for twenty-one years over the issue of bank notes. It was to obtain 25,000 acres of land at Suva, 10,000 acres at Beqa, 80,000 acres at Viti Levu Bay and 10,000 at Matewa Bay, Vanna Levu.³ In addition, the company was to enjoy Cakobau's protection. In return the company was to provide Cakobau with a gunboat,⁴ and was to pay off the American debt by instalments. The first instalment of £2,250 was to be paid within twenty days and the rest was to be paid in twelve months.⁵

1. Argus, 10 September 1868.

2. Ibid.

3. Argus Supplement, 12 September 1868.

4. U.S. Government Memorial of the United States Government in support of land claims in Fiji: American and British Claims Arbitration, Senate Paper, Washington U.S.A. cit. R.A. Derriek, op. cit., p. 178. Brewer and Evans discovered later that the gunboat clause was illegal though it is probable that it was the inducement which did most to secure Cakobau's signature. He would have been able to subdue Ma'afu with it. Its absence detracted from Cakobau's ability to provide the protection he promised.

5. Argus, 12 September 1868.

The new company was duly formed when Brewer and Evans returned,¹ and set up offices at 62, Collins Street West.² This resulted in a period of intensified interest in Fiji on the part of the Melbourne public. It was the publicity which the Polynesia Company gained for the group rather than the capital which it invested which had the most important effect on settlement. Correspondents from Fiji using the pen-names 'Meads' and 'Wesley' crossed swords with the indefatigable Evans and Brewer in repeated printed discussion of 'The State of Affairs in Fiji'.³ Evans claimed that the repulse of the Challenger's boats was no indication of general instability in the area and claimed that he had been twenty miles further upstream at the time. He must have been a little embarrassed when he was eventually reminded by an observant Newa settler, that he had left Fiji on the John Wesley on 27 July, three days before the event took place.⁴

But in the case of Fiji, any publicity was good publicity. The first indication of overt editorial support came on 20 January 1869 with two columns in the Argus, outlining the history of projected

1. F.T., 11 September 1869.

2. F.T., 28 May 1870.

3. E.g. ARGUS, 28 September 1868, 7 October 1868, 19 October 1868, 6 January 1869, 12 January 1869, 15 January 1869.

4. ARGUS, 6 January 1869.

annexation and the subsequent settlement of Fiji. The paper lent strong support to the new Company in the economic interest of Victoria: 'We wish every success to the enterprise for, in benefiting itself, the association must increase the commerce of Victoria'.¹ Until this time communication with Fiji from Melbourne was by way of Sydney, and to a large extent it continued to be so, but the Polyasia Company was responsible for inaugurating the first direct shipping service from Melbourne, the 'Polyasia Line of Packets, for Fiji Islands Direct', with the charter of the 'splendid new clipper brig' the Alfred. She eventually sailed on 10 February 1869 with twenty-seven passengers.² She was followed by the larger Springbok of five hundred tons which sailed on 5 May and commenced a regular, though somewhat infrequent, service which continued for the next two years. By the time she arrived in Levuka on 26 May, the Fiji Rush was on. According to one correspondent who wrote in June:

Levuka is full to overflowing, so much so that some of the passengers arriving from the colonies are obliged to stay on board their respective vessels.³

A year later, the Springbok was supplemented by the S.S. Alhambra which arrived in September 1870 with one hundred and twenty passengers.

1. Argus, 20 January 1869.
2. Argus, 11 February 1869.
3. Argus, 15 July 1869.

The passenger trade was possibly the only profitable venture the Polynesia Company ever made. Historians have been hasty to condemn the promoters' dishonesty and have regarded their success in gaining Cakobau's signature to their charter as a successful confidence trick played on an ignorant chief. There is however, the other side of the story. They gained none of the protection for which they hoped, and only those settlers who maintained occupation of their lands in person were enabled to keep them. They were hounded by critics both in Fiji and in Victoria and after considerable delay, they were eventually forced to pay the American debt in full on 23 November 1870. Thurston was jubilant and wrote to Hope about it:

The Yankee debt is paid!!! Batters, late Mayor of Melbourne and Diamond mine swindler, came down as planipo. Being all scoundrels together the Co. by next boat sent down three commissioners to look after the planipo. Batters was absent from Levuka.¹ The three wise men interviewed Brewer. Brewer said 'pay up tomorrow or the negotiations cease. Time's up a week ago'. All night they talked and in the morning payed the money!!! Brewer says he has the money and the interest of the U.S.G. now ceases. Thakobau, when asked 'where is the land' rubs his brown paws, chuckles, and screams 'Ca oti, Ca oti' - it is all over all over.²

But the fortunes of the Polynesia Company were by this time a minor issue in the fortunes of Fiji and the decisions of those who chose to

1. Thurston's opinion of Batters was shared by Commodore Goodenough who wrote of him 'Formerly Mayor of Melbourne, and left on becoming bankrupt.... Should not be employed in any capacity', *op. cit.* G.S. Henderson, 'Evolution of Government in Fiji' (See 'Notes on Sources').

2. Hope Journals; Thurston to Hope, 23 November 1870.

go there. People wrote to the newspapers in search of detailed answers to questions about political stability, labour costs, the likelihood of annexation, and the amount of capital required. 'I am sure replies to the above would interest many of your readers as well as myself', wrote a country reader and subscriber, 'and the interest shown in this subject just now must be my excuse for thus troubling you.'¹ To the editor of the Argus considerations of profit and adventure were secondary to the clear call of duty:

Absorbed as we may be in the pressing occupations of the hour, we must not be insensitive to the mission which PROVIDENCE appears to have entrusted to us in the future - that of carrying our commerce and civilization to the islands of the South Pacific. Already the Fiji Islands are ours by the right of commercial conquest and industrial occupation; and it is not too much to expect from the Imperial Government, that it should prepare the way for their political annexation to Australia.²

Until the beginning of 1870 information about the rate at which the settler population increased is fragmentary and the Consular report for December 1869 contained no population statistics. Levuka was reported as 'full to overflowing' with new arrivals in June 1869 when the Springbok arrived;³ but there is no further specific information from then until September, when the Fiji Times commenced publication.

-
1. Australasian, 20 August 1870.
 2. Argus, 3 May 1870.
 3. Argus, 15 July 1869.

The period from November until the end of the year was normally a quiet one for shipping because of the approach of the hurricane season. Passenger arrivals in the port of Levuka from Australasian ports were equalled by the number of departures - thirty-five in each case.¹ The general impression however, from news, editorial comment and private correspondence, is one of a rapid increase in population over the year as a whole. Thurston wrote to Hope from his Tavouni plantation at the end of the year:

I wonder how long our Govt. is going to let things run on in the present abnormal manner. Population is rapidly increasing, land sales are daily effected and capital is augmenting every month. In fact an unrecognised settlement of the country by British subjects is no longer a matter of doubt but of fact.²

From this mixture of evidence it seems reasonable to assume that the number of settlers who arrived during 1869 was not less than the number who arrived in 1868, which was 370. The total number of Europeans as distinct from part-Europeans in the group in December 1868 was 862 so the addition of 370 new settlers in 1869 would have brought the total to 1232 by the end of the year. The part-European population increased during 1868 from 339 to 386 which would have brought the total to about 450 in December 1869.³

-
1. From a count of names in the passenger lists printed in the shipping columns. The majority of those returning eventually came back to Fiji and were probably returning for equipment to set up a plantation after a preliminary investigation and the purchase of land. Numbers of new arrivals came in their own ships from New Zealand and did not always land passengers in Levuka.
 2. Hope Journals; Thurston to Hope, 13 December 1869.
 3. See tables in Chapter 4.

From the beginning of 1870 to the middle of 1874 much more accurate information can be obtained from the passenger lists of ships arriving at and departing from the port of Levuka.¹ Traffic was slight in the early months of 1870 because of the hurricane season, but on 10 April the Young Australian, a two hundred and fifty ton schooner, arrived from Sydney with ten passengers.² She was the first of a considerable fleet. The Genetia came in from Auckland the same day after a fast passage of seven days, with nineteen settlers on board, 'a larger complement of passengers than have ever previously arrived from Auckland'.³ From then on, for the next two years, a fleet of small vessels, the Loalia, Flirt, Kauri, Lewing, Susannah, Noah, Cleopatra, Jeannie Duncan, Harriet Armitage, Quickster, Van Tromp, and many more, and occasional larger vessels like the Springbok and the steamers James Patterson, City of Adelaide and City of Melbourne carried a growing passenger traffic between Fiji and the Australasian Colonies. In 1870 the excess of arrivals over departures was considerable: 1003

-
1. Until June 1874 Levuka was the major port of entry though some ships did sail direct to Lomaloma, Tavuni, Nadi and Suva and possibly other areas as well. Information about ships which did not make Levuka their first port of call is, however, fragmentary and small in quantity. It has not been taken into consideration. The trans-Pacific steamship service from Sydney to San Francisco commenced using Kadavu as a regular port of call in July 1874. From then on passengers in transit listed as travelling between Kadavu and Levuka are indistinguishable from terminal passengers. By then long-term trends had in any case become clear.
 2. F.I., 16 April 1870. The Young Australian, was the property of J.C. Smith & Co. of Levuka.
 3. F.I., 16 April 1870. The Genetia had made an earlier voyage from Sydney in February with four passengers. F.I., 3 February 1870.

as against 297, making a net gain of 706.¹ Of the 1003 arrivals, 763 are accounted for in the lists of arrivals at the port of Levuka. The largest number of these, 350, came from Sydney, 266 came from New Zealand, and 147 came direct from Melbourne though it is likely that many Victorians took their final departure from Sydney. With the exception of a solitary steamship, the Alhambra which arrived on 6 September with seventy-four settlers,² the passenger traffic of 1870 was carried on in small sailing vessels. Those from Sydney averaged one hundred and sixty-five tons, and those from New Zealand averaged fifty tons. Some of them made several trips backwards and forwards, like the Jeannie Duncan which sailed four times between Lyttalton and Levuka in the first half of 1870.³ The more usual trading pattern in 1870, however, was a voyage from the home port to Levuka with passengers and general cargo followed by a period of recruiting between the New Hebrides or the Tokelau Islands and Fiji, the object being to make as many trips as possible during the period of steady weather. The vessel would then return to Levuka towards the end of the year for a cargo of cotton and other island produce and perhaps a few passengers

-
1. L.S.L., 5 February 1872.
 2. This figure is obtained from a count of names on the passenger list which on the face of it conflicts with the editorial statement that the Alhambra arrived with 120 passengers. A.E. Brewster, however, says that there were many on the ship who intended to complete the round trip back to Melbourne. They were not listed as departures either. L.S.L., 10 September 1870.
 3. She was sold by her owners, the Reese brothers, to Cakobau for £1,100 on 29 April. S.L., Sale and Mortgage of British Ships, No. 36574.

to return to Australia or New Zealand for a summer in the Colonial coasting trade.

Normally this meant a slack season for Fiji at the end of the year, but by the end of 1870 the inducements of the passenger trade were so great that skippers were prepared to forego a summer on the Australian or New Zealand coast for the sake of the profits of running migrants to Fiji. The Fiji Times reported:

There is not likely to be any decrease in our shipping during the hurricane months. All our regular traders seem determined to make their usual trips, hurricane or no hurricane.¹

The faster and better-appointed ships temporarily left the triangular trade of passengers, recruiting, and produce and concentrated on paying passengers. The Young Australian for example, in 1863 was a regular recruiter and cargo vessel. In 1870 however, she became simply a passenger vessel running between Sydney and Levuka. Her schedule was as follows:

10 April	arrived from Sydney
30 April	sailed for "
20 June	arrived from "
7 July	sailed for "
21 August	arrived from "
17 September	sailed for "
1 November	arrived from "

She, like the other vessels of her size, brought between eight and sixteen passengers on each trip, and returned with between two and six.

1. F.T., 21 December 1870.

She soon became a familiar and reassuring sight to the new settlers.

The Fiji Times described her on one occasion:

... a more welcome sight than usual as she came up under a press of canvas before the strong south easterly on Tuesday. Gigantic steamers make spasmodic trips and then drop us; large sailing vessels of all sorts of rigs try to cut into the trade and retire disgusted to the dull routine of coal or flour carrying but the smart little three masted schooner sticks to Fiji as grim death is supposed to stick to a marlin spike. The faces of Captain Lake and his two officers have become as familiar as if they owned cotton plantations in the group.¹

It was not until the hurricane season at the end of 1871 that the rush began to slacken, though the traffic that year began to flow in both directions as many settlers returned for their wives and families and some decided after a short stay that Fiji was not all they had been led to believe. Arrivals in 1871 totalled 1008, departures 241, a net gain of 767.² Of those whose port of departure can be ascertained 347 came from Sydney, only 29 from Melbourne, and 200 came from New Zealand. The period of most rapid immigration was from April 1870 to April 1871 when a total of 771 passengers arrived in Levuka, an average of 59.3 per month. It was then that it seemed as if Fiji was to be rapidly transformed into a new Australasian colony. Henry Britton wrote of the 'tide of immigration' which seemed to have set in,³ while

1. F.T., 5 November 1870.

2. F.T., 6 January 1872.

3. H. Britton, Fiji in 1870, p. 5.

among the Fijians, Ma'afu spoke in the same vein to the confederate chiefs of the 'Fovata Ko Lau':

The sea is white with the sails of the white
mans vessels... I only wish to remind you
that this is a new age; work together for
what is good and worthy of men.¹

But though Ma'afu looked ahead to the possibility of an understanding between the two races, the newcomers saw no need to do so. The problem of race relations was one which they believed would solve itself as the Fijian race declined in the face of the operation of the insutable laws of nature. Such beliefs had been held by most settlers in the 1860s too, but once in Fiji they had soon found themselves living in comparative isolation from other Europeans. Even in the Rewa district it had taken a decade for a European community to develop and even when it did its members did not all have the same attitude to the Fijians. There was room, between the arrogance of G.R. Burt and the tolerance of McLoughlin, for a wide spectrum of attitudes. Settlers of the Fiji rush, however, formed a distinct European community from the beginning and whether they settled in the older districts like Rewa, Navua and Tavuni or the newer ones like Ba and Kadi they were no longer forced to live in isolation or to lose the confidence that membership of a European community could give.

Most of the newcomers disembarked in the first instance in Levuka and found accommodation in one of the new hotels which were built

1. Z.I., 20 August 1870.

between 1868 and 1870 to cater for their needs. One of the passengers who came in the Albion described one of them, the 'Criterion', which was being built by J.S. Turner, 'a respectable man from Lunedin, having brought over his family (wife and five children) handsome furniture and good supply of goods'. The hotel contained eleven bedrooms, a large dining hall, a bar, outhouses and kitchens and was intended particularly for the use of families.¹ Accommodation, however, at one dollar a day per head, was expensive,² and the usual practice was to hire a local vessel with as little delay as possible and to go on a land-buying cruise. Parties were made up for the purpose, which added the attractions and the social insulation of tourism to the pursuit of profit. One lady correspondent of the Argus remained in Levuka while the men did the looking. 'My son', she wrote, 'Mr. Seales, the Geelong party and eight more, have gone in a schooner for a three weeks trip to see the land now in the market.'³

For the 'old hands', as they were called, the rush was a magnificent opportunity for making money as boat-owners, interpreters and land-speculators. Many of them were carpenters or ship-wrights and were quick to turn their skill to account. By 1873 there was a total of ninety small vessels in the group, most of them so small that they must have been built in Fiji.⁴ Two typical owners were Theodore

1. ARGUS, 1 August 1868.

2. ARGUS, 14 April 1868.

3. ARGUS, 1 August 1868.

4. In Thurn papers, Consulate N.S. 2, F10.

Hoyt and William Miller of whom David Wilkinson wrote:

The audacity of these men ... was quite equal to the occasion.... These men would often have a number of dealings in course of progress and as they sailed from place to place and favourable opportunity occurred any one or more would be advanced a stage; perhaps by obtaining an additional signature, pacifying an enemy or in one way or another removing an obstacle. I once saw one of these men (Shute) with a sheaf under his arm containing some 12 or 15 deeds in various stages... of course the demand for land increased and these men made money.... New arrivals in Levuka in search for lands were generally soon picked up by them or their allies and it was called 'run around'. If unsuccessful in any individual case, which was not common, yet money was made by the passage fairs [sic] alone, but it would be very unusual for a trip to bear no other fruit.¹

Newcomers often joined with enthusiasm in the scramble to extract immediate profit while passing on to others the risk involved in actual settlement. One piece of land on the Ma river, for example, was bought by G.J. Lindberg in 1871. He agreed to sell the lower third of it to a man named Warren at cost price, in this case £25, on condition that he settled on it, but before completing his bargain Warren returned to Levuka and sold the land to a new arrival H.L.W. Tripp, for £175. This was a case which, as W.S. Carew of the Land Claims Commission remarked 'gives us some insight into the kind of speculation that formerly prevailed'.² Levuka became a rendezvous

1. L.C.C. N346. The charter of boats was expensive. John Harman, for example, chartered his small vessel for £1 per day to George Darby, a Ma settler in 1871. R1005.

2. L.C.C. R1029.

for 'Land Agents', men who had acquired a smattering of legal knowledge, or at least a certain degree of confidence in the use of legal language. Edwin James Turpin was typical of this class. His experience as super-cargo for Otty Cadlip and overseer for W.M. Kinross on the Upper Rewa had given him a working knowledge of the Fijian language. In 1868 he gravitated to a clerical post in the British Consulate and had used J.S. Thurston's library to further his career. He lived for the next two years largely on the proceeds of drawing up deeds, interpreting, witnessing signatures and purchasing land on behalf of other people or for speculative purposes of his own.¹

The variations between the localities available for settlement were considerable and for newcomers who could ill afford to live in Levuka on their savings, and who wished to minimize their preliminary expenses, the choice must have been difficult to make in a hurry. Broadly the choice lay between cheap land in areas of high political instability on the northern and western sides of Viti Levu, and expensive land in areas of comparative tranquility like the lower Rewa or Tavouni, where settlement was already extensive. Fiji was regarded by many settlers, with their gold rush experience, as another lottery of fortune in which each man stood as good a chance as another, but in fact, the dice was already loaded. Men with capital could afford

1. In 1870 and 1871 his name appears in these capacities in numerous documents e.g. L.S.C. H1049 (3a) H924.

fertile land in areas where the authority of chiefs was locally effective and security was real. These were the preconditions of realistic race relations including an acknowledgement of chiefly authority, and of consequent economic success. Men of lesser means could only afford less fertile land which was cheap because local chiefs were unsure of their own position and required arms urgently to protect themselves and their people from attack. These proved ultimately to be the preconditions of anxiety, aggression, extravagant racialism, and economic failure.

For those who could afford it, the island of Taveuni was the obvious choice. But it was relatively expensive. By 1868 land was occasionally changing hands at £1 per acre,¹ and it became even more expensive as the number of settlers increased and land originally purchased from Tui Cakau in the early 1860s was repeatedly subdivided to meet the demands of new arrivals. One piece of land was originally purchased in 1861 for \$40. It was sold in 1867 for £20 and in December 1868 for £40.² Another block was purchased from Tui Cakau by W.S. Ross in October 1870 for £300. One half was sold on 26 April 1871 to F.W. House for £240, the other half on 3 June 1871 to George Wright for £160. Wright sold his half on 23 November 1871 to J.C. Ellis for £360.³ The soil, however, was the best in Fiji, and Tui Cakau

1. Australasian, 12 December 1868. This was still cheap by Colonial standards. Bush land in New Zealand was selling at this time at the same price.

2. L.C.C. B62.

3. L.C.C. B268, 267a.

regarded the presence of a large number of settlers on his lands as a guarantee of continued ability to resist the pretensions of Ma'afu, and a support to his own authority. These calculations were probably confirmed by the kind of settlers which he managed to attract.

J.B. Thurston, the British Consul, came to Taveuni himself in 1870.¹ He settled on a plantation which was already a prosperous concern. He had purchased the land in 1867 and it was managed by his brother H.C. Thurston while J.B. Thurston was Acting Consul in Ovalau.

On 22 November 1869 he wrote:

My plantation under my brother's management is doubled in size and kept in beautiful order, no place in Fiji like it, he has picked 13 bales clean cotton worth say £325 £25 ea. this last picking.... If I do not remain at Ovalau I intend next year to go to Taveuni where I have a fine tract of country in quiet possession. I shall import cattle and agricultural tools and make a large plantation of sea island cotton.²

At the end of 1869, when E.S. Stanston became secretary to Ma'afu, he was replaced in the service of Tui Cakau by W.S. Ross, already a prominent land speculator and planter. His appointment was regarded as a further guarantee of security. The Taveuni correspondent of the Fiji Times reported:

1. Fiji, 4 June 1870. The Taveuni correspondent writes: 'J.B. Thurston Esq. has settled amongst us. I wish him every success and large crops of cotton'.

2. Thurston to Bope, 22 November 1869.

Tui Cakau is determined to protect the whites who have settled under his rule, and Mr. Ross is not the man to let him swerve from this resolve... I think Mr. Ross is the right man in the right place, and I firmly believe does all in his power to advance the interests of the white men in Tui Cakau's dominions, whilst, at the same time he endeavours to act fairly and honourably with the chief.... He has persuaded Tui Cakau to make a wagon road right around the island.¹

New settlers were advised that Taveuni was the wisest choice as 'Tui Cakau can and will protect them, if they settle in his dominions',² and the island gained an enviable reputation as a particularly suitable location for settlers with wives and families. Henry Britton reported a relatively high proportion of European women on the island in 1870³, though this may have been because the Taveuni settlers were usually wealthier than those in other parts of the group and had been able to afford to bring their wives with them. Settlers' correspondence and the few details which are available from other sources give the impression of a community of relatively high social standing in terms of the colonial societies from which they came. Probably the wealthiest settlers on the island were J.V. Tarte and J.B. Fry. Tarte had been a naval engineer's apprentice in London and had migrated to

1. F.I., 1 January 1870. Ross himself settled on a plantation at Na Solo Solo, F.I., 29 January 1870.

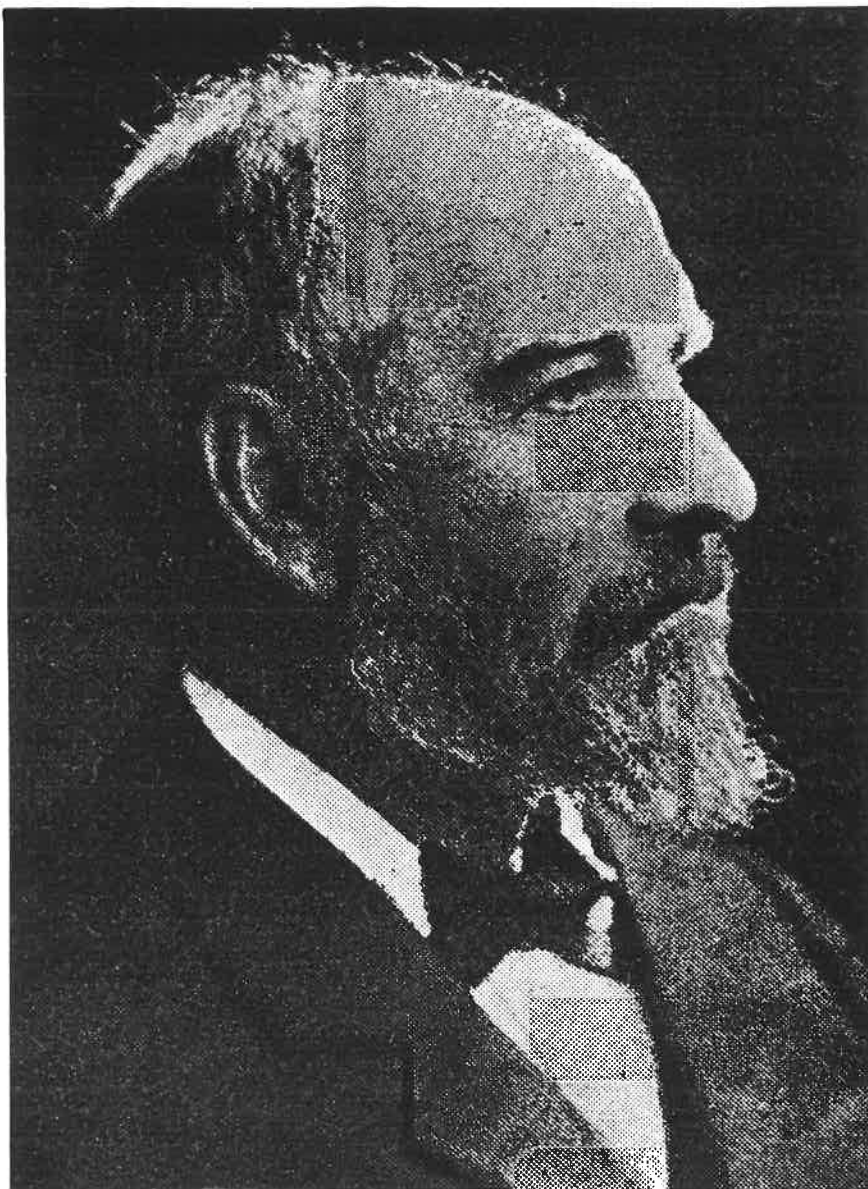
2. F.I., 16 April 1870.

3. H. Britton, F.I. in 1870, p. 63. He estimated the settler population at the time as 100 men and 13 women.

Victoria in 1857 where he had become a successful grain and flour merchant and mining company speculator in partnership with Fry. They came to Fiji in 1870 and purchased land from W.M. Moore at Vuna point. It formed the basis of a large estate consisting of leasehold land on which they held the option to purchase.¹ By 1871 the whole of the southern tip of the island had been subdivided between A. Moore (son of W.M. Moore), E. Logan,^{and} W. Holmes, who with Tarte and Fry, their overseers and their families, formed a small settlement. There were two grog shanties there in 1871 where a meal could be obtained by visitors.² Other prominent settlers on the island included Mardet and Cruickshank, both of whom were ex-naval officers.³ The latter was a graduate of the Edinburgh Royal College of Surgeons, and had been a naval surgeon until 1869.⁴ Other graduates included F.G. Mitchell of Sydney University, and James McConnell of the University of Belfast.⁵ Samuel Beaven, who arrived in Tavuni on 14 June 1868, supports the impression of a community which considered itself to be socially superior.

-
1. L.C.C. 858. The original purchaser had been William Seddoes.
 2. E.J. Turpin, Diary, 25 July 1871.
 3. Thurston to Hope, 6 September 1871.
 4. Obituary notice, E.I., 25 September 1880.
 5. Cyclopaedia of Fiji, p. 291.

209a



J.V. Tarte

(From the Central Archives of Fiji and the Western Pacific
High Commission, Suva.)

W....¹ has 1000 acres of land here at 8s. per acre.... There are about 40 whites on plantations scattered throughout Taveuni. Miller and Rous (Rous is a nephew of Admiral Rous, an ex-mate in the Navy - a China medal man) at two miles, and Mrs. and Mrs. Logan a quarter of a mile off - a newly married couple, very nice and agreeable - they have a piano. Also Mr. Carstairs (and wife), old Darling squatter, and a friend of my uncle Jacks.²

The focal point of the community was Wairiki, which was also the residence of Tui Cakau. Early in 1870 a jetty was erected by Wilson, Hamilton and Co., and there was soon an hotel and a store, the property of G.W. McKissack, a settler from Otago. Petersen and Hall owned the adjoining Babeka plantation and also ginned cotton for other settlers, thus providing an additional opportunity for social intercourse. It was here that a church was built for the use of Europeans in 1871, while Petersen's ginning shed provided facilities for an occasional ball.

There was little to disturb the atmosphere of prosperous tranquility on Taveuni. There was a planter, it is true, who after living with Mary Driver, a part-European woman, gave her away to Tui Cakau as an addition to his household. Some new arrivals were a little disturbed, but it was naturally assumed by the community that

-
1. Probably George Wright, born in Scotland 1845, migrated to Otago and remained there for eight years before coming to Fiji in 1869. *Cyclopaedia of Fiji*, p. 294. The other possibility is J.F. Wilson of Wilson Hamilton & Co.
 2. *Australasian*, 24 October 1868. G.H. Carstairs died aged 52 on 18 May 1870 'lately of Mallara Station, Darling River, N.S.W.', *P.I.*, 28 May 1870.

the motive behind the deed was impeccable. The Taveuni correspondent of the Fiji Times commented 'the worthy and speculative planter is already looking forward to a rich golden return for such unbounded generosity'.¹ Labour on his plantation would doubtless be forthcoming without difficulty, and the management of his labourers would prove uncomplicated. Taveuni settlers were not only richer than others, on the average they were probably older. It is only possible to ascertain the ages of six of the Taveuni settlers of 1870 but their average was a little over thirty-three years. This was considerably above the average of twenty-seven for the whole group. They did not come to Taveuni to make a fortune in a hurry and return rich men, but to settle permanently as many of them succeeded in doing. Migration was therefore not only a new adventure but an act of voluntary exile from the world and its cares. 'War in Germany', observed one planter to another. 'Well what's the odds' replied his friend, 'if it doesn't raise the price of gin'.²

For those whose financial resources were more limited, or whose temperament was more adventurous, there remained the known risks of the Rewa, and the older settlements of Vanua Levu or the as yet untested pockets of low-lying land at Ba and Nadi. Ba and Nadi were the choice

1. F.I., 22 April 1871.

2. The Taveuni correspondent, F.I., 13 October 1870.

of those settlers who had been evicted from the Upper Rewa.

J.G. Pfluger accompanied by Spiers went to Ba and Luks and Kidedale went to Nadi.¹ They may have believed that with their previous experience behind them they would know how to deal with a situation in which safety would be precarious. They were followed, however, by new arrivals anxious to profit by the anxiety of the tribes concerned to secure firearms for protection against their neighbours, but who lacked knowledge and experience. The result was that the process of deterioration in race-relations and security which had taken eight years on the Rewa was compressed in these areas into about eighteen months. The feeling at Ba and Nadi between the settlers themselves included the easy social relationships of Taveuni, but they were complemented by a 'lager mentality' which arose from fear.² In these areas there was no recognition or utilisation of chiefly authority, and exclusive reliance on imported labour, while it added to the cost of operations, meant that the only relations with the Fijians were those of hostility.

-
1. Pfluger explained to the Land Claims Commission 'About 2 years after I was "burnt out" of the Rewa at the time of the "Challenger Affair" (1868) I heard that Tui Ba was anxious for white men to settle on the river here to be a protection to him against the mountaineers. I accordingly came here with Spiers'. L.C.C. R1032, 25 June 1881.
 2. By this I mean the attitudes which have come to characterise Afrikaner nationalists, as summarised in Sheila Patterson, The Last Trek: A Study of the Boer People and the Afrikaner Nation (London 1957), p. 294, 'Aggressiveness towards the African conveys a growing fear and hatred, and a usually unadmitted consciousness of guilt and expectation of revenge.... And the statement of this anxiety has all too often the sound of a death wish.... Rather than adapt or compromise, they are however prepared to go down before the black herds in glorious sunset defeat, the last lonely champions of white Christian civilisation.'

Taviki, the Tui Ba, like the coastal chiefs of Rewa, Navua and Nadroga before him, was being harrassed by his inland neighbours, but his case was more urgent than theirs. The river valleys of Viti Levu were the only communication which the inland tribes had with the sea, the only means whereby through trade or force they could acquire the means of self-defence. One by one the openings for traffic had been blocked up as the pretensions of Bau had increased and the authority of coastal chiefs had been consolidated by sales of land to settlers who excluded trading and fishing parties from the use of customary rights of way which ran through their plantations.¹ Until 1870 the Ba river was one of the few remaining outlets; beche-de-mer stations had been established on the coast,² and there had been extensive purchases of land for speculative purposes by G. Winter and David Whippy, but there had been no settlement, and the transactions had been greatly to the advantage of the Fijians. Winter was a settler from Tasmania with a gullible nature. He arrived in Fiji in 1862 and commenced land speculation on a large scale. His first call was Vainunu, where he gained the services of David Whippy and Joe Long as interpreters. His first field of operations was the Macuata coast

1. E.g. L.C.C. R1012.

2. S.A. St John purchased 15,000 acres on 24 May 1861 with the intention of starting a sheep run, but did not do so, and in 1870 Tui Ba considered that the land was his to sell again. L.C.C. R1041. Another early purchaser was John Harman who established a beche-de-mer collecting depot in 1866. L.C.C. R1048.

where he claimed to have purchased 30,000 acres from Ritova, but he made no attempt at settlement.¹ In the meantime, David Whippy claimed to have purchased 33,000 acres of land on the right bank of the Ba river for \$300 and a canoe.² In 1866 Winter bought it from him, and from the inhabitants, who disputed its ownership between that date and 1871 when he finally left the country, for a total of \$6,000. He made no attempt to maintain occupation, however, beyond placing a flock of sheep on the land, which must have made a welcome addition to the normal Fijian diet. The Land Claims Commission concluded that:

There can be no doubt from all the evidence relating to him that Mr. Winter was a most eccentric person, carrying his liberality to natives almost to a craze.³

The Ba tribes were thus presented with all the advantages of a continuous supply of trade without the attendant inconvenience of having to give anything for it. The inland tribes found the situation a provocative one. The Ba tribes had no need of trade with them and the alternative was war,⁴ if they were to obtain the means to preserve themselves from the pressures of settlement elsewhere.

-
1. L.C.C. R833.
 2. L.C.C. R1000. Winter eventually became an American citizen in the hope of obtaining support for his claims from the United States Government.
 3. L.C.C. R1045 and R1046.
 4. Not that the two activities were customarily exclusive of each another.

Charles John Lindberg arrived on the Ba on 30 June 1870. He said that at that time:

... a continual state of war prevailed between the coast tribes and the mountaineers. Hardly a week passed but one heard of a murder on one side or the other. Tui Ba told me that his reason for selling land was to place a barrier between himself and the mountaineers.¹

Tui Ba may have been conscious of the growing feeling among the settlers that buying land for firearms was foolish, and he was in a hurry. The needs of the people living on the land were accordingly ignored. All the forty-two land sales on the river were made within the space of about a year on his sole authority. The Land Claims Commission condemned his recklessness. They claimed that from Veivelo to the mouth of the Seru river, a distance of fifty miles, and for twenty miles up the Ba river on both banks, every scrap of available land was claimed by a settler:

The late Tui Cakau may have acted in a manner as arbitrary, but he most unquestionably did use some discretion and certainly did not dispossess his people of every inch of their tribal lands.²

At the same time, however, they conceded that the possession of arms and ammunition by the Ba tribes became 'a matter of life and death'. A major attack on the coast commenced in June 1870, when five sales

1. L.C.C. R992. Ba, General Evidence.

2. L.C.C. R992.

took place. The 'out-post town' of Hailolo was captured in July. 'When the frightful massacre of the Hailolo people had justly alarmed the Ma people there were seven.' Sales continued until 1872 when 'they ceased altogether, possibly because there was no more land left to sell.'¹ Some settlers refused to trade in firearms. J.C. Pfluger, for example, who knew what it meant to be evicted by armed warriors paid for his land in money, and a dress belonging to Mrs. Pfluger which, he explained, 'had attracted the fancy of Haaou [Tui Ba's brother] as likely to be becoming to his own wife'.²

With these exceptions, land was purchased for arms and ammunition. It was cheap, not only because occupation was dangerous, but because it was unsuitable in other ways for the successful establishment of cotton plantations, and better land was available elsewhere. Settlers, often with little capital to spare, found that they had to spend money, and often get into debt before they could commence operations. G.J. Lindberg was the first to follow purchase by settlement. He arrived in March 1870 and eventually settled at Varoko, purchased on 30 June. 'When we first came the whole of Varoko was one big swamp' he said, 'we spent a lot of money in draining it and it is now cultivable.'³ Woolcott arrived in May and asked Lindberg to find him

1. L.C.C. R972.

2. L.C.C. R1004.

3. L.C.C. R1003.

some land. 'I did not exactly like it' he said, 'but it was the only land he [Tui Ba] was willing to sell so I bought it'. As settlement increased, Winter grew apprehensive, lest his investment had been in vain, and in May 1870 issued a caution against settlers attempting to purchase land on the right bank of the river.¹ By that time, however, he was back in the United States urging the cause of American annexation,² and in September, news reached Fiji that he was tucked up in a hospital bed in Washington,³ from which he was never to emerge alive. Settlers anxious to make a quick fortune while the going was good had no more compunction about settling on his land than Tui Ba had about selling it to them a second time. John Berry, for example, the surveyor from Albury whose sister married John Burns, the chemist,⁴ bought 3,200 acres of Winter's land for goods worth £120. In November he agreed to sell two-thirds of the block to Burns, and together they returned to Melbourne to fit themselves out to establish a plantation. They were back at Ba in May 1871. Apart from guns and ammunition, Tui Ba seems to have had a weakness for small boats of European design. In November 1870 he added to his little fleet by a

-
1. *F.I.*, 28 May 1870.
 2. *F.I.*, 3 July 1870.
 3. *F.I.*, 3 September 1870.
 4. See Chapter 1, pp. 20-21.

sale of land to H.L. Kennedy, in exchange for the cutter in which he had sailed from New Zealand, 'about 6 or 7 tons. Half-decked, cost me £70 in Auckland. Ultimately I agreed to give him the cutter and the trade in her.' He left his son on the land and returned to Levuka to get the cutter overhauled, re-coppered, and a new set of sails made. 'Tui Ba insisted on these repairs to the cutter'.¹

Also in November 1870 the man arrived who was to become the leader of the Ba community, a Melbourne barrister, J. de C. Ireland, proud, hot-tempered, and an extreme racist, with a predisposition towards violence. On the night of the concert held in Melbourne to celebrate the opening of the new Town Hall, 9 August 1870, Ireland had disputed the right of the city's police to prevent him driving his carriage down Swanston St., which had been closed except to 4000 guests expected to attend the concert on foot. He struck a constable, who tried to arrest him, with his horse whip and when finally overpowered, offered bail, only to exercise his liberty by driving furiously back the way he had come to the danger of a large number of people. He was fined £7 with the alternative of a week in gaol,² and to add to his humiliation, lost a court case on 16 August 1870, after a powerful defence of a man who had punched his wife to death.³ He sailed on the

1. L.S.D.

2. Argus, 10 and 11 August 1870.

3. Argus, 17 August 1870. Later, in Fiji, he fought a duel on an isolated beach in N.E. Viti Levu with Becker, a Rewa settler, in defence of the good name of Queen Victoria. The seconds, however, substituted red-current jelly for ammunition, and no life was lost. A.B. Brewster, King of the Cannibal Isles, London 1937, p. 67.

Alhambra for Fiji a week later.

With Ireland went James Sullivan, ex-police inspector of the Riverina, James Carr and James Toustant Proctor, confederate soldier who had left a leg on one of the battlefields of the civil war.¹ They settled on adjacent blocks at the mouth of the Ra, to be joined almost immediately by the brothers J. and P. Jack who leased land from both Ireland and Proctor. Ireland's establishment soon became a social focus for the settlement, partly because of his recent social standing and political ability, partly because of the tangible services he provided. Lindberg, who acted as his interpreter when he took possession, told how he brought a large amount of equipment with him, horses and ploughs, a water-wheel for working a cotton gin - later replaced by a steam engine - and a large imported wooden house. He planted between eighty and ninety acres of cotton himself, and also ginned cotton for the settlers of Ra, and also of Raci, a short day's sail around the coast. He claimed to have spent £2,000 on development of the property.²

In this community there were several factors which produced a sense of insecurity, and with insecurity there developed an arrogance which made it a centre of extremist disaffection towards the government, established in 1871, which attempted for the first time to

1. G.W.H. Markham, Diary., 26 July 1871.

2. L.C.C. M1041.

achieve more than mere collective vengeance for Fijian attacks.¹ With the exception of Ireland none of the settlers were wealthy and according to Lindberg 'we always dreaded that Winter might have some undisclosed deed under which he could claim the whole bank'.² The land on the river proved not only to be less fertile than had been anticipated, but subject to severe flooding. The political situation was known to be a dangerous one, and the history of previous settlement on the Nawa and Sigatoka rivers must have been well known.³ They drew what comfort they could from their proximity to the coast, and tried to forget that in this part of the island the hills which provided refuge to the enemies of the coastal people from whom they had bought their land came almost to the sea on either side of the river, and nearly surrounded them.

The immediate effect of the sale of land in large quantities in the last part of 1870^{was} to weight the balance of power heavily in favour of Tui Ba, and settlers like Pfinger were in any case of a stubborn and determined nature. It was not until May 1871 that the inland tribes again became a threat. It was their custom to come down the Ba river at certain seasons to collect a species of fresh-water oyster

1. See Chapter 8.

2. D.C.C. N1002.

3. Accounts of both the Challenger incident and the destruction of Burt and Underwood's plantation were published in the Melbourne Argus and other colonial newspapers.

which lived on its banks, a custom which McIntosh in particular regarded as a trespass upon his land.¹ Most of the settlers had employed labourers from Tasa and kept supplies of trade to pay them with and protect them, which provided a standing inducement to plunder. The authority of Tui Sa was not sufficient to prevent considerable intercourse between his subjects and his supposed enemies of the hills. Rumours and threats soon began to circulate which reached the ears of the settlers - or at least those who understood the Fijian language. Lindberg said:

I heard from Basau [brother of Tasiki, Tui Sa] that the mountaineers intended to kill Spiers, Mackintosh [i.e. McIntosh] and Burns. The motive against the two former was about land and against Burns on account of the great amount of property he had brought with him.²

All three were eventually killed, but in the meantime the Sa settlers drew consolation from their own vision of their place in history, as the torch-bearers of civilisation in the midst of savagery. They believed that in retaining possession of their lands they were not only ensuring their own future prosperity but acting on behalf of settlers throughout the group, who accordingly owed them support. When Burt and Underwood were driven out and Underwood's

1. L.S.C. K1012.

2. L.S.C. K992, General Evidence.

children catch, there was no movement throughout the group to redress their wrongs, but rather a chastened recognition of the limits of prudence. In Ba a similar fate befell Spiers and McIntosh in July 1871. They were not only clubbed, but also mutilated and disembowelled.¹ It is clear from every existing account of the event and the reaction that followed that the generation of settlers who had come with the rush felt a close identification with the victims and experienced a lust for collective vengeance. For the next two years there were repeated punitive expeditions into the mountains to which settlers throughout the group subscribed. H.L. Kennedy was the settlement's roving ambassador. He told a Levuka audience in 1871 that:

He had left behind him on the Ba his wife and six children, and before he left he placed a revolver in each of their little hands, and told them that when they were told to shoot they were to fire upon the nearest big-headed native they could see....

And he went on to ask for military assistance for the Ba settlers 'who were expecting death every hour and every day'.²

The closest settlement to Ba, in both distance and sentiment, was Kadi, indeed there was considerable movement between the two places for social purposes and De Courcey Ireland used to gin cotton from Kadi as well as from his own neighbours. Like Ba it served as an overflow, in 1869 and 1870, from the untenable areas of southern Viti Levu.

1. G.W.H. Markham, Diary, 13 July 1871.

2. *F.I.*, 2 August 1871.

Luke and Riddale went to Nadi to make a fresh start, just as Pfluger went to Ba. G.R. Furt saw it as a possible field for speculation and even one of his horses found its way there from the Sigatoka of its own accord.¹ As in the other river deltas of Viti Levu, hostility between coastal and hill tribes was the context of sale and subsequent settlement. The Kai Mana tribe possessed land on both sides of the Nadi river but quarrelled with the Nasaka people. The Kai Mana were defeated and the Nasaka took the opportunity to consolidate their position by selling their enemies' lands to settlers. The Kai Mana remained in the vicinity, living with hill tribes to which they were related and harbouring a deep resentment.²

Nadi was a settlement with a strong New Zealand element from the beginning which contributed to community feeling. The first planting operations began when Irvine and Campbell of Auckland settled in July 1867.³ They were followed by Thomas Muir and his brother Robert, from Otago, and M. Reunie and his partner who purchased land and set up a store and ginning establishment⁴ which eventually adopted the style of the 'Auckland and Fiji Cotton Company'. Its chief

1. G.W.H. Markham, Diary, 10 January 1870.

2. L.C.C. R1079. General Report on Nadi and Nadroga.

3. Bruce Herald, 5 May 1869.

4. G.W.H. Markham, Diary, 1 March 1870.

promoter was J.S. Macfarlane of Auckland.¹ The company possessed two vessels, the Salience and the Hita, which were immediately employed in the labour trade. 'This will be a great boon' wrote Markham, when the project began 'as it will obviate the necessity for going to Levuka so often',² and it was hoped that Nadi would become a port of entry.

Gordon, Hoyle, Laks and Ridsdale made a large joint purchase. They then split it up and drew lots for the portions.³ By the end of 1870 H. Britton reported a thriving settlement of fifteen or twenty Europeans, and in 1871 there were at least eighteen.⁴ G.W.H. Markham was one of them. He came originally from Northern Ireland, and worked but had spent some time in Christchurch, /as an overseer on 'Annuri', owned in partnership with the ubiquitous Joseph Glenny, also of the Polynesia Company. He kept a diary which, though badly damaged, gives a more intimate picture of a planter community in an area of marginal security than any other surviving source.

1. New Zealand Herald, 9 July 1870, *cit.* A. Ross.

2. G.W.H. Markham, Diary, 1 March 1870.

3. L.C.C. R1094.

4. In view of the close relations between the Nadi and Ba settlements it is reasonable to assume that the list of those who volunteered for the punitive expedition following the murder of Spiers and McIntosh on the Ba is a reasonably complete one, viz: Thomas Muir, Robert Muir, George Muir, F. Tyerman, Alex Gordon, J.W. Hoyle, A.H. Campbell, Thos. B. Scott, J. Horne, J.A. Blatchford, H. Laks, Geo. S. Ridsdale, D.S. Mackay, H. Tucker, H. Miller, W. Miller, Sydney Lewellyn and G.W.H. Markham. Z.I., 19 April 1871.

The diary as a whole gives the impression of great local solidarity among the settlers, which made any involvement with Fijian society unnecessary to them, if not impossible. They borrowed each others' equipment, ploughed for each other and when visiting, generally stayed the night. Christmas was celebrated by the whole community on one plantation,¹ and early in 1870 the 'Badi Bay Planters' Association' was formed. Markham mentions it for the first time on 27 May 1870, the occasion of one of the regular monthly meetings, held at the plantation belonging to Mackay and Tucker. It does not seem to have been very formal:

Gordon and Biddale came to dinner and at 7 p.m. we held our meeting. I handed in the first report of our new place at Korona [Vengua?]. We discussed several subjects of importance which will be brought before the next meeting. We... had a sing song and turned [in].²

Meetings became more elaborate as membership increased. In July, 'Laks and Hyndman were busily employed in concocting several dishes for the dinner. We had some excitement whilst capturing the fowls which were destined to die'.³ Such festivities did a great deal to create a feeling akin to a gang spirit, and when they visited Levuka the Badi settlers adopted a uniform of 'Iohelau' hats and 'Turkey' shirts, and

-
1. G.W.H. Markham, Diary, December 1869.
 2. G.W.H. Markham, Diary, 27 May 1870.
 3. G.W.H. Markham, Diary, 30 July 1870.

liked to be known as the 'Kandi Swells'.¹ Markham, when forced to contemplate leaving Kadi to set up elsewhere in Fiji, reflected that 'It will be very miserable to leave dear old Kadi and all my friends and go to a place where I know no one. Of one thing I am certain, that I shall never find a district with the same class of neighbours again.'² It was a spirit, however, which included hostility towards European non-members as well as a general hostility to those of a different colour. G.R. Burt arrived off the coast in July 1870, in a schooner, to buy land with firearms. The Kadi Planters' Association, whose members had already purchased, with firearms, more land than they knew what to do with, had agreed to boycott such purchases and so messages were sent to all the plantations to organise preventive measures. After meeting at the Auckland and Fiji Company's store seven planters met and awaited for the tide to turn while 'Lux [sic] made the night merry with his songs, accompanied in a frenzied manner by Hiddale on that most horrible of horrors, the German concertina'. At 1 a.m., together with a crew of plantation labourers, they went down the river to where the schooner lay at anchor, boarded her, and forced Burt at gun point to set sail:

1. A.E. Brewster, King of the Carnival Isles, p. 108.

2. G.W.H. Markham, Diary, 23 August 1871.

... and if there had been an eye-witness he might have taken us for a piratical crew without a great stretch of the imagination.¹

The labourers on the Nadi plantations were obtained chiefly from the Tokelau Islands, and Markham describes the Christmas Day Sports, which give considerable insight into race-relations. The labourers of both sexes competed against each other on an interplantation basis with the aim of providing the planters with an amusing spectacle. 'Our Maria won the women's swimming race, Hunter and Harris's Fanny second, and one of Blatchford's women 3rd'.² Swimming, running, and novelty races between the labourers were followed by a prize-giving of trade articles. Throughout the day, planters were careful not to compete, except in crossing the creek on a greasy pole, an interesting exception, since it established a festive familiarity without any real possibility of conceding physical superiority. The prize-giving was followed by rifle shooting and field sports contests between the planters themselves.

Familiarity with labourers however, was indicative of a relationship which did not extend to Fijians. News reached the settlement on 26 September 1870 that one of the Miller brothers had been beaten by a party of natives because of a land dispute. 'There is no doubt that the natives from whom he purchased it', said the Fiji Times, 'had

1. G.W.H. Markham, Diary, 5 July 1870. Cf. report in the F.I., 27 August 1870.

2. G.W.H. Markham, 25 December 1872.

no right to it',¹ and since the Fiji Times had no other source, this must have been local opinion. The settlers, however, were not so much concerned with the property rights of Fijians as what they believed to be the racial rights of white men in a savage country. A meeting of all the settlers was summoned to meet at the Auckland and Fiji Co.'s store at 7 p.m. and by 11 o'clock twenty two of them had arrived with thirty-seven labourers in support. Numbers of Tokelau women had offered their services too, but were left behind.² At dawn next morning they marched to the village of Vuda. Markham thought they made a fine sight:

Day broke as we marched up the track leading to the town... our line extended in Indian file presented the appearance of a great snake as it wound along round the shoulders of the hills, the knives, tomahawks, and rifle barrels glistening in the morning sun.³

On arrival an advance party of five surrounded the residence of the chief, Ratu Josiah, and the rest then rushed the town and took Miller's eleven antagonists prisoners. They were taken to the top of a hill in view of the rest of the inhabitants, tied fast to the trees and flogged with a stock whip by the settlers in turn:

After vengeance had been satisfied, the chiefs and teachers were assembled and a lecture read them on the enormity of the crime their townsmen had committed by laying hands on a white man.⁴

-
1. F.I., 13 October 1870.
 2. G.W.H. Markham, Diary, 27 September 1870.
 3. Ibid.
 4. F.I., 13 October 1870.

The importance of the event was not that it put an end to assaults by Fijians on settlers, indeed there were further incidents of the same kind at Nadi throughout the next two years.¹ It was rather that it gave the settlers the ability to suppress in their own minds the reality of their situation, that they were outnumbered, and to bolster up their collective confidence.

Between the security and prosperity of Taveuni and the anxiety and violence of Ba and Nadi there were many variations of accommodation to the new environment among the communities scattered along the coasts of the two larger islands. In each area there was a heavy concentration on land sales in the years 1869 to 1871 and the character of the society developed in response to the Fijian context at the time the sales were made.

Another important area of settlement was the southern coast of Vanua Levu. One of the factors which dominated the situation in this part of the group was the memory of the intimidating effect of a visit from a British ship of war, H.M.S. Charybdis, in 1868. Alexander Lang had complained to J.B. Thurston, as Consul, that his property had been stolen and his wife threatened with rape.² The offenders were taken aboard the Charybdis and flogged, and a piece of land was confiscated, which was eventually sold to J.B. Thurston.³ At Suva,

1. E.g. F.I., 21 September 1871.

2. Thurston to Lambert, 11 July 1868.

3. L.C.C. R251.

a man named Moloney, a recent arrival from Sydney, tried to prevent some Fijians from digging up taro they had planted on land which had just been sold to a Captain Cleaver. A brawl ensued between Moloney, supported by Geoffrey Christian, a native of Fifea Island, and the Fijians. Moloney was an early casualty but Christian worsted his opponents, who shook hands with him and went away. Moloney, however, died from his injuries,¹ and on 31 August 1863, Ramara, the Fijian supposed to be responsible, was executed aboard H.M.S. Cherrybia on behalf of the Bua government, in the presence of Thurston.² It was the belief of the Land Claims Commission that these events had had an intimidating effect on the inhabitants of the whole coast. Land jobbers like Miller, Hoyt, and Mackay had been able to use the threat of further visits from men-of-war to extract important signatures to deeds, extend boundaries, or ignore a misunderstanding, while at the same time, the Tongan wars had created a market for arms and dispersed large sections of the population.

The rate at which land was sold in this area increased rapidly between 1869 and 1871. The settlers attracted included a large proportion from Otago, some of them with families, who had been attracted primarily by the low cost of land.³ Like the Madi settlers

1. Fijian Weekly News and Planter's Journal, 8 August 1863.

2. L.C.C. R234.

3. Bruce Herald, 3 November 1869.

they developed an esprit de corps which proved effective in avenging Fijian attacks on isolated plantations, and in bolstering their self-confidence. An attack on the plantation of H.B. & H.W. Smith by his labourers from the Ra coast in March 1870 was avenged by a posse of seventeen planters, nine part-Europeans and ten labourers from Tana.¹ The Ra men were caught after a pursuit of forty miles. Three of them were killed, three wounded and two captured, while twelve were driven over the reefs into the sea where it was presumed they were eaten by sharks.² The difference, however, between the position of the Nadi settlers and those of Vanua Levu was not only that the latter had profited from gunboat diplomacy but that they enjoyed the ultimate backing of a powerful chief, Tui Cakau. Thirty-three of the Fijians involved in the affray recounted above eventually accepted terms offered by Smith. He handed them over to Ross of Taveuni who took them as prisoners to work for Tui Cakau. The Fiji Times commented 'I don't think they will "rush" him in a hurry'.³

On the northern side of the island settlement was much more scattered. The Fiji Times reported rapid development at Natawa Bay

-
1. The planters were H.B. Smith, H.W. Smith, Simonet, Nicholls, Cubell, Butter, Lydiand, E.J. Turpin, Boyd, Dodds, Davis, Jones, Cardiner, Anderson, Hayes, F. Feehey and the captain of the schooner Van Tromp, L.I., 2 April 1870.
 2. L.I., 2 April 1870. Cf. the account given by E.J. Turpin to G.W.H. Markham - Markham's diary, 30 March 1870.
 3. L.I., 7 May 1870.

towards the end of 1869 with many sites 'pleading for a resident', a result, no doubt, of the speculative purchases recently completed from the deck of the Max Harrileas by Hoyt and Mackay. 'The natives are all that can be desired, willing to work, civil, and pleasant.'¹ Further west, on the Dreketi river, settlement was closer, with a total of twenty-two purchases, nearly all of them in 1870. In September the Fiji Times reported 'The Dreketi on both sides is nearly bought up, in fact a perfect rush is made there'.² The evidence of the Land Claims Commission shows that the impermanence of the settlement was due to the lack of agricultural knowledge on the part of the settlers and the infertility of the land rather than political insecurity.³ Mitova, the chief of Macuata, was unpredictable, but powerful, and a man whose authority in selling land was not lightly challenged by the inhabitants. He was described as:

... a compound of generosity and ferocity; always poor, owing to his lavish distribution of all property received by him, and yet on very slight provocation cutting off men's heads and throwing them into the sea with as little compunction as if they had been coconuts, for which useful fruit Dr. Brower indeed mistook some human heads which he saw in the surf off Macuata.⁴

-
1. E.I., 16 October 1869.
 2. E.I., 24 September 1870.
 3. E.g. L.C.C. 8331.
 4. Ibid.

The Polynesia Company projected a settlement on the shores of Natewa Bay, but was unable to interest its supporters. Their only representative was Daniel O'Neill, who complained:

My original motive for visiting this coast was to prospect for gold on behalf of the Polynesia Company. My salary was supposed to be £1 per week... but it was never paid me. The other employees were my brother and Mr. Chisholm. Their salaries were the same as mine, but they were never paid... I believe the moneys were paid to Butters, but they never got further.¹

Some Polynesia Company settlers who arrived on the Alhambra in 1870 visited the land which had been offered by Cakobau in Viti Levu bay on the Ea coast of Viti Levu, but they returned to Levuka with unfavourable reports.² The proximity of mountain country to the sea gave protection to the inland tribes who constantly menaced the coast, and the fact that the area had been a favoured source of labour for the settlers of Lau and Taveuni for a number of years meant that distribution of firearms had been extensive. The long stretch of coast between Ea and the Rewa delta was left to old hands like St John, the Lesfe brothers, and R.S. Swanston, or to hardy individualists like the Groom brothers who appear to have managed their plantation on a part-time basis at such times as could be spared from a running guerilla war. Thurston felt it necessary to warn them in 1863:

1. L.C.C.R1179.

2. A.B. Brewster, King of the Cannibal Isles, p. 98.

You must remember that by such acts as burning down a native village and, by your admission, shooting boys with small shot, you may precipitate not only yourselves, but all your countrymen scattered along the sea coast, in difficulty, perhaps ruin or death.¹

The most successful settlers on this coast were those, like W.M. Kinross, who had learnt from previous experience. After his eviction from the Upper Rewa he purchased land at Tova Peak in October 1868, and within a year was comfortably established with his wife, who, according to Thomas Muir 'speaks Fijian and seems a capable woman'.²

The 'New Chums' of the Polynesia Company who came on the Alfred, the Springsbok and the Alhambra in 1869 and 1870 preferred the relative security of the Suva block, which was the only area settled as a direct result of the Company's activities. The Land Claims Commission concluded that Cakobau had exceeded his legitimate authority in signing the charter and that therefore 'there is no object to be obtained by the Lands Commission investigating the claims of the Company as a Company'.³ Individual claims were therefore adjudicated on much the same basis as elsewhere in Fiji: where settlers had, either as shareholders or as individuals, become possessed of defined tracts of land

-
1. G.L., Thurston to F.H. Groom, 5 December 1868. They were eventually burnt out of their homestead, F.I., 30 July 1870.
 2. Bruce Herald, 17 March 1869.
 3. L.C.C. R44, 6 March 1867.

through the Company, had cultivated it and expended money on it, they were heard in support of their individual claims.¹

The major beneficiaries were these promoters of the Company, and their friends, who first became aware that public support was not great enough to provide the necessary funds to pay the American debt by May 1870. The manager, Frederick Cook, explained to a meeting of shareholders in Melbourne that in order to relieve the Company of its embarrassment it had been necessary to sell half its land, at half the price it had cost the shareholders to purchase it from Cahobau. Prominent among the fortunate purchasers at this reduced rate were the members of the Joske family (Paul, his son Adolf, and daughter Victoria, Mrs. Fitzgibbon (who consolidated her position by marriage to Joseph Glennie the manager of the Company in Fiji), Dr. G.D. Macartney, and W.H. Brewer, who, after the reshuffle of the directorate which followed this disclosure, took a back seat in the affairs of the Company to concentrate on his private fortunes.²

Suva had natural advantages which enabled it to survive the doubtful advantages of promotion by the Polynesia Company and to become a permanent European settlement. Much of the land was heavily timbered, and by 1871 there were several saw mills and a ship-building establishment. Access to a large harbour through an easily navigated

1. L.C.C. 344, 6 March 1877.

2. L.C.C. 426, 445, 440, 1322.

reef passage made it an early potential rival to Levuka as a centre of commerce. A few days after the arrival of the Alhambra the Fiji Times reported that about fifty settlers were making homes for themselves, a man named Johnson had set up a hotel, and two more were projected.¹ A year later there were 'upwards of sixty white inhabitants' comprising planters, store and hotel keepers, carpenters and other tradesmen. Brewer and Joske had formed a partnership to open a store with stock worth £5,000, and were setting up a steam-driven saw mill. They also owned the Suva Hotel, which provided accommodation as well as liquor, and provided the venue for a 'Planters' Association' which met on the first Saturday in each month. Two boats were being built and 'It is proposed to erect a short jetty, alongside which vessels of the largest size may be safely moored'.²

At the time these lines were written the 'Fiji Rush' was at its height, and although a counter-current of disillusionment can be detected in the gradually lengthening lists of passengers returning to the colonies,³ contemporaries can be forgiven for their belief that Fiji, like Victoria, New South Wales and New Zealand, was to become another 'white man's country'. They were sustained in their belief by the more frequent arrival of ships with their cargoes of

1. F.T., 24 September 1870.

2. F.T., 20 December 1871.

3. See Appendix 3.

Australian food, implements, clothes, newspapers and liquor,^{and} by the news brought to them from other parts of Fiji by the Fiji Times of soaring cotton prices, comfortable homesteads, and successful punitive expeditions. It was only later, when they gave their evidence to the Land Claims Commission and reckoned up the losses they had sustained over the years, that they traced the beginning of their misfortunes to the time of their greatest optimism. John Gaggin, a settler of 1871, wrote of his experiences at the end of the century.¹ By that time the reality had faded from his memory but the myth remained, and he quoted on his fly-leaf the words of Kipling in which, by then, the myth had become a universal one:

We've painted the islands Verailion
 We've periled on half-shares in the Bay
 We've shouted on seven-ounce nuggets
 We've starved on a Seedeboy's pay;
 We've laughed at the world as one found it,
 Its women and cities and men -
 From Sayyid Gurgash in a tantrum
 To the snake-reddened eyes of Lohen.²

1. John Gaggin, Among the Men Enters (F.J. Erwin, London, 1900).

2. R. Kipling, 'The Lost Legion' (1895). Edward Kipling's Verse Definitive edition (London 1940), p. 195.

The most important of all the settler communities in Fiji was Levuka. It was both centre and microcosm of the community at large and in the history of its development from beachcomber's rendezvous to planter's metropolis can be seen the reflection of changes taking place in the society which depended upon it. It was the collecting and distributing centre for exports and imports, the source of immediate credit, the port of arrival, and the cultural well-spring from which lonely settlers drew strength for the continual struggle in which they felt themselves engaged, against hostile natives, mosquitoes, hurricanes, boredom, debt, disease and anxiety.

Britton, who was in Levuka in 1870, estimated the permanent population of the place at two hundred, with an additional floating population, consisting of visiting planters, overseers, traders, tourists and ne'er-do-wells, of three hundred.¹ The passenger lists of the inter-island shipping in the period 1870 to 1872 indicate that the habit of visiting Levuka and of staying there for several weeks at a time was an extremely common one, despite its expense. In general, the greater the poverty of the district the more frequently did settlers find reasons for visiting Levuka. There, they felt

1. H. Britton, Fiji in 1870, p. 40.

like country cousins and banded themselves together in drinking schools, patronising their own favourite hotels and going by the names of their localities as the 'Tavuni Lords, the Nandi Bealls, the Rewa Roughs'.¹ There was no shortage of business-like excuses for such visits. New firms established themselves from 1868 onwards to cater for the needs of planters rather than traders. Brodziak and Cohen,² J.C. Smith and Co., Wilson L'Estage and Co. and the Hennings establishment received cotton and lent money and trade on the security of future crops. E.J. Turpin and Thomas Leggatt drew up deeds, Horace Emberson sold insurance.³ Otty Gullip and Oliver H. Paton auctioned, on behalf of shippers, cargoes of colonial merchandise consisting of machinery, spirits, clothing, timber, implements and occasional pianos, as they were unloaded from boats onto the Levuka beach. For the newcomers, Levuka was the first taste of the new land of promise, the place where they exchanged gossip about the respective

1. A.B. Brewster, King of the Cannibal Isles, p. 108.

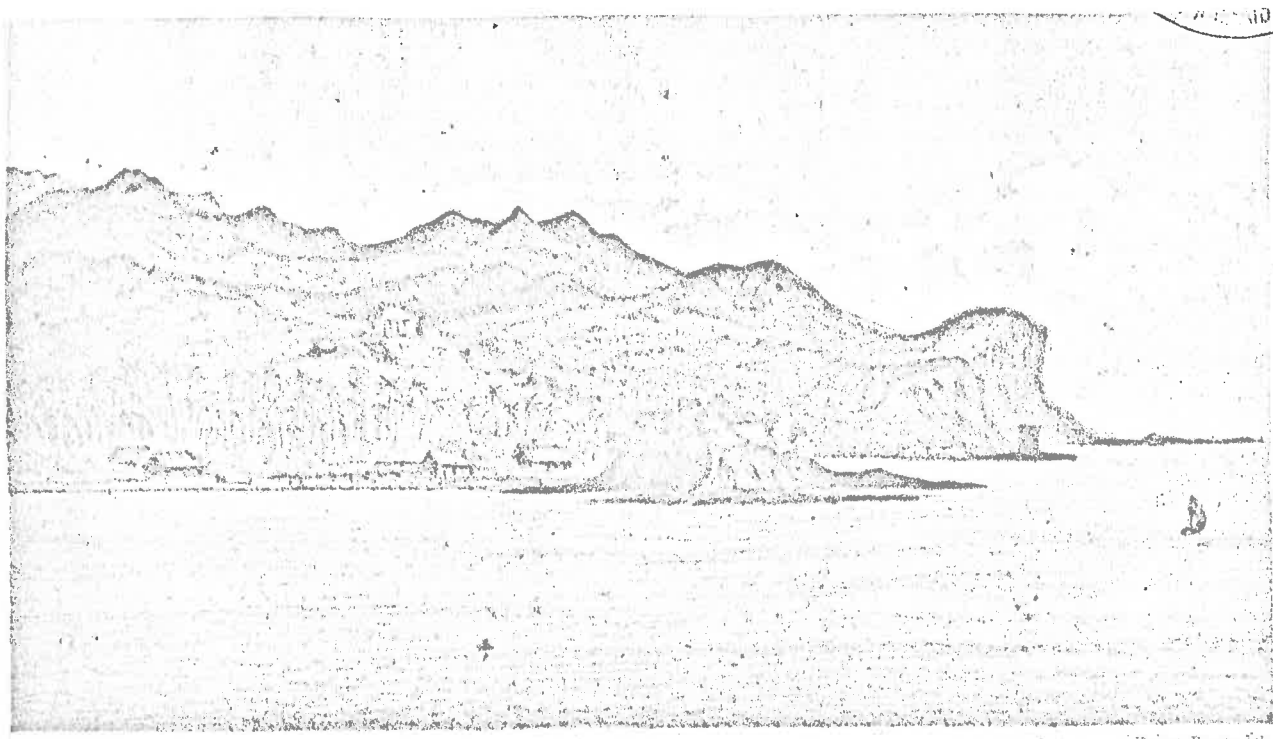
2. J. Brodziak, born in Sydney in 1850, left in 1870 for Fiji where he opened business in partnership with L. Cohen. Brodziak returned to Sydney in 1875, leaving his interests in the care of Simeon Lewis Lazarus, who had been born in London in 1845, emigrated to Auckland in 1865, made a small fortune on the Thames Goldfield between 1867 and 1870, when he went to Fiji. He spent most of his life in Fiji but eventually returned to Auckland, where he died on 21 January 1919. Cohen eventually returned to Adelaide, S.A., where he held office as Mayor. Encyclopedia of Fiji 1927. The copy in the Central Archives, Suva, has a pencilled note referring to Lazarus's death.

3. See advertisement in Fijian Weekly News and Planter's Journal, 29 August 1868. Emberson was agent for the Pacific Marine Insurance Co. of Sydney.

merits of different parts of the group, acquired an interpreter, and often a partner and a stock of 'trade', and hired a cutter in which to set off on their new adventure. The would-be planter, doing business over a jug of raw gin at the bar of one of the new hotels, 'Mantons', the 'All Nations' or the 'Criterion', imbibed at the same time his last strengthening draught of colonial culture to sustain him in his coming confrontation with 'barbarism'.

The changes in the appearance of the town between 1860 and 1870 were an indication of its changing function. In the early eighties Levuka existed to serve the needs of commerce, an activity which both Fijians and Europeans pursued to their advantage. By the end of the decade the town had become the centre of a plantation economy which was causing growing Fijian resentment as they were increasingly excluded from its profits. The more this happened the more the settlers sought from Levuka not merely commercial services and incidental social contacts but the cultural refreshment which only the full trappings of contemporary urban life in Australia could provide. In 1860, Levuka was still a 'beach' town in the sense that the word has been used to describe Honolulu in the 1820s, Kororareka in the 1830s, Apia and Papeete in the 1840s.¹ It was a place of

1. C. Melville, 'Pacific Port Towns'; a paper presented at a work-in-progress seminar at the Australian National University. I am grateful to Miss Melville for allowing me to read a copy of this paper.



Drawn on the spot by M^r Smythe.

Vincent Brooks, lith

LEVUKA.
(ISLAND OF OVALAU)

Frontispiece to Smythe, (Mrs.) S.M., Ten Months in the Fiji Islands. The sketch was made in 1860.

'refreshment' for shipping, providing the necessary facilities for repairing and refitting ships, and entertaining their crews. It had therefore become the home of a racially mixed community of closely inter-related families. The size of its population was inconstant and depended on the amount of shipping in port. By 1866, however, the commerce and settlement of Fiji had increased to such an extent that the population never fell below the level which would support tertiary services. The first public house had just been built by Mr. Russell, a Jew from Victoria. He and his wife 'were kept well employed by customers of all colours', and the most striking feature of society was the part-European women, who spent much of their time in gossip and quarrelling - 'Out rush the beauties in their scanty drapery like Furies' wrote Van Damsse, 'their eyes glowing like red hot coals and their hands engaged in scratching out each other's eyes'.¹ The 'Business Directory' he said, consisted of the one hotel, one 'hostelry of less pretence', one cooper, one tailor, two carpenters, one 'sea lawyer' and 'a score of traders and skippers'. The total white population, women and children included, was estimated at fifty.²

By 1868, when the next description was recorded, the population was estimated at one hundred and fifty.³ There were now three hotels.

1. Australasian, 2 December 1866.

2. Ibid.

3. F.J. Moss, A Planter's Experience in Fiji, p. 13.

The old 'Levuka Hotel', built by Bunsell, had been purchased by J.B. Turner, a recent arrival from Dunedin, who had renamed it the 'Criterion' and altered it extensively especially to cater for planters and their families.¹ By the end of 1868 another storey had been added with 'an upper and lower verandah, which from its ornamental appearance sets off the house immensely'.² The other hotels were the 'All Nations' owned by Irwin and Weisann, also reported to be 'rapidly progressing with a two storied enlargement which will give them greatly increased accommodation',³ and the 'Pacific Hotel' owned by G. Gerrish. There were, in addition, in 1868 'six places of the half-inn, half-public house description, six stores, a dozen private houses... but Levukaitas have not yet had sufficient confidence in their own importance to call the place a town, so it retains its primitive name of the "Beach"'.⁴ New commercial premises included those of Moore and Smith, merchants, S. & C. Smith, engineers, and Reese & Co., recent arrivals from Christchurch who set up business in Levuka as merchants and on the Reef

-
1. Argus, 1 August 1868. Cf. above p. 203. It had eleven bedrooms, bar, dining room, and outhouses.
 2. Fijian Weekly News & Planter's Journal, 12 September 1868.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Brunswick Herald, 7 April 1869. This report, by Thomas Mair, is dated 27 October 1868.

as planters. H. Hewitt was an importer of drapery, and Otty Godlip filled the roles of importer, trader, auctioneer and land agent.¹

There were also some signs of cultural activity, a place called the 'Athenaena', 'which contains five or six papers of date 1867, a table, and a couple of empty forms'.²

By then the 'Fiji Rush' was on, and with the influx of immigrants from the Colonies the Fijian-style houses of the early 1860s were replaced by new structures built of the sawn timber and corrugated iron which made up a significant part of incoming cargoes. Men of small means were warned that without capital, migration to Fiji was pointless, as they could not hope to become planters and Fijian labour was cheap, but at the same time there was a strong demand in Levuka for skilled European carpenters. 'The number of carpenters has been increased by several new arrivals' the Fiji Times commented, 'yet wages move upwards, and fourteen shillings per day is the price now asked instead of twelve shillings'.³

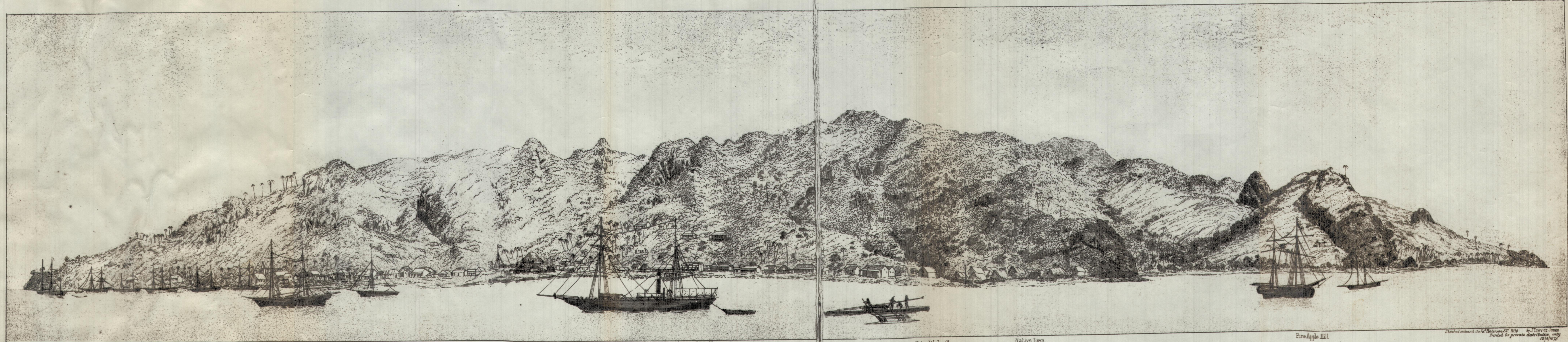
The site of Levuka was picturesque, but the area available for urban development was extremely restricted. It consisted of two small alluvial plains, each of them bisected by a creek, and divided by

-
1. The advertisement page of the Fijian Weekly News & Electors' Journal, 8 August 1868.
 2. Bruce Herald, 7 April 1869.
 3. F.T., 6 August 1870.

a rocky spur which came down to the water's edge. Behind these lowland pockets, about two hundred yards from the beach, the ground rose sharply to a height of about two thousand feet, still within a mile or so of the sea. New building was at first concentrated on the southern side of the most northerly of the two creeks (the Levuka creek), and apart from the Hennings establishment at the mouth of the Totoga creek,¹ there was little building on the southern side of the spur. On the spur itself, mid-way between the two creeks, stood the Reading Room or Mechanics' Institute as it was sometimes called.² By August 1870, however, there were a considerable number of buildings to the south of the Reading Room, and it was clear that the centre of gravity of the new predominantly European town had shifted to the south. By August 1870 'The Beach' was entitled 'Beach Street' by firms advertising their location in the Fiji Times, which reported that:

The building of cottages and stores is going on briskly at Levuka. The tendency of the place appears to be to increase and spread towards Totoga.³ Several houses are being built on the hills at the back of Levuka, and good sites are much in demand.⁴

-
1. L.C.C. R143.
 2. The site of the present War Memorial.
 3. Totoga was a Fijian village situated on the southern side of the Totoga creek, a short distance from the beach. The whole village site was purchased by the Catholic mission in 1868 with the intention that the inhabitants should remain there. L.C.C. R77.
 4. P.T., 6 August 1870.



Strahnaver Scho

Consulate Mach. Inst.

Wai-nui St

Albion, Bd. J.C. Smith, Meriton, local

Native Canoe

Native Wesley Ch.

Native Town

Pine Apple Hill

Sketched on board the 'Albatross' S.F. 1870 by J. I. F. Jones
 Printed for private distribution only
 25/10/75

View of the Island of Ovalau and the Town of Levuka, Fiji June 1870

Congestion on the beach itself meant that shortly afterwards it seemed that a new street 'was being gradually formed up the valley'.¹

Nine months later, Levuka had ceased to be a place where two cultures met on equal terms and had come to fit the description given to it by a contemporary, a 'Beach City',² catering chiefly for the needs of a settler community. In May 1871 there were reported to be between one hundred and one hundred and twenty houses and warehouses of European construction and about twenty-five of native construction, inhabited by settlers. Thirty-five of the total were private residences at the back of the business part of the town, and there were sixteen new houses in the course of construction. Thirteen of the buildings were public houses, fourteen were retail stores and the permanent population was estimated at three hundred and fifty.³

The population of Levuka itself was clearly insufficient to maintain the amount of retail trade and business which is indicated by these details, but most planters visited Levuka at least three times a year, many spent more than half the year in Levuka, and some, like G.W.H. Markham of Fadi, managed to get there every six weeks

1. Z.I., 13 August 1870.

2. Town and Country Journal, 15 July 1871.

3. Town and Country Journal, 8 July 1871.

or two months for periods of a week or two weeks at a time.¹ It was to the European community throughout Fiji rather than to its permanent residents that the 'Beach City' owed its existence.

Levuka was probably not more disorderly than other contemporary frontier towns, though its small size and the resulting concentration of settlement must have made it at times to appear so, and it could produce a respectable tally of colourful characters. The place was described in 1870 as 'a kind of anarchical republic, tempered by men of war',² and even with the establishment of the Cakobau government a year later, the consistent maintenance of law and order remained difficult. 'Captain Morgan', who arrived in 1867 to take charge of the military settlers whom Cakobau had hoped to use for the conquest

1. In 1870 Markham's itinerary was as follows:

21 January	left Nadi for Levuka
28 "	arrived in Levuka
11 February	left Levuka
20 "	arrived in Levuka having been wrecked on the way to Nadi and returned for repairs
1 April	sailed for Nadi in a whaleboat
4 "	arrived in Nadi
12 "	sailed for Levuka
27 "	left Levuka
5 May	arrived in Nadi
6 August	left Nadi
13 "	arrived in Levuka
25 "	left Levuka
29 "	arrived in Nadi
30 October	left Nadi
3 November	arrived in Levuka
6 "	left Levuka
8 "	arrived Nadi
20 December	left Nadi
24 "	arrived in Levuka.

2. Australasian, 25 June 1870.

of his enemies in central Viti Levu, had found himself, as a result of Thurston's intervention, without a job.¹ He stayed in Levuka and vented his feelings by issuing duelling challenges to all who opposed him until the visit of H.M.S. Charwellia facilitated his departure. Problems of communication and lack of detailed knowledge in the Colonies about Fiji made it an attractive place to a few men whose debts or crimes meant that their continued residence in the Colonies was embarrassing. Litton Forbes, a settler from Melbourne, went so far as to say that:

In 1871 the members of the semi-criminal class in the islands had increased to such an extent that the name of Fiji was looked on in Melbourne and Sydney with loathing and contempt. 'Gone to Fiji' bore the same significance in Australia as 'gone to Texas' did in America a few years ago.²

G.C. Bart, the first premier in the Cakobau government, was reputed to be a defaulting debtor. He had been a foundation member of the Royal Sydney Yacht Squadron, however, and his own yacht, the Hydri, a twenty-five ton cutter, provided the means of his escape. He arrived in Levuka on 27 February 1870 in the course of an island cruise, liked the place, and stayed.³ D.W.L. Murray, member of the Cakobau

1. See Chapter 4.

2. L. Forbes, Two Years in Fiji, p. 277.

3. G.W.H. Markham, Diary, 27 February 1870. See P.E. Stephenson, Schner's Sails: The Story of the Royal Sydney Yacht Squadron's first 100 Years (1862-1962), (Sydney 1962), p. 35.

government and editor of the Fiji Gazette and Central Polynesian had, it was alleged, been in gaol in Tasmania, had been 'cleared out' at 'three up' and had come to Fiji after threatening to shoot himself but failing to pull the trigger when his bluff was called.¹ Dr. John Rutherford Kyle was a prominent citizen and a leading participant in the social and political life of the community. He claimed to have been the medical officer to the lunatic asylum of the Province of Westland.² In fact he had been an inmate of a sister institution in another Province after a period of unruly domestic life during which he had threatened to kill his wife and had attempted unsuccessfully to kill himself. He was discharged from the Auckland asylum on 26 March, on two medical certificates, his conduct during his brief stay having been free from marks of insanity.³ He then left for Fiji.

Judging from these examples from among her more prominent citizens Levuka seems to have been the refuge of the disturbed and the distrusted rather than the criminal: people who expected that Fiji would enable them to make a fortune and a new start in life rather than to escape into social oblivion. Even Forbes concedes that 'as the community was essentially English, and intent on making money, men

1. F.I., 21 October 1871.

2. See his advertisement F.I., 7 January 1871.

3. C.L., Miscellaneous correspondence: Director of the Auckland Lunatic Asylum to March. 5 January 1871.

worked quietly and steadily at this'.¹ Notorious defaulters or criminals found the community against them: one such person, Rosenwax, arrived from Melbourne in 1871 but found the community unwilling to receive him, and he was speedily captured and deported.²

Violence and disorder on a minor scale were, however, common features of Levuka life, and scarcely ever ceased far away. One group of planters from Taveuni, finding their thirst unquenched and their pockets empty, solved the problem by visiting all the commercial establishments in Levuka and forcing their proprietors to 'shout' them at the nearest hotel. The incident ended in a flour-bag siege of the owner of the last, who proved recalcitrant.³ Kiernan, part-owner of the Flying Fox, shot William Miller the land-jobber in a drunken row, breaking his jaw and removing most of his teeth, and causing him to fall into the water. Miller, however, climbed aboard, pursued Kiernan ashore, and despite his injuries knocked his assailant unconscious. No more was heard of the incident.⁴ People who felt aggrieved occasionally attempted to obtain justice by writing to the newspaper in an attempt to bring public opinion to bear on the other party so as to secure either a remedy, or at least arbitration of their dispute.

1. L. Forbes, Two Years in Fiji, p. 279.

2. F.L., 21 October, 1871.

3. F.L., 13 October 1871.

4. F.L., 3 April 1871.

At other times, public opinion was called upon to sanction force.

'I have applied for arbitration' wrote E.S. Smith in a dispute with H.C. Thurston, 'notwithstanding the clearness of my claim, or for any impartial mode of settlement, and in default of obtaining such, I am sure I shall not be blamed in any event, for appealing to the last and only resort here when people will not be honest'.¹ It was more usual to dispense with public apology and to appeal to force immediately. John Gaggin, a resident in 1871, records the existence of a 'retunda' behind Manton's hotel, which was used as a ring for the settlement of disputes between debtors and creditors:

After a few rounds one or other would have had enough, and the vanquished would agree to pay the amount perhaps, or forego it, as the case might be. One or two of the onlookers would be asked to register the verdict in their pocket books, and I only remember one fellow venturing to dispute the 'jurisdiction of the court'. We tarred and feathered him, I think, and I never² heard of any more appeals to a higher tribunal.

Lynch law was not unknown, even after the establishment of courts by the Cakobau government. A man named Wilson was suspected of theft and 'tried' at Manton's Hotel by a court over which De Courcay Ireland presided, in October 1871.³ Earlier, a visiting phrenologist named Cronquist was convicted by a similar court of stealing 5s. from the

1. E.I., 10 December 1870. H.C. Thurston was J.S. Thurston's brother.

2. J. Gaggin, Among the Man Eaters (London 1900), pp. 22-23.

3. E.I., 21 October 1871.

cash box of the Empire Hotel.¹ The victim on that occasion was almost certainly the author of an informative series of articles on Fiji which appeared in the same year in the Town and Country Journal.² It was, not surprisingly, his conclusion that:

The licence which to a very great extent disgraces the Levuka community is this, that might is right, and that he who happens to know most of the 'noble science' of the prize ring is cock of the walk.³

The consumption of alcohol was reputed to be a little heavier than in contemporary frontier settlements elsewhere; 'although it had fallen to *ex lot*', wrote Forbes, 'to see some heavy drinking in America, in up country villages, and in gold-diggings in Australia, Fiji outdid all former experiences'.⁴ His evidence is supported by the Consular reports which show that liquor in various forms was the largest category of imported goods, its value being greater than that of imported food.⁵ Sailors unsure of their position were supposed to be able to find their way to Levuka by following the trail of floating empty gin bottles.⁶

1. F.I., 12 April 1871.

2. The author of the Town and Country Journal articles is identified as Cronquist by a correspondent, 'free lance', writing to the F.I. 6 September 1871. The alleged movements of Cronquist correspond with those described in the articles.

3. Town and Country Journal, 8 July 1871.

4. L. Forbes, Two Years in Fiji, pp. 15-16.

5. See tables above p. 126.

6. A.S. Brewster, King of the Cannibal Isles, p. 69.

Gin was the favourite drink in Fiji among Europeans, often drunk raw, though usually with water. J.S. Swann, a chemist who arrived in 1867 as a planter on the Rewa, found his true niche in society as a manufacturer of aerated waters in Levuka. He prospered, and the following year expanded business with the importation of an ice-making machine from Sydney.¹ Most of the hotels kept a stock of beer and wines but as on contemporary goldfields in Australia, celebration demanded champagne, especially among the Irish. St Patrick's Day in 1871 was celebrated by a dinner attended by twenty-five settlers. Some of them retired early but it was 4 a.m. before the proceedings were over. By then seventy-eight bottles of champagne had been consumed.²

1870 was the year when the rate of expansion in Levuka was greatest, and the result of a rapidly increasing population in a restricted area with no authority to regulate the process was to create a refuse disposal problem which soon became a crisis. By December that year the situation was already serious and the Fiji Times called for action:

1. J.S. Swann arrived in Fiji with his wife and three year old son on 4 July 1867 on the schooner William and Mary from New Zealand (this was the flat-bottomed vessel which visited Vago the previous year, see Chapter 3). Swann eventually did well enough in business to purchase the land on Koru which William Berwick had obtained from Cakobau in return for building the Malowai (see Chapter 2, p. 48.) Cyclopaedia of Fiji, p. 267.

2. Time and Country Journal, 15 July 1871.

The tropical summer is at hand when the heavy rains falling on a heated, half-baked soil, send up a pestiferous steam or miasma, and the precipitous hills that back the town, act as a reflector for a scorching sun. The situation of Levuka is naturally unhealthy... there is no outlet for the rubbish and filth and each householder disposes of it as he likes, the small quantity of land for building purposes induces everyone to economise his space as much as possible and in more places than one in Levuka,¹ a water closet is not many feet from a dining room. The beach too often after a high spring tide is enough to turn the strongest stomach, for then the accumulated offal and muck rejected by the pigs lies almost in the pathway and the stench is unbearable.²

The Fiji Times went on to foretell 'an epidemic that will decimate Levuka' and though this proved to be over-apprehensive, deaths from disease were frequent among the settlers, most often from dysentery.³

It was believed that the chief cause of this was that the Totoga creek was both the source of drinking water, and the bath for the whole population, and the favourite bathing places were above the water holes.⁴

To begin with, medical help was difficult to get. Advice could be obtained at a distance, under plain cover and in the strictest confidence, from Dr. L.L. Smith of Melbourne, who advertised at length in the Fiji Times, but his advice was only offered for the treatment of

1. It should be recognized that the existence of a water closet did not mean the existence of running sewers.
2. F.T., 3 December 1870.
3. E.g. F.T., 12 April, 10 May, 31 May, 1871.
4. F.T., 3 December 1870.

these disorders arising from the indiscretions of youth, in which he claimed to be a specialist. E.J. Turpin was probably typical of the community in his belief in the efficacy of Holloway's Pills and Ointment, advertised as the best known cure in the world for everything from ague and asthma, through dropsy, dysentery and debility, to warts and 'weakness from whatever cause'.¹ Both pills and ointment were cheaper by the case.

The first medical practitioner to make his name in Levuka was Dr. Brown, from Auckland, whose arrival was announced on 29 January 1870. He promised to stay in Levuka if he could be guaranteed a fixed minimum salary.² The sum must have been found, for, after a quick trip back to Auckland, he returned to settle permanently.³ Later arrivals were Dr. Ryley, from Auckland, who was called in for all the most serious cases of illness and injury in Levuka, Dr. T. Dent, 'late of the Sydney Infirmary and Dispensary', and Dr. A.W. Freeman, an ex-naval surgeon who set up a dispensary at Perkins Hotel.⁴

It was realised, however, that medical science could do little for public health while the sanitary condition of Levuka remained as it was, and in the middle of 1870 its citizens began to grapple with

1. E.J. Turpin, *Mary, Nassau*.

2. *F.I.*, 29 January 1870.

3. *F.I.*, 16 April 1870.

4. *F.I.*, 6 October 1870.

the problems of local government which were the inevitable corollary of nineteenth century metropolitan development, whether in industrial Britain, colonial Australia, or on the Beach. The first attempt to create a municipal authority was made on 12 August 1870, but the initiators found themselves faced with the political problems in which their successors were to flounder a year later when the question arose of how to set up a settler government. How was revenue to be raised and from whence could authority to levy rates or taxes from a multi-racial community be derived? J. J. Turner proposed at a public meeting that a deputation of seven should wait on Cakobau and ask for the necessary power to make laws and regulations for the improvement of Levuka. It was a realistic approach to the problem, but he was shouted down. 'It was all very well for them to groan' he said, 'but would they tell the meeting where the power was to be derived to carry out the behest of the meeting?' Turner was supported by Frederick Hennings, the first indication of a political attitude, shared by many of the older settlers, which was to remain consistent. He was opposed however, by Melvoy, a recent arrival, who proposed as an amendment that a committee of whites should be set up to act independently - the first indication of an attitude which was to perpetuate itself in opposition to the Cakobau government. The amendment was carried, but the meeting broke up and the amended motion lapsed because of 'the late arrivals and others uninterested in Levuka

taking a too prominent part in the proceedings'.¹ It was not until February 1871 that the crisis of congestion and squalor reached such proportions that the initiators of the scheme approached Cakobau without taking chances on an obstructionist public meeting; a municipal charter was conferred upon the community, and the Levuka Municipal Council began its formal existence.² The precedent for unilateral negotiation with Cakobau and the presentation of government to the public as a fait accompli was to prove an important one. Like the later Cakobau government, however, the Municipal Council found that when it came to the collection of revenues, settlers stood on their principles as white men and refused payment to a Council which they regarded as an instrument of Fijian authority rather than that of the European community. Almost its sole achievement was the provision of street lights which arrived from Sydney on 15 June 1871 in a damaged condition, and were fitted after some delay.³ The problem of sewage and rubbish disposal remained unsolved in spite of occasional editorial tirades which effectively recapture the authentic Levuka atmosphere:

1. F.I., 13 August 1870.

2. F.I., 4 February 1871.

V. 5 1870

3. F.I., 17 June 1871.

Anyone going through Levuka cannot fail to be struck with the filthiness and unwholesomeness of the place.... Drains flushed with filthy refuse, tere beds and decaying vegetable matter, the effluvia of refuse from shambles which come floating down Totoga creek, the stinking refuse which is thrown out onto the beach, and an occasional animal, (generally feline), inflated beyond all proportions, and only requiring the sure aim of some ever-ready urchin to 'bust' it ; and send a sweeter fragrance on our poisoned air.

Such improvements as were made to the town were usually the work of public-spirited or profit-seeking individuals. An informal group of merchants, J.C. Smith, F. Bennings, W.M. Moore and J.B. Turner were involved in most of them.² It was this group of men which in January 1870 invited Lieutenant G.A. Woods from Auckland to come to Fiji to make a survey of Levuka harbour.³ It was more than a year, however, before anything was done. Woods met a 'survey committee' in April 1871 and explained to them that he had been promised a fee of £1000, guaranteed to him by the people of Levuka. In the absence of any indication from the meeting that the money would be paid he proposed to W.H. Drev, Cakobau's secretary, that he should obtain from Cakobau either his fee, or the right to erect quays on the Levuka foreshore and a power to levy dues on the ships using them.⁴ In the meantime Woods

1. F.I., 11 October 1871.

2. Cyclopedia of Fiji 1907, refers to a 'Chamber of Commerce' at this time but I have not found this title used in contemporary sources.

3. Woods, shortly to become Premier in the Cakobau government, was a retired naval officer who had recently resigned the command of the New Zealand survey schooner Edith. R.A. Derrick, History of Fiji, p. 198.

4. This seems to explain the immediate motivation for the participation of Woods in the formation of the Cakobau government three months later. See Chapter 8.

agreed to proceed with a preliminary survey of the Nanaku passage, and to place temporary lights for the guidance of shipping in return for a sum of £300 to be collected from the Levuka public.¹ The same committee took the initiative in February 1871 in attempting to form a bank,² but it eventually proved impossible to raise sufficient capital. The Cakobau government issued its own treasury notes from August 1871, and in 1872 attempted to interest Wilson and Horton of Auckland in forming a bank,³ but by then the economic future of Fiji was beginning to seem uncertain, and until the establishment of Colonial Government the trade of Levuka was conducted in Spanish dollars, sovereigns, American dollars, drafts on Sydney firms, treasury notes at half-value, and currency issued by F. and W. Hennings at Lomaloma, each note signed personally on behalf of the firm.⁴ The Hennings brothers were also responsible for supplying drinking water to the town by means of pipes, imported for the purpose. Water was drawn off 'a good distance up Iotoga creek, far above the pollution of the town', and piped to the end of the Hennings jetty, on the beach.⁵

1. *F.I.*, 26 April 1871.

2. *F.I.*, 18 February 1871.

3. R.A. Derrick, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

4. Mrs. Elizabeth Hennings kindly allowed me to remove two of these notes from a wad of them which I found among the Hennings family papers on Naitaba island. One of them is in the Central Archives, Suva.

5. *F.I.*, 6 December 1871.

The formal foundations of urban civilisation, as described above, enjoyed a precarious existence until Levuka became the capital of the new Crown Colony in 1874, but it was in the period when passenger traffic was at its height, between April 1870 and September 1871, that the settlement acquired the unmistakable character of a miniature metropolis. It was not so much the establishment of a municipal council, commercial facilities and water supplies which gave it this character, as the establishment of those popular institutions which had become part of urban civilisation in contemporary colonial life and which served to reinforce the ties between what Dilke had called 'Greater Britain'¹ and its latest frontier settlement. They served to insulate it from its local environment, to create a migrant enclave in which settlers could gain a breathing space in their continual struggle against assimilation.

The first school to cater exclusively for the children of European settlers was established in Levuka in September 1868 by a Mr. Hall who had been recently employed by the Victorian Board of Education.² His services were supplemented in December 1871 by those of D. Scholefield, who set up a private school and demanded his fees monthly, or quarterly, in advance.³

1. G. Dilke, Greater Britain (London 1869).

2. Fiji Weekly News and Planter's Journal, 12 September 1868. A few weeks later Hall was appointed secretary and librarian of the Reading Room, ibid., 3 October 1868.

3. L.I., 31 December 1871.

Settlers were already well-provided with churches, for it was the custom for most of the 1860s for Europeans to attend the services provided for the Fijians by the missionaries if they wished to do so. Seemann records how, in 1860, the Rev. W.M. Moore exhorted his multi-racial congregation to do their respective duties in the station in life in which it had pleased God to call them.¹ Religion, however, to later settlers, was more than mere belief, and its cultural functions were found to be inhibited in a multi-racial setting. The new settlers sought from religious observance the psychological advantages of communion with men and women of their own kind as well as the spiritual advantages of communion with their God, and by the end of 1863 the Fijian Weekly News and Planter's Journal was glad to notice 'that there is a movement on foot for the erection of a Roman Catholic Church in Levuka for the white residents of that persuasion, as great inconvenience is felt by the Europeans being mixed with the natives'.² A subscription list was opened at the store of Messrs. Wilson, L'Estage & Co., and a 'numerously signed requisition' was presented to J.B. Thurston as Acting Consul, asking him to initiate a similar move on behalf of the Anglican community, and to secure the services of a minister of the Church of England. Thurston promised that the British Government would provide a £1 for £1 subsidy to match any subscription

1. B. Seemann, Viti, p. 219.

2. Fijian Weekly News and Planter's Journal, 3 October 1863.

which could be raised,¹ and on 31 January 1871 a piece of land was purchased for the purpose of building the 'Church of the Redeemer', for £20.²

As the editor of the Fiji Times saw it, 'in these out-of-the-way places, all sensible people refrain from troubling their heads about the nice distinctions into which our Protestant church has unhappily been split'.³ The statement was not quite true, but theological differences were minimized as much as possible because frontier conditions demanded that differences of approach to God be subordinated to the central purpose of cultural reinforcement. Nonconformity, of all denominations, was represented in Fiji by the Wesleyan church, and by 1869 the Wesleyan mission in Levuka was holding separate services for Europeans and natives.⁴ In August 1870 a subscription was raised for the building of a new Wesleyan church for the exclusive use of settlers. G.L. Griffiths, though trustee of the Anglican establishment, put down the Fiji Times for a subscription of £10, followed by other prominent Anglicans. Wilson, L'Estage & Co., who had received donations for a Catholic church two years before, also contributed. In contemporary Australia and Europe Catholic bishops, spurred by the

1. Fijian Weekly News and Planter's Journal, 3 October 1868.

2. M.C.S. 8155. Trustees for the new church were G.L. Griffiths, editor of the F.I., C. Truscott and W.W. Floyd, an Anglican clergyman.

3. F.I., 29 January 1870.

4. R.U., Colonization in the Fiji Islands, London 1871.

Syllabus of Errors and the Doctrine of Papal Infallibility, inveighed equally against liberalism, protestantism and infidelity, while Melbourne newspaper editions warned their protestant liberal readers of the 'huge and hideous fabric of priestcraft' erected over 'the grave of moral and intellectual freedom'.¹ But in Levuka religious difficulties were overcome in the face of the need for racial segregation, and Sunday became a day of social intercourse, gossip, and nostalgia as well as one of worship.

For the rest of the week the cultural and social appetites of the settlers were dependent largely on the hotels, but as the rate of immigration increased and the settlement gradually assumed an atmosphere of permanence its citizens sought to expand their opportunities for cultural activity. The old 'Athenaeum' of 1867 had by 1868 become more realistically the 'Reading Room'.² In 1870 it was in regular use, with newspapers only a month old. The interior had been repainted and the single table, with its empty forms, had been replaced by chairs which had recently been given new backs.³ Thus re-ramped, the Reading Room became the venue for social and cultural gatherings. The most successful of these were those promoted by the Rev. Kettleton of the

1. Argus, 24 June 1872, cit. A.C. Austin, Select Documents in Australian Education, 1788-1900, (Melbourne 1963), p. 234.

2. Fijian Weekly News & Planter's Journal, 3 October 1868.

3. F.I., 13 August 1870.

Wesleyan mission, for charitable purposes. Entertainment consisted 'of songs, recitations, music and dissolving views. Then, and then only do the doors of all, or nearly all, the houses on the hill open.... With the exception of church on a Sunday you will never see so many of the fair sex assembled together.'¹

The society of the Beach and the hotels was socially undifferentiated, largely because the absence of tangible wealth made ostentation impossible. The inland development of the town, however, at the hands of settlers who had already established themselves and brought their families with them, facilitated the beginnings of social differentiation on a combined basis of wealth, length of residence, and culture. 'These are the true "aristocracy" of the place', wrote one commentator, 'although they do not give themselves any airs. Most of them, and they do not number twenty, have a business place on the beach and a family residence among the hills; and the few who obtain the privilege of being daily or nightly guests in one or more of these family domiciles are envied men.'² G.W.H. Markham must have been one of the envied. He repeatedly records visits to the houses on the hill for the enjoyment of female company and singing. After arriving from Nadi on 13 August 1870, for example, he writes 'In the evening Angus, Ryndman and I went up to Mrs. Blackman's where we met Mrs. Martelli and

1. Town and Country Journal, 15 July 1871.

2. Ibid.

had a very pleasant musical evening'.¹

The growth of cultural sophistication can largely be attributed to the more frequent communication with the outside world which resulted from prosperity. The ships brought more European clothes, newspapers, furniture, weapons, books, and liquor. They also brought more people. Just as important as the increase in population, however, was its composition. Out of 1578 new arrivals from January 1870 to November 1872, 306 were women, and they descended upon what had been up to that time an almost exclusively male community.² Captain Branchley of H.M.S. Curacoa, who visited Fiji in 1865, reported the presence of only two white women in Levuka, Mrs. Moskler, a planter's wife, and 'a very nice looking French woman from Montpellier', temporarily absent on an expedition of exploration with Consul Jones to the interior of Viti Levu.³ By 1866 there were four or five white ladies in Levuka, but these 'very seldom went out'.⁴ Muir, who visited the group in 1869, reported a few planters as married, but the appearance of European women in public was still unusual.

From the beginning of 1870, however, economic prospects were sufficiently encouraging to induce some settlers to visit Australia or

1. G.W.S. Markham, Diary, 15 August 1870.

2. See Appendix 3. There were 124 female departures within the same period out of a total of 729 departures.

3. J.L. Branchley, Cruise of the Curacoa, p.147. The Frenchwoman was the wife of Dr. Graeffe, a German naturalist.

4. Australasian, 8 December 1866.

New Zealand to seek a wife and then to return to Fiji. Others wrote to single women in the colonies offering marriage and life on a plantation, and though this procedure led to at least one hasty reconsideration at the altar, it did account for a good many of those who arrived in Levuka as single women and were married shortly afterwards. 'Captain Ifverson of the Cleanina has brought down a bride on each trip' commented the Fiji Times, 'and we hope he will continue such welcome importations.'¹ A few single women came with their families, or with friends, and attracted the immediate attention of predatory planters. Markham's diary for January 1870 reads as follows:

Friday 28th I had a long yarn with Martelli and was introduced to Mrs. Martelli. The 'Susannah Booth' arrived from Sydney with Mrs. Dickson on Board...
 Sat. 29th - Mr. Dickson introduced me to his wife and her friend Miss Sparks
 Thurs. 3 Feb ... I was busy all morning about various affairs, and in the afternoon I went for a walk with Miss Sparks.

Some single women came alone, and by 1871 there were a number of them in the town working as waitresses and barmaids in the hotels. It was believed that 'a tolerably well-behaved, and reasonably good-looking "young lady", who can attend a bar, has no difficulty in obtaining 50s a week for very easy work; and it is ten to one she gets half-a-dozen offers of marriage during her first half year in the place'.²

1. F.I., 3 December 1870.

2. Town and Country Journal, 3 July 1871.

Greater prosperity meant that bigger and more comfortable ships began to frequent the port of Levuka and settlers who had arrived in Fiji alone, purchased land, and established themselves, now sent for their wives and families. Mrs. McLenzie was one of these, clearly a capable woman, for she arrived in Levuka on 16 January 1871 on the five hundred ton barque Duke of Edinburgh with all her ten children in good health after a passage of sixteen days, two of them spent off Sydney heads in a gale and three of them off Kadavu in a flat calm.¹ There were many like her.

The arrival of a substantial number of European women within a comparatively short space of time had an impact on the community out of all proportion to its numerical strength. Unlike the four lonely females of 1866, the newcomers of 1870 and 1871 went out a great deal and imposed new standards of behaviour on the community as a whole. They attended balls, picnics and concerts, and society became immediately self-conscious. The Fiji Times became introspective:

Filth may be cast on the footpath, obscene language used in the hearing of gentle-nurtured females, without chance of hindrance or molestation. We know that it is not in the nature of gentlemen to do these things, but we are yet too new to have worn out altogether the influences on men of weak minds, created by habits of self-indulgence, savage communion, and long severance from the restraints and usages of society.²

1. F.T., 18 January 1871.

2. F.T., 8 July 1871.

Such words soon led to action. Mrs. Ferrin struck a stout blow for the invading culture she represented when she attended a public concert in the Reading Room. A man refused to relinquish his seat to her, so she seized him by the hair and cracked his face. Duly impressed, the other males of the audience presented her with a golden brooch and a testimonial in favour of her action.¹

Bathing had become something of a problem in Levuka because of the rapidly increasing size of the population. The custom was to ascend the path each evening to one of the rock pools in the Totoga creek above the town, remove one's clothing, and get in. To the already grave problems of pollution caused by this practice was now added the graver problem of propriety. Bathing, however, like so much else in Levuka, could be institutionalized in accordance with Victorian custom if sufficient effort was made. The delicacy of the subject delayed action for a considerable time, but eventually in January 1871 the matter was broached. A newspaper correspondence began, which was to continue intermittently for the next two years.

'In this hot climate in particular we want a suitable place to bathe' wrote the first female contributor, 'away from the rude gaze of semi-civilised savages as well as from the ruler of white people.'²

'I am a lady in great distress' wrote 'Anonyma' in November. 'In this

1. *F.S.I.*, 3 April 1872.

2. *F.S.I.*, 18 January 1871.

weather I am very fond of a bath every day, yet whenever I endeavour to gain an ablution in the creek... I find it crowded with naughty boys or selfish men.¹ A few days later the first 'Ladies' bathing place' of many was set aside by public consent with a fence around it and a lung for disrobing.²

A further mark of the altered balance of the sexes were the opening of the 'Levuka Ladies' College' in July 1871, conducted by Miss Robertson and Miss Cogden,³ and Mrs. Snowler's dress-making venture, promising 'work done upon the shortest notice.... The latest styles of fashion will be introduced'.⁴ F.R. Duffy, who arrived in June 1871,⁵ was able to establish a profitable photographic business. His original purpose in coming to Fiji was to photograph scenery,⁶ but within a short time he was able to specialise in portraiture and family groups as he would have done in any other metropolis.⁷ By 1872 his profits enabled him to extend his premises

1. E.I., 4 November 1871.

2. E.I., 11 November 1871.

3. E.I., 8 July 1871.

4. Ibid.

5. Cyclopaedia of Fiji, p. 222.

6. The E.I. reported in July that his collection of scenic views of Fiji had been purchased by Mr. E. Graham on behalf of Florence Museum, to which they were to be sent.

7. The Cyclopaedia of Fiji 1907, passim.

'which now present an elegant and attractive appearance'.¹

Men were stimulated by the desire for the approval of women of their own kind, to take an interest in their personal appearance, and Mr. C. Hohay of London and Melbourne was able to charge 1s for a haircut, 1s for a shave and 2s for a shampoo, at the Albion Hotel.² Saturday afternoons, which in the 1860s had been sleepy opportunities for drinking gin and indulging in idle conversation became, with the inspiration of a feminine audience, 'devoted to muscular Christianity, in the shape of cricket, rowing and other out-door past-times so befitting every Englishman seeking health, fame and fortune'.³ On Sundays after church there were occasional picnics, like the one held by D.W.L. Murray at Waitove, a few miles to the north of Levuka, within easy reach by a short row within the reef. It was attended by seventy guests of both sexes, who watched or participated in such activities as sports, lunching, 'toasting' and bathing.⁴

By the beginning of 1871 informal social activities were beginning to be supplemented by the formation of these clubs and societies which formed such an important part of colonial urban existence. A chess

1. *E.I.*, 10 February 1872.

2. *E.I.*, 20 August 1870.

3. *E.I.*, 6 August 1870.

4. *E.I.*, 3 April 1872.

club was formed in January 1871 by E.S. Smith lately of Melbourne,¹ and his lead was followed by the Freemasons, who held a meeting at Manton's Hotel in February and decided to form a lodge.² The ceremony of consecration was performed a year later.³ The Jews of the community held a meeting in March at the store of Brodziaik and Cohen to form their own association.⁴ Perhaps the most popular organisation was the 'Rifle Association' formed in 1870. Levuka could not provide the excitement of local punitive expeditions, but the Rifle Association did much to fill the gap by providing a focus for collective belligerence. 'In a country like Fiji' explained the Fiji Times 'a Rifle Association is likely to be of great service as a check on native violence, besides the amusement it affords to its members'.⁵ There were seventy foundation members and its shooting matches and drill sessions provided the opportunity for a considerable expression of group solidarity. Equally important were its fund-raising activities in which women were able to participate. On 22 April 1870, for example, a concert was held in the Reading Room which not only raised money for new equipment but gave the community as a whole a stiff

-
1. F.I., 4 January 1871.
 2. F.I., 15 February 1871.
 3. F.I., 3 January 1872.
 4. F.I., 4 January 1871.
 5. F.I., 2 April 1870.

dose of Victorian culture. Performers included Mrs. Cunningham, who played the piano and sang two pieces, 'I cannot wind my wheel, mother' and 'The Tempest of the Heart'. Mr. Cohen obliged with a recitation of 'Claude Melnotte's supplication to Pauline', and Mr. Emerson gave a rendering of 'The Bridge', 'which was the gem of the evening', followed by a well-earned encore 'Thy voice is near me'.¹ In the early part of 1871 vocal concerts began to be supplemented by dramatic performances. Mr. Leach, a professional entertainer, with a lady partner, arrived on the Magellan Cloud in January from the 'Prince of Wales' theatre in Auckland,² and he was followed by a trickle of other performing visitors and exhibitors of dissolving views. In the meantime the citizens of the town had formed the 'Levuka Dramatic Club'. The first move was a preliminary meeting at Mr. Daig's store on 30 December 1870.³ Mr. James Turner, proprietor of the Criterion Hotel, was one of the moving spirits and the inaugural meeting of the new society was held on his premises on 5 January 1871.⁴ Work commenced on the building of the 'Criterion Theatre' at the back of the hotel, and although the first attempt was blown away by a hurricane which struck the group in March, it stood, ready for the first dramatic

-
1. L.I., 30 April 1870.
 2. L.I., 21 January 1871.
 3. L.I., 31 December 1870.
 4. L.I., 7 January 1871.

performance, to an audience of three hundred people on 2 June 1871.¹ The programme consisted of two farces, 'White-bait at Greenwich' and 'A ticket of leave'. Mr. Cohen took the lead in both performances and the female parts were taken by men. In September, however, 'Helping Hands', a domestic drama, was forcefully portrayed by a cast which included several women.² It was perhaps appropriate that the Criterion Theatre was chosen for the convention which met in August 1871 to draw up a constitution for a government to serve the needs of the new settler community. Cakobau, in opening the proceedings, expressed his pleasure in seeing the delegates assembled together and hoped that good would come of it. He could not help but share the settlers' belief that the future of Fiji lay with them, 'You know the position of Fiji, and this is now your age - the whiteman's'.³

By then, the process by which the details of colonial civilisation had been transferred, item by item, to the Levuka beach was almost complete. Public holidays began to be kept by general consent early in 1871; Easter Monday that year was the first. In October, the Fiji Times reported that 'early closing' was being generally observed. 'Every day the bell tolls at twelve-o'clock noon, and the various business establishments are closed from then until two o'clock'.⁴

1. F.I., 3 June 1871. The theatre had already been used for a concert. F.I., 13 May 1871.

2. F.I., 9 September 1871.

3. F.I., 2 August 1871.

4. F.I., 25 October 1871.

Planters recuperating in the environment which by then Levuka could provide, were effectively insulated against the effects of 'savage communion', and felt able to ignore the realities of 'their bi-cultural situation'.

The practical consequences of the 'habits of self-indulgence' of the past had been a functioning relationship with Fijian society. From the beginning of 1870 onwards, however, the apparently successful establishment of a colonial metropolis in the centre of the archipelago contributed markedly to the belief that such a relationship was no longer necessary. Until the advent of the new Levuka of the Fiji Rush the racial arrogance, which formed part of the mental equipment of new arrivals from the Colonies, had usually been modified by the necessities of living in a Fijian environment. New arrivals in 1870 complained of the leisurely pace at which life went on, of the habitual use of the word *malua*, meaning 'bye and bye' in reply to any request for action. Britton said the word was characteristic of the Fijian people and as a custom which had grown upon the older settlers was 'most distressing to people accustomed to business promptitude'.¹ 'Savage communion' had led to a degree of tolerance. As late as September 1870 European public opinion expressed itself strongly against Mr. Neimann for having one of his labourers from the Ba coast flogged,² and in a brawl between a Fijian and a European about the

1. H. Britton, *Fiji in 1870*, p. 43.

2. *F.I.L.*, 10 September 1870.

same time an editorial expressed the view that the European had been not only inebriated, but also 'wholly in the wrong'.¹

With the development of metropolitan characteristics, however, went an erosion of the understanding. S.J. Cusack, a part-European carpenter, tendered for the erection of the Anglican church and made the lowest offer, but it was rejected and the contract was given to Griffith, because he was a white man.² Later that year, in June, it was assumed at first that part-Europeans would be invited to co-operate with the settler committee in forming a constitution, but a meeting of delegates on 16 June which met for the purpose moved a resolution immediately against such co-operation.³ In spite of this snub, the part-Europeans elected their own representative, but he was not allowed to take a seat in the House.⁴ When Ross, an unruly English sailor, was confined in the same room as a Fijian for riotous conduct, a public meeting was held on his behalf at which it was agreed that 'such a state of things was an insult to every white man here'.⁵ In 1872, when Hobby killed a Fijian, and failed in his plea of self-defence, he was still acquitted by an all-white jury on the grounds that his act had been 'perfectly justifiable homicide'.⁶

1. F.S., 3 September 1870.

2. F.S., 25 February 1871.

3. F.S., 18 June 1871.

4. F.S., 17 February 1872.

5. F.S., 21 October 1871.

6. F.S., 24 April 1872.

The increasing presence of European women was a considerable factor in this process. Until 1871 new arrivals in Levuka were accustomed to being carried ashore from boats by Fijians, but it was assumed that 'ladies accustomed to the decencies of European life prefer almost any way of getting ashore to being hugged in the arms of a half-naked savage',¹ and female racial prejudice was largely responsible for the construction of Levuka's first jetty in January 1871. Marriage between European settlers and Fijian women had always been frequent and regarded as normal. Many of them had formed informal liaisons either with local women or with those who had come to Fiji as imported labourers.² In 1870, however, the publicists of the Fiji Bush sought to persuade the Colonial public that such relationships were extremely rare, as a necessary corollary to the social Darwinism which took for granted that the Fijian race would not only become rapidly extinct but would be replaced by a race of pure-bred Anglo Saxons. 'There is no help, it appears to me, for the savage', wrote 'Wonderer', 'the laws that ordain his disappearance before the civilised man are as certain as those that govern the heavens'.³ His views were shared by Henry Britton who admitted that, 'now and again an old settler may be met who has taken to wife a

1. F.I., 6 August 1870.

2. Town and Country Journal, 29 July 1871.

3. F.I., 8 January 1870.

Fijian or half-caste woman, but this is extremely rare... there is not the smallest possibility of the two races ever amalgamating'.¹

It was the acceptance of such propaganda, and the arrival of European women in considerable numbers, which drove miscegenation underground, to become the cause of male embarrassment and female fury. 'It is not the single man, but the married ones' wrote an indignant matron, 'with their wives and families, that have most to fear [from the Fijians]. They seem to think that all white men living in Fiji should take up with their women, for marriage is not thought of, and there are many men living with Fijian women who have large families by them.'²

Settlers who attempted to accommodate themselves by degrees to their new domestic circumstances sometimes found that tension in the home was unavoidable. G.R.B. Towson was asked by the British Consul in 1873 to explain why a Tokelau woman had been forced to flee from his house by a white woman who had approached her, knife in hand, to murder her. It seemed that Mrs. Towson was the only white woman in the house, and so the Consul chose to conclude that the Tokelau woman's fright must have been the result of a dream, 'it having occurred once before'.³

The infection of society with racialism born of domestic tension

-
1. H. Britton, Fiji in 1870, p. 14.
 2. L.S., 9 October 1872, a quotation from a newspaper article which had appeared in Otago 'Fiji From a Woman's Point of View'.
 3. G.L. Nettleton to Towson, 11 September 1873.

was inevitable. Part-Europeans who had occupied positions of influence in Levuka as pilots and interpreters were ousted from their posts by white newcomers, and as the new town of South Levuka developed as an offshoot of Colonial society it sought to dissociate itself publicly from Totoga and Vagadace, the communities which were the living monuments to the miscegenation of the past. E.J. Turpin made a clear connection between the reduced status of part-Europeans in the settlers' eyes, and the arrival of European women:

Half-castes are mostly looked on as Niggers and treated the same as natives, this ought not to be... their [sic] are many white ladies... in Fiji who have frequently been benighted at a half-caste settlement accepted of their hospitality who afterwards when at home would not even offer food to their late hosts and yet many of the same fair but frail daughters of Eve when in days gone by they were barmaids... as barmaids they would drink with anyone be he white, half caste or native, but as Matrons they are altered.¹

It was perhaps some time early in 1871 that the pivotal point in race relations was reached, the transition from a working relationship between two contrasting cultures to the assumption that compromise was unnecessary because the future lay with the new civilisation of which the Beach City was the symbol. The swan-song of the old understanding was perhaps the regatta on New Year's Day 1871. European, part-European and Fijian crews competed in the race for five-oared boats and any resentment on the part of Europeans at such a spectacle was

1. E.J. Turpin, *Narratives*, 3-4.

probably appeased by the fact that they finished in that order. The Flying Fox skippered by the part-European Edward Miller walked away with the sailing events, and the highlight of the day was the race for Fijian double canoes:

If the Canoe race had been run in Port Jackson or Hobson's Bay, it would have caused more excitement than the Melbourne or Sydney Cup, the six canoes hoisting their immense mat sails simultaneously and flying away before the southerly breeze was as pretty a sight as could be imagined.¹

The victor under the patronage of the Tui Levuka invited spectators of all races to come for a sailing excursion after the race. The following year, however, the Boxing Day athletic sports made no allowance for inter-racial competition,² and the committee organising the New Year's Day regatta cancelled the native canoe race. The crews in the rowing events were all white, and as if to emphasise the arrival of a new urban frontier they competed as representatives of Auckland, Sydney and Melbourne. This time there was no multi-racial picnic. Instead, on New Year's eve, thirty women and seventy men attended a fancy dress ball in the Reading Room, around which a fence was specially constructed 'to make the premises private and to exclude the natives from the window views'.³ It was a fitting symbol of the cultural barrier the Beach City had built around itself, and which it regarded as permanent.

1. L.I., 4 January 1871.

2. L.I., 27 December 1871.

3. L.I., 6 January 1872.

The maintenance of a cultural barrier between the settlers and their surroundings was achieved in Levuka with the help of continuous external reinforcement which counteracted the gradual process of acculturation. On the plantations, however, settlers found themselves dependent on their own resources and those of a relatively small group of neighbours for the maintenance of cultural integrity, and it required considerable individual effort. Success in maintaining a distinctive style of life depended largely on the ability to pay for such things as a wooden house, an iron roof, supplies of gin and European food and furniture, and a white wife, and this ability depended on the profits, or more often the anticipated profits, of growing cotton.

The profit which cotton could produce depended on a number of variables: initial investment, the price of land, security of tenure, the cost and reliability of labour, and marketing facilities, all of which varied greatly from one plantation to the next, and between different parts of the group. Lacking detailed regional knowledge and confident in the maintenance of high prices it was easy for the settlers to be uniformly optimistic. Estimates of the minimum amount of capital necessary to set up a successful plantation varied from £200 to £1000, but the recommendation given by a correspondent of the

Fijian Weekly News and Planter's Journal in November 1868 was a capital of \$600.¹

With cotton planting, like any other business, perseverance and industry will do more than a large capital. We have few plantations of more than 150 acres, and they have been the result of small beginnings by men who have stuck to their work, seldom seen in the hotels of Beach Street, and who... have made up their minds to let the height of their ambition be 500 acres.²

Until 1868 'Kidney' or Brazilian³ cottens were the most common varieties grown in Fiji, although Brower, Storck, Snytheman and the Ryder brothers had all begun to experiment with the more valuable Sea Island varieties, for which the climate of Fiji seemed at first to be particularly suitable. 'Kidney' cotton was planted in rows twelve feet apart, or about fifty plants to the acre, and if the planter was lucky with the weather two crops could be obtained, one in July and a second lighter crop in December. Estimates for the average annual crop varied from 800 lb. to 1200 lb. per acre.⁴ This figure referred to the cotton as it was picked from the pod. The process of ginning and cleaning reduced the weight to about 350 lb., the approximate weight of one bale, which thus represented the annual produce of one

-
1. This corresponded closely with the economic position of a large number of settlers whose affairs are revealed in the records of the Land Claims Commission.
 2. Fijian Weekly News and Planter's Journal, 21 November 1868.
 3. Gossypium herbaceum Linn. var. Brazilianum (Macfadyn, Hutchinsen).
 4. Fijian Weekly News and Planter's Journal, 21 November 1868. C.L., Thurston to Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 31 December 1867.

acre, prepared for export.¹ Sea Island cotton was more valuable and since the plants were smaller they could be planted closer together at intervals of 6ft. 6 in. Three crops could be obtained, barring accidents, in each year, in February, June and October, once a stand of cotton was established. Estimates of the average yield varied from 1 lb. per plant per picking to 5 lb. of seed cotton per year.² This would have amounted to about 550 lbs. per acre.

Prices rose steadily from 1864 to 1871, but they also varied according to the distance from the English market and the state of the cotton. In 1867 clean Kidney and Egyptian cotton sold for 9d. per lb. in Levuka and Sea Island cotton sold for a shilling.³ The following year, however, news arrived that some of the cottons shipped from Levuka in February and March 1867 had been sold in Liverpool for 2s.6d. and 3s.11d.⁴ For the next few years, prices continued to rise. The Ryders, who took extreme care in cultivation and had the benefit of several years experience, received 4s.4d. for fifteen bales sold in September 1870,⁵ but even Henry Britten, perhaps Fiji's most enthusiastic publicist, did not pretend that such prices were usual. 'An acre of

-
1. Fijian Weekly News and Planter's Journal, 21 November 1868. C.L., Thurston to Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 31 December 1867.
 2. C. L., Thurston to Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 31 December 1867, H. Britten, Fiji in 1870, p. 13.
 3. Thurston to Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 31 December 1867.
 4. Fijian Weekly News and Planter's Journal, 14 October, 1868.
 5. G. W. Ryder, Pioneering in the South Seas, p. 40.

well-cultivated land,' he wrote, 'should produce 200 lb. of clean cotton, which, if pure Sea Island, ought to fetch 2s. per lb., making the average value of an acre of cotton £20.'¹ The planter who succeeded in planting 50 acres in his first year, and this was a common achievement, could therefore reasonably expect to cover the costs of establishment.

The first expense to be met on arrival at Levuka was the hire of a local vessel. This cost about £1 per day so it was often better to purchase one instead. Small decked vessels of five tons or so could be obtained in Levuka for £100 in 1870, while a whale-boat cost about half that amount and was quite adequate with reasonable care for inter-island communication, though unsuitable for carrying freight in any quantity. Settlers who could afford it often hired part Europeans as interpreters. In 1863 the usual salary was £13 p.a. with keep,² One newspaper correspondent argued however, that this expense was unnecessary as 'any intelligent man starting a plantation does not want one, as after a short time he will pick up a little of the language, mix it with English, add a little Billingsgate at times, and he will save his money.'³

Land was the next expense, and this was the item subject to the greatest variation, depending largely on the political security of the area concerned. Woods, a settler of 1871, wrote to his mate, Buckley,

1. H. Britten, *op. cit.*, p. 13

2. Fijian Weekly News and Planter's Journal, 21 October 1863.

3. Ibid.

encouraging him to join him: 'The price of land has hitherto varied from 1s. and even less per acre to 10/- and even 20s, though the latter price has rarely been paid, even in the most favoured districts'.¹ The reduction of the price of land acquired by the Polynesia Company to 2s.6d. per acre at Suva early in 1870 may be taken as an indication of the realistic market price of uncultivated land in an area of medium security, though some land was certainly bought at Faveuni for £1 an acre in 1870 and 1871.

Housing costs could be as little as £10 in cash terms, for a Fijian house built by the people who sold land to the incoming settler. In many cases such dwellings were provided as part of the initial bargain. Wealthier settlers imported ready made pre-fabricated houses from Australia, which in 1868 could be obtained in Sydney for £300.² Next came the vital factor of labour. The pioneers of the cotton industry, Storck, Brower and Smytherman, were comparatively wealthy men who never considered the possibility of carrying out the operations of cultivation personally, but the ex-diggers and adventurers who followed them in the early 1860s expected to do the work themselves. Captain Branchley reported in 1865 that:

The rapid progress that cotton cultivation has made in these islands during the year 1864 is due, in great measure, to the individual efforts of the settlers, for the most part men without any capital, who, having obtained some land from the natives, cultivate it by their own individual labours.³

1. L.C.C. R119c.

2. Australasian, 24 October 1868.

3. J.L.Branchley, Cruise of the Curacao, pp. 190-191.

But the establishment of the Hennings ginning shed and store at the mouth of the Fotoga creek in 1865 began a new period of expansion. Hennings was willing to lend on the security of the crops which were to be processed by him in Levuka in the future, and credit enabled planters to enlarge the scale of their operations and to employ Fijians and ultimately imported labourers on their plantations. It was estimated by Thurston in 1867 that one labourer should be able to look after three acres of crops, which would include weeding, cultivation and picking.¹ Wages in 1868 were £3 per annum, in trade.² Labourers could sometimes be obtained locally by establishing friendly relations with the local chief, who would then send his prisoners, and often anyone who could be spared, to work on European plantations. Otherwise men could be obtained from the Ra coast or other disturbed areas for the additional price of 30s. to 40s. a head, the price of an old musket given in exchange to the tribe from which he was taken.³ Small planters were also put to the expense of hiring a small craft in which to fetch them; perhaps another £5 or £10. The cost of food for the labourers was reckoned to be about the same as the wages. The

-
1. G.O., Thurston to Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 31 December 1867.
 2. Fijian Weekly News and Planter's Journal, 21 November 1868. Another figure given in the F.O.I., 4 June 1870 was 3s. per week. By that time the use of foreign labour was general but Fijians were often called in as additional labour for short periods.
 3. F.O.I., 4 June 1870. A letter on the subject of labour.

calculation of one planter was as follows: 'Now reckoning 3s. a week to a Fijian, at which rate we are told they would work well and keep themselves, thus avoiding all difficulties about feeding, the cost would be only... £7.16s. per year'.¹ A planter expecting to cultivate 50 acres of cotton in his first year would thus be faced with an initial annual expenditure of £126 to feed and pay the wages of 18 labourers at £7 per head. If he grew his own food it would cost him less, but he might need another two labourers to do it. If they came from the coast there would be an extra cost of £10 for transport and £36 for initial payments to the tribe from which they came - a total expenditure of £172 p.a. on labour alone. The fact that this expenditure could be partially postponed until the time came to pay the labourers at the end of their contract meant that in a time of rising cotton prices it was often undertaken lightly. It meant too, that when it could be postponed no longer, calamity in various forms came decisively.

Most planters depended on others to do their ginning for them and to transport their crops to Levuka or one of the other entrepôts within the group for export to Europe via Sydney. The cotton was handled many times in the process and everyone who handled it expected a profit. Britton estimated that 16% of the value of the crop was spent on getting it to the English market by way of Sydney or Auckland,² while a Favoundi

1. *F.I.*, 4 June 1870. Consul Jones in 1866 estimated the cost of wages & food at £6. *C.I.*, 31 December 1866.

2. *B. Britton, op. cit.*, p. 11.

settler pointed out in 1872 that:

It is a startling fact that every bale of cotton shipped costs the lucky planter £11, so that if he ships nine bales he has to fork out the moderate sum of £100. The ginning alone amounts to £4 per bale; and freight, insurance, commission, brokerage etc. absorb the other £7.¹

From this he drew the not unreasonable conclusion that 'Anything under 2s. per lb. will not pay.'² Indeed with labour at £173 for 15 labourers producing 50 bales of cotton ready for export the cost of labour was about £3.4s. per bale - leaving only a marginal profit. In practice, even this profit was unrealised for a considerable period. Assuming then, that the above figures are approximately correct, a planter with a capital of £600 arriving in Levuka in 1870 could expect his fortunes to work out during his first year, roughly as follows:

Accommodation in Levuka for 3 weeks	£5. 5. 0
Hire of a boat for 2 weeks	14. 0. 0
Purchase of 500 acres at 2s.6d. per acre	62.10. 0
Labour costs	172. 0. 0
Fijian house	10. 0. 0
Preparation and freight of 50 bales of cotton	550. 0. 0
	<hr/>
	£813.15. 0

His initial deficit would thus be £214, apart from personal and living expenses which were often considerable. One settler estimated his living expenses at 10s. per week in 1865³ which would bring the deficit to approximately £240. At the end of the next year, however, the

1. *F.I.C.* 22 May 1872.

2. *Ibid.* He added that 2s. per lb. was more than the price recently obtained.

3. See Chapter 4, p.137.

planter whose £20 per acre had been realised in Liverpool would have a sum of £1000, by which time it could be assumed that a second crop would be on its way.

With prospects like this, unrealistic though they were, credit was easy to obtain and it was possible to charge high rates of interest. Planters looked not to the economic reality of the present but to what they assumed to be the destiny of Fiji in the future and they found it possible to assume a style of living which bore no relation to their income but rather to the assumption that the factors described above would remain constant. Old hands like the Ryder brothers were cynical:

... the boom grew to such proportions that before long there were some two thousand whites in the group... the accommodation in Levuka was over-taxed ... and prices for everything went very high. There were a number of small craft in the harbour of from five to twenty tons, the owners of which had a great harvest taking intending settlers to see our [sic] land suitable for cotton growing. The Fijian chiefs also did well by selling land to the new arrivals. These new comers had no idea of what they would have to go through, fondly imagining that they had only to get some land cleared, put in some cotton seed, stand by and watch it grow and reap a fortune. But hurricanes ... insect pests ... All lent a hand to destroy their dream, and eventually many were glad to get back to Sydney, having dropped all the capital they had brought with them.¹

But while credit lasted, and hurricanes remained at bay, it was possible for the new culture to spread from its point of entry at Levuka to the remotest parts of the group. Planters returning from a spree in

1. G.S. Ryder, 'Pioneering in the South Seas', p. 35.

Levuka to their homes were immediately confronted by the problem of loneliness. 'For three mortal weeks no one in Faveuni had even beheld the shadow of the sun' complained one lonely man in 1870 'only incessant pitiless rain ... You can fancy how a fellow feels under such circumstances, with enforced confinement indoors for three weeks and "no one to love."'¹

But if the determination to remain aloof from the society around them raised new problems, the new settlers had new solutions. Unlike their predecessors of the early 1850s they were generally literate, and could keep in touch with the world from which they came through reading. In 1868 the plight of the planter who complained that he had read every word on every page of the single copy of the Australasian which he had brought with him, and he knew the whole thing off by heart, must have been a common one,² but as settlement grew more concentrated each individual became both contributor to and borrower from the collective literary property of his neighbours. E. J. Turpin, who in 1870 gave up his business in Levuka and went to Leucala island near Faveuni to work as an overseer for J. S. Macomber, jotted down in his diary the books he lent and borrowed. They were a vital link with the culture he sought to represent:

'wrote to Marcus Logan, returned 'Vanity Fair' & 'Artemus Ward' and asked him to send me my two books and the 3 bot. gin I lent him.'³

1. F.L.S. 3 December 1870.

2. Arms. 14 April 1868.

3. E. J. Turpin, 'Diary & Narratives,' 27 October, 1871.

A bookshop and circulating library had by this time been established in Levuka, and it was suggested that the proprietor, Mr. Manuelle, would find it worth his while to establish a branch of his business on Taveuni.¹

Gin, ordered by the case through the Firm of Messings from Hamburg, and paid for not with cash but on the credit of future crops was the means of elevation of the spirits to some and oblivion to many. The same spell of incessant rain which drove the Taveuni planter to reveal his loneliness to the Fiji Times was spent by J.S. Macomber in a state of inebriation. Turpin's diary records a typical sequence of events:

20 Dec. 1870	Macomber indebted to me \$12 for the passage of the Tanna men from Vuna point to here he is still drunk.
21st	Fine, wind south, Macomber still drunk has a touch of the horrors. Gave Hyde 4 bot. gin on a/c of M. Logan.
22 Dec ...	Macomber is still drunk
Friday 23rd ...	Macomber is tapering off Dr. 1 bot. gin. ²

1. E.T., 4 October 1871.

2. E. J. Turpin, 'Diary & Narratives'. 'Tapering off' was a phrase derived from an earlier period when liquor was handled in casks rather than bottles. When a trader landed a cask at a settlement a continuous drip of drinking would commence. For every drink drawn off, the same quantity of water would be added so that the participants were eventually drinking pure water. It was believed that by thus 'tapering off' the after effects of over-indulgence would be avoided. The practice was also common among the shore-whalers of New Zealand in the 1830s.

Settlers who had been in more recent contact with the Colonies sometimes brought wine with them, or obtained it, at great expense, through the traders. Such supplies were guarded carefully for social occasions and visits such as that enjoyed by Richard Philip, the lawyer. After leaving Levuka he visited the Rewa, and found the plantation of Graham and Katea, seventeen miles above the Rewa delta. 'Graham had brought down some very good Australian wine when he came and he got out a bottle and we began to make merry. It is the best drink I have had for many a long day, and tasted like nectar after that confounded gin. I was greatly comforted'.¹

Over-indulgence in alcohol and too little exercise were commonly supposed to be the cause of much of the sickness which afflicted the European community. Deaths from dysentery were common, and it is probable that the experience of Turpin, who had already been a victim of this disease, was typical. He was perhaps unique in committing his experience to paper, and his diary contains repeated detailed accounts of the state of his bowels, which caused him much discomfort. In the isolation of Isucala island his only remedy was Holloway's Pills, in which he displayed unbounded faith, and, as a last resort, heavy doses of laudanum. For his small daughter, who fell into a bath of boiling water and was badly scalded, he favoured a more experimental approach.

1. Richard Philip, 'My Diary' November 1872.

'Baby's foot and leg very bad', he wrote, 'do not believe in kerosene paint oil has done it more good.'¹ From 1870 on however, medical advice was always available in Levuka, which provided comfort even if it did little to achieve a cure. In April that year Turpin visited the 'Beach street dispensary' 'very bad with piles Dr. Ryerley says it is my liver is out of order'.² Thus reassured he returned to his lonely job on Laseala, and his well-tried remedies.

Books, gin, and Holloway's Pills were not enough in themselves, however, to give isolated settlers a sense of belonging to a distinct European community. The most important agents of cultural transmission were undoubtedly the Levuka newspapers which kept the most widely scattered settlements in touch with each other, and with Levuka, and, by the publication of extracts from Colonial and occasionally, British, newspapers, with the society from which the settlers came. The first Levuka newspaper was the Fijian Weekly News and Planter's Journal, started on 8 August 1863 by G. Johnstone, a printer from Dunedin, New Zealand. It ran as a weekly paper for four months and achieved a circulation of about 400 which seems to have been confined to Levuka and Rewa. The editorial of the closing issue of 21 November 1863 shows resignation, but also the commonly shared belief in the inevitability of 'progress':

1. E. J. Turpin, 'Diary & Narratives,' 7 January 1871.

2. Ibid., 24 April

It was said four months ago that we were a year too soon, and it is the case... though leaving Fiji, it is with a firm belief that the time will soon arrive when public opinion here will be a fact, and the press a necessity.

It was in fact a little less than a year after the first appearance of the Weekly News that on 3 September 1869, G. L. Griffiths published the first issue of the Fiji Times. It began life as a weekly, but with the rapid increase in population was able to become a bi-weekly half way through 1870 and to double its size at the same time. By the middle of 1871 it claimed a circulation of over 1000 copies and had become a vital unifying force of a now widely dispersed community. As a reader from Levuka put it, 'we can't get up any excitement here on any subject, but have to depend on your paper to supply us'.² The Fiji Times contained news of both overseas and inter-island shipping and in so doing recorded the day to day movements of a large part of the settler population. It printed accounts of public meetings and cultural activities in Levuka, mirrored in its advertisements and commercial intelligence much of the economic life of the community and in its correspondence and editorial columns provided an important forum for public debate and political agitation. For nearly two years, until the Cakobau government launched the Fiji Gazette in August 1871, the Fiji Times enjoyed a monopoly, and it was the two years in which the settlement of Fiji from the Colonies was proceeding at the greatest rate.

1. Fijian Weekly News & Planter's Journal, 21 November 1868.

2. F.I., 24 September 1870.

Probably of equal importance, though less evident to the historian, was the delivery of letters, both from outside Fiji, and between different parts of the group. In the 1860's most letters sent to Fiji were addressed to the appropriate consulate. The consul then either kept them in Levuka to be collected, or made what arrangements he could arrange for delivery. In 1870, however, numbers had increased to such an extent that the system began to break down. In many cases there were several settlers of the same name, who lived in different parts of the group, and in the early part of 1870 settlers were urged to notify correspondents of their locality, to make use of a common mail bag for each district and to appoint one of the settlers from each of them to receive mail and to be responsible for its custody until collected or delivered.¹ In some cases the settlers took the initiative themselves.² This system, however, proved inadequate, partly because of the inability of the British Consulate to cope with the work. Nathaniel Chalmers wrote from the Rewa in February 1870 to complain that the Rewa mail had not arrived, but that he had received a bag of Savu Savu and Taveuni mail instead. He suggested the collection of subscriptions of 10/- from all white residents in Fiji so that a salaried postal official could be appointed in Levuka for the job.³ The fact that the Consular service was free

-
1. E.g. P.W. Ross to March, 7 January 1870 Miscellaneous Correspondence British Consulate. Ross refers to the system then in operation.
 2. Netherington to March, 5 January 1871. Miscellaneous Correspondence, British Consulate. Netherington had been elected postmaster by the Dreketi settlers and requested a mail bag to be made up for the district and delivered to him.
 3. *Edin.* 26 February 1870.

may have contributed to confusion about the authority of local postmasters to receive the mail; in June 1871 a man named Thompson, who worked as an overseer on the Holshurst estate, Taveuni, boarded the cutter Margaret as she sailed up the Somo Somo strait to deliver her mail to Bosa at Wairiki. A public meeting accused him of piracy because he had threatened to shoot anyone who prevented him opening the mail bag, and censured the action of the Logan brothers, who had sent a man aboard, without firearms, for the same purpose.

In the meantime the editor of the Fiji Times had begun to set up a rival organisation, largely because of the inability of the consular service to cope with his own delivery problems. It was clear that, since the permanent population of Levuka was unlikely to increase beyond about 400 because of the limitation of space, his own success depended on his ability to deliver his paper to the outlying parts of the group. He established the Fiji Times Express early in 1870¹ on the basis of fixed contracts with the skippers of local vessels, and also printed his own stamps for which he engaged to deliver private mail to Bosa and Taveuni. In March 1871 he wrote to himself in his own correspondence columns complaining of Consul March's attempts to use influence with the Australian Colonial authorities to prevent the Fiji Times Express from establishing a postal monopoly within the group,²

1. Cyclopaedia of Fiji, p. 219.

2. F.T., 4 March 1871.

and on 19 August 1871 he was able to advertise a complete systematic postal service for the whole group and to list the names of local agents and charges for delivering mail to the different districts.¹

Closer settlement and better communications meant that by the beginning of 1871 settlers were no longer forced to live the kind of life which had been common in 1863, 'a sort of animal existence' as one settler called it, 'away from all civilisation'.² The aim of most settlers in coming to Fiji was not to escape from civilisation but to obtain the money to enjoy it, and the sooner the better. The establishment of public amenities and a distinctive style of life was therefore an early priority, regarded as a down-payment of fortune on the ultimate reward of their enterprise. They used the credit they could raise on the crops they had planted to send for their wives and female relations. Speculative publicans like George McKissack at Wairiki and Earnest Logan at Vatu Were had an eye to the profits to be won from the pockets of lonely men and they employed single girls from the colonies as barmaids.³ They were rapidly married off to make room for others.⁴ Not only weddings but births soon found a place

1. R.T., 19 August 1871.

2. Fijian Weekly News and Planter's Journal, 3 August 1863.

3. R.T., 3 May 1871.

4. Markham records an example in his entry for 15 March 1871, 'the happy couple consisting of a barmaid rejoicing in the name of Woodbine and a planter named Stevenson. Brewster records that 'The bar of the Levuka Hotel was presided over by a goddess... Her public career was not long, as she was soon happily married to a Faveuni cotton planter' King of the Cannibal Isles, pp.106-107.

in the gossip columns of the Fiji Times sent in from outlying districts.

Family life in the European sense involved many planters in considerable expense in order to provide suitable housing. Just as on the inland frontier of New South Wales and Victoria the slab huts and log houses were replaced by the structures of sawn timber and corrugated iron which signalled the advent of racial endogamy in the outback, so on the ocean frontier, the open-plan living of the Fijian bure was abandoned for the individual privacy of Colonial family life, modestly conducted in partitioned houses built of imported materials. The new houses were soon filled with the distinctive artefacts of Victorian culture. Mats were supplemented by beds, tree stumps and packing cases gave way to tables and chairs and empty corners were filled with pianos and glass-fronted book cases. George Ryder described how, in 1871, after the original house, built in 1864, had been burnt down, a new one was built in preparation for a visit of his parents and sister for several months. The new house was constructed partly of native materials but had floors and joists of sawn timber, and a kitchen and a bathroom were added on to the main structure. Victorian suburbia came to Vago in the shape of a Norfolk pine planted at each end of the house, ^{and} a vegetable garden at the back of it on a slope going down to the road which led to the beach, enclosed by a hibiscus hedge. As George put it, 'We were indeed comfortable now.'¹

1. G.L. Ryder, 'Pioneering in the South Seas', p. 38.

Within such homes, female influence soon resulted in a new regularity, cleanliness and decorum. Edwin Turpin, who brought his wife Etty to the lonely life of Lauasia island, found consolation and relief from the wild ways of Macomber and the recalcitrance of his labourers in the tasks of colonisation which domesticity imposed. On 22 December 1870 he records:

Made water closet and cleaned up house ready for Christmas. The Holly Mistletoe boughs are not forgotten in this out of the way [place?] Macomber is still drunk I think all the J.D.F.S. is nearly done.¹

Sir Arthur Gordon, in 1875 found in a house at Savu Savu, 'Mrs. Pillans, a piano, and several nice, clean, healthy-looking children, well cared for and well looking, and neatly though sensibly dressed.' Instead of the yagons or gin which was all that would have been available in a 'bachelor' establishment, he was 'regaled with pineapple wine (not a bad drink) and polite conversation. Mrs. Pillans has evidently seen better days'.² Nearby, is a similar establishment sat Mrs. Barrack, 'a silent and depressing woman with an objection to bathing, which she considers weakening'.³

Each household thus established, with European style house and furniture, books, vegetable garden, workshop and white wife, formed a

1. E.J. Turpin, 'Diary & Narratives', 22 December 1870.

2. Stannore, Fiji. Records Recollections of Public and of Private Life, Vol. I, p. 131.

3. Ibid., p. 132, 3 July 1875.

cultural oasis, a miniature Levuka in the Fijian wilderness, and the sense of communal responsibility which this involved reinforced the frontier tradition which has persisted to the present, of spontaneous and generous hospitality. The voyage from Nadi to Levuka, undertaken by George Markham several times a year, took a number of days, partly because of the difficulties of nocturnal navigation in reef-stream waters, partly because social visiting was a very important subsidiary object of the voyage. On the second day out from Nadi on one occasion, he wrote:

About 10 a.m. we reached Ta na Vasa, Derby's place, but as he was not at home we pulled on to Kinross's at Ba Vuni Yesi. Here we were entertained with Kinross's usual bounty Mrs. K. killed a turkey for our dinner. We spent a very pleasant evening, an opportunity to visit Kinross being always looked forward to with pleasure... After dinner we sat on the verandah Hyndman played the flute while I sang. ¹

1. G.W.H. Markham, Diary, 11 August 1870.

Markham's companion was Henry Meyers Hyndman, the English socialist, - who in 1869 came to Australia, stayed with the Finlays of 'Glenormiston', in Victoria, wrote a review of Marcus Clark's For the Love of His Natural Life, and editorials for the Argus and the Australasian in favour of secular education. He arrived in Levuka from Sydney on the Cocquett in February 1870. (see F.I., 3 February 1870). He visited Taveuni, Nokogai, Nawa and Nadi, where he stayed with Markham. He returned to London on 13 February 1871. See H.M. Hyndman, The Record of an Adventurous Life, London, 1911, pp. 93-151.

Concentrated settlement facilitated periodical social gatherings which, judging by the enthusiasm shown towards them, were highly valued by the participants. Christmas 1871 was celebrated at the 'Mandi Club Hotel' by Mr. Henry Shute, the land-jobber, who invited 20 local white residents to dinner. Old hand that he was, Shute also felt obliged to extend his hospitality afterwards to 'a number of half-castes and natives' when the main festivities were over.¹

Six months later however, the feminine frontier reached Nadi and inter-racial conviviality was accordingly abandoned. On 10 July, 1872, Markham was given the responsibility for preparing dinner for a party of visitors, 'a most stupendous undertaking for a bachelor':

... At half-past-one they arrived. They quite filled up the little house. There were 12 in all Mr. and Mrs. Cudlip, Miss Cudlip, Miss Maggie Cudlip and three little girls, Capoll, David Mackay, Jack, and Mr. Tripp a Ba settler ... later joined by Henry Tucker and Tom Muir.

Markham had the cotton room cleared and decorated 'with arms of various descriptions' and served his guests with cold roast turkey, roast pigeon, beef and curry, for which he was gratified to receive the congratulations of Mrs. Cudlip. Eating and drinking was followed by bathing and horse rides for the children.² The availability of European women made dancing popular in the plantation districts just as it had done in Levuka. The Becco brothers, for example, held a

1. *L.S.*, 10 January 1872.

2. G.W.H. Markham, *Diary* 10 July 1872. Mrs. Cudlip was regarded as a leader of polite society in Levuka.

ball at their Rewa plantation in August 1871, with an orchestra consisting of two violins and a piano. There were twenty-two women out of a total of seventy guests and this may have led to some tension during the evening as proceedings were interrupted at one stage for a duel to be fought. The aim of the contestants, however, was poor; no one was hurt, and they continued dancing till daylight.¹ In some districts cricket and rifle clubs were formed, and though the Dramatic Society and the lodges of Levuka were missing, the churches followed the metropolitan example and served as a communal cement of the European community rather than an inter-racial lubricant. Wherever there were enough Europeans to constitute a small congregation, they were able to obtain the services of missionaries for themselves as an exclusive body. Sometimes, as on the Rewa, they built their own church,² elsewhere, they assembled at the house of one of their number. On Taveuni for example, in November 1870, the settlers met at the plantation of Petersen and Wall:

In the forenoon Mr. Brooks harangued about 500 of the 'devils', and made an evident impression. During the afternoon he preached to the whites.³

1. *F.F.*, 30 August and 2 September 1871.

2. See Chapter 4, p. 153.

3. *F.F.*, 3 December 1870.

The influence of mail and newspapers, of well-conducted Colonial households scattered throughout the planting districts, of the hotels and the planters' clubs which made use of their facilities, and of churches, balls, and dinners, was to give every settler a sense of belonging to a community of his own kind. Regular contact with other Europeans meant that if any individual was faced with a crisis in his relationships with Fijians he could rely on the vested interest of his fellow planters to provide him with whatever psychological support he needed. Ernest Logan, for example, was accused by the Catholic priest at Wairiki of ill-treating a Fijian, and a public meeting of Europeans was summoned to hear the charges. Logan made no attempt to deny the accusation, that he had struck the man across the back with a riding whip. 'Is there no one here', he asked, 'who has ever struck his labourers for insolence? ... I consider that in acting as I did I was upholding the dignity of a white man.' The meeting thought so too, gave him a vote of their approval, and improved the occasion by electing him treasurer of the local library fund, and trustee for the new church.¹

In the convivial atmosphere of one of the new hotels, at a musical evening on a neighbour's plantation or in the candle-light of a ginning-shed ballroom it was easy to imagine that, in the language of the time, Fiji, like South Africa, Australia or New Zealand, was a 'white man's country'. With the morning hangover it probably occurred to the more

1. F.I.J. 1 March 1870.

perceptive that it wasn't. The structure of colonial culture which made it possible for settlers to ignore the unpalatable facts of their numerical insignificance and their ultimate dependence on Fijian forbearance, had been rapidly constructed on the shaky foundation of a luxury export market, a foundation which began to crumble even before the structure was complete.

Even those planter societies, like those of Java, or the British West Indies,¹ in which Europeans had controlled all the material resources on which their prosperity was based, had been unable to maintain the distinctive features of their culture in the face of a serious deterioration in export prices. In Fiji, where European control of land and labour was much more tenuous, the fall in the price of cotton after 1870 placed planters in a defensive position which only the most adaptable could survive.

The outbreak of war between France and Germany in August 1870 had little effect, as some feared it might, on the price of gin, but it came at a time when Fijian cotton producers had turned almost exclusively to the production of sea-island cotton, for which the chief market was the silk factories of France. Their closure was immediate and the price of the best sea-island cotton fell abruptly from over 4s. per lb.

1. see L.J. Hagata, The Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean, 1763-1863, c.f. G.R. Knight, 'Estates and Plantations in Java', Unpublished Ph.D. thesis L.S.E. 1963.

to 1s.4d.¹ The effect on Fiji was cushioned by distance so that for the whole of 1870 and for most of 1871 optimistic arrivals exceeded the departures of the disillusioned, but by early 1871 there were indications that the period of optimism and expansion would soon be over. In the first four months of the year, the period which saw the most rapid development of colonial culture in Levuka, the establishment of the theatre, the Masonic lodge, the Rifle Association and the construction of two-storeyed hotels with iron balconies, the editor of the Fiji Times complained that far too many subscriptions were overdue, and that he was losing money by extending credit to advertisers. On 4 March he wrote, 'Times are bad we know, but who can wonder at it if the printer is unpaid'.² Ten days later a Savu Savu planter wrote to complain that cotton prices had fallen to between 1s.6d. and 2s. per lb. 'If Mr. Moss, the pamphletser, would kindly inform your Savu Savu readers how to make £20 per acre on cotton growing after paying all expenses of labour, food, interest on capital etc., which he asserts he does, and others may do, he will confer a boon upon them for which they will be deeply grateful.'³

It was only a week after that letter appeared in the Fiji Times that settlers throughout the group were alarmed to notice a sudden drop in the barometric pressure. The sky became overcast, the sea looked

1. H.A. Derrick, History of Fiji, p. 197.

2. F.T., 4 March 1871.

3. F.T., 15 March 1871.

like lead and a rising wind set in from the north-west. For most settlers it heralded the first hurricane of their experience. It proved to be an unusual one in that it was not only extremely severe but its track was wide and it cut a swathe of devastation through the group, over a hundred miles across. For the fortnight following, the details came in to Levuka, the individual pieces of what amounted to a picture of a communal tragedy. Half the planters on Taveuni lost the best part of their crops, the southern coast of Vanua Levu was equally unfortunate, and in Ovalau and the coast of Viti Levu from Sigatoka to Tailevu hardly a cotton plant was left intact. Expensive imported houses were unroofed or smashed, including a number of buildings in Levuka. The vessels in the harbour dragged their anchors and some broke their cables and were smashed up on the beach. The Rewa flooded large areas of newly planted cotton while heavy rain rotted a great deal more before it could be picked. The Fijian Times did not seek to exaggerate the damage, but it was estimated at 25% of present crops.¹ Ultimately it was found to be much greater. Men who gave evidence before the Land Claims Commission a decade later repeatedly pointed to the hurricane of March 1871 as the turning point in their fortunes,² and for many newcomers it was the timely warning which prevented rash

1. F.I., 8 April 1871

2. E.g. Michael Riley, L.C.C. R 765, and many more.

investment. By April 1871 it was acknowledged that the boom was over. The Fiji Times reported:

The price of cotton has deteriorated, and with the fall in that, the sanguine hopes and prospects of many have fallen too, and in place of becoming wealthy suddenly, they discover that it requires good generalship to be able to make a little way against the tide of misfortunes which has set in against them. ¹

With even the best generalship, it is doubtful whether cotton growing would have proved successful. Hurricanes have been recorded in Fiji at average intervals of two years, ² and quite apart from hurricane damage the climate has not proved suitable for cotton cultivation. 'The rain destroys much of the crops' wrote Richard Philip, after a visit to the Beva in 1872; 'I saw on Graham's plantation fully a third of the pods hanging black, and the cotton inside rotten.' ³

1. F.T., 12 April 1871.
2. Pacific Islands Pilot, 7th ed., British Admiralty, London 1943, pp. 28-29.
The areas most often affected are the Yasawas, Kadava and Western Viti Levu.
3. Richard Philip, 'My Diary,' November 1872. I am grateful to Dr. D.R.S. Brown, an agricultural economist working for the Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations on behalf of the Fiji Government, for confirmation of this view. When consulted on 2 March 1966 in Suva he gave as his opinion 'that the climate of Fiji is not well suited to cotton growing, and an important contributory reason for its failure in the past was almost certainly unreliability of rainfall, sometimes a great deal too much and at others too little'. He also added that major hurricane damage was suffered in every part of Fiji about every eight years.

Settlers of 1871 and 1872 were not to know that destiny was against them: it was their belief in destiny which brought them to Fiji, and so they blamed their creditors, the Fijians, or the propaganda of 'Emster Hall'. Their 'generalship', far from rising to the occasion, deteriorated with their optimism. Richard Philip put down the failure of many planters to the initial lack of capital, which led in turn to the mortgage of crops and their plantations to Levuka storekeepers at high rates of interest.¹ The extensive land claims, originating in foreclosures on mortgages, made by the firm of F. & W. Hennings, bear out the truth of his assumption.² Anxiety, boredom, and the counter-attraction of Levuka led to a spiral of neglect, extravagance and inefficiency. 'The men, instead of being on their plantations', wrote Philip, 'were often half the year in Levuka, spending money and drinking gin the place being left to the tender mercies of an overseer. That is the way with the great majority of the planters'.³

-
1. Richard Philip, 'My Diary'. November 1872.
 2. See S.P.F. [C 3584] 1883, Gordon to the Colonial Office, 27 February 1883 Enclosure No. 5, for a complete list of Hennings Claims, a total of 53.
 3. Richard Philip, 'My Diary' November 1872.

The overseers, like Turpin, fared no better. In December 1871 he took a long look at his fortunes:

This Diary has been kept one year and in a pecuniary point of view I am worse off than last year, but I have much to be thankful for I have health and strength and though I frequently grumble and complain I know I am doing wrong as many more are worse off than I am. I often try hard to become better and better.

By 1872 it was impossible to disguise the fact that Fiji did not offer a rapid road to wealth. The chance to cash in on a 'rush', if it ever existed, was over. Success would depend on diversification of crops, hard work and good management. This was not what most settlers had come for. Philip, who had migrated from Ireland to the Victoria of the gold rushes in search of elusive wealth, and finally to Fiji, speaks for the majority:

... for the first time since I had left home, I began to think seriously of returning to my own people again. Here was I at the end of the earth, having come to seek for a fortune; and I have only found out that, go where you will, life is nothing but a struggle to live. Here is Graham, on the Rewa, in a savage land, surrounded by cannibals, thousands of miles away from anything like civilisation and it is just the same drudgery and continuous labour that it would be if he were in the very heart of London... what is the good of my living here at the back of beyond. I can live at home: for as to making a fortune that is all moonshine I fear, why should I not subsist at home as well as in this place? ²

1. E.J. Turpin, 'Diary and Narratives', 15 December 1871.

2. R. Philip, 'My Diary', November 1872.

For those more tenacious, or able to think in terms of crop diversification and a slow struggle for economic survival, security of tenure was essential. Without that, long-term planning was impossible. Land tenure however, was something which depended ultimately on the maintenance of successful race-relations, which was not easily compatible with the objective of cultural exclusiveness. Land which had been sold because arms were needed and land was the only thing available to sell was jealously watched by the vendors. When settlers abandoned their plantations the land was speedily reoccupied, often permanently.¹ In Levuka, the fact that Europeans were heavily outnumbered, and that the Fijians were armed as well as the settlers, could be forgotten in convivial oblivion. Alone, settlers found it difficult to escape the fear which formed a permanent undercurrent to outward optimism and confidence. 'Our first thought was "the Lovoni men are come"², said the nervous editor of the Fiji Times, awakened on a still Levuka night by the sound of someone attempting to shoot a dog³, "and the massacre, which we always dread, and which we imagine is to be accompanied by all the atrocities of the Indian Mutiny, had already commenced".⁴ The massacre never took place. Instead, from 1868 to 1874 there was a state of troubled peace, marked by attacks by Fijians on isolated planters, and by punitive expeditions, clubbings on one side, floggings on the other, clandestine arson and

1. In cases where this had happened the Land Claims Commission almost invariably refused a Crown Grant to the European claimant on grounds of 'adverse occupation by natives'.

2. Fiji Times, 11 February 1871.

murder answered by visits from warships when available, the confiscation of land and expressions of communal indignation. The troubled peace was a measure of the precarious balance between the myth of dominance and progress which the settlers were able to believe in collectively, and the concessions to ^{the} reality of acculturation which most of them made as individuals.

The realisation of the superior force which the Fijians of any locality had at their disposal, and the conflict in planters' minds caused by the need to recognise this fact, and yet to sustain the myth of their own dominance, is shown in detail by E.J. Turpin, late in 1871, on the island of Gages:

3 Nov. 1871 I had tabu'd the house and kitchen from Ratu na kete this morning 8 a.m. he came up in a swaggering way and went into the kitchen. I at once went in and told him to go out; he would not I pushed him very gently piece by piece out, till he came to the door when he refused to go further and caught me by the arm I shook him off he gave the war hoop and up rushed the remainder of the men. I spoke to them very earnestly but Ratu na kete was awfully insolent telling me it was not my land but Tui Cakau's that I was only a poor man etc. I went into the house and a few minutes after he Ratu na kete went into the kitchen again I went and told him to go out... he refused saying I was to put him out if I could at the same time raising his 15 in. knife to his shoulder.

It was a symbolic moment, repeated on a larger or smaller scale on many occasions, and with similar results, throughout the group in

the months that followed:

I glanced round and saw by the looks and behaviour of the crowd that I would have to fight the crowd, so wisely refrained, and, swallowing the bitter pill, I went into the house.

There, Turpin wrote a letter to his only possible defender, Tui Cakau.

He also noted that he had no ammunition left for his revolver:

10 p.m. I think they are prowling round the house and intend mischief, if anything happens to me the friend who reads this will know that my opinion as to the cause of this affair, is that the Vuna Vuna massacre has never been settled properly¹ and the difference in the Fijian character since then has been to me alarming good night - I am going to bed but not to sleep.²

Settlers spent many sleepless nights in Fiji that year, as it became clear to them that the lands they had bought had been sold to them for immediate material advantages or for long term strategic ones. In neither case was their position an enviable one. Hardly a week passed in the last half of 1870 or the first half of 1871 without news of a planter's house being burnt, his wife terrified, or occasionally himself being buturakai'd or jumped upon until senseless. As the Fijians were well-armed, retaliation was difficult, and planters in some areas tried to impose a boycott on trading in firearms. Even this, however, had its

-
1. I have no record of this event, either in Turpin's diary, or the other records of the period, but isolated attacks on planters were frequent about this time and it may have been otherwise unrecorded.
 2. E.J. Turpin, Diary, 3 November 1871.

disadvantages because it meant the sacrifice of Fijian forbearance.

R.S. Leefe wrote:

The planters on this coast [Raki Raki] have proved this to be the case. Messrs. St. John, Jennings, as well as Mr. Andrews and myself, abstained during the whole of 1869 from giving any Viti Levu man any arms or ammunition ... I know well in my own case I should have much more action in, had I acted differently.¹

Though the settlers were at a disadvantage militarily, there were many of them, perhaps the majority in the self-confident glow of the Great Fiji Rush, who believed that aggressive action would provide a solution to their predicament. 'We are not in any way on a par with New Zealand' wrote one settler, '... All experience shows that whites can defend themselves if allowed to do so.'² This feeling led, with the onset of economic decline, to a growth in popularity of punitive expeditions. As punishments they were usually ineffective; their usual result was further assaults on European lives and property by way of retaliation, and though the immediate effect was an improvement in European morale the eventual result was a feeling of military impotence.

The best documented example of this typical cycle of events was the aftermath of the murder of Spiers and Mackintosh on the Ba river in July 1871. The reports of the incident in the Fiji Times and the efforts of J.L. Kennedy to obtain support in Levuka resulted in the

1. F.T., 9 April 1870.

2. F.T., 26 March 1870.

whole able-bodied male population in each district volunteering to take part in a punitive expedition.¹ G.W.H. Markham was one of the Nadi settlers who assembled at the mouth of the Ba river with the volunteers from the other districts on 24 August 1871,² together with about one third of those who had given their names as volunteers. The little force found itself caught between myth and reality. They were realistic enough to know that military success depended upon obtaining the support of Tui Ba, and Markham was one of a deputation sent to ask for his support. The answer, however, was discouraging. 'He would promise nothing but said he would see. This news decided the Nadi men and several others not to go.'³ At the same time they believed in white supremacy enough to agree to abide by a majority decision. The Nadi settlers were outvoted and it was decided to proceed, though seventeen more dropped out at this stage. James Toutant Proctor of Ba was elected leader of the force. 'He had seen a good deal of service in the American war, having held a commission in the confederate army and lost a leg at the battle of Chancellorsville.'⁴

Burged of the faint-hearted, the Quixotic force with its one-legged captain marched into the interior to meet the foe. Markham

1. Their names were published district by district in the Fiji Times on 17 August, in effect the earliest gazetteer available.
2. F.T., 30 August 1871.
3. G.W.H. Markham, Diary, 24 August 1871.
4. Ibid.

captures the spirit of adventure and youthful enthusiasm on the sunny morning of 24 August 1874. They halted for a midday meal by a tributary of the Ra. 'Here Laka (the captain of our company [i.e. the Fadi son]) flashed his maiden sword by killing a snake.'¹ On 27 August they reached their objective, the village of 'Ra Thumba', from whence they believed the murderers of Spiers and Mackintosh had come. They found it empty, but set fire to it by way of reprisal, and commenced to retire. Markham's section became separated from the rest and took up a defensive position for the night. They were immediately attacked. Markham confides his reaction to his first experience of battle: 'This was the first time I had ever had a shot fired at me, and I don't deny that I bobbed my head smartly at first', but soon the superior moral fibre of the Anglo-Saxon began to tell. 'This wore off after a while and the only feeling was an intense desire to knock one of the screaming beggars over'.² Markham's party was surrounded, but organisation on the Fijian side seems to have been just as poor as on the settlers' side. They were allowed to retreat and rejoined the main body. 'Here' the diary continues, 'we found things in a state of considerable confusion. Proctor shouting out orders, and some remonstrating, others directly disobeying. All this time the mountaineers were closing round, but still we could not hit one'.³

1. G.W.H. Markham, *Diary*, 24 August 1874.

2. G.W.H. Markham, *Diary*, 27 August 1874.

3. Ibid.

It was not until rain and total darkness made a Fijian attack impossible, that the punitive expedition was able to retreat to safety. Markham's final comment for 27 August is revealing:

Proctor made us a speech and we gave him three cheers and then disbanded and so ended the Ba expedition. It is difficult to say what the results may be, or what may be the moral effect produced on the natives. We certainly showed the mountaineers that white men could march into the mountains, although they said we could not. We also certainly killed and wounded a good many of them without any loss on our side which I believe is a great point in Fijian warfare. But in spite of these considerations the impression remains on my mind and I fancy on the minds of all those who voted against going, that we were neither numerically strong enough nor sufficiently organised, and ought never to have gone.¹

Confirmation of his judgement was not slow in coming. The expedition of 1871 proved to be merely the first of a series of attempts on the part of the settlers, the Cakobau government and the Colonial government itself to conquer the mountaineers of central Viti Levu. The Colonial government had only a limited budget, but it was supported by the Fijian people as a whole, which proved the key to final success.

Without overwhelming force, successful settlement depended ultimately on Fijian interests being served, just as successful trade had depended on a reciprocal bargain. Initially, Fijian chiefs had sold land to settlers for their own protection and they were content to maintain them in possession as long as it suited them to do so. The same considerations applied to the provision of labour, the third basic

1. G.W.H. Markham, *Diary*, 27 August 1871.

ingredient, after high cotton prices and cheap land, in the economic foundation of the new culture. It seemed at first that this could be obtained, like land, by agreement with the local chief alone. Consul Jones reported, in 1867, that there were cases of harsh treatment of Fijian labourers but 'This is not self-defeating as you might expect because if the settler succeeds in maintaining good relations with the chief, the labourers can be forced to work for him and compel them to remain in their service as long as the white employer pays the chief'.¹ It is probable that the repeated payments made to the chiefs who sold land were not always made, as the settlers usually claimed before the Land Claims Commission, in order to settle boundary disputes, since very little of the area purchased was usually cultivated. It is likely that they were made in order to obtain a continued supply of labour.

Fijian motives in the transaction however, were the maintenance of military strength through the acquisition of European trade, and the provision of labour was only one way in which this could be done. It was not necessarily the quickest or the easiest. Often it was simpler just to take what was wanted. More than one planter who wanted to abandon his land was compelled by force to remain for the sake of his 'van' or wealth.² Another way was to steal the cotton and sell it.

1. G. M. Jones to Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 18 July 1867.

2. See above Chapter 4, p. 179.

In 1869 a frustrated Newa settler complained:

I am a planter, and if the natives in my district get hard up for trade and drive me off my land for my cotton's sake I will take my own revenge, as I am a British subject and have no other redress. ¹

Even if the goodwill of the chief of a particular district could be retained when the initial contingency which induced him to sell land had been removed, there were limits to his authority over his subjects once they were engaged as labourers, especially when they were transferred to another district. At the same time, though the planter who obtained labourers from another district protected himself against their sudden disappearance at crucial times of the year at their chief's request, he was unable to rely on the authority of his own local chief as an effective substitute as an agent of coercion. In April 1871 an attempt was made by some of the planters at Vuna point, Taveuni, to induce the men they had engaged from the Ra coast to 'sign on' for a second year's engagement. The men refused to do so, and it was reported that others were running away. Tarte, Kingston and Robson in the same area lost thirteen men they had engaged only three months beforehand. They borrowed a boat belonging to Wilson, Hamilton & Co., and sailed it to Vanua Levu. Other planters told the same story, in fact 'there has been a regular stampede of the sable people'. It was noted too,

1. F.T., 20 November 1869. This reference to the futility of depending on the virtue of being a British Subject is understandable in view of the 'Challenger Incident' the previous year. See above p.

that Labi Kabi, the chief of the Ra coast, had recently met death at the hands of his subjects. 'It is the opinion of many of the Vuna point planters' the report concluded, 'that "good-bye" may be said to Ra coast labour.'¹

A year later, the editor of the Fiji Times generalised philosophically about the limitations of using Fijian labour and, now that it did not pay, found excellent humanitarian reasons for doing so:

The system is a mistake. How are the natives obtained but by a mode the very essence of slavery itself. A chief sends down to a minor chief for men and his demands must be met. The men are obtained. They have to go because their chiefs say they must, and for the nonce they submit. Then planters complain of men for whose services they have paid high rates, but who will not work and are a constant source of trouble and annoyance to their employers.²

The editor went on to suggest that the labourers should be allowed to make their own arrangements, and not be subject to the will of their chiefs. Most planters however, would have felt that this was throwing the baby out with the bathwater. It was hard enough, with the help of chiefly coercion, to obtain labourers; without it, it was impossible. Fijian labour continued to be used on plantations, but by the time the cotton boom had reached its height most planters were agreed that Fijians could only be persuaded to do 'short jobs' and then only at comparatively high wages, 1s. per day, or 18d. in Levuka.³

1. F.I., 8 April 1871.

2. F.I., 22 May 1872.

3. Town & Country Journal, 5 August 1871.

If Fiji was to become a 'white man's country' and the Fijians could not be persuaded to co-operate, then it was necessary that labour should be imported. Suggestions were made from time to time that Chinese or Indian labour should be obtained, but the immediate alternative sources of supply were the other islands of the Pacific, especially the Tokelau Islands, the Solomons and the New Hebrides. Consul Jones reported in 1864 that as cotton cultivation extended the local supply of labour was becoming inadequate:

The natives although sufficiently numerous cannot yet accustom themselves to the habits of regular industry and are frequently found wanting at the seasons when the cotton crop is requiring attention... The planters are anxious to import from the New Hebrides - a group of islands some three days' sail to the westward of Fiji - two hundred of the natives of Tanna, a race of people who already in Queensland and New Caledonia have proved themselves to be patient and laborious.

Jones went on to say how he believed that the importation of labour from the New Hebrides would set the Fijians a good example, in which he proved mistaken, and that abuses would inevitably arise, in which he proved correct. He asked for his authority to be extended to include the New Hebrides accordingly.

The requested authority was withheld, but the trade expanded and the Consul's powers of regulation were limited to an attempted

1. G.L. Jones to Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 9 November 1864.

supervision of the labourers as passengers on British ships. J.B. Thurston, Jones' deputy and then successor as Acting-Consul, began by taking a favourable view of the trade as it was being conducted. On one occasion he reported that some men from the New Hebrides who had engaged to work in Fiji for two years had elected to remain for three. He questioned whether they understood the value of the goods they received in payment, but said 'They appear My Lord quite happy to exchange the miserable life passed on their own islands, which according to mission reports is one of utter privation, fear and savagery, for a more peaceful and better-fed existence in Fiji'.¹

A year later he was less optimistic about the results of the trade. It was passing out of the hands of experienced part-Europeans, anxious to achieve a continuing commercial relationship, because they lacked alternatives, into the hands of colonial entrepreneurs, anxious to make a quick profit. 'Now' said Thurston, 'men with a little money are arriving so rapidly, that no difficulty is likely to be found in procuring unscrupulous persons to obtain natives at any risk if well paid for it and therefore I am of opinion the traffic should be peremptorily stopped, if it cannot be legalized and placed under supervision'.² He gave the example of the Anna of Malbourns, which

1. C.L., Thurston to Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 9 November 1863.

2. C.L., Thurston to Lambert, 23 March 1869.

had sailed to the Kingsmill Islands for labourers, and instead of bringing them to Levuka for his inspection had discharged them at the mouth of the Rewa. 'From all I can learn', he added, 'her whole voyage may be characterised as a drunken disorderly adventure'.¹ Because the trade was conducted beyond the reach of the forces of law and order it inevitably attracted unscrupulous characters, men like Benjamin Pease, an American citizen, and captain of the armed brigantine Waterlily, - who spent his time cruising around the Kingsmill group robbing oil stations and kidnapping the inhabitants.² Thurston complained that settlers were determined to procure labour, at any risk, 'even in effect dissimulating the national character of their ships', to evade consular control. The man he accused of this practice was the leader of the Wesleyan mission in Fiji, partner of Ernest Logan on Tavuni and of J.C. Smith in Levuka, William Marshall Moore. He was active in the internal labour trade as early as October 1868, when an advertisement appeared in the Fijian Weekly News and Planter's Journal offering good acres of land at Vuna point, Tavuni: 'Anyone purchasing the above land can be supplied with Fijian labour at £1 per head'.³ On 26 February 1869 he purchased the Mary Ann Christina, a Lyttelton vessel, for £750 in order to use her in the

1. G.L., Thurston to Lambert, 23 March 1869.

2. G.L., Thurston to Lambert, 3 June 1869.

3. Fijian Weekly News and Planter's Journal, 14 October 1868.

labour trade. He then made a fictitious sale to Achilles Underwood, who had just been burnt out on the Sigatoka and had no ready cash at all. Thurston questioned Underwood, who was an American citizen, and Underwood explained that he had 'given his bill' for the amount.¹ The Mary Ann Christina sailed for the Kingsmill group on 24 March carrying both British and American flags and registration papers, and returned in May 1869. Thurston heard that she had landed a cargo of labourers on the south end of Taveuni before sailing on to Levuka.² Another scheme which served the purpose of evading consular surveillance equally well was the device of mock shipwreck. The schooner Maafu, for example, ran aground near the mouth of the Rewa on a return trip from Tana with sixty-four labourers aboard. They stepped ashore unobserved, and the Maafu proved to be unscathed.³

It is probable that, like the passenger traffic, the labour trade was an aspect of the cotton boom which generally returned a profit to its investors, and it was a subject of intense interest among the planters. In 1871 the future of settlement indeed depended upon it. 'In the very hotels the subject of conversation is frequently the merits of 'Line' or 'Solomon Islands' or 'New Hebrides' labour. Native

1. C.L., Thurston to Lambert, 23 March 1869.

2. C.L., Thurston to Lambert 3 June 1869.

3. Kofo, 11 June 1870.

labour is the great want, the great worry, and the great expense to the planter, who stands in the same relation to Fiji as the gold miner to Ballarat.¹ A total of 1700 labourers were recorded as being imported from other groups in 1870, followed by 2275 more in 1871.² The trade proved an important means of profit for numerous colonial coasters which would otherwise have carried wheat or coal on the Australian coast, or perhaps lain idle in the economic lull between the Poverty Bay massacre and the beginning of the Vogel boom in New Zealand. The costs and receipts of one recruiting voyage were given by a man who claimed to have sailed on the schooner Enterprise as a passenger. The voyage, to the New Hebrides, lasted thirty-four days and the vessel returned with thirty-five recruits who were disposed of to planters for a sum of £490 or £14 per head. Expenditure was listed as follows:

Charter of Schooner	£100	0	0	³
Captain	22	10	0	
Mate	15	0	0	
Sailors	18	0	0	⁴
Food, fuel etc.	45	0	0	
Trade (in exchange for labour, yams, etc.)	20	0	0	
'Catcher' (£1 per head)	35	0	0	5
	<hr/>			
	£255	10	0	

1. F.I., 9 September 1871.

2. F.I., 6 January 1872.

3. The reporter includes this interesting item of information while at the same time pointing out that in the case of the Enterprise there was no charter, she was operated by her owners. Town & Country Journal, 5 August 1871.

4. Elsewhere (Town & Country Journal, 19 August 1871) this reporter gives the rate of pay for an ordinary sailor signed on in Levuka as £4 per month. The Enterprise therefore probably had a crew of 4 sailors. @ some vessels it was the custom for the whole crew to work on shares of the profits of the voyage. Ibid.

5. The 'Catcher' corresponded to the 'supercargo' on a normal voyage.

The profit for the voyage was then £235.

The Catcher's method was to go ashore in a whale-boat with half the crew, well-armed, and supplied with a few articles of trade. In a hitherto unexploited area he would begin by trading for provisions until a large number of natives were attracted. When his supply of goods was exhausted he would begin to explain that such rewards were easily obtained by those who consented to work for three years on a plantation. There were occasions when victors in inter-tribal wars were persuaded to dispose of their prisoners to recruiting vessels, and when canoes full of natives were run down and then 'rescued', but on the whole the techniques of recruitment will bear comparison with those employed in the sandalwood trade, and self-interest imposed the same restraints.¹

By 1871 it was much easier to induce labourers to go to Queensland than Fiji and this led to deliberate fraud on the part of Fiji 'catchers' who led natives to believe that Queensland was their destination. Cronquist gives details of one such transaction by the catcher of the schooner Trident:

Such was the scheme, and whereas not one would have embarked had they known their destination was the Fijis there was comparatively little trouble to induce thirty-three, the highest number we could accommodate, to go on board... For these thirty-three men, two chiefs received two muskets, three tomahawks, four knives, six yards of calico, six pipes and 3 lb. of tobacco, value altogether about £3. ²

-
1. S.F. D. Shineberg, They Came for Sandalwood, especially Chapter 13 and D. Scarr 'Recruits and Recruiters', Journal of Pacific History Vol. 2, 1967.
 2. Town and Country Journal, 19 August 1871.

The trade not only provided employment for colonial shipping during the southern winter but stimulated the local ship-building industry in Levuka. Matthew Simpson, son of William Simpson, sailed the Tui Tawaki between Tana and Kadavu under the Fijian flag,¹ and the Cave brothers of Dreketi had a schooner built for the labour trade by John Bell of Levuka 'unsurpassed by any imported craft for speed and carrying capacity combined'.² Few settlers could afford their own vessels, but it was a common practice for a number of planters to cooperate in the purchase or charter of a vessel for their joint requirements. The 'Planters' Company' founded in November 1869 was such a venture, consisting of five original members, W.M. Kinross, Joseph Glenn, W.B. Fitzgibbon, J.F. Smith and George Lee, formed with the object of purchasing a vessel to keep them all supplied with labour.³

The island of Tana, with its surplus of young men, anxious to widen their experience and increase their wealth, was the most popular source of supply, but unlike cane-cutting, cotton cultivation provided not only heavy work, as in clearing, for which young men were necessary, but also the lighter tasks of weeding, and especially picking, for which women and children were quite satisfactory and also cheaper to engage and

1. C.L., Mitchell to Chapman, 17 July 1873.

2. F.I., 31 December 1870.

3. F.I., 13 November 1869.

feed. Richard Philip's comment, in 1872, was that the women from the Tokelau islands were particularly popular 'when young they are rather good-looking and seem intelligent, but they are not very strong and don't wear well'.¹ Forbes mentions a Taveuni plantation of 150 acres 'tended by a number of little 'Tokelau' children, from eight to ten years old, who had come to Fiji with their parents.'² The variety in methods of recruitment, periods of contract and sources of supply meant that it was normal for a plantation to be worked with an ethnically mixed work force of both sexes. The Toko Soko plantation, for example, owned in 1874 by Mr. Manuelle, the Levuka bookseller, on the Navua river, contained fifty acres under cultivation. It was worked by fourteen Api islanders, one Tanese, two Florida islanders and four Tokelau islanders. They had arrived on three separate vessels, the Swallow, Kate Grant and Kestrel. Working hours were from six in the morning till six at night, with one and a half hours off in the middle of the day, and they were paid on a piece-work basis.³ It was considered by some planters to be a wise precaution to have a heterogeneous work force, and to place people who spoke different languages in the same sleeping accommodation so as to minimise the possibility of conspiracy.⁴

1. Philip, 'My Diary', November 1872.

2. L. Forbes, Two Years in Fiji, p. 58.

3. In Thugs Papers MS, Folio 41.

4. Town and Country Journal, 5 August 1871

The work accomplished by the labourers depended largely on the success with which the planter or overseer managed them. Harshness, though common, was not generally the most productive policy. One planter, who described himself in 1868 as 'An Old Identity here' gave his own recipe for success:

I firmly believe 25 men properly handled - that is overlooked for eight hours a day... will do the work of double the number, if the owner does not do as some gentlemen, take tracts or a novel with them when shepherding the coloured gents at their work... So I will sum up what I believe to be good advice to new chums. A medium amount of capital is required. Do not drive your men, but keep them at it for eight hours; give them plenty to eat, but make them work, and as you will find that it takes your undivided attention to see that they do so, leave light or serious literature at home... and after the above hours overlooking, you can retire with a clear conscience into the bosom of your family, if you have one; if not, do the best you can.¹

Imported labour thus proved more expensive; but more reliable and it must have seemed to newcomers that it would soon be possible by this means to establish a planter society as in northern Queensland on the basis of a source of labour which protected them from further involvement with the Fijian people. The Fijians, however, though they did not take kindly to working themselves, objected strongly when they saw the trade which they valued, and for which their land had been sold, being paid into the hands of imported labourers.

1. Fijian Weekly News and Planter's Journal, 21 November 1868.

Instances of Fijians venting their hostility to settlement by attacks on imported labourers were common. G. Fitzsimmons and C. Ryan of Tavunai, for example, complained in December 1871 that some of their imported labourers had been murdered by local Fijians, who had since tried to sabotage the operations of the plantation.¹

The employment of foreign labour therefore committed many planters to Fijian enmity and this in turn made them dependant on their imported labour force for their own safety. To many planters, whose labourers had been brought to Fiji under false pretences, this must have been small comfort, but while economic conditions remained buoyant and imported labourers were well-fed and regularly paid, others found their loyalty valuable. Most punitive expeditions in 1871 included a large contingent of imported labourers, and Markham records the enthusiasm of Maria, a young Tokelau island girl who, when a Fijian attack was expected, provided herself with a large knife, joined the defenders within the house, struck a loud blow on the lali and 'pronounced herself ready, nay eager to meet t e foe.'²

From 1871 onwards, however, the economic condition of most planters deteriorated beyond the point at which such a relationship could be maintained. Labour grew more expensive, while the price of cotton fell.

1. Miscellaneous Correspondence, British Consulate, 11 December 1871.

2. G.W.H. Markham, Diary, 3 October 1871.

Cronquist wrote in 1871 that:

On islands where the kidnapper or 'labour' trader has made little or no inroad, you may obtain a pig weighing 80 lb. for a knife or half a pound of tobacco; 100 yams for ten sticks of Barrett's twist, and cocoa nuts in large quantities for one penny's worth of beads; while on other islands where 'civilisation' has stepped in ... the prices are quadrupled, and in some instances ten times multiplied.¹

J.B. Thurston, who went on a 'labour cruise' about the same time, noted the same process. Where a few years before hardly a word of English had been spoken, the use of English 'of a kind' was now universal throughout the New Hebrides. The population was familiar with goods manufactured in Birmingham and Manchester and everywhere there was evidence of what Thurston called the 'wonderful permeating force' of British civilisation.² But the unavoidable concomitant of material civilisation was sophistication. More often now, the catcher's patter fell on cynical ears and the differences between the unremitting toil of Fiji and the bright lights of Queensland were now well known. Thurston wrote in his diary, 'In three years' time, no labour will be procurable from any of these islands to Fiji - at least, that is my opinion, so we, in Fiji, must "make hay" while the sun shines.'³

1. Town and Country Journal, 5 August 1871.

2. Thurston to Hope. Letter Journals of Captain H.W. Hope of H.M.S. Briak, 6 September 1871.

3. Thurston, Journal, 6 May 1871.

'Making hay' in many cases, meant trying to get maximum work out of the labourers with ~~the~~ minimum cost. Cronquist records the case of the 'Yankee' overseer on a Newa plantation which can be identified as that belonging to the Reece brothers of Christchurch. He believed in keeping the men at their work. 'You see mister' he explained, 'a black man and a white man is quite different. You can reason with a white man but for a black fellow there is only one way to convince him - half a dozen good slaps of this when he least expects it'. 'And he showed me the thick weapon I had so often seen him wield over the poor savages' - But such treatment of imported labourers was only possible in areas which had been long settled, or in which, for other reasons, no Fijian attack was feared. At best it was a risky policy, and it was clear that the Yankee overseer found it necessary to be armed constantly and found it difficult to relax.¹ 'I always sleep with this here', were the last words I heard from him,' the report concluded.

In areas where security was lower, as in Ba and Nadi, relations with labourers had perforce to be more amicable. Insecurity, however, often went with poverty, and the ultimate ability to retain the service and loyalty of imported labourers was uncertain. A.S. Brewster quotes the

1. Town and Country Journal, 5 August 1871.

perceptive doggerel of Henry Britton, written in March 1872:

Heath a ragged palmetto a De Planter sat
 A twisting the bands of his Tokelau hat,
 and trying to lighten his mind of a load
 By humming the words of the following ode;
 Oh! for a nigger, and Oh! for a whip;
 Oh! for a cocktail and Oh! for a nip;
 Oh! for a shot at old Thurston and Woods;
 Oh! for a crack at their would-be if they could;
 Oh! for a captain and Oh! for a ship;
 Oh! for a cargo of niggers each trip
 And so he kept Oh-ing for all he had not
 Not content with owning for all he had got. ¹

Poverty and debt led speedily to poor food in attempts to economise. It led to more and more desperate attempts to recruit in the islands themselves, to broken contracts, when the time came for the men to be returned, and resentment which found expression by means ranging from passivity to arson and murder. Until about the middle of 1870 the only threat to settlers' security seemed to be the Fijians themselves, but from then on there were more and more attacks on Europeans by imported labourers.

The buoyant optimism of Levuka in August 1870 was disturbed by the arrival of a man whose real name was James McClure, also known as Jiszy 'Lasa Lasa', or Jimmy the liar, on the schooner Colleen Bawn, from the New Hebrides. He had left Levuka in an open boat with a planter named Norman, taking seventeen labourers who had been landed in Levuka from

1. cit. A.B. Brewster, King of the Cannibal Isles, p. 102.

Tana, to Norman's plantation near Savu Savu. A few hours after leaving Levuka the men mutinied, gained control of the boat and bound Norman prisoner. They ordered Jimmy to steer for Tana, which in view of the alternative he was happy to do. Norman was less fortunate. On the seventeenth day of the voyage, they ran out of food, so he was killed and eaten.¹ In December the same year twenty-one Solomon islanders escaped from the plantation of Messrs. Straug and Finlay on Taveuni, in a whale boat, put up their own mat sail and sailed for the Solomons 2000 miles away. Their first stop was the island of Namena, in the Fiji group, where they killed four Fijians by way of provisions for the voyage.² George Burt and Achilles Underwood transferred their labourers to Kadavu after the disaster on the Sigatoka river in 1869. By 1871 it was three years since they had been taken from Tana. Repeatedly they asked Underwood when the ship was coming to take them back. Underwood put them off as long as he could - but there would be no ship. The partners had raised all the money they could to send Burt to the United States, where he was trying to arouse the interest of Congress in their losses on the Sigatoka. The Tana men's patience lasted till March, then they killed Underwood.³ Burt stayed away for several years. Soon afterwards, William Golding, master of the ketch Edith, was murdered by the twelve men he had brought from Api, as she

1. E.T. 27 August 1870. Norman was an ex-grocer from Sandhurst, Victoria, Australasian, 3 September 1870.

2. E.T., 3 December 1870.

3. E.T., 29 March 1871.

lay off the beach at Vagadace,¹ and in October, Robson, Kingston and Warburton were killed and eaten by the Solomon islanders whom they were taking from Levuka to Taveuni in the cutter Mama.² Shortly afterwards Hulford and Thorne were similarly murdered aboard the Cambria³ and it was learnt that there had been a general attack on all European settlers on Tana and that only one of them, Ross Lewin, survived.⁴ Meanwhile, impecunious planters were persistently urged by the Consuls on the spot to fulfil their contracts, return their labourers and pay their wages.⁵ The European community began to feel that no one with a black skin could be trusted and at the same time, that it was in a state of moral siege, at the hands of the humanitarian and the ignorant. Articles in the English and colonial press, sermons from the pulpits of Sydney and Melbourne and letters to the editor condemned the Fiji planters as slave traders and exploiters of innocent savages. It seemed as if fate, after all, was against them. The Fiji Times

1. F.I., 21 June 1871.

2. Chief Secretary's Department, Victoria, B.C. Durt to Chief Secretary, Victoria, 25 November 1871, 71/Y15560.

3. F.I., 20 December 1871. 1871 ?

4. F.I., 2 September 1871. 1871 ?

5. C.L., Thurston to Scott, 15 March 1869. March to Emberson & Co., 25 October 1872.

complained:

Our labour vessels come in, sometimes minus the captain, or one or two of the crew killed by the natives while engaging labour. News comes from neighbouring islands of the settlers dead on their plantations - murdered by their labourers, and so on... In England the industrious mud-throwing of a large and powerful clique - the same clique that hunted poor Governor Eyre for years, thirsting for his life, has had its effect. They denounce the Fijian settlers, the quietest and most moderate set of men who ever inhabited a country without a government. †

In these conditions, the optimistic calculations of 1870 lost their meaning. The Land Claims Commission records show an almost universal picture of economic difficulties between 1871 and 1874. Those who started with only a little money were the worst off of all, for they could not raise the necessary credit to replant with coconuts when cotton prices fell or to live for the four years before the first nuts were ready. Some grew maize or yams to sell to more wealthy planters as food for labourers, or planted coffee or sugar in the hope of eventually selling their crops to others who were able to import the necessary machinery to prepare them for export. Many planters simply abandoned their land and worked for other people as overseers, or in the hotels and stores of Levuka, or sought government appointments. Others returned to the colonies. It was only those planters who had been firmly established in favoured areas before the calamities of 1871 who were able to survive until the newly planted coconuts began to bear.²

1. *E.L.L.* 9 September 1871.

2. *E.g.* L.C.C. 4 98,226.

The present day division in Fiji, between the copra-producing areas, eastern Vanua Levu, Taveuni and Lau, and the sugar-producing areas around the coast of Viti Levu, is largely a legacy of this period. In the east, the heirs of the original pioneers still operate plantations on land originally purchased from Tui Cakau before 1870. In Suva, Nadi and Sigatoka the Colonial Sugar Refining Company leases to Indian tenants the lands which the original purchasers were unable to hold. Personal accounts of the period give a uniform impression of privation and hardship. Philip wrote, in 1872:

I assure people that no one has any idea of the hardship and misery which numbers of cotton planters have had to go through. All of them have had to suffer these things at first. Some have struggled thro' these difficulties, and have succeeded in forming something like comfort around them, by building better houses, getting better furniture, rearing pigs and poultry and cultivating some other vegetables besides the yam, but many have succumbed to their hard lot - some are ruined for ever - some are dead. ¹

George Markham was one who showed greater resilience than most. In January 1872, while passing the time at Luke and Riddale's, a note arrived which, he says, 'gave a fair idea of the present state of the district in the matter of provisions'. It ran thus: 'Dear Luke as I have nothing to eat I am coming to dine with you this evening'.² In March he wrote 'we cooked our last piece of meat today'.³ In the 1860s it was possible for most settlers to obtain food from the Fijians, but now the myths of independence and dominance meant that to ask would

1. Philip 'My Diary', November 1872.

2. G.W.H. Markham, Diary, 15 January 1872.

3. Ibid., 14 March 1872.

have been humiliating, and in Nadi race-relations had by this time deteriorated to the point where refusal was not improbable. Instead of devoting his working days to supervising the cultivation of cotton Markham spent much time fishing in order to eat, or in gathering wild bananas.¹ In May 1872 he described himself as 'passing through one of the periods of semi-starvation prevalent on this coast at certain seasons'. Without money or credit it was impossible to obtain European food from the Levuka store-keepers or to retain many of the distinctive features of European life. 'I have no beef, no sugar, no flour, and very little tea', he wrote, 'my food is chiefly beans.'²

In spite of de Courcey Ireland's heavy initial investment at Ba in 1871 he ran into severe financial difficulty in 1873, largely because of his political and military pre-occupations. The partnership between himself and Pat Sullivan was dissolved in October 1873, creating a temporary opening for Markham as a junior partner,³ but finally, Ireland abandoned his land in 1875.⁴ Turpin, exiled on Laucala island as Macomber's overseer, was full of optimism at the beginning.

1. E.g. 2 March, 26 March, 1872.

2. E.g. 29 May, 1872.

3. *Ibid.*, 29 May 1872.

4. L.C.C. R1041.

of 1871. 'As soon as I can raise £100 to £200 I am off to New Zealand I hope it will not be long',¹ but he admitted too that the only money he had actually received from Macomber in the past year was £9.

The style of life described in these accounts was one which few European women wished to share, and many proved unable to do so. Turpin was proud to record in 1871, that 'Etty continues to enjoy general good health', but added that she complained sometimes of 'nervousness',² - that Victorian euphemism which could denote a variety of disorders ranging from pre-menstrual tension to schizophrenia. Others had not done so well. 'The foreign ladies in Fiji seem as a rule to enjoy very bad health several have died lately among them'.³ These included, in 1871, Mrs. McConnell and Mrs. Holmes of Taveuni, Mrs. Elphinstone of Vanua Levu, and Mary Kinross, the hostess of Vatu Were in Viti Levu Bay, who died in May 1871 at the age of 27.⁴ The most common causes of death were childbirth and dysentery. 'Nervousness' led usually to departure rather than death. It was the result of the increasing gulf between the style of life which the optimism of 1870 had led women to expect and the extended penury to which they were forced to resign themselves. It proved, in the end, too much even for Etty. It was in November 1874

1. E.J. Turpin, 'Diary and Narratives', 21 January 1871.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid. 31 May 1871.

that Turpin recorded that she 'had the brain fever very bad she was out of her senses for 16 days'.¹

Others did not remain so long. By the end of 1871 the passenger lists of ships returning to New Zealand and Australia were already beginning to lengthen, even though new migrants were still arriving in large numbers. The lists included many of the brides of 1870 and the wives and families who had hopefully joined pioneering partners to escape poverty in Australia. From May 1871 to November 1872 was a slack-water time in the migratory tide; 117 women arrived in Levuka, 23.6% of the total of 570 arrivals, but 97 returned, 24.8% of the total of 438 who went back. From December 1872 to June 1874 72 women arrived, 26.1% of the total 343, but 99 women went back, 31.01% of 386.²

The planters were left alone once more, their wives gone and their debts mounting. The pianos and glass-fronted bookcases, and the brass bed-steads which had been ostentatiously unloaded to stand glinting in the sun on the Levuka beach in 1870, now gathered dust in the warehouses of the auctioneers whose lists appeared in local press.³ It was clear by then that the planters' myth was due for re-appraisal. Fiji was not to be another Victoria or New South Wales, nor was it to become ^{part} of Anglo-Saxondom. It was to develop instead a distinctive pattern of culture and race-relations

1. E.J. Turpin, 'Diary and Narratives', 18 January 1875.

2. See Appendix 3.

3. E.g. F.I., 11 December 1872, 25 December 1872, 25 January 1873, 9 July 1873.

of its own.

A factor of great importance in the process of acculturation was the sexual needs of the settlers and the response to them on the part of the Pacific Islanders with whom they came in contact. Co-habitation with Fijian women was often compatible with outward manifestations of extreme racial prejudice. Pickering, the 'White man of Asua', is said to have taken a part-European woman into his household in order to prevent her marriage to a Fijian which was 'totally opposed to Charlie Pickering's morals'.¹ The practical continuance of such relationships, however, depended on remaining on reasonable terms with the woman's relations, a consideration which G.H. Burt, for example, overlooked at the expense of his plantation. In itself, miscegenation seems therefore to have been a factor working for racial tolerance. Papers relating to the deceased estates of early settlers in the British consular records show that they generally sought to provide for their Fijian wives (whether legally married to them or not) and for their families, to the best of their ability, and that they were proud of their children.² The Fijian attitude to the question was pragmatic. Ma'afu, for example, in 1871 pointed out that in view of the greatly increased rate of European migration the number of Fijian women who would become the wives of settlers would inevitably increase and he expected his subjects to

1. Australasian, 10 November 1866.

2. E.g. C.L. Owen to Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 25 June 1863, discussing the affairs of John Rotherham.

take this into account and to anticipate such problems as might arise.¹ It was not, then, the attitude of the male settlers, nor the Fijian authorities, but the arrival in Fiji of an influential number of European women which led to developing racial antagonism. Nor did the matter rest there. As planters sought to free themselves economically from dependence on their Fijian environment, and as they came to rely on their imported labourers for physical protection, so too they came to depend on the women-folk of other islands, especially from Polynesia and Micronesia, to comfort their beds, and, increasingly, their mats, and this was undoubtedly an element in the remarkable antagonism displayed by the Fijians towards the new interlopers from the north.

For though it is likely that many European women never overcome the aversion suggested by their comments on the domestic situation which they discovered on their arrival, the contagious effect of their attitude on the male European community proved to be transitory. In 1870, the newest arrivals regarded their predecessors who had dark-skinned domestic partners as cultural renegades, but even in public the attitude of most settlers was far from consistent. Forbes, who sought to reassure his Australasian and British readers that miscegenation was on the decline,

1. *L.I.*, 20 August 1870.

nevertheless regarded the household of one whom he described as a 'bachelor planter', who lived with a Samoan girl of 17, with tolerance, and deprecated the contemporary attitude of moral condemnation.¹ Another planter regretted that his Victorian conception of romantic love did not quite fit the facts of his cultural environment, and expressed his emotional frustration in verse:

We tread the same path with our feet,
Our eyes may speak, our lips may meet,
Our hearts have no harmonious beat

Thou canst not love me sable maid
Our lives in different lines are laid
In diverse plains our minds are stayed.

At the same time he was fully appreciative of the physical attractions of his 'Dark Dryad of the Coral Isle':

No useless raiment veils thy shape
Thou hast no gay pretence to ape
And no deformity to drape

Yet when mine eyes with thine have met
How sweet the hard truth to forget -
That thou but seek'st what thou canst get.²

The versifying planter remains anonymous, but Henry Britton, the correspondent of the Melbourne Argus, who publicly rejoiced in 'the

1. L. Forbes, Two Years in Fiji, pp. 95-96.

2. E.I., 28 March 1874.

progress of the Anglo-Saxon race in Australasia, and the gradual advance of the frontier of civilisation throughout ... Central Polynesia',¹ showed that he too had a sexual chink in his cultural armour plate. Later, back in Melbourne, he allowed himself the indulgence of a pocket romance, inspired by his days in Fiji - Loloma, or Two Years in Cannibal Land,² in which the hero (it is written in the first person), gets wrecked on Viti Levu in the early part of the nineteenth century, and gets saved, after a hair's breadth escape from the oven, by 'Loloma', a Fijian 'princess', who was, happily for his Anglo-Saxon readers in 1883, 'not darker than a Spanish-born gypsy'.³ They get married, and after two years of inter-tribal warfare, in which Britton's tribe always wins, Loloma dies from an arrow wound so that the hero can leave on a passing ship without presenting the reader with a moral dilemma.

The arrival of European women in considerable numbers from 1868 to 1872 must have spoilt many such daydreams on the part of lonely settlers who would otherwise have translated them into action as their predecessors had done. With the fall in the price of cotton and the ebbing tide of feminine migration, many were free to do so. By 1871 many had succumbed

1. H. Britton, Fiji in 1870, p. 73.

2. Published by S. Millen, London and Melbourne 1883. Events in the novel seem to bear some relation to the actual careers of two early settlers, J.S. Danford and William Diaper. Both were alive in 1870 and Danford was then in Fiji. Britton's book might prove useful as a biographical source.

3. H. Britton, Loloma, p. 46.

to their environment. 'More than one third of the unmarried owners' said one writer, 'are living with coloured women, generally from Samoa or the Line Islands',¹ while one married planter in Vavua Levu maintained both a white wife from New Zealand and a Tokelau islander, until the white wife died. The Tokelau islander then replaced her, and when cotton failed the family moved to the Line islands.²

In many cases, however, the frailty of the flesh and the hardness of the head were conducive to the same kind of action towards Fijian society. As the planters' prosperity declined, the settlers who remained apparently solvent were not, as a rule, those who acted on the belief that Fiji was destined to become a 'white man's country', but those who, no matter what crops they grew or who they employed, continued to regard the preservation of good relations with the Fijians as important. Many problems were solved by those who recognised the local validity of Fijian attitudes to property and social obligation, who recognised the power and authority of the chiefs, and were prepared to act accordingly.

It was in the areas of greatest political security in Fijian terms, where the local authority of the chiefs was greatest, that the option to

-
1. Island and Country Journal, 29 July 1871/ The preference for Polynesian women was general, and this may have accounted in part for the easier race relations in Lau than in some areas of Viti Levu. In Lau there was a strong Tongan element in the population, and planters therefore had little inducement to seek imported mistresses, to the detriment of local race-relations. It is possibly significant that planters in Lau and Tavuni generally obtained their labourers from the New Hebrides. In Nadi, on the other hand, where settlers may have found the local women less attractive, there was a marked preference for Tokelau islanders, and local race-relations were extremely tense.
 2. Turpin's diary and narratives, 1857. Turpin gives the planter as Exxxxxe - probably Elphinstone, formerly of Christchurch whose wife died in 1871.

act in this way was most available. John Harman, for example, was able to benefit from the authority of Tui Cakau when in 1870 he saved the chief from death by drowning. His reward was the gift of a piece of land on Taveuni with a sea frontage of 1000 fathoms running inland the same distance.¹ There are no records of any disputes. The presence of European settlers on Taveuni was an advantage to Tui Cakau, not only because they stood as a guarantee against Ma'afu but also because, as a body, they recognised his ability to protect them. They therefore supported his authority as a guarantee of their titles to land and as a means of coercing their Fijian labourers. Far from challenging his right to control his people, or seeking to substitute European forms of government in their own interests, they gave their active co-operation in the day-to-day business of enforcing chiefly authority in their own interests - even if it meant abandoning humanitarian principles. Cronquist, on a visit to Taveuni in 1871, reconstrated with a planter who was supervising the flogging of one of his labourers. 'This you know', said the planter, 'is not our sentence, but that of the chief.'² David Wilkinson, of Bua, not only acted as secretary to Tui Bua, but took him into a business partnership of which the basis was that Wilkinson would supply the capital, stock and equipment, while the chief

1. L.I. 7 May 1870.

2. Iona and Country Journal, 29 July 1871.

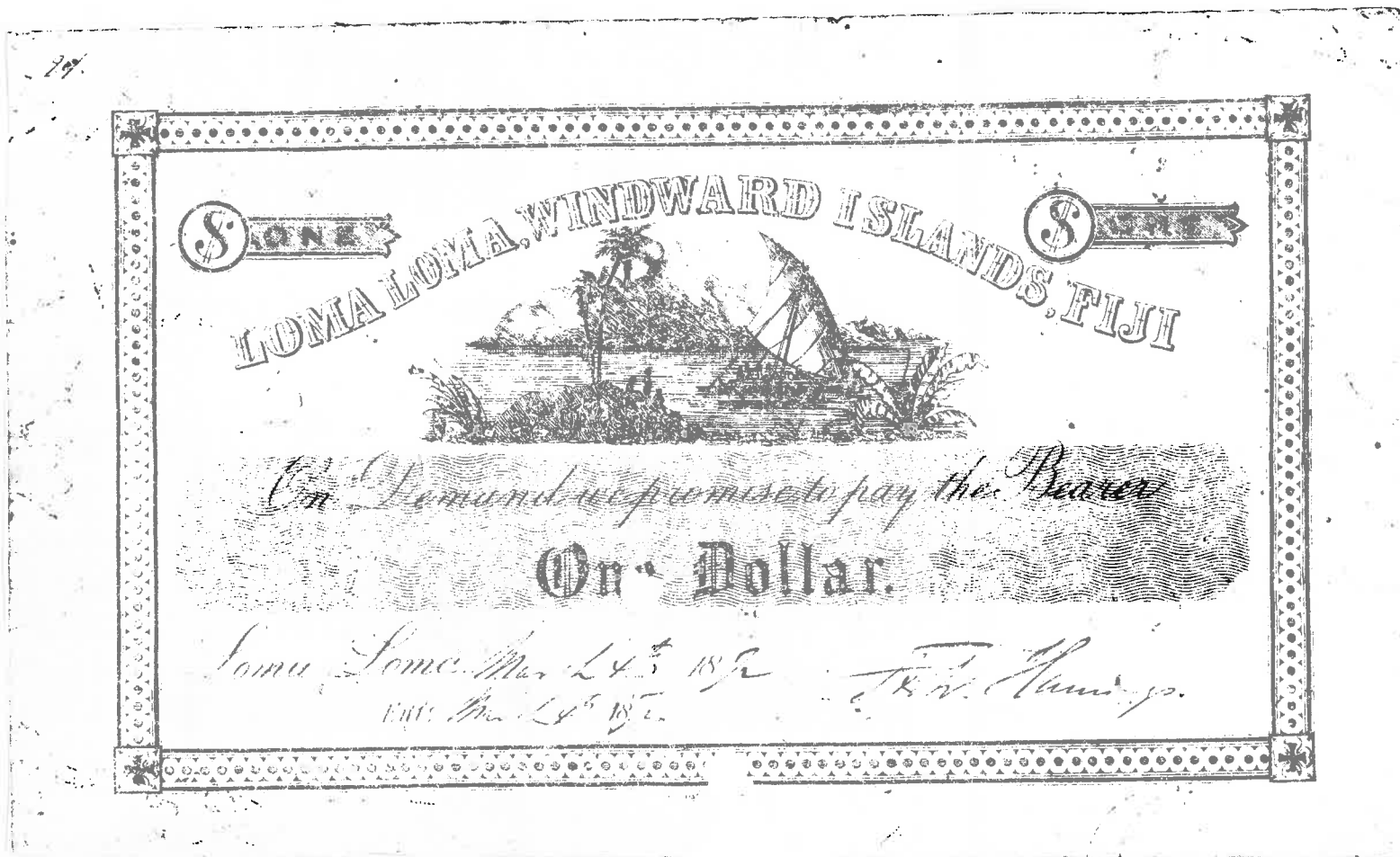
provided the labour.¹ The partnership survived the cotton boom and slump, Colonial rule and even the findings of the Land Claims Commission -- of which Wilkinson was an influential member. William Hennings, whose marriage to Adi Mara had been the foundation of his fortune, continued to enjoy prosperity based on widely diversified economic activity, which the collapse of cotton was unable to shatter. In 1872, when planters like Markham were starving, Hennings was making his own paper money. In 1880 and 1881 when many planters were licking their wounds back in Australia after their lands had been sold, or re-occupied by Fijians and their claims rejected by the Land Claims Commission, William Hennings was enjoying a grand tour of Europe.²

While those who found it necessary to coerce their labourers were greatly assisted in doing so when they could obtain chiefly support, their situation was still only a little better than those who attempted coercion without it. Better still was the position of those with the ultimate security which the support of powerful chiefs could provide, but who seldom required it. The Ryder brothers of Vago, for example,

1. L.C.C. (Great Sea Lease).

2. The Hennings papers have not yet been cleaned and sorted, but when going through them briefly after getting them from Naitanba I found all the receipts of this trip which show that he bought shirts by the dozen at the best shops in Sydney, and stayed at the best hotels in Sydney, Melbourne, Hamburg, Bremen and London, winding up on the way home as the guest of the Northern Club in Auckland.

A 'Hennings dollar' reproduced from one of five
originals found on Naitauba Island in March 1966.



learnt much from William Hennings about the importance of chiefly support, but they also discovered the economic advantages of good race-relations with the people they employed as labourers. Like other planters in Lau and Taveuni, their main source of labour was the Ba coast of Viti Levu, and though others found them unsatisfactory the Ryders employed them successfully for ten years. They were recruited in the White Swan and later the America for periods of twelve months at a time. George believed that 'by looking well after the men whilst with us, treating them fairly and being kind to them, Mango obtained a good name, and we had no difficulty in obtaining all the men we required for many years to come.'¹ After 1875, when Gordon's policy of indirect rule and taxation in kind reduced the incentive for Fijians to work on plantations, the brothers obtained labour from the New Hebrides. George wrote:

By adopting the same course towards New Hebrides men as we did to the Fijians, namely by treating them as human beings and not as an inferior animal we obtained our labour from these islands for many years. ²

The reward of realism was not only nights free from anxiety, but great prosperity.

So as the planter class as a whole sank into economic decline in the 1890s, it lost the temporary cultural homogeneity which prosperity, the

1. G.L. Ryder, 'Pioneering in the South Seas', p. 25.

2. Ibid.

influx of colonial culture, and colonial family life had given it. A very few settlers, who had large capital, whose land purchases were undisputed, and who had settled in areas of maximum security, were able by their good fortune, to be able to afford regular trips to the cultural well-springs of Levuka, or even Sydney; to succeed, if they wished, in retaining their European wives and a distinctive style of life, at least for a generation or two. Others, like William Hennings, the Ryders and the Simpsons (and one could add many other names, including those of some of the best-known part-European families in Fiji today - Beddoes, Lepper, Barret, Emerson, Haffernan) continued to enjoy not only wealth, but security as well. The rest struggled on unhappily for a time and eventually dispersed, some to other islands, some to the refuge of government posts, and others returned to Australia or New Zealand.

The choice was limited to these alternatives and these conditions because the outcome of European settlement depended primarily on three factors, the price of cotton, security of land tenure, and the availability of cheap labour. Of these, only the price of cotton was unaffected by the Fijian environment, and when the price of cotton fell, the other factors proved decisive.

It was in the search for a political solution to the problems which the European community faced, that the conflict between myth and reality reached its climax. The rapid influx of settlers in 1870 and 1871 created the need for some kind of government which would provide law and order. If the settlers had only had themselves to consider the problem would have been relatively simple. The contingencies of a frontier society, however, meant that the question of what kind of government it was to be was an inescapable complication. The settlers of the Great Fiji Rush inclined towards a white man's government which would ensure their political supremacy over the Fijians, but after 1871, as their fortunes declined, it became an unrealistic aspiration. There were other settlers however, often of earlier origin and more economically fortunate than those who came later, who wanted government which would provide conditions in which their prosperity could be enjoyed, and, as prices fell, and European settlers became more and more dominated by local circumstances, they were inclined to leave racialist theories aside, and submit to an extension of existing native authority to cover their needs. These two approaches to the problem of government were to be found side by side in the series of political experiments which began in April 1870 with the setting up of a 'Corporation of Fiji settlers'. At that time, universal prosperity concealed the underlying incompatibility of the two viewpoints. As prosperity declined, however, and the

community lost its homogeneity, the gap between them widened, and the process ended in the open confrontation between Thurston and his 'republican' opponents, in September 1873.

From 1865, when Consul Jones initiated a Confederation of Chiefs, to 1867, when Oliver St John and W.R. Drew had staged the coronation of Cakobau as Tui Viti, it had been assumed by the settlers that any scheme of government would involve the closest co-operation with the Fijian rulers and would depend for its efficient functioning on chiefly authority. In 1868, however, Cakobau had failed to conquer the tribes who had murdered the missionary Baker and defied the settlers on the upper Rewa. For the next two years, sustained as it was by a continuous influx of new settlers, the European community began to show a strong inclination to ignore the supposed sovereignty of Cakobau altogether. The most feasible alternative at the time seemed to be political protection, or preferably annexation, by either Britain, the United States, or one of the Australian colonies.

Cession, however, had been rejected by Britain for reasons which had been well publicised. The economic advantages to be derived seemed small, there were grave misgivings about Cakobau's authority to cede, and, most importantly, 'the cost of an attempt to maintain the supremacy of the white population will be comparatively great and the loss of life enormous'.¹ The settlers of the 'Fiji Bush', however,

1. Denison to Newcastle, 10 April 1860, *cit.* J.D. Legge, Britain in Fiji, p. 33.

no longer regarded these objections as relevant. The Melbourne Argus, for example, invited its readers to consider how much the circumstances of Fiji and its relations with the colonies of New South Wales and Victoria had changed since Bayly had submitted his report. 'A large migration, principally from Australia and New Zealand, has taken place in the last seven years', the paper reported. Exports had multiplied several times in value, and it was no longer so much a question, in the editor's view, of whether Britain could afford to annex Fiji, as whether she could afford not to. 'The only difficulties in the way of Fiji becoming a rich and prosperous community are the want of settled government and the difficulty in procuring labour.'¹ By 1869 it was believed that the importation of labour from the New Hebrides and other islands would provide a permanently satisfactory solution to the second problem and that the lack of government was the only remaining barrier to Fiji's prosperity. 'The opinion of myself and the majority of settlers', wrote J. B. Thurston, 'is that Fiji is a necessity to, almost the birthright of the Australian colonies, and having real interests in the country we shall not desist from our attempts to affect with them a recognised and legitimate connexion.'²

There were many settlers, however, to whom British colonial rule represented a kiss of death. To them the Challenger incident

1. Argus, 20 January 1869.

2. Argus, 3 May 1870.

of July 1868 had not been a demonstration of Fijian strength but of British vacillation and they anticipated similar reversals of fortune in the event of Colonial Office rule. One correspondent to the Fiji Times declared that 'Jamaica, New Zealand, and lastly these islands show us that the policy of the Home Government is the protection of the negro and the utter neglect of the white man'.¹ Another, who claimed to have spent 'twenty of the best years of my life in New Zealand', declared that there could be 'no greater impediment to the future greatness, or rather prosperity of this group... than that this portion of the South Sea Islands should become part of the British Empire'. He predicted an autocratic system of government, inspired by ill-informed humanitarian prejudice, and, worst of all, a 'Land Titles Investigation Commission':

Mr. 'A' bought, forty years ago, 40,000 acres for three muskets, some powder and ball - cultivates fifty in cotton - got some left, native chiefs examined - of course they swear it is all wrong - boundary never went so far back, and so on. Perhaps commission, having dined, allow him a 'major grant', namely 3940 acres - rest goes to the crown, it having taken possession of the group... Sir, this is what will happen... and this, Mr. Editor, is what we must look forward to if, like silly fools we place ourselves under British rule.²

Another alternative, even to settlers of British origin, was to seek

1. F.I., 18 December 1869.

2. F.I., 19 February 1870. It was a fairly accurate forecast, except that the disallowed portion in such cases reverted to the Fijian owners.

annexation by the United States. Some, like George Winter, anticipated political developments by seeking American citizenship in the belief that 'when the tug of war comes he will be in a better position as an American citizen than as an Englishman'.¹ Another settler urged the community to observe how much more 'initiative' Americans were wont to display in the settlement of disputes with natives, than were the English:

The coming festivities at Levuka on the 1st of January will afford an opportunity of many settlers being met together... to unite on the one point to endeavour to get these islands under the protection of the American flag.²

There was no mention of such a meeting in the Fiji Times that January, but the idea must have been canvassed and found acceptance among many, for in February 1870, G.W.H. Markham records that instead of going to church one Sunday, 'I sat in the verandah all day, read, and yarned with Glenny and Fitzgibbon. We had a long talk about the new project of forming Fiji into an independency under the American flag'.³

It seems that it was the promoters of the Polynesia Company, Glenny and Fitzgibbon among them, who took the lead in inviting American interest. They summoned a meeting in Levuka on 14 April 1870 to discuss the formation of a republic under American protection.

1. H. Britton, Fiji in 1870, p. 19. Winter came originally from Tasmania.
2. 'Kai Vuka', F.T., 18 December 1869.
3. G.W.H. Markham, Diary, 20 February 1870.

A constitution was drafted and Frederick Cook, the manager of the company, was eventually entrusted with the task of going to the United States to urge the Company's case.¹ The new republic was expected to be the means of securing speedy dominance over the Fijians and political independence from the Fijian chiefs. The meeting of 14 April was told that, 'Fifty gentlemen conversant with the habits of Fijians, and acquainted with the manner of their tracks and fortifications, would have no difficulty in expelling them from their most secure strong-holds'.² But the United States government showed little interest in the project. Cook returned from his travels to Melbourne and wrote to the Fiji Times enclosing a letter from General Lathrop, the U.S. Consul in Melbourne. Action, he said, would be delayed: it was proposed to establish a consular court, to which citizens of all nations might have access,³ but this involved very little extension of the consular powers as they were exercised already.

The scheme for American protection went no further, though the idea of republican government, independent as it was of Fijian authority, and congenial to the egalitarian sentiments of those who made up the bulk of Fiji's colonists, remained a powerful ingredient of the political struggles of the years that followed. The major factor accounting for

1. E.T., 3 December 1870, reports his return.

2. Argus, 3 May 1870.

3. E.T., 3 December 1870.

the abandonment of the American scheme was the activity of J.B. Thurston, first as British Consul in 1869, and later as a private settler. On 14 June 1869 he had summoned a meeting of settlers and leading Fijian chiefs in Levuka, from which resulted a resolution supported by Cakobau, Ma'afu, Tui Cakau and Tui Uea:

That the present condition of Fiji renders it imperative upon this community, essentially British, in conjunction with the dominant chiefs, at once to memorialize the British Government, praying it to grant Fiji protection for 10, 15, or 20 years, in order that, since annexation to the crown is opposed to the policy of Her Majesty's Government, the native chiefs, with the assistance of competent foreign residents, may be permitted and assisted to cultivate a form of government analogous to the Sandwich Islands. Your memorialists pray your Lordship may dwell upon the large and increasing connexion with the Australian colonies, and the apparent necessity of providing due protection alike to settlers and natives.¹

The resolution was also supported by one hundred and twenty white residents, and Thurston undertook to forward it to the Foreign Office. It seems, however, that for reasons of his own, Thurston was unwilling to dispatch it immediately. His hesitation was probably due to the fear that if a government of the kind suggested was once granted British protection, annexation, which was what he really wanted, would be delayed indefinitely, and it is clear from his private correspondence that this would not have suited Thurston at all. His reference to

1. AMES, 3 May 1870. There was no newspaper in Fiji at the time of the meeting in April 1869, but the petition did appear eventually in the F.I. of 30 April 1870.

Gladstone's anti-annexation policy was intended to be ironic. In December 1869 he wrote to Hope:

Is there any chance of the Conservatives reviving our traditions? or will the illiberal Liberals keep in? The constant comparisons made between England and other powers by our countrymen in this hemisphere are humiliating... In this miserable little place one hears some very disloyal sentiments.¹

The reason for Thurston's preference for colonial rule rather than protection is suggested by a correspondent to the Edinburgh Times of 9 April 1870 writing in reply to a letter which Thurston had written under the pseudonym 'Britannicus'.² The correspondent, who signed himself 'Republican', suggested that in the event of annexation by Britain, 'Britannicus' 'would perhaps like to be chief judge, at, say, £1000 per annum... he put his name to a memorial for protection, which memorial was to have been sent home by the Prince [i.e. Thurston]. The said memorial is now lying in the group - a man who says he has seen it positively states this to be the case'.³ Thurston later admitted privately that it was in 1870, not 1869, that the petition was sent.⁴ He was presumably spurred to action by the possibility, more real since January 1870, that the initiative would be seized by

-
1. Thurston to Hope, 18 December 1869, Hope Journals.
 2. Thurston admitted that he was 'Britannicus' in a letter to the E.T. 23 April 1870.
 3. E.T., 9 April 1870.
 4. Thurston to Hope, 24 November 1872, Hope Journals.

those who hoped for a political connection with the United States. On 2 March 1870 he wrote to the Melbourne Argus in an attempt to gain the support of colonial public opinion for his project of the previous year and he accused the Polynesia Company, by implication, of betraying Britain's Imperial interests:

I write this with all submission to your superior sources of information, which, seeing the whole of this American protection scheme... originates in your own good city of Melbourne, you doubtless command.... So far as the petition to the United States is concerned, we in Fiji, know little about it, and think less. We know it was signed by some 70 or 72 persons. With one exception not a native chief in the country ever heard of the matter. They are still unaware that a few foreigners domiciled in their midst have taken such a generous interest in their welfare....

Thurston went on to compare the proposal with his own petition, by then on its way to the Foreign Office by way of the Governor of Victoria:

As between the concession asked for, and acquiescence in the setting up of a mere filibustering government in Fiji, with six and thirty godfathers and fifty ministers of vengeance to execute the will of a governing committee, Lord GLARENDON ought not to hesitate for a moment.¹

But hesitate he did, until after a negative reply had been received from the United States, for Britain was not anxious to increase her imperial responsibilities nor to antagonise other imperial powers. Eventually, on 16 March 1871, Kimberly sent a dispatch to Edward March,

1. Argus, 3 May 1870.

2. F.I., 12 July 1871.

Thurston's successor at the Consulate, declining the proposal that Britain should establish a protectorate. The possibility of giving magisterial powers to the British Consul was under consideration, but Kimberly made it clear that he expected the European residents of Fiji, now that they were more numerous, to establish their own form of government, and clearly believed that they would be able to do so without reference to the existing authority of the chiefs.¹

By then there was no real possibility that any great power would intervene in Fijian affairs within the foreseeable future. It was already assumed in January 1871 that the possible involvement of Britain in the European war precluded the possibility of her further interest in Fiji.² The problems of government, however, remained. Arbitration, appeals to force, and boxing matches at the back of Manton's began to seem inadequate as means of settling disputes to a community seeking respectability and investment. In August 1870 the Fiji Times complained that things were getting out of control:

... a petty squabble between a debtor and a creditor leads not only to a fracas between themselves, but to the involvement of others, the carrying of revolvers, sheaf knives [sic] and various weapons of defence by men who at other times have been looked on as most peaceful.... Hence the necessity of fixing speedily upon an equitable and fair system of governance by which to guide commercial differences, curb ill-temper, restrain the self-indulgent, and punish, when necessary, the wrong doer.³

1. F.I., 12 July 1871.

2. F.I., 4 January 1871.

3. F.I., 6 August 1870.

The other purpose for which government of some kind seemed necessary was the organisation of defence against possible Fijian attack, and by 1870 the need seemed urgent. The belief had grown that a war between the races was inevitable. 'I have scarcely met with a single individual, "old chum" or "new chum", missionary, storekeeper, or planter', wrote one settler, 'who does not give it as his opinion that there will be a row with the "niggers" before very long.'¹

As the likelihood of such an outbreak grew greater, with settlers pushing further into areas of marginal security around the coasts of Viti Levu, and a steady increase in isolated incidents involving violence, so the European community sought with greater seriousness for a political solution to their problems. Before the rush of 1870 it was assumed that any form of government other than colonial rule would involve co-operation with the Fijian authorities, and both the Lau Confederation of 1857 and the Bau Constitution of the same year were attempts in this direction. Thurston expressed the view of the more realistic of the early settlers when he wrote:

By the purchase of land here, we have as it were
incorporated ourselves into the territory.
Legally, we are aliens domiciled in the country.²

From this assumption, it followed that laws which were to apply to Europeans could only operate with the consent of the country's indigenous

1. Australian, 25 June 1870.

2. E.I., 2 April 1870.

rulers, and it was also obvious that since the great powers had, by making a succession of treaties with Cakobau, recognized his authority, they would be unlikely to support an independent authority set up by the settlers in opposition to the one they already accepted.

The newcomers of 1870, however, brought with them a new idea. They argued that by purchasing land throughout Fiji they had also, as a body, acquired rights of sovereignty. The letters of 'Republican' were typical of this viewpoint:

I object to the statement that in purchasing land we have incorporated ourselves into the territory; on the contrary we form a community as distinct as black is from white. The international rights of 'Republican' are precisely those of all civilised men settling among savages; they purchase land from the natives, and are perfectly independent of them as soon as they pay the stipulated price. We are entitled to protect our lives and properties at any cost and risk, and are not in any way under the rule of natives, who lose all power over the land so sold to them ... I maintain we have fixed abode and defined territory - every man's title deed defines his territory - and he has as good a right to defend it as France, Austria, America or England.¹

An interesting aspect of the political division which arose in the community was that those who, like Thurston, saw the need for a government which would serve the interests of both races, if peace was

1. 'Republican's' viewpoint seems to be derived from the idea that territory inhabited by savage tribes is *res nullius* (see I.J. Lawrence, Principles of International Law, 7th ed., London, 1923, p. 148). But it ignores the fact that British subjects settling in Fiji were still affected by British law relating to such things as murder, whether they acknowledged Fijian authority over themselves or not. 'Republican's' style, together with evidence of a legal background, suggests that he may have been S.S. Smith.

to be kept between them, were conservatives in terms of British or colonial politics, and saw no basic objection to monarchical government in any case. In any political struggle such men were therefore bound to be attacked with the ideological weapons of European radicalism.¹ Their contemporary opponents also thought in terms of their own cultural tradition, derived ultimately, perhaps, from Locke, and their political ideas arose directly from their view of their rights as land-owners. Government, to those who may be called the 'Republicans' of Levuka, was the fruit of a social contract between property owners. As E.S. Smith put it:

It had been objected that such a government had no territory. It would have a large territory, the pick and choice of the country, bought and honestly paid for. The settlers were the pioneers of civilisation, and if a permanent colony was to be formed here, let it be one that our posterity would not be ashamed of, not one who owned a Polynesian negro for its monarch.²

To the Lockean base had been added, unconsciously for the most part, the garbled ideological legacy of historical experience: the wrongs of Ireland, the wrongs of the digger generation, and the belief that a white skin was the garment of omnipotence:

1. The fact that those who were Fijian 'realists' were, in European terms, conservatives, has meant too, that a historian like G.C. Henderson, who saw Fijian history as part of the story of European imperial expansion, was inclined to see the struggle through 'Whig' eyes, and to judge Thurston and his supporters as though their terms of reference were those of England in 1688.

2. *E.S.*, 26 July 1871.

Was it British rule or Australian gold which caused the rush to Victoria? - decidedly the Gold, and even then until blood was freely shed Britons could not freely exist under British rule. New Zealand is a proof of British misrule. If Britain, with only a channel a few miles wide to separate her from Ireland, cannot rule that country, or find out what it requires, what chance have we so many miles away of deriving benefit from her Government?

It is because of the energy of Britons, when freed from the trammels of taxation, that they invariably succeed in colonising savage lands, not because the savages are in dread of the British flag.¹

Another interpretation of the political division in the settler community which developed from 1870 to 1874 is that it was basically a division between merchants and planters, with merchants taking the credit for a greater sense of political responsibility because of their desire to bring the forces of law and order to bear on the collection of debts. 'It is significant', writes J.D. Legge, 'that the movement for a general government gathered strength at the close of the sixties, by which time the expansion of planting had been followed by the arrival of a considerable mercantile and professional community.'² This is certainly an explanation of some of the motives involved. F. Hennings and J.C. Smith, for example, both took a leading part in establishing an effective government, and they were perhaps the leading creditors of the group. The planters who most

1. E.L., 9 April 1870. A continuation of 'Republican's' letter.

2. J.D. Legge, Britain in Fiji, p. 74.

consistently opposed the government which they established were generally those planters who came from the least favoured areas, who had arrived with the smallest capital, and were most deeply in debt. A professional community was certainly a development of 1870 and 1871. Its most vociferous representatives, J.R. Ryley and E.S. Smith, were also in favour of establishing a government, but as leading 'republicans' they were very much opposed to the kind of government which was established and did their utmost to overthrow it. There were planters on the other hand, like Swunston, the Ryder brothers, J.B. Thurston, David Wilkinson, W.R. Scott, settlers of several years standing, generally in the more favoured areas, who were decided supporters of an effective government and who ultimately came to support the only political experiment which worked - the Cakobau government. The division between these two kinds of men arose not only on the question of whether there was to be an all-embracing government, but, once it was formed, over what kind of government it was going to be, and over the ultimate source of its authority. On these fundamental issues the division seems to have been not between 'Whig' and 'Tory' or debtor and creditor so much as between newcomer and 'old hand', between those who acted out their belief in the 'planters' myth' and those who, whether they believed in the myth or not, were prepared to come to terms with the circumstances of local reality.

The first attempt to implement the political beliefs which characterised the Fiji Rush was made in February 1870, when a meeting

was projected for 17 April 1870 for the purpose of setting up an independent settler republic.¹ The initial response of the Fiji Times was unfavourable, though inclined to cling to the hope of colonial rule rather than to urge co-operation with Fijian authority:

... let the natives know that we are an independency - that is, cut off from the material help of Great Britain or America and they would very soon show us that all our calculations about their fighting capabilities... have been fearfully underestimated.... Let us look before we leap. Better far to unite our destiny with some flourishing Australian colony ... than as a young and feeble independency to be killed in the cradle by our black nurse.²

Colonial opinion at this time seems to have been equally discouraging both to independence and to republicanism. The views of the Sydney Morning Herald show signs of Thurston's influence:

The legal status of these settlers then, is that of foreigners voluntarily domiciled in a country with recognised native rulers.... To these rulers, however unpleasant it must be to admit the fact, the white inhabitants owe a local allegiance which would be admitted and sustained by the jurists of any civilised country in the world. To organise a Government of such domiciled foreigners independent of and antagonistic to the Government and people of the country of their domicile, would be a proceeding to which none of the great maritime powers could lend the slightest countenance.³

Undeterred by these opinions, the planners of republican government went ahead.⁴ Markham, then in Levuka, and later to become one

1. F.I., 26 February 1870.

2. F.I., 19 March 1870.

3. Sydney Morning Herald, 26 April 1870, cit. F.I., 4 June 1870.

4. F.I., 26 February 1870. The editor refers to the plans which were made at this time as though they were common knowledge, without giving the names of the promoters.

of the extremists who defied the Cakobau government at La, was one of them. On 10 March he records, 'made up a packet of "circulars" to the White Residents of Fiji calling the settlers... to a public meeting on 14th April, to discuss the formation of an... community for self-government.'¹ The circulars invited all settlers to attend and according to one source, between six hundred and seven hundred settlers were actually present in Levuka on Thursday 14 April 1870 for the first of three meetings held on consecutive days in and around the Reading Room.²

The intervening period was one of intense political interest in Levuka as settlers began to arrive from outlying districts, cramping the hotels and all available accommodation. The Fiji Times reported on 9 April that four plans were under discussion. One for an independent republic, a repeated request for annexation, and two schemes for the formation of a 'protection association'. The scheme favoured by the editor, influenced now, perhaps, by his greatly swollen readership of new arrivals, was the 'Fiji Planters' Protection Association', a scheme which 'would meet our wants for the coming twelve months, and prove useful besides, being a school for our promising politicians, preparing them for a great and glorious future'.³ The object of the Association was to be 'the settlement of disputes between members

1. G.W.H. Markham, *Diary*, 10 March 1870.

2. Anglican, 25 June 1870.

3. F.T., 9 April 1870.

of the association and aboriginals', to suppress the sale of arms and ammunition to 'aboriginals and other dark-skinned races', while membership was to include 'all males over twenty one years of age who hail from civilised countries', and who paid the subscription of £1 per head.¹ The only concession to the fact that Europeans formed a very small minority of the Fijian population was the aim 'to bring about an influence with Cakobau, Tui Cakau, Ma'afu, and the other ruling chiefs so that their assistance and support may be given in all matters where the association decides that punishment is to be awarded to the natives'.²

The chairman, A.W. Hamilton of Nadroga,³ declared the purpose of the meeting to be 'to consider and discuss the most advisable course to adopt for the preservation of life and property of white men in Fiji', and declared as his own opinion that 'we should be taking a step in the right direction in co-operating with the natives'.⁴ A contrary suggestion came from 'Colonel' Jennings, who moved that the object of the meeting 'according to the original call', was to form

1. E.I., 2 April 1870.

2. Ibid.

3. A somewhat ambivalent figure in Fijian politics. He opposed the Cakobau government until offered the Attorney-Generalship, he was then asked to resign his seat by his Nadroga constituents but refused to do so. He sat on the Land Claims Commissions of the Cakobau Government and was accused of corrupt practices in connection with it. It seems reasonable to conclude that his motivation was largely personal rather than political.

4. E.I., 16 April 1870.

'a league or society for the mutual protection of the life and property of the whites against the outrages committed by the natives'. These were the first clear expressions of the two views held among the community as a whole. The political history of the next three years was to be largely the story of the struggle between them.

Three schemes were duly laid on the table, one by G.L. Griffiths, one by G.R. Burt, and one by F. Hennings, and a committee of thirteen was elected to consider them.¹ No details of these schemes survive, but considerable reconstruction can be attempted. The enthusiastic espousal of the Fiji Planters' Protection Association by the Fiji Times is a good indication that G.L. Griffiths, the editor, was its originator. The lip-service it paid to the appeal for the support of the leading chiefs was a partial answer to his own objections to the idea of an 'independency', which he had voiced in February, while its belligerence reflected, possibly, the influence of the numerous recent arrivals from the colonies among his readers. G.R. Burt, author of the second scheme, was not the kind of man to have welcomed attention to his activities on the part of the government, such as would have been brought about by British annexation, and he is likely to have favoured either a new request to the United States or an independent government of whites which made no concession to Fijian power at all. 'There

1. F. Hennings, J. Glenny, H. Emberson, L. Boshu, G.R. Burt, W. Scott, A. Barrack, J. Storak, J. Turner, T. Muir, A.W. Hamilton, G. Lee and Colonel Jennings. *Ibid.*

is a small party indeed', reported a correspondent of the Australasian, 'which I may fairly call the American party, that objects altogether to dealing with the "nigger" on terms of equality. They were, and are, for carrying matters with a very high hand.'¹ The scheme put forward by Jennings can be assessed from the results of the committee's deliberations, since they were radically different from what is known of the alternatives, and his was the third proposal. The differences between the aims of the meeting of 14 April, as expressed by the notion of Jennings, and the proposals agreed upon by the committee, can be therefore attributed to Jennings, and they were a development of the idea of co-operation with the Fijian voters. Jennings was probably supported by Booth, the owner of Ranasea, who had reason to regard co-operation with powerful chiefs as sound policy. Another likely supporter was Alexander Barrack, who enjoyed Tui Cakau's protection. The committee recommended immediately that a society should be formed, to be called the 'Corporation of Fiji Settlers'. Its primary object was in line with the resolution of Jennings, 'the mutual protection of the lives and properties of the members against any outrages which may be committed by the natives'. The committee was to deliberate for a month, however, to draw up a constitution to provide for the election of a president, vice-president, and representatives elected from each district by the adult white male

1. Australasian, 25 June 1870.

population. The only immediate indication that the need for Fijian co-operation had been acknowledged was the agreement that members of the Corporation, on return to their districts, should elect not only representatives for the central deliberative assembly but magistrates, whose function would be to 'adjudicate all cases which may arise between whites and natives in conjunction with a native magistrate, appointed by the Fijian authorities'.¹

A month later, however, the influence of Hennings and the other men of experience had had its effect. Frederick Hennings was a man of few words, at least in public, but he was universally respected as a man with 'a stake in the country', and his influence among a small group of men meeting frequently over a period of time was probably great. The committee's final report was published in the Fiji Times of 23 May 1870. The arrangements for the election of delegates remained the same; they were to meet in Levuka a month later. But both the overall aims of the corporation and the authority upon which it based its activities had changed. The aim of the corporation was now stated to be 'to establish friendly relations with the ruling chiefs in Fiji, to act in concert with us, and to secure justice, between the white settlers and natives of this country' (clause 4). Another clause (9), raised the problem of dealing with cases in which Europeans were in the wrong, a possibility not envisaged by the public meeting a month before.

1. L.S.I., 16 April 1870.

Action in such cases was recommended through the consuls. Finally came the clear declaration that:

The object of the Corporation is to derive powers through the ruling chiefs, to put down villainy... it is not sought to grant power.

Chiefly support was sought, however, for limited purposes -- to ensure 'immediate and stringent enforcements of all decisions given by the mixed courts against natives',² and the committee as a whole, despite the theoretical basis of its authority, clearly balked at the idea of Europeans being subjected to chiefly rule. Griffiths was careful to give the impression to his readers that the 'republicans' had made no vital concession:

It is evident that the settlers wish to work in unison with the native but it is felt that a corporation such as proposed, carrying out effectively the punishment of white men, would be usurping the functions of a government.³

This was clearly nonsense, and there was always the possibility that it would be recognised as such by the Fijian chiefs. It was to take no less a man than J.S. Thurston to persuade Cakobau that a government responsible to an assembly composed of Europeans could govern in the interests of both races. The idea of a republic still remained a possible alternative, should co-operation with the chiefs fail to satisfy the settlers' needs, and many of them considered the talk of

1. E.I., 26 May 1870.

2. Ibid.

3. E.I., 23 April 1870.

deriving authority, rather than creating it, to be mere diplomacy.

Elections were held in some districts, but not all, and the first meeting of delegates was held in Levuka on 16 June 1870.¹ The assembly proved a good deal more 'republican' than the committee had been. It was resolved not to have the rules of the Corporation translated into Fijian and distributed to the chiefs, and it was thought inadvisable for native magistrates to be appointed by the local chiefs. Instead, white magistrates only were to be elected, by the settlers, chiefly support for them was to be requested, and chiefs willing to co-operate were to be asked to appoint 'native judges competent and willing to work in concert with the white magistrates'.² Because of the lack of support from a large number of important districts, notably Tavuni, the representatives adjourned for eight weeks to ascertain the extent of support. What proved to be the final meeting of the Corporation of Fiji Settlers was held on 11 August. Adjournment for an indefinite period was agreed upon, leaving the chairman, F. Hennings, with the power to call a meeting of all delegates on the written requisition of two or more of their number.³

The delegates recorded their view that the Corporation had failed because of 'the want of support from various parts of the group',

1. Those present were: C. Cadlip, F. Hennings, J. Turner (representing Levuka), Eastgate, Chalmers and Waterston (Nawa), Bellars (Suva), W. Hennings (Lau) and Hoyle and Glenny (Kadi).

2. *F.I.*, 18 June 1870.

3. *F.I.*, 13 August 1870.

while the Fiji Times blamed the large influx of population, indifferent to the political needs of the community they now belonged to, and a general reluctance to take definitive action until the attitude of Britain and America towards annexation was clarified.¹ In retrospect, however, the editor was more perceptive. In November 1870 he stated his belief:

The cause of the failure of the previous attempts to establish a local government have been, not because the settlers do not wish for self-government, but simply in consequence of the want of a legal basis or ground-work at the commencement.... We are now in reality under Takosau's laws the same as if we were settled in France or Prussia.²

In November 1870 there was little hope of Levuka's population taking such a suggestion seriously. Three hundred and fifty-three newcomers had arrived between August and November, including one hundred and thirty-eight in September alone, when the Alhambra had arrived with her Polynesia Company settlers from Melbourne.³ Political experimentation in the new metropolis virtually ceased for the next nine months. In the out-districts, however, especially in those areas which were enjoying maximum prosperity, the search for political stability continued.⁴

1. F.T., 6 August 1870.

2. F.T., 5 November 1870.

3. See Appendix 3.

4. There was one more attempt to form a government in Levuka. A monarchical constitution was drawn up in November 1870 by Rev. W. Ball, reputedly a recently de-frocked clergyman from Tasmania. The scheme terminated abruptly when Ball left Fiji after a stay of only a few weeks.

It was the 'want of support' from these areas, especially Bau, Taveuni and Lau, which was felt to be the reason for the failure of the Corporation of Fiji Settlers, but the reason that the Corporation found so little favour in these areas was not the apathy of the planters so much as their disapproval of the way the 'New Classes' of Levuka were going about things. A meeting was held at Fusa Point, Taveuni, on 6 April 1870 with the object of opposing the formation of a republic. The conveners were opposed by Messrs. Hamilton and Logan,¹ but succeeded in their object. A decisive factor in the proceedings was undoubtedly the receipt of a message from Tui Cakau:

The meeting was informed from Tui Cakau that he would expect those favourable to a republic, to protect themselves from native violence.²

At Savu Savu, Vanna Levu, meetings were held on 7 and 24 May 1870.

On the first occasion it was resolved that no delegates should be sent to Levuka, and that an alliance should be made instead with Tui Cakau, who was asked in the meantime to appoint officers in each native town to keep the Fijians in order and to see to the general interests of the settlers. In return for these services the settlers agreed to pay a tax of two pounds per plantation.³

1. Archibald Hamilton, (not to be confused with A.W. Hamilton of Madroga), the owner of the Cornwall which had recently arrived from Sydney. E. Logan shared many of the views of the Levuka republicans. See above, Chapter 7, p. 301. See also H.M. Hyndman, The Record of an Adventurous Life, p. 124, cf. F.I., 5 February 1870.

2. F.I., 16 April 1870.

3. F.I., 4 June 1870.

Meanwhile, Robert Swanston sought to influence European public opinion by publishing correspondence which had passed between himself and Leonard Boehm, a member of the constitutional committee set up in April by the Fiji Planters' Protection Association. Boehm had asked Swanston, on behalf of the committee, to organise a local planters' association in the Lau group and to send a representative to Levuka. Swanston declined in uncompromising terms:

... I for one hoist my flag - conjoint action with the native rulers to the very limit of forbearance
 ... I must beg to decline to become a party to the organising of 'local committees of whites throughout the group, for the purpose of framing local laws and rules for our governance.' - simply because there exists no 'binding authority'. If unanimity were practicable, it would even then be tantamount to a general agreement to carry out Lynch Law, which might lawfully be resisted, and would assuredly be so resisted, sooner or later, and upon all those stimulating or countenancing such Lynch Law would rest the responsibility of the certain consequences
 Our policy, I am of opinion, is to work with the native rulers of the land, if we are really seeking a solution.¹

Swanston acted on his own ideas as far as he was able within the scope

1. F.I., 28 May 1870. Swanston added that he 'thoroughly endorsed the general spirit of the correspondence by 'Britannicus' who, as he probably knew, was J.B. Thurston. Thurston may have been responsible for the development and clarification of Swanston's political ideas. On 14 January 1863 he, as Consul, had written to Ma'afu giving a general ruling on the standing of British subjects in Lau:

In my opinion the right of a chief to enforce the 'Lex Lau' in all cases and irrespective of nationality cannot be doubted - provided always that such laws are not in violation of civilised ideas... the fact of any man hoisting the British flag does not afford him an immunity from law - law as administered in civilised countries - But it fully justifies a consular or other representative in inquiring into the events of a case and carefully watching the proceedings connected with it.
 [C.L., Thurston to Ma'afu, 14 January 1863.]

Swanston, as Ma'afu's secretary, would have received and translated the letter.

offered him in Lau. A meeting was held at Lomaloma on 18 May 1870 with Rupert Ryder in the chair. It supported 'conjoint action with the native rulers' as 'the most certain method of ensuring peace and security, and the suppression of evils likely to arise between foreigners and natives', and went on to consider the liability of settlers to local authority in some detail. It was agreed that they should respect the laws of the chiefdom in which they lived, but thought it advisable for the settlers in each district, as a community, to obtain immunity from such laws as they felt to be 'inconsistent with the feelings of our race'. They realised that they were in no position to enforce their own concepts of legality on Fijian society and sought to achieve the best accommodation they could before Fijian courts for themselves:

... as we conceive it to be inadmissible for foreigners to be brought before purely native courts... we endorse the proposal that there be white magistrates appointed to each chiefdom, to act with the native judges in cases where whites are concerned.

At the same time, the meeting agreed that it was necessary for the white judges to derive their power from the chief in order to command respect. They declared that it was impossible to stop the sale of firearms to Fijians without the co-operation of the chiefs, and resolved to consider whether the co-magisterial powers of a white judge should be held to constitute representation which might justify the payment of taxation to native rulers. Finally, the meeting decided to send

William Hennings to urge their views in Levuka, and recommended earnestly that a delegation from the Planters' Protection Association should meet the leading chiefs without delay, to secure their co-operation.¹

In Levuka, the assembly of delegates which met on 16 June 1870 proved, as already pointed out, more republican in attitude than the committee of a month before - an indication that William Hennings had little influence upon it.² It lapsed in any case, but Swanston was not prepared to let the matter rest. The following Christmas he took advantage of the fact that the leading settlers of Lau were gathered together at Lomaloma for their festivities to carry his ideas into effect. He seems to have been anxious to counteract the views of the Levuka republicans by his example, and the example of how things were managed in Lau. On 24 December 1870 he addressed not only the local settlers, but in effect, through publication in the Fiji Times, the community at large:

We are too weak to coerce the country, and too civilised to bow to the caprice of savages. There then remains but the middle course of joint action in government with the native rulers.... The report of what we now do here will be carried into every part of the group, and if the impression created on the minds of the Fijians is that we are grasping at power, and repudiating the just claims of the native rulers, we shall arouse their suspicions and give rise to a quiet but effective spirit of opposition.

1. F.I., 4 June 1870.

2. See above note 2, p. 368.

He went on to explain that strictly speaking, the Lau constitution applied only to natives, and Europeans were only affected by the laws of the Kingdom as their disputes with natives came before the courts. He went on to question whether, as a comparatively small and weak minority, beyond the law, settlers were as well served by their legal immunity as they would be as members of the body politic:

The chieftains, as yet, assume no right of sovereignty in matters purely white, and it remains for us to decide in how far this abstinence on their part is advantageous to ourselves.... If we are to have no recognised law in our commerce with these people, but if every man is to be a law unto himself, we being so much in the minority will in such case fare but badly, but if there is to be a common law for us all, there can be but one rule as to its application: before the law native and white must stand as equals.

Here then, was a group of planters, concerned not so much with the relations between themselves and their merchant creditors as between themselves and the native people on whom they depended for labour and protection. While in Levuka at this time, political activity concentrated on gathering names for petitions against the Commi, the settlers of Lau were seeking a form of government which would serve the real needs of a bi-racial community.

A committee was appointed by the meeting at Lomaloma to report how far they thought it possible for settlers to submit to the laws of Lau. The committee reported that the government of Lau should be asked to undertake the surveying of plantations, and that planters

1. K.I., 7 January 1871 - my italics.

should pay a tax of sixpence an acre and two guineas a year for town allotments. Six magistrates should be appointed to act in conjunction with native magistrates in cases involving both races. Ma'afu was then invited to the meeting, and at its request signed the following declaration:

... I, Ma'afu... do now grant to the committee nominated by the whites of Lau for that purpose the right to vote as regards application against the whites of Lau, of any law passed in the Lau or Tovata assemblies, which the committee may deem inconsistent with the feelings and privileges of their race.¹

It was a generous offer, and one that could not have been made without considerable trust on both sides. The explicit granting of immunity from some of the laws of Lau is of a good deal less significance than the implicit acceptance of those from which no immunity was expected. In general terms the settlers saw that it was to their advantage to accept the authority of Ma'afu over themselves as well as natives and to pay taxes accordingly. When Ma'afu eventually supported the Cakobau government their attitude was equally consistent. It is likely that the laws which the settlers were anxious to escape were not those which tended to the support of chiefly authority or the payment of taxes, which aided their own security, but the somewhat puritanical moral code which had been imposed by the Wesleyan

1. L.I., 7 January 1871.

church.¹

The other more established and prosperous districts soon followed the example which Swanston had given them in Lau. At Buu, a meeting of white residents decided to 'endeavour to obtain from the Tui Buu, a charter, giving a similar right of veto on the laws of the Buu kingdom to that which the Tui Lau has granted to the white residents in Lau'.² In Nadroga, Viti Levu, the local settlers met in February 1871 to form a 'Mutual Protection Association', but it was not to be an independent one. Three magistrates were elected to act in cases involving both whites and Fijians in conjunction with Ratu Kini, the Tui Nadroga.³ At Rewa, about the same time, the settlers agreed to pay a tax to Cakobau in return for protection, and the decision was accompanied by a remarkable declaration of recognition, by the planters, of their real political position:

The tax to Cakobau was to be paid in seven days - not that we suppose the amount will alarm the King of Bau, but we wish to show him that we acknowledge the fact of living inside the Bau sovereignty.⁴

-
1. The Lau Assembly of May 1870 had been opened with prayer, conducted by the Rev. James Hickey. Three new laws had been added to an already formidable list of prohibitions. Desertion was made a divorceable offence, government officials were enabled to enter private houses to make arrests for drunkenness, and a 10 p.m. curfew and 'lights out' was imposed. H. Britton, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
 2. *E.I.*, 31 May 1871.
 3. *E.I.*, 4 February 1871. This decision shows the influence of D.W.L. Murray who acted as Ratu Kini's secretary. The settlers of Nadroga as a body later became adamantly 'republican' as their prosperity declined.
 4. *E.I.*, 4 February 1871.

These events were not lost on the more politically aware of the citizens of Levuka, and at the beginning of 1871, when the rapid increase in population made the need for some kind of government more pressing, the sympathy of the Fiji Times was temporarily drawn towards the political developments in Lau, and to ^{the} advice of Swanston. The proceedings at Lomaloma of the previous Christmas were fully reported as they came to hand, and Swanston himself was held up as a man of experience in Fijian affairs, whose advice should be heeded. 'He is to Va'afu and Lau' readers were told, 'what Bismarck is to King William and Prussia or Germany' and his warning that 'difficulties and troubles' would arise if settlers attempted to seize power for themselves, was to be taken seriously:

'Difficulties and troubles' when savages or semi-savages are concerned, mean butchery, rapine and slaughter - and the horrors of the Indian rebellion and the Maori war.

The community was therefore advised to take Swanston's advice, and even to follow his example:

A careful observation of the working of the Lau constitution may prove the advisability of Bau having a government as well as Lau and Sua.¹

The first test of whether the ideas evolved from experience in Lau would be found acceptable to the new metropolitan community of Levuka came a month later. A public meeting was called to consider the formation of a town corporation in accordance with the charter

1. F.T., 11 January 1871.

granted by Cakobau the previous November.¹ G.L. Griffiths, editor of the Fiji Times, who had recently written on developments in Lau, was probably responsible for calling the meeting. He moved that a committee of seven be elected to draw up a municipal constitution in accordance with Cakobau's charter. He was opposed, however, by Mr. John Rutherford Ryley, a comparatively recent arrival from Auckland with a history of emotional disturbance.² Ryley argued that a corporation would be unable to function without a supporting government which could enforce the collection of rates, and so, since there seemed little prospect of establishing a government, he moved an amendment in favour of an 'improvement committee' which would have the power to collect voluntary subscriptions. The amendment was lost and a committee was elected, but it seems to have taken Ryley's criticism to heart for it was not until a year later that plans were made for the first municipal elections.³ In the meantime, however, the committee, which included S.G. Burt, J.C. Smith, G.L. Griffiths, O. Oudlip, W.H. Moore, J.R. Ryley, J.A. Manton and J.B. Turner, became interested in the formation of the Cakobau government.⁴ The significant development

1. See Chapter 6; p.256

2. See Chapter 6, G.L., Miscellaneous correspondence: Director of Auckland Lunatic Asylum to March, 5 January 1871.

3. F.T., 23 December 1871. The elections were held on 2 January 1872.

4. Burt, Smith and Moore took a leading part in launching it. They and the other members were all to become prominent in its proceedings.

was that the principle of deriving authority for a government of settlers from the existing Fijian authorities had been established.

This was recognised by the Fiji Times:

Any action we may wish to take must be with the sanction of the native rulers... we are under their rules, subject to whatever laws they may make... and if they do not enforce the observance of those laws upon us, it is not because they do not possess the right, but because they do not understand the situation.¹

When those words were written it looked as though a government would shortly be brought into being under the direct influence of those most experienced in Fijian affairs, and respected by the European community. The hurricane of March 1871 was later blamed for their loss of interest:

Merchants and Planters alike were compelled by sheer force of circumstances to loosen their hold upon public affairs.... Just at this moment when the bone and sinew, the talent and wealth of the country were resting from public and devoting their time to private considerations a few enterprising adventurers, interlopers, rushed the ground and jumped the rightful owners' claims.

Frederick Hennings was particularly blamed for losing a good opportunity. Though he did participate in the formation of the Cakobau government, it was as an auxiliary rather than as an initiator; 'had he announced to the public his determination to form a government, and called about him... those who enjoy the confidence and respect of the public, that

1. F.T., 3 March 1871.

public would have acquiesced'.¹ Swanston too was reported, as the Cakobau government was being formed, as being 'conspicuous in all these negotiations only by his absence. Where is he?'² Wherever he was at the time, he was concerned with his own affairs. Sometime in 1871 he must have left for Australia, for he returned early in 1872 on Tui Cakau's private yacht, the Caroline, with a newly acquired wife, and had no intention of getting involved in politics again.³ J.B. Thurston was also noticeable by his absence. He later confided to Richard Philip 'that he had been asked by Thakobau to form a government, but had declined... what he feared to do, these gentlemen readily undertook'.⁴

It is possible, however, that Swanston, William Hennings, and even Thurston, would have preferred Ma'afu rather than Cakobau as ruler of Fiji. It was in February 1871 that he made a bid for supremacy by making an alliance with the Levoni people who lived in the interior of Ovalau. It was at his instigation that they launched a rebellion against the authority of the Tui Levuka and of Bau by an assault on the coastal village of Tokelau, while Ma'afu himself awaited the result at a safe distance on the island of Lakoba.⁵ It was soon apparent, however,

1. F.I., 15 July 1871.

2. F.I., 26 July 1871.

3. A.W. Hamilton, writing to Swanston on 20 February 1872, congratulates him on getting married - Swanston papers.

4. Richard Philip, 'My Diary', 24 September 1872.

5. F.I., 22 February 1871.

that the rebels had been too ambitious. After a long campaign they were driven back to their own valley where, on 25 June 1871 the Rev. Langham was induced to act as a decoy to the besieged tribe, now reduced by a long siege to a pitiable condition. He led them to expect that if they surrendered an amnesty would be granted to them. Instead they found themselves horded into Totoga square like cattle and sold as plantation labourers.¹

The reason for this unusual treatment was that Cakobau had fallen under the influence of two men who had recently arrived in Fiji, Sydney C. Burt and George Austin Woods, the men who launched the Cakobau government on 5 June 1871. Burt had been employed at one time by the Victorian firm of Goldsbrough & Co. as a stable hand, and more recently as an auctioneer in Sydney.² He had arrived from Sydney on his own yacht, the *Vivid*.³ It was claimed that he had no criminal record but had left because of failure in business.⁴ Woods was reputed to be a man of dominating and authoritarian personality, an ex-naval officer, prone to adopt 'quarterdeck methods' of government. Richard Philip describes him as he was in 1872: 'We met a fat, pursey

1. *F.I.*, 23 June 1871 and 1 July 1871.

2. *F.I.*, 16 March 1872.

3. See above Chapter 6, p. 247.

4. From the *Daily Telegraph*, Sydney, cit. *F.I.*, 13 December 1871.

381a



George Austin Woods

(Facing page 150 in A.B. Brewster, King of the Cannibal Isles, Robert Hole & Co., London 1937.)

individual with a large paunch and a large voice, and altogether a very imposing personage'.¹ Woods explained his own reasons for coming to Fiji as follows:

On March 1 1871 while in charge of Admiralty and Colonial Survey in New Zealand, I received a memorial from several [of] the principal Fijian residents, asking me to come to this country for the purpose of surveying the waters around the group, they guaranteed it as representing the Fiji Residents who were anxious to establish a service between San Francisco and Australia: I also got with this letter one from Cakobau... he on behalf of his people undertook to give me an equivalent in land. The letter was signed by W. Drew.²

It was perhaps because so little was known of these men in Fiji that exaggerated rumours about them gained favour, and their government was distrusted from the beginning. 'A nice set this... Government consists of' wrote Markham, 'the Premier was dismissed his Majesty's service for peculation, the Chief Secretary is an absconded debtor and a fraudulent trustee... to crown all there is, it is reported, a reward of £100 offered for the apprehension of the undersecretary of state.'³ Rumours like this made it easy for men like Markham and many others who, for different reasons, were unable to tolerate the idea of political subjection to the Chief of Bau, to justify their opposition on grounds

1. Richard Philip, 'My Diary'. 2 September 1872.

2. L.C.C. R302.

3. G.W.H. Markham, Diary, 28 October 1871.

which were impeccable in terms of their own 'Whig' tradition. Burt and Woods were widely regarded as unscrupulous adventurers who aimed at despotic government, and had found 'a convenient way to gratify the childish vanity of a low, vulgar set of adventurers and to fill their pockets with the substantial benefits of place and profit'.¹ In May 1872, Burt was replaced by Thurston, and Swanston joined the government as Minister for Native Affairs, but it proved impossible to counteract the momentum which the opposition of righteous indignation had gained.

Burt saw the opportunity presented by the Lovoni rebellion as early as 4 March 1871 when, acting already as Cakobau's agent, he inserted an advertisement in the Fiji Times warning that no land sales made by the Lovoni people would be recognised. Woods must have arrived shortly afterwards, and so did the hurricane. In April came news of the fall in the price of cotton. There was no chance now that Woods would get his \$1,000, but ^{the} Lovoni rebellion meant there might be land available instead, and he could claim the equivalent in land from any government brought into being to grant it. Eventually he acquired 1,190 acres in the Lovoni valley:

... the land given me as part of the equivalent for the \$1000 promised. That deed is signed by myself as Minister of Lands. The land was handed to me soon after the government was formed but no deed was made out until we got the Crown grants drawn.²

1. Richard Philip, 'My Diary'. November 1872.

2. L.S.C. R302. The deed was dated 24 July 1873.

The rest of the Lovoni land was added to what became the 'royal demesne', for the King's advisers liked to think that the Fijians had been so raised in the 'scale of civilisation' by contact with European settlers that they had advanced from the tribal to the feudal stage of development. Some of the 'royal demesne' was sold to planters, ^{and} the rest was eventually used as security for a loan of £50,000 raised by bonds in Sydney on 25 July 1872,¹ to support the government after many settlers had refused to pay taxes. In the meantime, it was calculated that the support of needy planters for the new government could be most easily secured by providing the Lovoni people to them as labourers at £6 per head.²

The process which led to the establishment of the Cakobau government began with an advertisement in both Fijian and English, in the Fiji Times of 3 June 1871, signed by W.M. Moore on behalf of Cakobau:³

Whereas it has appeared to us desirable for urgent reasons... to cause an assembly of the principal chiefs of our kingdom, on Monday the 5th instant, at 3 p.m. in front of the Mission house, Levuka. We do by these presents invite the attendance of Foreign Residents at the same time and place.⁴

-
1. Henderson MSS Chapter XIVIII, Bk. 6.
 2. F.T., 12 July 1871. Inter-island shipping lists show a great many going to Taveuni in the Lady Palmerston in the care of W.M. Moore.
 3. Moore's support of the Cakobau government, like his patronage of the Polynesia Company, was probably a mixed blessing. The promoters of the government also attempted to enhance its respectability by securing the support of Father Breheret of the Catholic Mission.
 4. F.T., 3 June 1871.

W.H. Drew opened the meeting by reading a declaration announcing that an executive had been appointed, consisting of S.C. Burt, Premier and Minister of Finance, G.A. Woods, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ratu Cavenace, Native Affairs, Ratu Timoci, War and Police, J.T. Sagar, Trade and Commerce and J.C. Smith and G. Hennings members without portfolio. The executive appeared on the platform with Cakobau and Drew, and also with W.M. Moore and Father Breheret, the mission leaders. The government of Fiji would be administered, they said, 'in accordance with the constitution adopted in 1867'.¹

This closed the official part of the ceremony, but the European residents present adjourned to the Reading Room at 7 p.m. and held a meeting of protest. They passed a resolution expressing 'strong disapprobation' of 'the attempt made at the meeting in front of the Wesleyan mission house today to enforce on the population of these islands, without even asking their concurrence, an absolute form of government under one of the native chiefs; and to resist any such form of government'.² The committee acknowledged, however, that some form of government was necessary and the feeling was evidently in favour of a positive response to the opportunity which had been offered. It was therefore resolved to set up a working committee to draw up proposals and report back to a second public meeting, held on 21 June:

1. *E.I.*, 7 June 1871.

2. *Ibid.*

The committee's formal proposals were published the day the second meeting was held. Its initial statement illustrates the prevailing confusion over the issues involved:

The only form of government practicable was by an amalgamation of both whites and natives to form such a government over both races.¹

This amounted to a positive rejection of the idea of a 'white republic' on the lines of the old Fiji Corporation but it came no nearer solving the problem of establishing an authority which both races would recognise. The committee fell back on the only political tradition with which they were familiar:

And for that purpose they recommended that the white inhabitants do not recognise any form of government or jurisdiction over them unless such government or jurisdiction originate from themselves.²

The public meeting to which the report was presented included many who spoke on behalf of the government. Articulate opposition had in fact been largely disarmed by an explanation in the Gazette of 10 June of the events of five days beforehand. No public meeting had been called to launch a government because such meetings had been held in the past and had achieved nothing. However, now that a government had been set up it issued summonses for the election of delegates from all the settled districts to meet in Levuka on 1 August to discuss amendments to the existing constitution. J.S. Batters was therefore able to

1. F.I., 21 June 1871.

2. Ibid.

disarm critics by clouding the constitutional issues involved:

He failed to see what it mattered who took the preliminary steps, and the present so-called Government was doing the very thing the report wanted and proposed to do itself... he would advise them to join and go on like sensible people and get a government.¹

There was little vocal opposition to Butters, and the report of the committee was adopted.² It was clear that at this point there was little disagreement over whether there should be an all-embracing government. Merchants and planters were two kinds of people who both wanted one. A government had been launched for largely personal reasons, by an ex-naval officer and an unsuccessful auctioneer, who had lent an air of respectability to their operations by obtaining the support of two merchants, two missionaries, a South Australian gentleman, and one ex-beachcomber. It was supported by some of the new arrivals, who expected to find government wherever two or three white men were gathered together in the name of civilisation. It was supported by professional men, shipwrights, builders, overseers and recruiters. A division of opinion did exist, however, over who was to constitute the government, and on what principles. The alternatives were both paradoxical. It could be government for and by a white elite, based on the idea of popular sovereignty, or it could be multi-racial government before which all would stand as equals, dependent on chiefly authority.

1. P.T., 24 June 1871.

2. Ibid.

It is difficult, from the contemporary evidence, to say what kinds of people supported each side, and with what motives. The evidence consists of garbled reports of public meetings, speeches, petitions and letters to the press. Occupations overlap, and the emergence of the issues themselves was a gradual process. It is advisable to heed the warning of 'Heming' a correspondent of the Wife Times, who wrote:

By way of showing how easy it is to get signatures to any document, as people only wait for a few respectable names, I started along the beach with a blank piece of paper and got eighty-three signatures, all names of respectable men, in half an hour.

It is possible nevertheless to discern, in the activities which surrounded the launching of the Government, some of the motives for political division which grew deeper as the homogeneity of the settler community was destroyed by economic misfortune and its consequences, to a point at which consensus no longer existed.

To begin with, settlers who were inclined to oppose the assumption of power by the ministry were too concerned with hurricane damage, falling prices and mounting debts to attempt to recapture the initiative. The government, in spite of the qualified support indicated by the meeting on 21 June, was not content to wait for a 'constitutional congress' to provide a basis for its authority. A Supreme Court was established immediately, mainly for the purpose of convicting the Lovoni rebels. Their rebellion had made it possible to form a govern-

1. E.I.T., 6 April 1872.

ment without first seeking the support of the settler community, for by confiscating their lands the government was provided with a source of revenue without the need for immediate taxation. Burt and Woods were of course concerned with keeping power for themselves, and they had reason to expect that if they relinquished their authority to a popular assembly of settlers, it would never be returned. They no doubt still believed, as new arrivals, that the new government, whatever its form, would be able to function exclusively in settler interests, but in order to ensure that they retained the initiative they had no alternative but to remain the servants of Cakobau. G.L. Griffiths made his readers aware of the significance of the government's action:

We cannot congratulate the Government upon the institution of a court, because such a step is an assumption of power which they do not possess, and which Europeans would not acknowledge, until after the meeting of delegates and the establishment of a constitution confers it upon them.¹

When the time came for the delegates to meet, however, they were summoned not to make an original social compact but 'for the purpose of amending the Constitution Act, assented to at Bau in the Year of Our Lord 1867'.² The elections for the 'Constitutional Congress' in Levuka brought the alternatives of popular and royal authority to the attention of the public, and their record is equally illuminating for

1. *F.S.I.*, 8 July 1871 (*My italics*).

2. *F.S.I.*, 9 August 1871.

the historian. Supporters of the government were W.S. Morgan, Dr. W. Brown, and D.W.L. Murray. They all said they were prepared to support the principle of deriving authority from Cakobau, with the support of other chiefs, but they secured few votes. Morgan got forty-five, Brown fifty-five, and Murray forty-seven.¹ Three candidates, J.A. Manton, E.S. Smith and Dr. J.R. Ryley announced themselves as opponents of the government. Two of them, Manton and Ryley, can perhaps be described as merchant constitutionalists,² but the kind of constitution they envisaged was very different from the one on which the Cakobau government was based. At the public meeting on 21 June Ryley had been content to accept the sovereignty of Cakobau on the understanding that it was to be mere window-dressing. He told the settlers:

The Queen is a cipher in the hands of her ministers who are responsible to the Parliament, and the Parliament again to the people. Such safeguards as these are what we want... the native element would be a cipher in the Government de facto for we would actually frame our own laws.³

Realisation that Cakobau was not merely a symbol of despotism but the representative of 'the native element', and that one objection to the existing government was that other chiefs as well should be consulted, forced him rapidly to adopt a purely republican position. He announced

1. E.I., 26 July 1871.

2. J.D. Legge, op. cit., p. 74, n. 2. Smith announced in his election speech that he, Ryley and Manton 'had determined to support each other and run together.' E.I., 26 July 1871.

3. E.I., 24 June 1871.

his candidature at the earliest opportunity because he objected 'to a coup d'état on the part of three white men, one of whom has only been a few weeks in Fiji,¹ under the cloak of Cakobau to enforce on the British and other white residents of these islands (one of the most intelligent and wealthy in the whole history of British colonisation) an absolute or despotic form of government, under the Bau constitution of 1867'. At the same time he favoured 'taking the voice of the whole white population on the whole question without reference to the silly attempt by a few men self-constituted to impose a government upon us'.² E. J. Smith, a well-known 'republican', endeavoured to persuade the people of Levuka that the land purchased throughout the group by the European population provided the necessary territorial base for such a republic, and further, that its establishment was the inescapable duty which providence had imposed upon the white man in the Pacific.³ Though they were members of a mercantile community, the source of livelihood of these two men, Smith and Ryley, gives little indication of their political motivation. At this point both men seem to have been living on their wits, Ryley in medical practice and Smith as a legal draughtsman and arbitrator. Smith had married a woman who he expected to inherit a fortune,⁴ and he was already the owner of the Daphne,

1. i.e. J.T. Sagar - or Ryley may have meant G.A. Woods.

2. F.I., 12 July 1871.

3. F.I., 26 July 1871.

4. Detective Mackay's report on Edward Schwarz Smith 18 May 1871, Victoria, Chief Secretary's dept. 71/17732, March, the British Consul in Fiji, had requested information about him.

notorious as a labour trader whose captain had few scruples.¹ One writer gives a description of them as they appeared in 1871:

The two besom friends of the place, the doctor and the lawyer.... These two have pushed themselves forward and are now leading men in this small cove - so much so, that no meeting can be held, no important business be discussed, no proposal for the welfare of the place be entertained, no amusement sketched out, but that these two must be consulted... haters of tyrants... having a finger in everybody's pie, and withal, under certain circumstances, jolly boon companions, but that is all. No genial family circle admits them, no friendly hearth bids them welcome.... If you want the doctor or the lawyer after office or consulting hours you must seek them at the bars of the public houses or in the billiard rooms.

Why have I specially picked out these two? you may ask. Simply because they are good types of a class of dwellers in the Beach City.²

Both clearly expected to play a leading part in the new government, should it be fashioned according to their ideas.³ J.A. Manton was proprietor of Levuka's leading hotel - 'Just as the Tabard in Chaucer's day, Shepherds of Cairo, so in Levuka, Manton's was the hotel of the place' wrote Forbes.⁴ Smith announced that 'Dr. Ryley, Mr. Manton and himself had determined to support each other and run together',⁵ but

1. See the evidence of Downie, 'late landlord of the Australia Felix Hotel', in the report by Superintendent C.H. Nicolson, 18 May 1871. *Ibid.*, and also G. Palmer, Kidnapping in the South Seas, Edinburgh, 1871, pp. 106-112.

2. Town and Country Journal, 15 July 1871.

3. When it became apparent that it was indeed capable of governing, they immediately sought employment from it, Ryley as its 'medical officer' and Smith as Crown Prosecutor. *E.I.*, 28 June 1871.

4. L. Forbes, Two Years in Fiji, p. 15.

5. *E.I.*, 26 July 1871.

Manton was a little more moderate than the other two. 'The wise course to pursue' he said, 'was to call a convention of the chiefs and endeavour to induce them to recognise each other. We could then demand to be recognized by them and by that means we should actually be the ruling power'. Ideally, he favoured a republican form of government, but if necessary was prepared to accept the form of a constitutional monarchy though 'not with the present ministers'.¹

Candidates who supported the government included Dr. W. Brown, the first medical man to take up residence in Levuka in 1870, Somner and D.W.L. Murray, secretary to Ratu Kini, the Tui Madroga. He said 'he was in favour of the present government, Crown lands would provide sufficient revenue'.² None of the candidates who supported the government secured election. Brown came closest to it, with fifty-five votes. Manton topped the poll with one hundred and twenty-two votes and Kyley also secured a place with seventy votes. Smith came at the bottom of the poll, behind all the government supporters, with thirty-nine.³ The other candidate to gain selection was A. Levy, twenty-four years old, a clerk working for ~~his associates~~ Brodziack and Cohen. He adopted a neutralist position, believing that no-one should commit

1. *E.I.*, 22 July 1871.

2. *E.I.*, 26 July 1871. He later secured an appointment as Consul for Hawaii to the new government. *E.I.*, 25 October 1871.

3. *E.I.*, 26 July 1871.

himself ~~themselves~~ until the convention had met, and in the event, he accepted the idea of Cakobau's sovereignty, but rejected the use of royal veto. He secured eighty-one votes, and his political success seems to have been based on his enthusiasm for purely local matters. He advocated expenditure in Levuka on harbour lighting, and a promenade, (which it still lacks) and his supporters described him as 'of genial disposition, a model citizen and unjustly criticised as ignorant just because he has little formal education'.¹

The Convention was duly opened, by Cakobau, on 1 August 1871 in the Criterion Theatre. The King had no sooner concluded his address than Ryley sprang to his feet and said he wanted it to be understood that the delegates did not recognize Burt and his colleagues as the government of Fiji. J.S. Butters was elected as chairman of what Ryley now considered to be an independent convention of European delegates. He moved a resolution to the effect that the delegates met Cakobau's ministers purely as his agents, and that they did not recognise the existence of a government. He was opposed by Cave, a planter from Dreketi, Vanua Levu, and Eastgate, a planter from the Beqa. Eastgate moved, as an amendment, that Ryley's motion was 'premature', 'maintaining that the delegates had recognised the ministers by the very fact of their meeting upon the ministers' invitation'. The amendment was carried, with only Mantou and Ryley of Levuka and A.W. Hamilton of

1. F.I., 13 September 1871.

Madroga voting against it.¹ The convention was then adjourned until the 9th, when the constitution, drawn up by Burt, was laid before them for amendment. On 13 August, in its final form, it was given the royal assent.

The government was defined as a Constitutional Monarchy under His Majesty, Cakobau, his heirs and successors, but the King was to be bound by an oath to govern according to the constitution. Legislative power was vested in the King and the Legislative Assembly, the latter having exclusive control of finance, peace and war, and constitutional amendment. It was to be elected by 'every male subject of the Kingdom, who shall have paid his taxes, who shall have attained the age of twenty-one years, and shall have been domiciled in the kingdom for six months immediately preceding the election'. On the face of it this meant franchise for both races, but in practice it was not intended, either by Cakobau or his European advisers, that Fijians

1. The delegates present were as follows:

Ba:	Kennedy & Berrey (two meetings had been held, each electing a delegate, and both had come)
Lavuka:	Manton, Ryley, Levy
Ovalau:	Capt. Bateman
Dreketi:	R.J.W. Cave
Lomaloma:	W. Hennings, H. Emberson, R.S. Swanston
Upper Rewa:	A. Eastgate, W. Haslitt
Ra:	W.R. Scott
Macuata:	J.S. Batters
Tova & Nanamanu:	Lieutenant Andrews
Madroga:	W.E. Hamilton
Goro:	R. Calloway
Lower Rewa:	W. Newmarsh
Savu Savu:	A. Lang
Natives:	Nuni Valu, Finoci, Ratu Samson, Ratu Savenaka, Ratu Jonegi (these were all members of the house of Bau).

should vote, and it was unlikely that they would do so without positive direction from their chiefs. In normal circumstances the chiefs would be unlikely to give such direction because they themselves were to become 'Native Governors' over their respective areas, which now became provinces of the kingdom. (CL. XLII). They were also to become members of the 'Privy Council' of the kingdom, together with the King's 'cabinet', which was to be composed of his ministers: the Chief Secretary, Minister of Trade and Commerce, Minister of Lands and Works, Minister of Finance, Minister of Native Affairs. All ministers were to be members of the Legislative Assembly. The arrangement was designed, as the Sill Times put it, 'to obviate the necessity of the two races mingling in the Assembly and voting together'.¹ Ministers were to hold office 'during His Majesty's pleasure' and there was no provision for their removal on the basis of a vote of want of confidence. They were, however, 'subject to impeachment or retirement on political grounds'.² Republicans could, for the moment, congratulate themselves on the achievement of 'responsible government', and the bargain which they anticipated with Cakobau and the leading chiefs for a European franchise. Those more aware of the need to avoid the impression of

1. S.I., 26 August 1871. It was only later, after Thurston, as Chief Secretary, had used the threat of organised native voting as a means to swamp opposition in the Legislative Assembly that an act was passed specifically excluding 'native born subjects and natives of any Polynesian islands' from the franchise. Henderson ~~---~~, 1935, p. 60.

2. Henderson ~~---~~, 1935, p. 30.

high-handed action could derive comfort from the explicitly monarchical basis of political power. Temporarily, Burt was admired and congratulated:

The manner in which he has acted, and the advanced stage at which the movement has arrived during the short period in which he was the so-called Premier of a quasi-government, by whose energy and push, the object has been almost attained, have tended greatly to disperse the popular opinion which at one time ran high against him.¹

This initial support, based largely in Levuka, lends weight to the assumption that the government was basically the product of the mercantile and professional classes, but support was given for ambiguous reasons and the ambiguity was not long in coming to light in the coming months. It is true that the government was opposed to begin with in many of the outdistricts, and by planters, which seems to give colour to the suggestion that they viewed the Cakobau government as the device of their merchant creditors. But in the more prosperous of outdistricts, the arrangements which settlers had made with their local chiefs showed that they had no objection to settled government as such. In Tavuni, Bau, and Lau especially, ^{and} to some extent in Rewa, the principle of working through the existing native rulers was recognised, and there was no more support for the Levuka republicans than there had been for the Planters' Association a year before. Ryley, in Levuka, complained that the opposition was lacking in cohesion due to the

1. F.I., 6 September 1871.

'jealous feeling' which, he claimed, existed between the outlying districts and Levuka: 'Members for these districts, because there was opposition here, went in to support the Government through thick and thin'. He even claimed that they supported the principle of votes for natives,¹ and they were, to him, much more likely to support the government than to oppose it. But in fact, the attitudes of the settlers in the outdistricts seems to have been determined not by their relationship with the Levuka merchants - either as republicans or as creditors - but by the political circumstances of their own localities, which varied according to the results of settlement.

One general reason for preferring the arrangements with which they were already familiar to a new scheme was the limited effectiveness of the authority of Bau. It was pointed out in June 1871 that it was not enough for the Cakobau government merely to derive authority from the Bau constitution of 1867, because of the increase in the power of the other chiefs which had resulted from European settlement on their land, especially in the case of Tui Cakau and Ma'afu.² The actual extent of Cakobau's authority is difficult to determine, but a sketch map in Philip's diary, reproduced below, is a contemporary estimate. In Philip's words 'the dotted line shows over what part of the group the

1. *E.I.*, 13 September 1871.

2. *E.I.*, 23 June 1871.

The support of Ma'afu for the Cakobau government was vital to its success, but it must have been only the ignominious failure of the Levoni rebellion which induced him to give it. On 22 July 1871 he arrived in Levuka and visited Cakobau and two days later took an oath of allegiance and abandoned all territorial claims outside Lau.¹ In return he received the rank of Viceroy, and in fact did act as Cakobau's deputy in the affairs of government. The man generally credited with the achievement of inducing Ma'afu to give the government his support is William Hennings.² Hennings himself represented the district of Lau at the Levuka Convention of July 1871, but took no further part in the proceedings. His indifference was typical of the Lau settlers as a whole, and it was not until 1872 that they sent Rupert Ryder as a representative to the Assembly. Then, with Ma'afu's approval assured, and with the government, under Thurston's influence, making a genuine attempt to govern in the interests of both races, they gave it unqualified support.³

Tui Cakau was equally jealous of his independence, and the settlers in Taveuni and Savu Savu were conscious of the extent to which their prosperity depended upon his approval of their political actions.

1. R.A. Derrick, *History of Fiji*, p. 204.

2. *Cyclopaedia of Fiji* 1907, p. 302. Cf. *E.I.*, 20 September 1871.

3. D.J. Routledge, 'Pre-Cession Government in Fiji', Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Pacific History, A.N.U., Canberra, 1965, pp. 173-178.

It was in an attempt to secure the support of this district that the Lovoni rebels were sentenced to work on plantations. Inter-island shipping lists show that most of them were sent to Taveuni, but as a political move it backfired. By 22 July 1871 it was already reported that 'it is not expected the Lovoni labourers will stay long... and the inauguration of the government is looked on as a farce'.¹ Turpin records how, on 1 August, when delegates from the other districts were already meeting in Levuka, he attended a meeting of forty settlers at Wairiki, 'to take into consideration the advisability of forming a government', but he seems to have regarded the proceedings as very unimportant.² No candidate was sent from either Taveuni or Savu Savu to the Levuka Convention of 1 August 1871 and there were grave misgivings about further co-operation when the results of events in Levuka were known. As the Taveuni correspondent wrote:

The elections here are creating very little stir; and if it was not that a certain Dr. Forbes has put himself forward in the ministerial interest, South Taveuni would be unrepresented. With the view of checkmating this individual, we have put forward Mr. McCosnell, who intends, if elected, to abide the decision of Tui Cakau; and if the latter chief keeps aloof from Bau, we, as loyal subjects, must do likewise.³

Elections took place on Taveuni on 23 September, though one speaker at the meeting objected to any election being held without Tui Cakau's

1. F.I., 22 July 1871.

2. E.J. Turpin, 'Diary and Narratives', 1 August 1871.

3. F.I., 4 October 1871. 'Dr. Forbes' was Dr. L. Forbes, author of Two Years in Fiji.

sanction. Johnstone, a government supporter, argued that labour was essential to the prosperity of Taveuni 'and only through the Bau government could they obtain it', but in view of the relative reliability of labourers supplied by Fui Cakau and by Cakobau it was a weak argument. McConnell had opposed co-operation with a republican movement the previous year and now he advised against sending delegates to Levuka without Fui Cakau's consent and said that he himself would advise the chief against giving such consent until he was certain of the stability of the new government. Moore, the son of the Levuka trader and missionary who had helped to launch the government, made the same point in his speech proposing McConnell's candidature:

The question had been asked 'who was Fui Cakau?' Fui Cakau was the king of these dominions, from whom they held their land titles; and to him they looked for security for lives and property. The state of law and order in his dominions was far before that in Cakobau's. They never heard of such outrages in Cakaudrovi as occurred in Viti Levu, or even in Ovalau.¹

McConnell was elected with thirty-nine votes, Forbes withdrew, and Johnstone secured only nineteen votes. Two days later, Fui Cakau sent a message asking settlers not to send a delegate until he had found out his true position 'in relation to the land, and to Cakobau'.²

At Savu Savu a meeting was held on 12 September to decide whether to send a representative to Levuka or not. R.F. Feehey argued that

1. *Ibid.*, 30 September 1871.

2. *Ibid.*

'until the chief now present, and upon whose lands we resided, had given in his adhesion to the Bau government, it would be unwise in us to proceed with the election of representatives for this district'.

Tui Cakau (referred to on this occasion as the Tui Vanua Levu), stated through his interpreter, Samuel Whippy, that he was not going to give up his lands or his authority to Bau, though he was willing to give him his support. The settlers agreed to postpone the election of a representative until the position of their chief had been clarified.¹

No representatives were actually sent from either district until the second session of the Legislative Assembly, in 1872, not for fear of Levuka creditors but from deference to the local Fijian authority. By 1872, through the skilful diplomacy of Robert Swanston, Tui Cakau had been induced to give his support to Cakobau. Swanston himself eventually became Minister of Native Affairs, under J. B. Thurston, who was himself a Tavouni settler. Cases committed by the action of their local chiefs, and anxious to rescue the Cakobau government from the hands of the newcomers whom they mistrusted, the settlers of Lau, Tavouni and Vanua Levu thus became staunch government supporters. Their initial indifference and hostility to a government launched by those whose motives they suspected and whose understanding of Fijian affairs they thought deficient was replaced by consistent support in maintaining in an all-embracing government the principles which they had found to work to their own advantage in their own districts.

1. F.I., 20 September 1871.

In the areas of minimum security of Viti Levu, political action and the changing attitude towards the Cakobau government was also determined by local experience. It was in these areas, Raki Raki, Ba, and Nadi, that initial support for the ministry was most enthusiastic, though in many cases it was also in these areas that indebtedness was greatest. At Raki Raki, a meeting was held on 12 June 1871 at which C.H.S. Irvine was deputed to write to Cakobau and convey 'the unanimous approval of the meeting in the steps he had taken towards the formation of a government, and also to offer their hearty co-operation in such a measure.'¹ At the same time, regret was expressed that there had been any opposition to the ministry at all. At a later meeting G.A. Woods was proposed as a delegate to the constitutional convention 'as all government members would need constituencies', but in the end, Andrews was elected as it was assumed that Woods would be provided for elsewhere.² The explanation of this enthusiasm was the expectation that the Cakobau government would be a more effective guarantee of security than could be obtained through alliance with the local authorities alone. Settlers were conscious of the recent murder of Spiers and McIntosh, and feared the consequences if reprisals were ineffective. They agreed to 'individually pledge ourselves to co-operate with the government in any measures which may be advisedly determined upon for the capture

1. *I.L.*, 21 June 1871.

2. *I.L.*, 2 August 1871.

and punishment of the perpetrators of these diabolical outrages'.¹

At last, support for the government was also initially taken for granted, with both Kennedy and Berrey being sent as the delegates from enthusiastic meetings. Markham, at Radi, was privately sceptical; 'it is extremely unlikely' he wrote, 'that the white population will pay taxes to or recognise the authority of a self-constituted government', but the district as a whole was persuaded by a settler named Gordon, eventually sent as a constitutional delegate, 'who informed us that there is every possibility of a settled government at last'.² Far from being a government supported by Levuka merchants for the collection of debts from planters the government was at first supported by planters and opposed chiefly by an ill-informed minority in Levuka. 'There is no disguising the fact' said Hyley, after the constitutional convention, 'that the large majority of members from the outlying districts are prepared to support the present cabinet through thick and thin.' He also added that 'one of the members for Levuka voted continually against us in my repeated attempts to get responsible government'.³ He probably meant Levy, the least extreme of the three Levuka representatives.

In those outdistricts suffering at the time from insecurity and the first signs of poverty there was, however, a basic misunderstanding

1. *F.I.*, 2 August 1871.

2. G.W.H. Markham, *Diary*, 17 June 1871.

3. *F.I.*, 26 August 1871.

of the situation, just as there was on the part of recent arrivals in Levuka, who, like the poor planters, had no experience of the beneficial results of effective co-operation with Fijian rulers. The settlers of Suva, Nadi and Raki Raki initially supported the government because they believed it would be, in effect, a white republic capable of coercing the Fijian people. When it became clear that it was something else, they opposed it, though at first mildly: 'Jack and I gave our votes for Oudlip' wrote Markham on 30 September 1871, 'who is the only candidate for election... and also because he is in the opposition'.¹ Later, they opposed it to the point of rebellion. In the prosperous areas, however, where early settlers, usually with more wealth than later arrivals, had succeeded in establishing themselves, and had accepted the authority of their own local chiefs as a necessity, the original reaction to the Cakobau government was one of opposition, out of fear that it might prove to be, as the poor planters and the Levuka republicans hoped, a settler government alone. As it became evident that it was to be a government based on the political realities as they existed and when eventually, from 1872 onwards it sought in practice to become a government of both races, the initial cleavage changed its nature. It had been a division between those who, for different reasons, trusted or mistrusted the initiators of the government. It became a division between those who were willing to accept the political circumstances of a European minority and those who were not.

1. G.W.S. Markham, Diary, 30 September 1871.

The position of the Ministry was greatly strengthened at this juncture by the attitude of the British government. Requests from the Australian colonial governments for annexation, and a petition prepared by J.D. Lang to the same effect had been rejected.¹

Kimberly's dispatch to Viscount Canterbury, Governor of Victoria, dated 13 March 1871, in reply to a request from the Inter-colonial conference of August 1870 for British protection over the Fiji islands, seemed decisive:

The state of affairs in the Fijis appears to have so far changed since 1860... that there is now in the islands a much larger European community, and therefore more able to protect itself, and provide for its own Government; But otherwise the same difficulties must remain.²

News of the British attitude reached Levuka on 6 July 1871.³ Levuka republicans were then prepared to transmute passive resistance into constitutional opposition to the ministry. Dr. Ryley explained later to an audience of his constituents that he had opposed the coup d'état 'until Kimberly's dispatch, ordering settlers to form their own government had been received'.⁴ He then formed a 'Constitutional Party',

1. See Ricci, J.H. de, Fiji our New Province in the South Seas, London 1875, for details of official correspondence.

2. Cit. F.I., 12 July 1871.

3. Ibid.

4. F.I., 16 March 1872. On 3 November 1871, Kimberly had responded to the news that a government had been formed with a circular to Colonial Governors informing them that, 'as the newly constituted government exercises actual authority, you should deal with it as a de facto government, so far as the districts which may acknowledge its rule; but Her Majesty's Government are not prepared to give any opinion as to the propriety of formally recognising it without much fuller information as to its character and prospects.' Cit. G.C. Henderson, A Selection of Documents, etc, Sydney 1935, p. 56.

in opposition to the ministry. The formation of this party was first announced in October 1871, the aim being 'to bring forward and advocate certain principles in the forthcoming parliament'.¹ Its 'platform' was published a few days later, stating the following 'principles':

- (a) That Bart and his colleagues had met the constitutional convention of 1 August purely as the agents of Cakobau, not as an already constituted government.
- (b) The convention had met with the purpose of creating a new constitution, not to amend the old one of 1867.
- (c) They denied that there was a government in existence with jurisdiction over the whole group, nor could there be until the assembly met. They therefore denied the validity of the 'Orders in Council' which were at the time the sole instruments of government.²

The only concession to reality was a statement that some form of government was nevertheless necessary. It is interesting to note who the men were who held such views. Two planters only were involved, Mair and Conolly of Nadi. One member, Otty Gudlip, was a leading Levuka merchant, and member for Nadi. The others who provided the driving force of the opposition were J.R. Nyley, E.S. Smith and Keyes, the proprietor of a hotel, later to achieve notoriety as the head-

1. F.I., 25 October 1871.

2. F.I., 25 October 1871.

quarters of the Ku Klux Klan of Levuka. The Constitutional Party was thus the first fruit of an alliance between the late arrivals of the Fiji rush who had taken up cheap land in the dangerous areas, and had accordingly developed extravagantly racialist attitudes, and those other late arrivals who had stayed in Levuka where, in 1871, there was less need than anywhere else to make concessions to the Fijian environment.

The first session of the Legislative Assembly opened on 1 November 1871. Party alignment was acknowledged from the first, and was listed as follows:

<u>Government Supporters</u>	S.C. Burt, F. Hennings, J.C. Smith, W. Hennings, G.A. Woods, [H] Thomas, J.T. Sagar
<u>Opposition</u>	A.W. Hamilton, J.R. Ryley, J. de C. Ireland, O. Oudlip, H. Levick, W. Scott, E. Wecker
<u>Cross Benches</u>	J.S. Batters, A. Eastgate, F. Oway, J. Esalitt
<u>Absent</u>	Cave, W.R. Scott. ¹

The same alignment can again be discerned. Burt and F. Hennings were members for Levuka, but their majorities had been slender and the third Levuka member was J.R. Ryley. W. Hennings was member for Lau, Sagar for Lomiviti, Woods for the Yasawas and Thomas for the lower Rewa. The Opposition was composed exclusively of members representing Levuka and the less secure areas of Viti Levu.

1. E.I., 4 November 1871.

An attempted vote of no confidence in the ministry failed on the first day, and from then on the more extreme members of the Opposition concentrated on extra-parliamentary means of opposing the ministry. It became clear that taxation would be resisted,¹ and resistance became more general in January 1872 in response to the imposition of a stamp duty with fines of \$100 or twelve months imprisonment for evasion.² Meetings were held, some public and others secret, at which settlers determined on collective resistance. The old leaders of the republican movement and the Constitutional Party were again to the fore. On 17 January 1872, J.A. Manton took the chair at a meeting which unanimously refused to pay taxes of any kind to 'the Government of Messrs. Burt and Woods'.³ Thurston's first biographer suggests that the main grievance was the imposition of a tax on gin,⁴ but almost equally disturbing was the proposal of the government to establish a commission to investigate land titles. This was a significant move for it indicated recognition of the necessity to consider Fijian claims as befitted a bi-racial government. One planter saw it like this:

-
1. See the letter by 'A planter and landowner in Fiji and not a subject of the Kingdom', *F.I.*, 6 December 1871.
 2. *F.I.*, 24 January 1872.
 3. *F.I.*, 20 January 1872.
 4. J. Millington, 'The Career of Sir John Thurston, Governor of Fiji 1833-1897', M.A. Thesis, University of London, 1947.

When I came into the country, some six years ago, I, as a British subject, called on H.B.M. Acting-Consul for information as to the legal means of acquiring land in this group.... My land was purchased under these conditions, and recorded in the British Consulate, and I have remained in quiet possession ever since: Now Sir, I wish to know why, as one of the landowners of Fiji, I am, at the ukase of the said Board, to be compelled to go to the expense of surveying my land, producing my deeds, conveying my witnesses to Levuka, having to employ, perhaps, one of the numerous legal gentlemen (who, like vultures awaiting the slaughter, have sprung up in our midst) ... and get what in return? a deed not one iota better or more valid than the one I have at present.¹

He went on to claim, probably with justice, that the very existence of such a board was a standing invitation to natives to perjure themselves, since they were enabled to take the initiative in making an appeal.

Some settlers, determined to resist the authority of the government, tried to exploit its ambiguous status by claiming that as British subjects who did not acknowledge its sovereignty, they were exempt from its laws. J.A. Sinclair for example, who was brought before the Supreme Court on a charge of ill-treating a Fijian, objected to his arrest by 'the police of an aboriginal king':

... I as a British subject, and, as such, amenable only to British laws.... There is an agent at work in the background... which aims to destroy and trample under foot, with the iron rod of an imperious monster, the free liberties of all white subjects who are settled in these islands... and thus rendering all white individuals in this land abject slaves and as low in the scale of humanity, or even lower than the aboriginal and native Fijians.²

1. F.T. 17 January 1872

2. F.T. 2 March 1872

March, the British Consul, gave support to those who based their resistance on these assumptions. He made his attitude clear in November 1871 by going aboard the ship Pari in Levuka harbour, which was being used by the government as a prison hulk to contain the Nava murderers.¹ March took it upon himself to lower the Fijian flag and to hoist the Union Jack in its place, claiming that since the Cakobau government had no legitimate existence, the Pari was still a British ship.² Keyse's Hotel was the venue for a public meeting held in December 1871, in support of the Consul. It was addressed by Mantou, Cusack, and Captain Beatson, all ex-Levuka republicans, and by Hennie, a visitor from Nadi. A 'perpetual committee' was set up by the meeting 'to watch the government proceedings, and carefully overlook any movements calculated to infringe the privileges of Englishmen'.³ This meeting was followed by another in January 1872 'from which there were breathed out threatenings and slaughter' and from which eventually emerged the 'British Subjects' Mutual Protection Association', a 'Volunteer Corps', and the issue of a 'Declaration of Freedom' on 1 March 1872, which denied the authority of the Cakobau government over the members of the association.⁴ The support given to the organisation

1. See Chapter 7 for details of the Nava case.

2. E.I., 4 November 1871.

3. E.I., 9 December 1871.

4. E.I., 9 March 1872.

by March was not only alleged privately by Thurston¹ but openly acknowledged in Levuka by the Fiji Times:

To those who have been resident in Fiji since the attempted formation of a government, it is a patent fact, that in every way Mr. March has tried to kill and frustrate its endeavours; that when a society was formed for the purpose of resisting it by force of arms, he gave that society his countenance and... he called upon the 'society' for a guard for the Consulate, and had them day and night on his premises.²

It was the view of the British Consul and the opponents of the government which found its way into the British documents of the period and hence into the analysis of those historians who based their accounts upon them. The impression given by Henderson, for example, is of respectable planters standing on their rights as Englishmen. Yet even Edmund Wecker, a member of the parliamentary opposition, referred to the 'Ku Klux Assassination, anti tax-paying, or whatever you call it society composed, I presume of impecunious people...'. He went on to draw a sharp distinction between those responsible for extra-parliamentary opposition and the planters as a body: 'perhaps they have laid it down as a principle that only planters, as producers, pay the taxes, and that they (the Ku Klux) as drones, have a right to the money'.³ The Fiji Times, by then no supporter of Dart and Woods, took the same view, and made the same distinction between the government supporters and their more extreme opponents:

Letters,

1. Thurston to Hope, /Journals of Capt. G.W. Hope of H.M.S. Bright.
2. F.I., 18 May 1872.
3. F.I., 28 February 1872.

Our readers no doubt have already judged the class of these secret associations from the deputation of last Saturday. None of them were men of standing; some were what might be termed factious oppositionists ... Adventurers who have come down here to make money, have no intention of remaining do not want law.

There were however, to begin with, those who opposed the Government, not because they questioned the basis of its authority or the need to govern in the interests of both races, but because they suspected the motives of those who had brought the Government into existence, their competence, and their ability to resist the efforts of the Levuka republicans to gain influence over them and to turn the government into an instrument of short-term European aggrandisement. They also felt that their place in Fijian affairs had been usurped by their social inferiors. W.R.Scott was one who held such views. He was an old settler who had purchased land on Ovalau in 1862 and he had represented the island, apart from Levuka, at the convention of 21 June 1871.² He wrote to Robert Swanston in March 1872:

Thurston does not want to identify himself in any way with the present ministers, and I already know you have the same feelings. I think if you and Thurston and myself work together, matters will go on smoothly. We have been tried and our characters are thoroughly known so that the people would have confidence in our integrity, but beyond Smith and Hennings what is known of the most prominent of those who are now taking a leading part to their credit? The antecedents of Burt and Woods are notorious as also Butters, but who knows Forwood, Thomas, Hamilton. They are strangers and adventurers forcing themselves by sheer impudence on the inhabitants of Fiji to the exclusion of those who have contributed their share to making Fiji what it is.²

1. F.T., 27 January 1872.

2. L.C.C. R301 see above p.385.

3. W.R.Scott to Swanston, 21 March 1872, Swanston Papers.

The operation of the Land Claims Commission was something which Scott regarded with disfavour though he probably approved of it in principle. He suspected its members of corruption, and foretold that the result would be that native interests would be overlooked. Similar views were held by David Wilkinson, secretary to Tui Sua, who saw the situation through the eyes of an experienced settler and as a South Australian of strong religious principles. To Swanston he wrote:

We are drifting into political corruption, and national ruin, nay going headlong into it and yet some of us are standing by who ought to be up and doing. The government, the civil service Royal Land Commission, Courts altogether are a sink of iniquity, mercenary motives seem to be at the root of every action of nearly all, the Land Titles Commission perhaps doing the thing on the grandest scale. Scott, Hamilton and Hennings are having it all their own way, the two former are land agents... and it is said they agree to divide their clients fees and they expect to get £500 a year from commission alone.

Swanston was the man to whom Wilkinson looked for political salvation. He had been recently married, and apparently looked forward to a period of privacy and domesticity and was in no mood to become involved in politics. He nevertheless sent a memorandum to the cabinet pointing out the fraudulent nature of land purchases on the Macusta coast, and said they could not be settled properly by a commission sitting in Levuka.

-
1. W. Scott, not to be confused with W.R. Scott.
 2. Wilkinson to Swanston, 4 March 1872. Hennings did not entirely escape criticism either. Wilkinson accused him, as a leading recruiter, of corruption in connection with the working of the Labourers Act.

He also warned that the dispossession of large numbers of natives in accordance with the claims of purchasers would inevitably cause forcible retaliation.¹

There was also a movement of opposition in Levuka based not on objection to Cakobau's authority but on personal animosity to Surt and Woods and a desire to see a reduction in government expenditure. A meeting was called in February 1872 at the Criterion theatre which demanded cheaper government and the removal of the two ministers. Another resolution, carried but with less enthusiasm, demanded dissolution of the existing Assembly and the convening of a new one altogether.²

The attitude of the settlers in the more prosperous planting districts was determined by more general considerations. Lau, Taveuni, and parts of Vanua Levu had been settled, by this time, for several years. Planters in these areas usually expected to remain, rather than to make money quickly and return to the colonies. They therefore wanted a form of government which would provide stability and security rather than simply a means of coercing Fijians in settlers' interests, and their views differed markedly from those found in Levuka. Initially, in 1871, they held aloof from the events leading to the formation of the government, and they continued to regard its activities with scepticism.

1. Cakobau Government, Miscellaneous correspondence, F.5.

2. F.I., 21 February 1872.

It is clear from private correspondence and public statements that there was considerable alarm and uncertainty as to the best course of action. Savu Savu neglected the election of a representative to the first Assembly altogether, and this left them in a difficult position when much to their surprise, the government survived. A meeting held in March 1872 of all the local planters refused to pay taxes, but the grounds of their refusal was not rejection of the basis of the government's authority, as it was in Levuka, but their lack of representation. They resolved accordingly that if collection took place before they did secure representation in the 1872 parliament they would collectively resist it.¹ This amounted to conditional acceptance of the government's authority, and Alexander Barrack, later to become their representative, looked forward to co-operation with the moderate Swanston rather than with the Levuka republicans. 'My Dear Swanston' he wrote, 'I am glad to learn that you are to be here in May [i.e. in Levuka] and that you are going in strong opposition'.²

Swanston, a settler of ten years' standing, accomplished Fijian linguist, who had been secretary to both Ma'afu and Tui Cakau, was also the man on whom settlers of Lau centred their political hopes. In

1. F.I.L., 16 March 1872.

2. Barrack to Swanston, 17 January 1872.

September 1871 Leonard Boehm of Kanacea island wrote to him:

Whilst noting your disinclination to be mixed up in Fijian politics at the present time we still hope that you will allow yourself to be nominated as one of the two members for the Eastern Islands. The very fact of your not approving of certain steps already taken and contemplated by the present government makes you a more fitting representative for our District (as one who will have a check on the proceedings of the government).¹

Rupert Ryder of Mago was the other candidate envisaged by Boehm, and in Lau, there was no opposition. Ryder himself wrote to Swanston:

I do hope you will come forward as one of our members. I wanted to get out of it as far as I am concerned but they will not hear of it and now I think it will perhaps be as well that I stand as it is very important that the members of the first assembly, or at all events at its first launching into existence should be as independent as possible.²

Swanston was accordingly returned, but does not seem to have been present at the opening of the Assembly. Difficulties of communication and possibly lack of interest in the whole procedure caused delay and it was not until 17 November 1871 that T.K. Ryder informed him, as Returning Officer, that he had been elected.³ It must have been very shortly after this that Swanston left for Australia, for he was back with his

1. Boehm to Swanston, 13 September 1871, Swanston Papers.

2. Rupert Ryder to Swanston. 13 September 1871, Swanston Papers.

3. T.K. Ryder to Swanston, 17 November 1871, Swanston Papers.

wife as soon as the hurricane season was over, in March.

The other notable non-participant in the launching of the Cakobau government was J.B. Thurston. He had retired, somewhat offended, from political life, when March had arrived in December 1867 as Consul, the post which Thurston had held since 1867 as Jones's deputy. Since then he had occupied himself primarily in the affairs of his Taveuni plantation. 'The plantation keeps me fully occupied', he wrote, 'and I always keep as far aloof from politics as possible.'¹ In April 1871 he had left on a labour cruise to the New Hebrides.² He was back in August and was immediately invited to join the Cakobau government, but declined. He explained the reason to Hope:

On my return from the N.H. 'the Ministry' at a private interview (at their request) asked me if I would accept 'Burt's' post and said that if so he would retire. I declined with thanks. There is only one post I desire in Fiji and that is the consular one. Of course I did not tell them that. Nothing however shall induce me to risk my chances of that appointment until I feel I have no hope left.³

When the Assembly met, however, in November 1871, its proceedings caused gathering alarm in the prosperous districts which had followed the lead of Lau in coming to terms with the local authorities during 1870. At the same time the moral support of men like Swanston, Ryder and Thurston

1. Thurston to Hope, 6 September 1871. 'Hope Journals.'
2. The Journal of this cruise is in the library of the Department of Pacific History, Australian National University, Canberra, A.C.T.
3. Hope Journals, Thurston to Hope, 6 September 1871.

was sadly missed by the ministry. It was clear that much of the opposition they faced stemmed from personal antipathy to the comparative newcomers who had taken the initiative. They believed that opposition from this source at least could be disarmed if they could obtain the support of the more experienced members of the community, but in the meantime the situation deteriorated to the point of crisis. In February 1872 the Fiji Times almost brought about a popular disturbance by announcing that the ministry intended collecting taxes due to the following September in advance, and Woods left for Sydney to attempt to float a loan on the security of land confiscated from the Lovoni rebels. Francis Otway, the member for Bua, who sat on the cross-benches at the opening Assembly, reported to Swanston: 'Meantime the fury has concentrated itself upon Burt. Why Smith and Hennings are let off I cannot see'.¹ He went on to relate what he had heard about a caucus meeting of government supporters and the decision to appeal for Thurston's support:

The excitement is very great and one or two madmen might cause ugly work at any moment, at present matters stand thus, at a meeting last night (I did not go) it was arranged to ask Burt to resign and send a deputation to Cakobau to request him immediately to dissolve the present Assembly ... [and elect a new one] Burt determined to remain in office till the House meets... Butters backs up Burt and advocates the strongest measures even to using force... Hennings [i.e. F. Hennings] I have not had a chance to say much to so I do not know what he thinks, but Butters complains greatly of Smith [J.C.] and Hennings leaving Burt in a hole... Smith, ... is in consequence with Thurston, - Thurston is going to stand for Taveuni.²

-
1. Otway to Swanston, 17 February 1872. It is arguable that if the main opposition to the government had come primarily from indebted planters they would have objected to Hennings and Smith, the two leading merchants of Levuka, most strongly of all.
 2. Swanston Papers. Otway to Swanston, 17 February 1872.

420a



John Bates Thurston

(From the Central Archives of Fiji and the Western Pacific High Commission, Suva.)

Otway continued his letter at 12 midnight. Hennings had left for Taveuni to see Thurston to try and persuade him to stand.

The 'moderate' opposition as represented by Otway, Barrack, Swanston, Wilkinson, Scott, and the Ryder brothers were thus faced with the dilemma of all oppositions concerned with measures rather than men. They could seek to gain their objective, a government which would ensure stability and tranquility, by joining the government and changing its policy, or they could oppose the government with the aim of overthrowing it. Otway was inclined to the more drastic solution and sought to persuade Swanston accordingly:

I must say I do not like the look of things and sincerely trust that you or Thurston will have nothing whatever to say to any of the present lot, both for your own sakes and for the sake of the country, there is no doubt whatever but this ministry must and will go next session and I should regret to see either one or both of you bolstering up such a rotten ship.¹

Otway went on to suggest that if Swanston and Thurston could form a party as soon as the House met, in May, they would be able to gain power and hold it against any conceivable opposition. He also wrote to Scott, who knew Thurston well, to gain his support for such an opposition party.

Thurston, however, had much to lose by a false move at this crucial moment of his career. Had the price of cotton remained at the

1. Swanston Papers. Otway to Swanston, 17 February 1872.

high level it reached in 1871 it seems unlikely that he would have forced himself to choose between the unpromising alternatives of opposing the ministry or joining it. Richard Philip, who met him a few weeks later, throws interesting light on his character and motives at the time:

Mr. Thurston is a man about 45 years of age, little, thin, sallow and active and very fond of playing the diplomatist. He has a large plantation on the island of Taveuni but it has not proved a very successful affair... Mr. Thurston is a very self-conceited man, and is fond of notoriety and of playing the big fiddle, but he really is a man of good character and of good ability.

Philip has added a note in the margin beside this comment:

I am sure that Mr. Thurston has no faith in an independent government. He believes in annexation to England as much as any of them: but it is his role to keep up the present government until something like a de facto arrangement is come to by the British Government. He said so himself to me. He is right, by doing so he makes better terms for the native chiefs and helps himself considerably too.

The judgement of Sir Arthur Gordon confirms that of Philip:

... of all the white men that I have seen in Fiji one stands far above others in ability and resource. He is in fact on quite another plain from them... that man is Mr. Thurston ... although he is charged with breach of everyone of the ten commandments, I have been quite unable to elicit, even in confidential conversation any definite charge of misconduct... stories told to his supposed discredit in fact show his desire to prevent the natives from being exploited by the whites. ²

-
1. R. Philip, 'My Diary', September 1872.
 2. Stansmore, 1st Baron, Fiji: Records of Private and of Public Life 1875-1880, 4 Vols., privately printed, Edinburgh, 1897-1912.

Thurston was undoubtedly a man of great ambition in 1872, anxious lest he should spoil his chances of later preferment, either by seeking the backing of the Levuka republicans if only to use them to gain power, or alternatively by his association with a government which was regarded in Britain in the unfavourable light which his enemy and rival, March had cast upon it. In February 1872, however, he received a request from his Taveuni neighbours, who had hitherto held aloof from association with the Cakobau government, to accept nomination. It was signed by thirty-four settlers,¹ and it was possibly the support of this, the most prosperous area in Fiji, and one which had already established a successful working relationship with Tui Cakau, which induced him to take the plunge. He accepted their invitation and was returned at the top of the poll with 49 votes. His running mate, McConnell, who

twenty nine of

1. *F.I.L.*, 28 February 1872. E.J. Turpin lists/them as follows:

James E. Mason, R.A. Stevenson, John Meldrum, John McKissack, M.G. McPherson, W.H. Brailley, Daniel McLeod, W.M. Somerville, E. Darling, H.C. Thurston, A. Ryder, Marcus D. Logan, Fred. G. Mitchell, Gustavus Pieterse, Lawrence Ryan, John Findlay, John Rennie, Tom. W. Sellars, Peter Peterson, Samuel Strang, John Wall, John Cruickshank, Edwin J. Turpin, E.T. Bell, Richard E. Armstrong, Sydney R. Prince, John Rosa, Ernest Logan, W. H. Carlton.

Turpin, *Diary*, 3 January 1872. The requisition is dated 16 January 1872.

a year before had spoken against sending a representative to Levuka unless with Tui Cakau's support, received 43 votes while Hamilton, the only other candidate, got 23. ¹

It seemed by this time as if events in Levuka were likely to get completely out of control. If Thurston wanted to gain credit for political acumen now was the time to act. 'With all my struggle to keep clear of Fijian politics' he wrote:

It at last became necessary to give in. Bloodshed was imminent in Levuka. Gloomy brooding hatred was fastening itself upon the native mind in consequence. ... I... allowed myself to be put in harness in response to three ships from Thakombau, a govt. deputation & the support of Maafu and Tui Cakau of the windward Is. ²

Swanston eventually responded, perhaps a little more reluctantly, to similar pressures. Wilkinson's letter is particularly interesting because it suggests an attitude which transcends race, and contains overtones of an embryonic Fijian nationalism. 'Glad to hear of your safe arrival at Home' he wrote, offering his sympathy to the new Mrs. Swanston for her enforced confinement 'within the narrow limits of the 'Caroline'... but of course I have no doubt that home is none the less pleasant and enjoyable.' ³ Wilkinson went on to state his regret at

1. P.T., 30 March 1872.

2. Hope Journals. Thurston to Hope, 5 July 1872.

3. Wilkinson to Swanston, 4 March 1872, Swanston Papers. The emphasis on 'Home' is Wilkinson's.

news that Swanston intended to resign his seat in the Legislative Assembly:

Your arguments which have led you to the conclusion are no doubt valid enough as far as you are concerned I therefore dispute them not - but more for Fiji in consequence [sic] ... The argument we are sometimes disposed to exonerate upon that we are foreigners and aliens I do not think is at all valid Providence has in innumerable instances chosen such instruments for the preservation and well-being of states. Joseph in Egypt, David in Caldea the anointing of Cyrus are notable cases. True, on the grounds of free agency we may claim exemption but Mordecai to Esther I think is applicable... Therefore to him that knoweth to do good and doeth it not to him it is sin.

Wilkinson may have regarded himself as a kind of Old Testament prophet issuing a call of duty, but he also exhibited a streak of political realism.

... You and Thurston would command respect both at home and abroad and soon set things to rights. Thurston alone is too arrogant and ostentatious to be popular I fear and besides he is young and we want men of some experience as well.

Later came an undated note 'I am directed by the King and Ma'afu the Viceroy to command you if you have any love for Fiji and their government to come at once and take charge of native affairs'.² Herbert Levick of Emaaloma wrote on 19 April 1872 asking Swanston's permission to

1. Wilkinson to Swanston, 4 March 1872.

2. Wilkinson to Swanston n.d. Swanston papers.

nominate him, and from Mago came an urgent message from Rupert Ryder:

You will see I write this quite in the dark as to what you know or do not (I have not been to Levuka since 3rd May) but should you desert us at the present juncture without very good reason you must not count on the windward support further... which has been given to you consistently from first to last.
Yours in haste. ¹

Ryder enclosed a cutting from the Fiji Times to announce the formation of a new ministry. Woods, the sole survivor from the previous administration, continued as Premier but he left almost immediately to raise a loan in Sydney, leaving the work of government in the hands of Thurston, who took office as Chief Secretary. Swanston became minister for Native Affairs. Dr. Clarkson, a moderate government supporter in 1871 and representative of Suva and Navua, became finance minister and Alexander Barrack from Savu Savu became minister without portfolio.² The difference between the new ministry and the old was more than that between the personalities involved. It was the difference between the newcomers who had responded as far as they could to the demands of the Levuka republicans for a white-man's government and the men of Fijian experience, out of touch, perhaps, with the new democracy of the Australian colonies, who sought to govern in the interests of both races with as little disturbance as possible. The government had been opposed from the point of view of those who thought it was too

1/ Rupert Ryder to Swanston. 3 June 1872.

republican, and by those who thought it was not republican enough. Now the former had taken control and the gap between government and opposition was wider than before. As the prosperity and also the safety of the impecunious planting districts declined with the failure of cotton the breach widened to the point at which it could no longer be contained by political means.

The new ministry faced an immediate double crisis. A death sentence had been passed upon Antonio Franks, the cook on a Labour vessel, for murder. Previous death sentences since the establishment of the government had been commuted, probably for lack of the necessary equipment or knowledge to carry them out with any degree of decorum, and where native peoples were concerned, penal servitude, meaning plantation labour, was the obvious alternative. Antonio Franks, however, was white. There was no precedent for the use of forced white labour on plantations and so the responsibility of the government to carry out the sentence seemed inescapable. Franks's execution was delayed, then fixed for the day on which the second session of the Assembly began, thus making a symbolic association between the two events unavoidable. An attempt to carry out the sentence was made, but it failed. The half-dead prisoner was eventually cut down and granted a reprieve. 'Thus', the Fiji Times rejoiced, 'the majesty of the law in Fiji has been asserted. Its most terrible sentence, death, has been attempted to be inflicted, and signally failed.'¹

1. F.T., 29 May 1872.

It proved an invitation to renew the challenge to the government in the field of taxation. Members of the British Subjects' Mutual Protection Society threatened to force open the gaol to release a man named Craig imprisoned for non-payment. Thurston proved willing and able to accept the challenge. He reported to Hope:

The police, white and native, with the civil servants numbering in all nearly two hundred men took possession of the Parliament House and beach. Another force surrounded the gaol, with orders to shoot. The 'society' fell back on Keyse's place. ¹

In the view of Griffiths this was 'the turning point for Fiji'. 'A great deal of [the present intense political excitement] arises from the fact of Fijians' having been placed under arms the other night.' ² It can be argued, as Henderson argues, that Thurston's government was saved on this occasion by the presence of H.M.S. Cossack, and the commanders of naval vessels, acting on instructions to extend de facto recognition to the new government, saved it on two further occasions. ³ It may be, however, that naval intervention saved the opposition from bloody annihilation. The fact that the British Subjects' Mutual Protection Society launched its activities whenever British Naval vessels were in the harbour and remained comparatively quiet the rest

1. Hope Journals. Thurston to Hope, 5 July 1872.

2. F.T., 18 May 1872.

3. G.C. Henderson MSS. c.f. Millington op. cit., p. 37.

of the time was not coincidence. As British subjects, misled by their consul, March, they clearly expected that the captain of a man-of-war would intervene on their behalf in a dispute against what was, on the face of it, a foreign government. If the government was only to be recognised 'in so far as it actually exercises authority', then if its authority could be successfully challenged in Levuka it could not be recognised as a government. On the day H.M.S. Cossack arrived the 'Society' arranged a meeting attended by 120 men at which it was moved that 'the party or parties who had ordered the Fiji men to arm against the white residents be impeached, and brought before the Man of War... That this meeting views with indignation and alarm the attempt made by British subjects to arm a native force with which to overawe the white population.'¹

Their mistake however, on this and later occasions, was to underestimate Thurston's powers of diplomacy. He was able to divert the protection of visiting men-of-war from his political opponents to himself by reminding the captains that if they chose to intervene it became their responsibility to avoid bloodshed. According to Thurston, Captain Douglas of H.M.S. Cossack asked him verbally not to follow up his immediate advantage by attacking Kayse's place.² If the Cossack

1. Z.L.S., 16 May 1872.

2. Hope Journals, Thurston to Hope, 5 July 1872.

had not been in Levuka harbour he would have been forced to eliminate his opposition by the use of force, of which he had ample at his disposal. The presence of warships repeatedly prevented him from doing so and the disaffected continued to grow in strength.

At first the new ministry was given wide support by planters throughout the group, and also by the representatives of the planting districts in the Assembly. A meeting of planters was held in Levuka just before the new session opened, attended by thirty-eight visitors from the outlying districts at which the resolution was carried:

We pledge ourselves to support the Government in the exercise of its lawful authority. ¹

The leaders of the meeting were, predictably, those who had already gathered experience in the form of mixed government on which the Cakobau government was henceforth to be modelled. They included H.C. Thurston of Taveuni, Horace Emberson of Ciccia, Gus Hennings of Nawa, Charles and George Ryter of Naga and David Wilkinson of Bea.² News of the new ministry seems to have been received with similar approval even in areas where the 'planters' myth' was most ardently cherished. G.W.H. Markham records the arrival of the ketch Rosamund at Nadi bay, from

1. E.T., 18 May 1872.

2. Ibid.

Levuka:

We commenced getting the cotton on board. On the beach I met Jim Tucker and Riddale, we were joined by Hoyle and Jack, all went aboard... At last Burt has been kicked out and the direction of affairs until parliament meets has been placed in the hands of Thurston, Hennings and J.C. Smith. This arrangement gives universal satisfaction.

The main source of opposition at this stage was in Levuka itself. At the election only sixty-five votes were counted altogether compared with 175 at the previous election, indicating a high degree of indifference and a probable decision by many to boycott the government completely. 'This speaks volumes' said the Fiji Times 'as to the estimation in which the government is held in Levuka'.² Murray and Hamilton were elected, with thirty-eight and nineteen votes respectively; Spewart, an old settler, who supported the government, received only five votes.³ The next two years saw the progressive alienation of the districts which seemed to have least to gain from the Cakobau government, or from following the principles on which it was now based. Henderson attributes this development to the canvassing carried out in the country districts by the British Subjects' Mutual Protection Society and attributes their variable success to the national composition of the various planting

-
1. G.W.S. Markham, Diary, 24 April 1872.
 2. F.T., 11 May 1872.
 3. Ibid.

communities: 'They did not get much support on the Rewa' he writes, 'where German as well as British planters had settled down, but the progress of events in the provinces of Nadroga and Mba was distinctly in their favour'.¹ In fact, however, the important factors seem to have been local conditions rather than theoretical national loyalties. The Rewa was by this time a district which had been settled for a considerable time and was placed securely under Cakobau's protection, and had acknowledged his authority by a voluntary agreement to the payment of taxation (see above p. 376). The Rewa settlers were unlikely to forsake the security this gave them in return for protection as British subjects as demonstrated by the 'Challenger incident'. There is no record of the British Subjects' Mutual Protection Society receiving much support in Taveuni, Lau, or Vanua Levu either. Now that Tui Cakau, Ma'afu and Tui Bua had given their support to Bau the white settlers in these areas saw in the Cakobau Government a development of the principles which they had found to work to their advantage on a smaller scale. It was, indeed, only in the areas of marginal security on Viti Levu, where the authority of Bau was unlikely to be taken seriously, that there was support to be found for an opposition of white settlers which sought to defy the Cakobau government completely. The German settlers on the Upper Rewa, Luks, Ridsdale and Pfluger had in

1. Henderson MS. pp.668-9

fact been driven out in 1868 and had resettled in Ba and Nadi which both gave the 'Society' strong support. Markham records a meeting of Nadi planters on 26 September 1872, by which time the initial support for Thurston had already evaporated. 'The feeling elicited was one of strongly [felt] aversion to the existing government and a wish for annexation to Great Britain. A letter was written to our member Mr. Cudlip requesting him to resign his seat'.¹ At a later meeting, in November, it was decided to repudiate the authority of the government over the Nadi settlers altogether. Harris and Gordon accordingly visited the finance minister, aboard the government steamer, Eride of Viti:

They went on board the steamer and informed Mr. Clarkson that we would not receive Mr. Thurston as Warden, nor acknowledge the Government. They were told that any interference or resistance on our part would be offered [~~i.e. answered~~] with a rope round our necks.²

The settlers, already reduced to poverty, became the victims of extreme inter-racial tension. In February 1873 Markham wrote in his diary: 'stayed at home all day, in fact it is not safe to go far away from the house. We always take our rifles with us when we go down to the field'.³

-
1. G.W.H. Markham, Diary, 26 September 1872.
 2. E.W.H. Markham, Diary, 25 November 1872.
 3. G.W.H. Markham, Diary, 23 February 1873.

It was in the neighbouring district of Ba that the causes which led to dissatisfaction (with the Cakobau Government were to be seen most clearly. The murder of MacIntosh and Spiers in July 1871 was, in the eyes of the Ba settlers,^a chance for the government to demonstrate its usefulness. Burt's response however was realistic, which meant, from the settlers' viewpoint, that it was lukewarm. He issued a government statement in reply to a request from the settlers for immediate action. Negotiation, he suggested, might be a better means for securing the murderers, than an expedition, and if an expedition were to go it should be properly planned, and the dubious alliance of Ratu Kini was not to be relied on.¹ A fortnight later, he went further and announced that the government would abandon the idea of a punitive expedition altogether.² The Ba settlers, not surprisingly, felt a sense of betrayal, and a great despondency in the face of the apparent immunity of the mountaineers, a despondency which the private expedition of 26 July rather intensified. 'We considered land to be less valuable in 1872 than in 1870', said G.J. Lindbergh, the first settler on the river. 'The murders had produced a sense of insecurity and cotton had failed'.³ In the general evidence he gave before the Land Claims Commission he gave some indication

1. E.I., 2 August 1871.

2. E.I., 19 August 1871

3. L.C.C. R 1002.

of the prevailing atmosphere:

During these disturbed times I slept with my revolver under my pillow - never went abroad without it--all did the same. Two Tanna men always kept watch during the night. I did not order them to do so, they did it spontaneously. If I went to visit a neighbour two men would always follow me armed. Persons with wooden houses had them loop-holed.

The Ba planters had good reason to oppose the government quite apart from their fear of bailiffs. What they needed, more than anything else, was adequate protection. They initially supported the government in the expectation that protection would be provided, but when it did not materialise they sought to protect themselves. This meant opposing the government since no government could allow a section of its subjects to take the law into its own hands.

It was the experience of John Burns, the chemist from Albury, New South Wales, who had married the surveyor's daughter and settled on the river in 1871, which made confrontation between settlers and government unavoidable. The whole of 1872 was passed on the Ba river in a state of siege. Burns promised the warden of the province that he would desist from firing at the mountaineers if they would cease molesting him.² Meanwhile, Thurston did his best to gain British support for his government by his own interpretation of events - an

1. L.O.C. R 992.

2. Ibid., (9 January 1873).

interpretation which he knew would be sympathetically received. 'A feud has been begun' he wrote 'mostly by Her Majesty's subjects, whose principal object is to kill off the Fijians and acquire by murder, treachery and fraud, their lands'.¹ This may well have been their ultimate purpose, but it bore little relevance to the situation. They were on the defensive. Burns was first subjected to a long process of intimidation, the motive being, according to Lindbergh, acquisition of 'the great amount of property he had brought with him... Burns was continually attacked between May 1872 and February 1873... about once a month one of his labourers was murdered'.²

It was in these circumstances that Clarkson, the minister of finance, visited the Burns plantation, and in an attempt, as he thought, to avoid bloodshed, assembled the Fijian labourers and warned them ^{attacking} against the mountaineers and threatened them with death by hanging if they did. Mrs. Burns later complained to Markham that the warning was all too effective for her peace of mind.³ Finally, on 4 February 1873 the plantation was attacked and Burns, his wife and two children were murdered.

The government realised immediately that its reputation, and possibly its existence, depended on its ability to capture the murderers

1. Robinson to Kimberly, 27 January 1873 cit. Henderson, A Selection of Documents etc., 1935, p. 59.
2. C.J. Lindbergh, General Evidence, L.C.C. R 992.
3. G.W.H. Markham, Diary, 8 February 1873. Markham was writing retrospectively.

and to protect the Ba planters from further assaults. Major Fitzgerald was sent from Levuka with a large military force, and met the mountaineers in two minor engagements before being replaced by Captain Harding, reputed to be an expert in guerrilla warfare.¹ In the meantime, however, the British Subjects' Mutual Protection Society commenced agitation among the settlers of Ba and Nadi. Markham records the arrival of 'Daphne Smith' in January to 'solicit the suffrages of the Nandi people',² and on 11 February E.S. Smith together with White and Captain Beatson arrived at Ba and with the support of de Courcy Ireland encouraged the settlers to resist the government forces themselves.³

The government countered by sending Swanston on a diplomatic mission to Ba, Nadi and Nadroga, informing settlers of the fact that H.M.S. Dido was in Levuka harbour and was supporting the government and that the captain had forbidden rebellion against it. At Ba, Swanston marched with Harding's forces, and met the collected military forces of the settlers at Saguna on the night of 6 March 1873. Talks took place between Swanston and de Courcy Ireland and an agreement was reached. Rebellion ceased in return for a guarantee of a determined effort on the

1. Derrick, History of Fiji, p. 225.

2. G.W.H. Markham, 1 January 1873. 'Daphne Smith' was E.S. Smith, the owner of the Daphne.

3. Derrick, History of Fiji, p. 224.

part of the government to afford protection. Swanston's role seems to have been crucial:

... everyone was pleased with the termination of what might have been a serious affair. In fact it was entirely owing to Swanston's gentlemanly conduct that the matter passed off without bloodshed.¹

The Dido arrived at Ba on 13 March and on the following day twenty-four settlers from Ba and Nadi agreed to hand over Ireland and White for deportation to New South Wales.²

Harding, later assisted by H.C. Thurston, went on to conduct a comparatively successful campaign against the mountaineers, though not without some losses.³ By 11 September it was over. The stronghold of Kubutautau had been taken and the murderers of Burns had been captured.⁴

The government had demonstrated its ability to afford protection to planters; it was ultimately the merchants, insofar as they can be distinguished, supported by the Levuka mob, who caused its downfall. The third session of the Assembly opened on 31 May 1873 and the ministry immediately found a majority against them. They had yet to convince the impecunious planters of their ability to afford protection, and

1. G.W.H. Markham, Diary, 5 March 1873.

2. Australasian, 19 April 1873, Henderson Rk. IV, p. 677.

3. FoT., 6 August 1873. cf. Australasian, 6 September 1873.

4. Derrick, op. cit., p. 227.

nothing had occurred to reduce the antagonism of the Levuka republicans.¹ The ministry therefore offered to resign. Cakobau, however, refused to accept their resignations, probably because of Thurston's personal influence with him. Writs for a new election were issued, this time under the terms of the original Constitution Act which gave the vote to all males who paid their taxes, regardless of race. The obvious intention was to secure a government majority through the use of the Fijian vote, but in the face of strong opposition the writs were withdrawn on 29 July, and the election indefinitely postponed. By September 1873 the period for which supply had been voted had come to an end, and for the remainder of its existence the Cakobau government was entirely dependant on royal authority and borrowed money. It was probably only the removal of March, the presence of H.M.S. Blanche at a time when the merchant community, supported by the 'Society,' was bent on forcible resistance to taxation,² and finally the arrival of Commodore Goodenough to investigate a renewed offer of cession on 16 November 1873, which prevented the minor skirmishes between the Levuka mob and the civil service from developing into civil war.

The attitude of the opposition, consisting of the Ba and Nadi settlers and the Levuka republicans, and of Thurston, supported by the

1. D.J. Routledge, op. cit., p. 222.

2. See Nettleton to Earl Granville, 3 September 1873, A Selection of Documents etc. 1935, op. cit. pp. 67-71.

planters of Suva, Taveuni and Lau, during the period of Goodenough's mission varied as views changed about what cession would mean. To begin with Thurston was uncertain of his own political future, and he would probably have preferred to ~~have~~ remained the chief minister of an independent Fijian government fully recognised by the great powers, and under British protection, than to face the uncertainties of cession. He suspected too, that Goodenough and Layard were being unduly influenced by his opponents and that their final recommendation would be a form of government placing power in the hands of the Levuka republicans, resulting in inevitable resistance by the windward chiefs and possibly Cakobau himself.

Goodenough was received enthusiastically by the Levuka mob, who believed that cession would be followed by the establishment of representative institutions and hence by government in the exclusive interests of settlers.¹ By the beginning of 1874, however, they were aware of the possibility and nature of Crown Colony Government, and felt cheated by the fruits of their long opposition to Thurston's regime.

Goodenough not only attacked Thurston however for what he saw as an attempt at despotism, he also consulted planters from those districts dominated by Ma'afu and Tui Cakau who favoured Crown Colony government.

1. See D. Scarr 'John Bates Thurston, Commodore Goodenough and Rampant Anglo-Saxons in Fiji', Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand, Vol. 2, No. 43, October 1964.

Their reasons for doing so were realistic. It would enable the authority of the chiefs, ^{and} the social structure of Fijian society upon which, as they were aware, their prosperity depended, to become part of the new order. Representative institutions, however well adapted to a continent from which most of the indigenous inhabitants had been removed, would involve revolution and bloodshed in Fiji because chiefly power, without which the Fijian population could not be governed, would never be used in the interests of Europeans alone. Ultimately, successful government of any kind could only be based on the political outcome of cultural developments of the previous decades. Settlers in Levuka, and in the tightly knit settlements of Ba and Nadi, who arrived in the Fiji bush, were able to remain unconvinced of the power of Fijian society to resist western influence, and to share the belief of Henry Britton in 'the gradual advance of the frontier of civilisation throughout that great island-world of the Pacific known as central Polynesia... the greater portion of which seems destined to be settled by the same all-absorbing people, impelled toward the young nations of the south by the restless spirit of democracy'.¹ Their inability to rely on the support of local rulers had led, within the period since their arrival, to a mistrust of Fijians in general. This, in turn, had led to extreme opposition to the government which, from May 1872 onwards, had begun to recognize their importance. What had begun as a political difference became, under stress and increasing

1. H. Britton, Fiji in 1870, p. 73.

poverty, a war of races, in which settlers felt they could trust no one but their own kind, and not all of them, and that victory over the Fijian people was essential to their economic and cultural survival. Markham was sufficiently observant to realise, as early as January 1873, that the Fijians appreciated the situation fully. He heard a report of the words of Nasau, the native magistrate of Sagunu, the chief town of Suva, who told a planter he believed the mountaineers would attack the settlers within a fortnight. When asked why he thought so he pointed to his arm with the words 'That's black. That's black. That's black. That's black. That's black. That's black. That's black. That's black. That's black. That's black.'¹

When Gordon arrived as the first Governor of the new Colony he immediately became aware of the sense of betrayal by some settlers. He was no more able than the Fiji Planters' Association or the Cakobau government to govern in the exclusive interests of the planters:

The white settlers had apparently imagined that the mere assumption of sovereignty by Great Britain was to raise them at once from indigence to prosperity, that their claims to land would at once be allowed, that an abundant supply of labour would at once be found for them and that their claim to supremacy over the natives, which the government of Cakobau, whatever its faults, had steadily refused to recognise, would at once be acknowledged. They were, therefore, bitterly disappointed to find their hopes not realised.²

1. G.W.H. Markham, *Diary*, 9 January 1873.

2. Stanmore, *op. cit.*; Vol. I, pp. 194-5.

It was not, however, the moral righteousness of the Colonial Office which made it impossible. Gordon's job was to avoid bloodshed, which he could only do by governing in accordance with the realities of power as they stood in the aftermath of the Fiji rush, which was now in the past. He could not have governed in accordance with its myths and neither could his successors. The reason, to quote his own words:

Is simply because I dare not. I have a trust committed to me, and that trust I must discharge.¹

1. Gordon, Sir Arthur (later Lord Stanmore). A speech to the Fiji settlers on 1 November 1880 B.P.P. [C-3642]

EPILOGUE

Cession was seen by Cakobau as the end of an era, and he gave his club to Queen Victoria on behalf of himself and his people 'who, having survived the barbaric law and age, are now submitting themselves, under Her Majesty's rule, to civilisation'.¹ Civilisation, to many European settlers, meant the progress of settlement which they now expected to be assured. Goodenough reported that in the period 1858 to 1874 the native population had declined from 150,000 to 130,000, while the white population had increased from 150 to about 2000.² The outbreak of measles on the return of Cakobau from Sydney further reduced the Fijian population by approximately 25,000, and Gordon records how 'on my arrival I was congratulated by one man on the number of natives the measles had swept off, and was consulted by another, in all seriousness, whether it was lawful for him to shoot natives who trespassed on his property, or what he assumed to be such'.³

But though Europeans had not suffered to the same extent from disease, it is true to say that from 1871 onwards their failure to transplant colonial culture to Fiji became increasingly apparent.

1. Cit. R.A. Derrick, History of Fiji, p. 247.

2. Cit. Henderson MSS., Bk. I.

3. Sir A. Gordon. A speech to the Fiji settlers, 1 November 1880, B.P.F. [c 3642].

The rate of departure first exceeded the rate of arrivals in 1872, and during the following year the trend continued with 443 departures in 1873 and only 397 arrivals.¹

Markham noticed the absences caused amongst his friends by departure; 'Julius Curr has left and Wallis is leaving, Hoyle and Angus Campbell are also leaving Fiji'.² Gordon's initial assumption was that practically all the settlers of the Fiji Rush would depart when they realized the attitude which the government would be forced to take to their circumstances:

In a year or two most of these men will have drunk themselves to death, or become utterly ruined and have left the colony and new men will have settled here, free from the passions and traditions of the past.³

Some went back to the security of their former occupations, like Orbell of Iaveuni, who wrote anxiously some years later to Commissioner Blyth from the Masterton Club, New Zealand, asking him to expedite his business:

Year after year rolls by, and no tidings arrive from your Fiji land of any nature when the land claim will be settled.... After residing five years in Fiji, I became acquainted with the ways and habits of the Fijians and now fearing the delay may cause some trouble by the natives scheming to regain possession of my land induces me to ask this favour.⁴

-
1. *E.I.*, 10 October 1874, the cost was given as £7 per head each way.
 2. G.W.H. Markham, *Diary*, 27 January 1874.
 3. Stansmore, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 164.
 4. *L.C.C.* p. 336 - Orbell to Blyth, 22 September 1884. Orbell's fears were fully justified.

Others continued the search to new frontiers for an elusive fortune. John Nichol asked Joseph Smapton to act on his behalf before the Land Claims Commission

... as it would save me a great deal of expense coming down... I have been to the Palmer river diggings, Queensland and done nothing. I was taken sick there and had to leave. It is better than Fiji.¹

Some of those who stayed obtained government posts. The members of the Land Claims Commission had all been planters in their time, and there were many planters who already had a good record from Gordon's point of view, as supporters and servants of the Cakobau government. Wilkinson became official interpreter, Swanston returned to his plantation, and Thurston became Commissioner of Crown lands and eventually governor of the Crown Colony. Other 'Old Fiji Hands' like James Tentant Proctor pushed further afield, like the beachcombers before them who had proved unable to adapt to civilized government and sought refuge in societies where they could continue to live in the same way as they had in Fiji. Some planters like the Ryders continued to prosper, in European terms, but for many, especially those who lacked an alternative source of income or capital for further investment, there remained no alternative but rapid acculturation. Gordon described the planters who remained as follows:

1. J.C.C. p. 351, J. Nichol to J. Smapton, 23 January 1876.

A few of the planters are men of energy and character. Others have energy without character or character without energy. The majority have neither. They lead a miserable existence drinking gin when they can get it and yagona when they cannot, living with a greater or less number of Tokelau women, taking no trouble to make their surroundings less uncomfortable and complaining of the low price of cotton.¹

In Levuka itself, the strident racialism of 1871 mellowed with the years. The Governor himself at Nasova took a delight in living in what he hoped was the style of a Fijian chief while the settlers themselves had ceased to invest those symbols of Victorian civilisation they had so enthusiastically established in 1871 with much importance. A columnist in the Fiji Times in early 1875 pointed an accurate finger at what had been an important symbol of white civilisation:

Your bathing arrangements are peculiar. At Totoga there is a portion of the creek fenced in so as to prevent the bushes from seeing the bathers, while from the only houses in the neighbourhood the view is unobstructed. At Levuka the arrangements are different and perhaps I should say admirable, a large portion of the fence being removed for the convenience of passers by so that they can admire the graceful movements of the bathers of either sex without the trouble of going inside.²

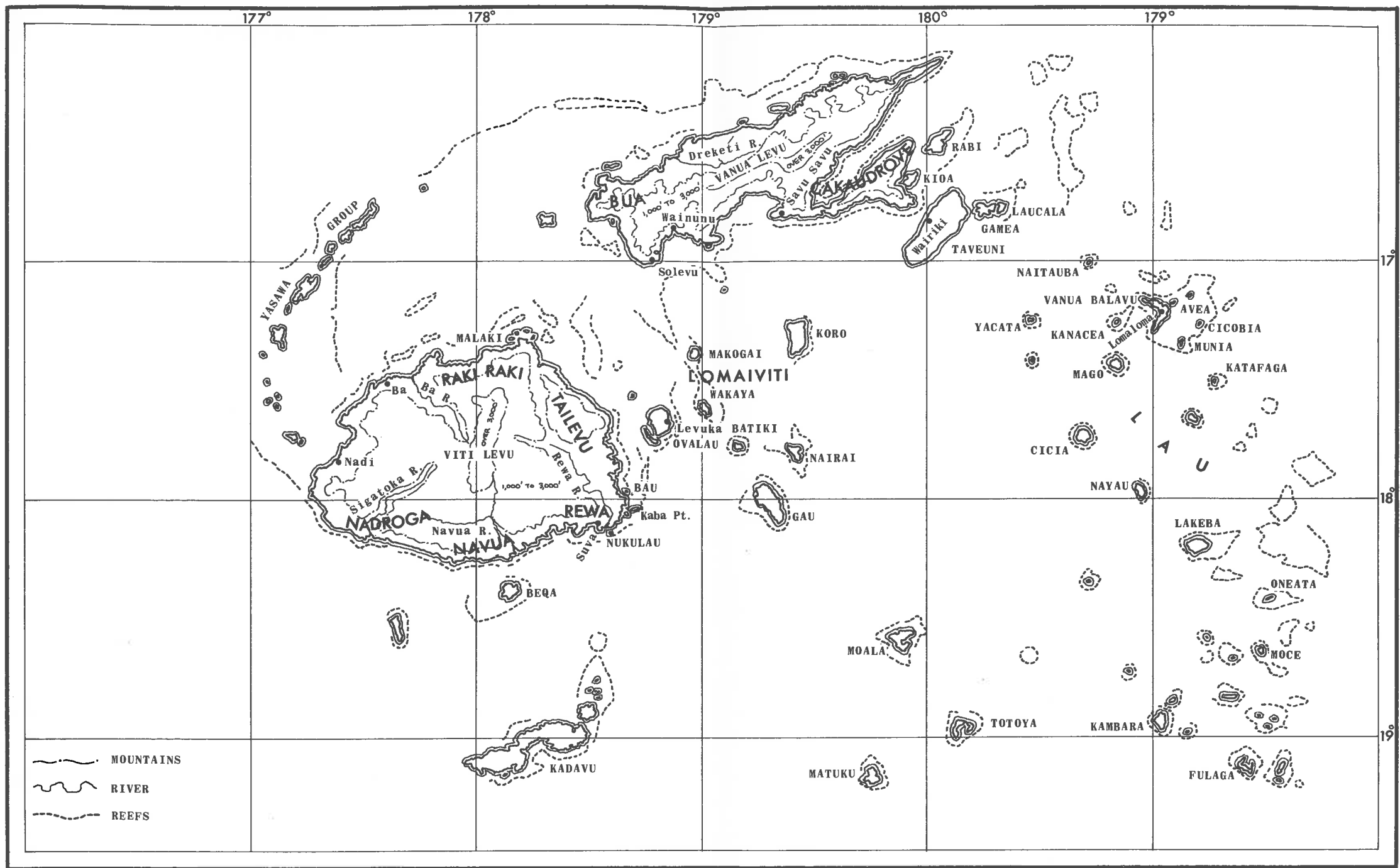
This was no more than the cultural equivalent of the political reality which Gordon recognized. The outcome of European settlement in Fiji

1. British Museum 49199 Add. MSS. p. 131 (circa June - August 1876. The dispatch in which Gordon made these remarks was never sent.) I am indebted to Dr. K.L. Gillian for this quotation.

2. F.T., 16 January 1875.

had not been a chapter in the progress of the 'Anglo-Saxon race' but an important episode in the history of Fiji's response to external contact. 'On this point' said Gordon at the time of his departure 'there should be no illusion. It should always be remembered that this is emphatically not a white man's colony, that the circumstances of its cession and existing facts alike forbid it being so... with a vigorous and powerful organisation of native self-government in operation it is idle to think that the interests of some few hundred settlers are alone to be thought of and not also those of the people of the land.'¹

1. Sir A. Gordon, Speech to the Fiji settlers, 1 November 1880.
B.P.P. [c-3642].



APPENDIX 1

FIJI IN 1870

APPENDIX 2

A Sample of Fiji settlers.

	Place of Birth	Immediate Origin	Previous occupation	Residence in Fiji and date of arrival	Age in 1870	Married or Single
Abbot, W.J.	Britain	Victoria	Commerce	Ra, 1870	30	S
Austen, J.		Auckland	Mariner	Rewa, 1861		S
Barrack, A.	Scotland	Sydney	Mariner	Savu Savu 1861		M
Bentley, H.	Britain	Victoria	Squatter	Rewa, 1867	40	
Beddoes, W.			Blacksmith	Taveuni		
Berrey, J.		N.S.W.	Surveyor	Ra, 1870		S
Black, S.	India	Australia	Squatter	Savu Savu 1868		S
Borron, J.	Glasgow	Queens- land	Squatter	Lau, 1871		
Brewster, A.M.	Victoria	Victoria	Schoolboy	Suva, 1870	16	S
Brodzink, J.		Sydney	Commerce	Levuka, 1870	20	S
Burns, W.	Scotland	N.S.W.	Chemist	Ra, 1871		M
Burt, G.R.	U.S.A.	Victoria: N.S.W.	Miscellan- eous	Kadavu, 1865		S
Byrne, J.	U.S.A.	U.S.A.	Mariner	Sigatoka, 1861		
Carew, W.S.	New Zealand	New Zealand		Rewa, 1870	22	S
Chalmers, C.A.	N.Z.	N.Z.		Levuka, 1870	13	S
Clough, H.		Victoria	Miner	Rewa, 1868		S
Cooper, W.S.	Wales			Levuka, 1869	30	S
Cormack, J.		N.Z.				M
Colton, M.		Ceylon				
Dods, J.S.	Scotland	W.A.:N.Z.	Miner	Savu Savu 1868		M
Drew, W.H.	England					
Duffy, A.W.B.		N.S.W.		Levuka, 1871		S

	Place of Birth	Immediate Origin	Previous occupation	Residence in Fiji and date of arrival.	Age in 1870	Married or Single
Duffy, F.H.		N.S.W.		Levuka, 1871		S
Dyer, M.	Ireland	U.S.A.	Miner	Rewa, 1871	29	S
Eastgate, A.	England	N.Z.	Commerce	Rewa, 1870	33	S
Eastgate, J.	England	N.Z.		Rewa, 1868	28	S
Fenton, T.	England	N.Z.	Miner	Savu Savu 1869	33	S
Forbes, L.	Scotland	Victoria	Doctor	Levuka, 1870		S
Ford, W.		N.Z.	Miner	Rewa, 1868		S
Gerrish, G.	London	N.S.W.	Mariner	Levuka, 1863	26	S
Giblin, J.D.	Tasmania	Tasmania, Victoria	Commerce	Dreketi, 1869	24	S
Gleazy, J.	Ceylon	Victoria	Planter	1870, Suva		M
Good W.	Ireland	N.Z.	Miner	Savu Savu, 1870		S
Griffiths, G.L.		N.Z.	Printer	Levuka, 1869		M
Hare, C.S.	London	Sth. Aus.	Senior Civil Servant	Rewa, 1865	56	S
Hawksley		N.S.W.		1872		
Hennings, W.	Bremen	Victoria, N.S.W.	Miner	Lomaloma, 1860	33	M
Henry, G.M.	Tahiti	Victoria	Trader	Lomaloma 1857		S
Holmes, R.L.	Ireland	Victoria	Miner	Tavouni, 1869		S
Humphrey, G.R.	York	Queens- land	Lawyer's clerk	Navua, 1865	28	S
Huon, A.A.		Victoria	Squatter	Levuka, 1872		M
Inchboard, W.	Yorkshire	Victoria		Navua, 1865	34	S

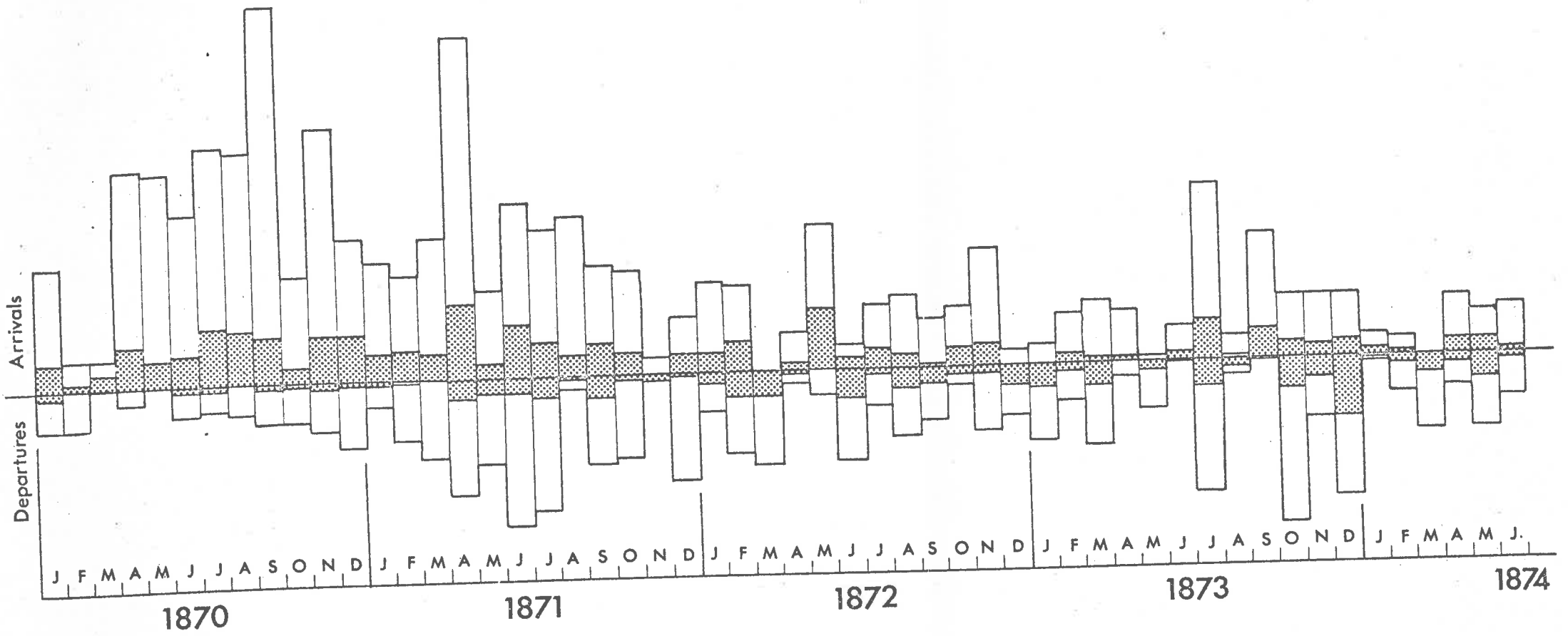
	Place of Birth	Immediate Origin	Previous Occupation	Residence in Fiji and date of arrival	Age in 1870	Married or Single
Ireland, J. de C.		Victoria	Lawyer	Ba, 1870		S
Irvine, C. N. H.	India	India	Planter	Raki Raki 1870	27	S
Johnstone, G.		N.Z.	Printer	Levuka, 1868		S
Kennedy, J. L.				Ba, 1870		M
Kinross, W. M.		N.Z.	Miner	Ba, 1868		M
Lazarus, S. L.	London	N.Z.	Miner	Levuka, 1870	25	S
Leeffe, R. B.				Ba, 1867		
Leviok H.				Donaloma		
Lindbergh, C. J.				Ba, 1865		
Logan, E.		N.Z.		Taveuni		M
Logan, M.		N.Z.		Taveuni		
Lomborg, W.	Germany					
Luke, M.	Germany					
Lydiard, W.	England	Victoria N.S.W., U.A.		Vanua Levu 1870	21	S
McConnell, J.	Antrim	Victoria	Station Manager	Taveuni, 1868	28	S
McKay, J.	N.S.W.	N.S.W.	Boat builder	Wakaya, 1864	28	S
Markham, G. W. H.	N. Ireland	N.Z.		Nadi, 1868	26	S
Mathews, T. B.	England	Victoria		Suva, 1870	32	M
Maughan, H. H.	Sydney	N.S.W.	School- boy	Ovalau, 1871	16	S
Mitchell, F. G.	Sydney	N.S.W.	University student	Taveuni, 1870	22	S
Monroe, M.	Sydney	N.S.W.	School- boy	Rona, 1863	22	S
Morell, R.	England	N.Z.	Miner	Levuka, 1871	32	S

	Place of Birth	Immediate Origin	Previous Occupation	Residence in Fiji and date of arrival	Age in 1870	Married or Single
Norris, J.	Tahiti	N.Z.	Boat-builder	Ovalau, 1864		
Moss, F.J.	St. Helena	N.Z.	Provincial politician	Rewa, 1868	49	M
Murchie, J.	Scotland	N.Z.	Builder	Levuka, 1871	38	S
Falser		N.S.W.	Boat builder	Levuka, 1870		M
Fluger, J.C.	Germany	N.Z.		Rewa, Se	35	M
Philip, R.	England	Victoria	Lawyer	Levuka, 1872		S
Philpott, J.W.		N.Z.		Savu Savu, 1869	22	S
Pickering C.		N.S.W.		Rewa		
Prector, J.T.	U.S.A.	Victoria	Soldier	Se, 1870		
Reece, W.		N.Z.		Rewa, 1870		
Reece, R.		N.Z.		Rewa, 1871		
Riddale	Germany			Rewa, Nadi 1868		S
Rothwell, R.		Victoria		Levuka, 1871	35	S
Ryder, G.L.	N.S.W.	N.S.W. Victoria	School-boy	Mago, 1864	25	S
Ryder T.K.	N.S.W.	Victoria	Squatter	Mago, 1864		S
Ryland, J.	England	Victoria		Lomaloma 1870	34	
Ryley, J.R.	Scotland	N.Z.	Doctor	Levuka, 1871	34	S
St. John, S.A.	U.S.A.	U.S.A.	Miner	Bau, 1849		S
Scott, W.R.	England	N.S.W.		Ovalau, 1865		
Simmonds, J.B.	London		Seaman	Dreketi, 1870	21	S
Simpson, W.	London		Shipwright	Levuka, 1829		M.
Smith, S.S.		Victoria	Lawyer	Levuka, 1870		M
Smith, H.B.	England	N.Z.		Savu Savu, 1867	27	

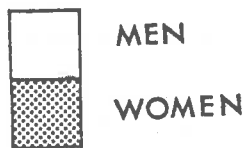
	Place of Birth	Immediate Origin	Previous occupation	Residence in Fiji and date of arrival	Age in 1870	Married or Single
Smith, C.	Scotland			Levuka, 1870		
Smith, J. C.	Scotland			Levuka, 1869		
Smythman, J. B.	England			Rewa, 1860		
Spence, F.		N.S.W.	Civil servant	1871		
Spiers, J.	Scotland		Miner	Rewa Ba		M
Storck, J.	Serangy	N.S.W.	Botanist	Rewa, 1864	32	M
Storck, G.	Serangy			Rewa, 1864	28	
Sturt, W.	England	N.Z.	Miner	Tailevu	26	S
Sullivan, P.		Victoria	Policeman	Ba, 1870		S
Swann, J. B.		N.Z.	Chemist	Rewa, 1867		M
Swanston, R. S.	Tasmania	India Canada Samoa	Trader	Lomaloma, 1857	45	M
Swayne, C. R.	Dublin	India	Soldier	Dreketi 1872	27	S
Tarte, J. V.	England	Victoria	Merchant	Taveuni, 1870	34	S
Taylor, J. W.	N.Z.	N.Z.	cutler & gunsmith	Levuka, 1871	25	S
Taylor, R. M.	England		Seaman	Levuka, 1868	23	S
Thomas, H. V.		N.Z.	Miner & farmer	Rewa, 1863		
Thurston, J. S.	England	N.S.W.	Farmer	Taveuni, 1865		M
Thurston, M. C.	England			Taveuni		
Towson, G. R. B.				Levuka		M
Treacy, M. A.	Victoria	Victoria	Warehouse- man	Taveuni, 1870	18	S
Turner, J. B.	N.Z.	N.Z.	Architect & miner	Levuka, 1868	21	M

	Place of Birth	Immediate Origin	Previous occupation	Residence in Fiji and date of arrival	Age in 1870	Married or Single
Turpin, E.J.	England	N.Z.	Clerk	Laucalo Island, 1866	28	M
Wilkinson D.		S.A.		Ass., 1861		
Wilson, T.R.P.	Scotland	Tasmania		Reva, 1865	32	S
Wilson, W.W.	London	N.Z.	Schoolboy	1871	17	S
Woods, C.A.	England	N.Z.	Naval officer	Levuka, 1870	50	S
Wright, G.	Scotland	N.Z.	Miner	Taveuni, 1869	25	S

Arrivals & Departures of Europeans : Port Levuka , Fiji.



Scale - 1 inch = 50 People



Note on Sources

A major source for this thesis is the records of the Fiji Land Claims Commission which was set up by Sir Arthur Gordon on 26 June 1875 when he had just arrived as first Governor of the new Colony. The Commission dealt, in the following six years, with 1,683 claims for Crown titles to land which had been purchased by settlers from the Fijian owners in the period before cession. The reports on the claims, together with the evidence presented to the commission both orally, as it moved from place to place, and in the form of correspondence, was passed to the Governor for decision. Appeals against his decisions were allowed, and were heard before a special sitting of the Executive Council. There are therefore two series of records, the Reports, (R.), and the Petitions for Appeal, (P), which in some cases include several reports on adjacent pieces of land.

The correspondence of the British Consulate, 1852-1874, between the Consuls and the Foreign office, and also between the Consuls and the captains of visiting naval vessels, settlers, Fijian chiefs and the Governors and other officials of the Australian Colonies and New Zealand, are in the Central Archives of Fiji and the Western Pacific High Commission, Suva. The major part of these records used in this thesis have been the Outwards Correspondence, copies of which were made in letter-books. These

are referred to in the text as Consular letters (C.L.). Also important are the Miscellaneous Papers found in the British Consulate, and a selection of documents culled from the records of the Consulate by Sir Everard Im Thurn. These are now known as the Im Thurn papers.

For the early period, use has been made of the ships' logs, fragments of logs, and letters, relating to the Fijian beche-de-mer trade, in the Peabody museum, Massachusetts, U.S.A. Two reels of microfilm were made of this material for the Department of Pacific History in the Australian National University (17MF. 97a and 97b). These were borrowed on my behalf in 1965 by the Barr Smith Library, Adelaide, and, owing to a verbal misunderstanding, full-size copies were made of part of the type-written manuscripts. These are now catalogued under J.H. Eagleston as, 'Journals and related material on the beche-de-mer trade in the Fiji islands 1801-1839' (parts 1 to 8), and are contained in two manuscript boxes. Part 4 of this collection is an account of the voyage of the barque Peru 1830-1833 and is referred to in footnotes as J.H. Eagleston, 'The Voyage of the Peru'. It has the appearance of a log which has been re-written for publication.

Another important manuscript collection is the Ryder Papers. These consist of correspondence between the various members of the Ryder family, and the type-script copy of the account of the

settlement of Mago, by C.L. Ryder. These are in the Mitchell Library, which also houses the diaries of E.W. Lomborg, an early trader on the Rewa, and of G.H.W. Markham, a planter at Nadi and later at Ba. The Fiji Museum, Suva, holds the diary of Richard Philip, a lawyer who was offered a legal post with the Cakobau government, and arrived in Levuka in October 1872, (only to find that the job had been given to A.W. Hamilton). He remained in Fiji for a period of two months before returning to Melbourne. The first part of the diary is kept as a daily journal, but he describes a visit to the Rewa, and a period of residence in Levuka, as continuous episodes. I have given the date of references to this section as November 1872, as it is impossible to be more precise. Perhaps the most interesting source of this kind is the 'Diary and Narratives' of Edwin J. Turpin. The first part of the manuscript is a daily journal which Turpin kept from 1871 to 1875. The second part is a loosely connected series of 'Old Hands' Yarns.', apparently collected by Turpin from some of the older European settlers, and interspersed with his own reminiscences. It is likely that Turpin intended the 'Narratives' for publication. Mr. Ian Diamond is at present editing the whole manuscript for this purpose, and he kindly allowed me to work from his typescript version of the original. J.B. Thurston's letters to Captain Hope of H.M.S. Briak in the

Turnbull Library have been frequently used by historians, but the Swanston papers are less well-known, though almost as valuable. They consist of diaries covering the years 1857-1866 and 1874 - 1885, and letters written to R.S. Swanston, written mainly in 1872. They throw an interesting light on the early Cakobau government and the political attitudes of the older settlers.

Several secondary sources, as yet unpublished, have been mentioned in the acknowledgements. They include a paper entitled 'The Pacific Beche de Mer trade and its consequences, with special reference to Fiji' by R.G. Ward 1967, a paper given at a work-in-progress seminar in the Institute of Advanced Studies, Canberra, by Caroline Melville entitled 'Levuka and David Whippy: A study of the changing patterns of race-relations in pre-colonial Fiji' (1967), and two 'Research exercises' carried out in the University of Otago under the supervision of Professor A. Ross: J.D. King's 'Otago and Fiji 1868-1870' (1966), and E.J. Moore 'Otago Interest and intercourse with Fiji 1870-3 inclusive' (1967).

While in Fiji in 1966 I was able to visit Naitaba island and to obtain the permission of Mrs. Elisabeth Hennings to remove the Hennings family papers and place them in the Central Archives, in Suva. They were contained at the time in five tin trunks, in the loft of a plantation outhouse. The roof above them had been leaking for a considerable time, and the lids of the trunks

were rusted through. The top four or five inches of the contents of each had been reduced to fragments by insect activity, and from one of them I recovered five eggs which it was difficult to date accurately. As it happened, only a few items would have been useful for a study of the period with which I have been concerned, and in any case they will need considerable attention before they can be used, but they will provide a valuable source of information for a social and economic history of the period between session and about 1890.

BIBLIOGRAPHYA PRIMARY SOURCES

- (1) Official Manuscripts
- (2) Private Manuscripts
- (3) Official Printed Material
- (4) Contemporary Published Accounts
- (5) Newspapers

B SECONDARY SOURCES

- (1) Manuscripts
- (2) Unpublished Theses
- (3) Articles
- (4) Modern Works related to Fijian History
- (5) Other Relevant Publications

A PRIMARY SOURCES(1) Official Manuscripts

- (a) Consular Letters (C.L.). Copies of these are contained in a series of letter-books in the Central Archives of Fiji and the Western Pacific High Commission, Suva.
- i Copies of outwards letters, general.
 - ii Copies of outwards correspondence addressed to various chiefs and to King George of Tonga.
 - iii Copies of letters addressed to persons other than officials.
 - iv Copies of dispatches sent to the Foreign Office.
 - v Miscellaneous documents.
- (b) The Im Thurn Papers: Papers removed from the records of H.B.M. Consul for Fiji and Tonga by Sir Everard Im Thurn, Governor of Fiji, 1904-1910, returned by his widow to the Fiji government, and transferred from the Secretariat to the Central Archives.
- (c) Land Claims Commission and Executive Council sitting for the rehearing of Claims to Land, 1875-1887, papers relating to claims (L.C.C.).

These records are in two sections, the Reports on Claims and the Petitions for Appeal. Many of the papers relating to original claims became the subject of subsequent appeals. These are now filed under Appeals and not in their original numerical order. References to original reports are given thus: L.C.C. R -; references to Petitions for Appeal thus: L.C.C. P -.

- (d) Material in the State Library of Victoria, Archives division:
- i Selected Correspondence, Governor's Office, Bundle 11, Item No. 12 (correspondence on the Polynesia Company).
 - ii Titles Office, Companies' Registration Branch, No. 140 (Polynesia Company Papers, including a list of shareholders, a plan of the town of Suva, and other items).

iii Chief Secretary's Office, Inwards Correspondence, Executive Council Records (about 20 files on the Polynesia Company, settlers in Fiji and related subjects).

- (e) The British Colonial Office: C.O. 83/64, an autobiographical account by J.S. Thurston (10 pages).

(2) Private Manuscripts

- (a) J.H. Eagleston: Logs and narratives of voyages to Fiji between 1829 and 1845. The originals of these manuscripts are in the Peabody Museum, Massachusetts, U.S.A. The most useful of them, until the other items are carefully edited, is Eagleston's account of the voyage of the barque Fery in 1831 and 1832, and the log of the Mermaid 1834-1835. The remaining material is fragmentary and consists largely of daily journals upon which the 'Voyage of the Fery' was probably based. (See the 'Notes on Sources'.)
- (b) E.W.G. Lomborg: The diary of E.W.G. Lomborg, trader of Fiji, 1862-1864. This diary gives a mournful account of the life of a small trader, apparently on the Rewa (in the Mitchell Library).
- (c) G.H.W. Markham: The diaries of G.H.W. Markham, 1869-1874, and 1876-1878, in the Mitchell Library. Although in a damaged condition these diaries are one of the most useful accounts of the period.
- (d) Richard Philp 'My Diary', 1872. Philp describes his none too successful life as a lawyer in Victoria, his voyage to Fiji, two months' residence there in October and November 1872, and his return to Australia (in the Fiji Museum, Suva).
- (e) A Polish Visitor: A short paper, now in typescript, entitled 'Fiji in the late sixties', translated from the Polish language by a Polish lady, and presented to the Fiji Museum by E.V. Baker, Esq., District Commissioner, Northern, October 1955.
- (f) The Ryder Papers: This collection, in the Mitchell Library, consists of letters between the three brothers, Edmund, George and Thomas Kirk Ryder, during the period when their settlement on Mago island was

under consideration, and it also includes letters from the three brothers to their parents in Australia, after they had established themselves. In addition there is a typescript copy of a narrative by G.L. Ryder, the youngest of the three brothers, entitled 'Pioneering in the South Seas'. It recounts some of the family history in New South Wales and Victoria, the voyage by Thomas Kirk Ryder to Hago, his conditional purchase of it, and the subsequent settlement of the island and activity on it from 1864 to about 1880.

(g) Stansore,
1st baron:

Fiji: Records of Private and of Public Life, 1875-1880, 4 vols., privately printed, Edinburgh, 1877-1912. The reader is instructed that these volumes are 'to be regarded as though in manuscript'. They contain accounts of Sir Arthur Gordon's movements about the group, letters to his wife and to members of his staff, and interviews with a large number of settlers in the period shortly after his arrival in the new colony.

(h) The Swanston
Papers:

This collection, in the Fiji Museum, Suva, consists of letters to R.S. Swanston and the Swanston Journals. The most interesting letters are those from David Wilkinson, A.W. Hamilton, W.R. Scott, Alexander Barrack and T.E. Ryder, in the first half of 1872 when such men were urging Swanston to take a leading part in Fijian politics. The journals are in six volumes, the first, covering the period 1857-1866 begins in British Columbia but contains details of attempts to raise sheep on the Ra coast in the early 1860s. The second volume covers the periods 1853-4 and 1874-5. The remaining volumes, 1875-85, cover the period of his work as stipendiary magistrate, Madavu, of his service in the Consulate in Samoa, his later wanderings in the Pacific, and his retirement in Fiji.

(i) J.B. Thurston:

Letters, 1865-1874, contained in the Letter-Journals of Captain G.W. Hope of H.M.S. Brisk, in the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. There is also a typescript of an account of a voyage to the New Hebrides to pick up labour, n.d. Central Archives, Suva. It is clear that the voyage was made in the first half of 1871.

(j) Edwin James
Turpin:

Diary and Narratives 1870-1894. (See the 'Notes on Sources'.)

(3) Official Printed Material

British Parliamentary Papers (B.P.P.). Those relevant to this study are:

- (a) Correspondence relative to Land Claims in Fiji, with a pattern of decisions and some examples of cases. 3 parts, 1883
 [c 2838] [c 3584] [c 3815]
 Further Correspondence [c 2839]
 Further Correspondence 1884-5 [c 4433]
 Further Correspondence 1895 [c 2842]
- (b) Address delivered by His Excellency the Governor to the meeting assembled at Nagova on Monday the 1st Instant [c 3642].
 Accounts and Papers (8) 1883, Vol. XLV.

(4) Contemporary Published Accounts

- Arthur, W. What is Fiji, the Sovereignty of which is offered to Her Majesty? Hamilton, Adams, London 1859.
- Barry, J.M. 'Cotton-growing in Fiji, with some remarks on the Country and its inhabitants', Dublin Society Journal VI, 1872, pp. 205-210.
- Bays, P. A Narrative of the Wreck of the Minervia, Whaler of Port Jackson, New South Wales, on Nicholson's Shoal, 24th 3, 179th W... etc., S. Bridges, Cambridge, 1831.
- Brenchley, J.L. Jottings during the Cruise of H.M.S. Porpoise among the South Sea Islands... in 1865. Longmans, Green, London, 1873.
- Brewster, A.S. The King of the Cannibal Isles, London, 1937.
- Britton, Henry Fiji in 1870: being the letters of the 'Times' special correspondent, with a complete Map and Gazetteer of the Fijian Archipelago, Melbourne, 1870.
- _____ Loloma, or Two Years in Cannibal Land, S. Millen, Melbourne 1863.
- Cary, W.S. Wrecked in the Feejees, Inquirer and Mirror Press, Nantucket, Massachusetts, 1928.
- 'Ceres' The Fiji Islands (with maps) Commercially Considered as a Field for Emigration, Melbourne 1869.

- A Colonist Fiji. Remarks on the address delivered by Sir Arthur Gordon, G.C.M.G. at the Colonial Institute, March 18, 1877, Levuka n.d.
- Cooper, R.G. Fiji: its Resources and Prospects, London, 1879.
- de Ricci, J.H. Fiji: Our New Province in the South Seas, London, 1875.
- Diaper, William
[pseud.] Cannibal Jack: the true autobiography of a white man in the south seas (by William Diaper, printed from the manuscript in the possession of James Hadfield, with a foreword by de Vere Stacpole), London, 1928.
- Dillon, P. Narrative and successful result of a voyage in the South Seas, performed by order of the Government of British India, to ascertain the actual fate of La Perouse's expedition... etc., 2 vols., Hurst, Chance and Co., London, 1829.
- Dumont D'Urville Voyage au Pôle du Sud et dans l'Océanie sur la corvette l'Astrolabe et la Zélee Amcoute par ordre du Roi pendant des années 1837-1838-1839-1840, Histoire du Voyage, 10 vols., Paris 1842.
- Junn, Captain
Thomas C. 'A Refutation of the charges against the Wesleyan missionaries in the Feejee Islands', New York Herald, 9 November 1856.
- Erskine, J.S. Journal of a Cruise among the Islands of the western Pacific, including the Feejees and others inhabited by the Polynesian Negro races, London, 1853.
- Fijian Company Ltd. Prospectus... also extracts from Mr. J. Wilkinson's report, Adelaide, 1861.
- Forbes, A.L. Two Years in Fiji (with a visit to Rotumah, and remarks on the Polynesian Labour Traffic), Longmans, London, 1875.
- Gaggin, J. among the Man-Eaters, T. Fisher and Unwin, London, 1900.
- Goodenough, V.H.
(ed.) Journal of Commodore Goodenough during his last command as Senior Officer on the Australian Station, 1872-75, London, 1875.
- Gordon-Cumming, C.F. At Home in Fiji, London, 1881.

- Henderson, G.C. (ed.) A Selection of Documents to be used in a Course of Lectures on the Evolution of Government in Fiji, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1935.
- _____ (ed.) Journal of Thomas Williams. Missionary in Fiji 1840-1853, 2 vols., Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1931.
- Hood, T.H. Notes of a Cruise in H.M.S. Fawn, Edinburgh, 1863.
- Hope, G.W. 'Strictures on the activities of the American agents in connexion with the claims', Blackwood's Magazine, Edinburgh, May 1869.
- _____ 'Sketches in Polynesia - Fiji', Blackwood's Magazine, Edinburgh, July 1869.
- Hyndman, H.M. The Record of an Adventurous Life, Macmillan, London, 1911.
- Lockerby, William The Journal of William Lockerby. Sandalwood Trader in the Fiji Islands. 1808-9, edited with an introduction by Sir Everard Im Thurn and L.O. Wharton, Hakluyt Society, London, 1925.
- Macdonald, J.D. 'Proceedings of the Expedition for the Exploration of the Rewa river and its tributaries, in Na Viti Levu, Fiji Islands', Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. XXVII (1857), pp. 232-268.
- Markham, A.M. The Cruise of the 'Rosario' amongst the New Hebrides and Santa Cruz Islands, London, 1873.
- Moss, F.J. A Month in Fiji (being letters to the Otago Daily Times, September 1863), Melbourne, 1863. (The pamphlet is signed 'A Recent Visitor' but Moss admitted authorship.)
- _____ A Planter's Experience in Fiji, being a concise account of the Country, its present condition, and its prospects as a field for emigration, Jones and Tombs, Auckland, 1870.
- _____ Through Atolls and Islands in the Great South Sea, Sampson, Low, London 1839.
- [Oliver, J. and Dix, W.] Wreck of the 'Glide': with an account of the Life and Manners of the Fijii [sic] Islands, William D. Ticknor, Boston, 1846.

- Palmer, (Captain) G. Kidnapping in the South Seas, being a Narrative of three months' cruise of H.M.S. Rosario, Edinburgh, 1871.
- Peckey, W.C. Fiji Cotton Culture and Planters' Guide to the Islands, London, 1870.
- Polynesia Company, Copy of a dispatch, being a remonstrance against the unlawful withholding of the Company's Lands at Fiji, by His Excellency the Governor, Sir Arthur Gordon, Melbourne 1877.
- Fritchard, W.F. Polynesian Reminiscence, or, Life in the South Pacific Islands, London, 1866.
- U., R. [E. Udal] Colonisation in the Fiji Islands, London, 1871.
- St Julian, C.A. Notes on the Latent Resources of Polynesia, (reprinted for private circulation from the Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney, 1851.
- _____ The International Status of Fiji and the political rights, duties and privileges of British subjects and other foreigners residing in the Fijian Archipelago, Sydney, 1872.
- Seemann, S.K. Viti: An Account of a Government Mission to the Vitian or Fijian Islands in the years 1860-61, Cambridge, 1862.
- Smythe (Mrs.) S.M. Ten Months in the Fiji Islands (Introduction and Appendix by Col. W.J. Smythe), Oxford, 1864.
- Turpin, E.J. Fijian Almanac and Directory, Levuka, 1873.
- _____ Fijian Nautical and Commercial Almanac and Fiji Directory (Nautical Almanac compiled by Capt. R. Haddock), Levuka, 1874.
- Vindex [pseud.] Fiji: Its Political Aspect 1870-1873, Levuka, 1873.
- Wallis, M.D. Life in Feejee, or, Five Years among the Cannibals (By a Lady), Boston, 1851.
- Wilkes, Charles Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 5 vols., and an atlas, London 1845.

(5) NewspapersArgus

Melbourne. This newspaper was a rich source of information about the experience of early settlers, especially in the period before August 1868, and during the first nine months of 1869, when there was no newspaper in Fiji. It is also a valuable source for the formation, and subsequent fortunes, of the Polynesian Company and its promoters.

Australasian

The country weekly owned by the proprietors of the Argus. I was surprised to find that this paper carried so much information about Fiji, from April 1866 onwards. It seems likely that unusual interest in Fiji was shown in country areas, and especially in mining districts.

Bruce Herald

Contains the letters of Thomas Muir, entitled 'Fiji and the Fijians', written September, October and November 1868, and published the following year.

Fijian Weekly News and Planter's Journal

The first newspaper published in Fiji, 8 August 21 November 1868, a weekly, published in Levuka on Saturdays. Thirteen issues appeared. The British Museum holds a copy of the first, the Central Archives holds all except Nos. 11 and 12, the Mitchell Library holds No. 11, and several earlier issues. No. 12 is so far missing.

Fiji Times

4 September 1869 - weekly on Saturdays until 27 August 1870, twice-weekly on Wednesdays and Saturdays from 3 September 1870. The Central Archives, Suva, holds a complete set, and the Victorian Public Library, Melbourne has a reasonably complete one for the years consulted.

Fiji Gazette and Central Polynesian

1 January 1871 - 5 October 1872, it then became incorporated in the Fiji Gazette. Files of both papers are held in the Central Archives, Suva.

Sydney Morning Herald

This newspaper was useful for occasional references throughout the period. The Argus contains more information on Fiji in the period 1868-1871, but nothing of importance occurred in Fiji without echo of it in this newspaper, and it contains some reports found nowhere else.

Town and Country Journal

Consulted for the months April-August 1871.
A reference in the Fiji Times led to a search through this paper, leading to the discovery of a series of articles of great interest on Levuka and Tavuni, and including two voyages on recruiting vessels by 'A Sydney Man', who can be identified as T. Cronquist (see chapters 6 and 7).

B SECONDARY SOURCES(1) Manuscripts

- Henderson, G.C. 'Fiji Notebooks', a collection in the State Archives of South Australia. The collection consists of nine notebooks:
- i 'Tasman's discovery of Fiji'
 - ii A manuscript, apparently intended for publication, entitled 'British Policy in the S. Pacific Islands', Vol. II.
 - iii)
 - iv) Notebooks 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 consist of a
 - v) manuscript entitled 'The Evolution of
 - vi) Government in Fiji'.
 - vii)
 - viii Miscellaneous notes
 - ix MS of a book entitled 'British Imperial Policy in the South Pacific'.
- King, J.D. 'Otago and Fiji 1868-1870'. A 'Research Exercise' carried out as part of the requirement for the M.A. (honours) degree at the University of Otago, 1966.
- Munro, S.J. 'Otago Interest and Intercourse with Fiji, 1870-1873 inclusive', (a continuation of the work of J.D. King) 1967.
- Malville, Caroline 'Levuka and David Whippy: A study of the changing pattern of race-relations in pre-Colonial Fiji'. A paper given at a work-in-progress seminar at the Institute of Advanced Studies, A.N.U., Canberra, 1967.
- Ward, R.G. The Pacific Beche-de-Mer trade and its consequences, with special reference to Fiji, University of Papua and New Guinea, 1967.

(2) Unpublished Theses

- Crane, E.A. 'King Cakobau's government, or, an experiment in government in Fiji, 1871-1874', M.A., Wellington, 1938.
- Davidson, J.W. 'European Penetration of the South Pacific, 1779-1842', Ph.D., Cambridge, 1942.
- France, P. 'The Charter of the Land', Ph.D., A.N.U., 1966.
- Gunson, W.N. 'Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas, 1797-1860', Ph.D., A.N.U., 1959.
- Anight, G.R. 'Estates and Plantations in Java 1812-1834', Ph.D., L.S.E., 1968.
- Millington, J. 'The Career of Sir John Thurston, Governor of Fiji 1833-1897', University of London, M.A., 1947.
- Rooney, M.J. 'Missions in the Pacific with reference to some Aspects of the Work of the Reverend Isaac Rooney, 1865-1888', B.A. honours thesis, Adelaide, 1960.

(3) Articles

- Diamond, I.A. 'The Search for Edwin Turpin', a paper given to the Fiji Society, 9 August 1965.
- Brewster, A.S. 'The French in Fiji', Transactions of the Fiji Society, 1914.
- Drus, Ethel 'The Colonial Office and the Annexation of Fiji' (Alexander Frise Essay), Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 4th Sess., Vol. 32, 1950.
- Hainsworth, D.R. 'In Search of a Staple: the Sydney Sandalwood Trade 1804-9', Business Archives and History, Vol. 5, No. 1, February 1965.
- Legge, C. 'William Diaper: a biographical sketch', Journal of Pacific History, Vol. 1, 1966.
- McIntyre, W.D. 'Anglo-American Rivalry in the Pacific: The British Annexation of the Fiji Islands in 1874', Pacific Historical Review, Vol. 29, 1960.

- McIntyre, W.D. 'New Light on Commodore Goodenough's Mission to Fiji 1873-4', Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand, Vol. 9, No. 35, 1960.
- Mauds, H.E. 'Beachcombers and Castaways', The Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 73, No. 3, September 1964.
- Scarr, Deryck 'John Bates Thurston, Commodore J.G. Goodenough, and Rampart Anglo-Saxons in Fiji', Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand, Vol. 11, No. 43, October 1964.
- _____ 'Recruits and Recruiters: A Portrait of the Pacific Islands Labour Trade', Journal of Pacific History, Vol. 2, 1967.
- Shineberg, Dorothy 'The Sandalwood Trade in Melanesian Economics, 1841-45', Journal of Pacific History, Vol. 1, 1966.
- Tatouaqa, E. 'Charlie Savage', Transactions of the Fijian Society, 1913.
- Wall, G. 'Beachcombing', Transactions of the Fijian Society, 1911.

(4) Modern Works related to Fijian History

- Brewster, A.B. The Hill Tribes of Fiji, London, 1922.
- British Admiralty Naval Intelligence Division, Geographical Handbooks: Pacific Islands, 4 Vols., Vols. I and Vol. III (Western Pacific), London, 1945.
- _____ Hydrographic department, Pacific Islands Pilot, 7th ed., Vol. II, Central Groups, London 1943.
- Cyclopaedia Co. The Cyclopaedia of Fiji: A complete Historical and Commercial Review of Fiji... An Epitome of Progress. A Compendium of Statistics and Data concerning the Group, never yet compiled or brought together in a single publication. Descriptive and biographical facts, figures and illustrations, Sydney, 1907.
- Deane, W. Fijian Society, or the Sociology and Psychology of the Fijians, London, 1921.

- Derrick, R.A. A History of Fiji, Vol. I (to 1874), Suva, 1946
- Legge, J.D. Britain in Fiji 1858-1880, Macmillan & Co., London, 1958.
- Morrell, W.P. Britain in the Pacific Islands, Oxford, 1960.
- Scarr, D. Fragments of Empire: A History of the Western Pacific High Commission 1877-1914, A.N.U., 1967.
- Shinsberg, Dorothy They Came For Sandalwood: A Study of the Sandalwood trade in the South-West Pacific 1830-1865, M.U.P., 1967.
- Ward, R.G. Land Use and Population in Fiji: a geographical study, London, H.M. Stationery Office, 1965.

(5) Other Relevant Works

- Davidson, J.W. The Study of Pacific History, an Inaugural Lecture delivered at Canberra on 25 November 1954, Canberra, 1955.
- Freyre, G. The Masters and the Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization (translated from the 4th Brazilian edition by Samuel Putnam) New York, 1946.
- Mannonini, D.O. Prospero and Caliban: the psychology of Colonisation (translated by Pamela Townsend, with a foreword by Philip Mason, 2nd ed., New York, 1964.
- May, P.R. The West Coast Gold Rushes, Pegasus Press, Christchurch, N.Z., 1967.
- Morrell, W.P. The Gold Rushes, London, 1940.
- Magats, L.J. The Fall of the Planter Class in the British Carribean: A study in social and economic history, New York, 1928.
- Ross, A. New Zealand Aspirations in the Pacific in the Nineteenth Century, Oxford, 1964.
- Sahlins, M.D. Moala: Culture and Nature on a Fijian Island, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1962.

- Berle, G. The Golden Age: A history of the Colony of Victoria, 1851-1861, M.U.P., 1963.
- Ward, R. The Australian Legend, O.U.P., Sydney, 1958.
- Young, J.M.H. Australia's Pacific Frontier, Cassell's, Melbourne, 1967.