

THE WESLEYANS ENTER FIJI

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TONGAN MIGRATION and settlement on Wallis for purposes of family reunion, migration and trade were an aspect of a wider restless movement of canoes from Tonga, along the sides of a triangle with its other two points in northern Tonga and eastern Fiji. From the sixteenth century onward Tongan trading and dynastic connections, formed in the Lau group of Fiji, had opened up a pathway for Tongan rovers through Lomaiviti, central Fiji, to the large and influential islands of Taveuni and Vanua Levu. Taveuni's highest chief, the Tui Cakau, who dominated the Cakaudrove "kingdom" reaching to Vanua Levu, had become traditionally allied with the Tui Nayau, whose ancestors derived their title from the island of Nayau but had come to dominate Lakeba, the main landing point for incoming Tongan canoes. By the early nineteenth century Tongans were familiar infiltrators of Fiji. They traded in canoes and wooden bowls. Tongan names and titles had become joined, through intermarriage, with the family of the Tui Nayau. This Tongan connection aided the coming of Christianity from Tonga to Fiji.

In 1825, at Papara on Tahiti, the LMS missionary, John Davies met a Fijian named Takai from Lakeba. He had traveled to Tahiti by way of Sydney, accompanied by a Tongan, Langi, from Tongatapu. Both Davies' visitors had lived in Fiji. They knew Walter Lawry was preaching Christianity on Tongatapu (page 70). Davies taught them to read; he imparted some Tahitian. Takai and Langi expressed a strong desire that Teachers should be sent to Lakeba in the Fiji's, saying the chief Tuineau (Tui Nayau) was a friendly peaceable man, and would give the teachers a good reception. '

The Tahitian teachers, after being detained on Tongatapu for some time by Aleamotu'a (page 71), reached Lakeba in 1830 - Taharaa from Papara, Faaruea and Hatai from Moorea, all unmarried. Tui Nayau proved to be less ready to receive Christianity than had been expected. In 1832 they moved to Oneata; south of Lakeba, where they succeeded in founding the first place of regular Christian worship on Fijian soil. Though they had problems acquiring the language, they were warmly welcomed. Local tradition still remembers and honours them at Oneata. Hatai and Faaruea co-operated fully with the Wesleyan missionaries when they arrived; the two Tahitians worked on until 1846, when both died. Their helper after the Wesleyans came was a Fijian chief who had been converted in Tonga, Josua Mateinaniu of Fulaga, who accompanied the first Wesleyans to Lakeba in 1835, was a person of far greater importance than most previous accounts allow. His status and his command of both Tongan and Fijian eased the entry of David Cargill and William Gross of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, whose landfall at

Lakeba from Tonga on 12 October 1835 to wait on Tui Nayau is celebrated in Fiji as the true dawn of the church.

Cargill, who had passed through the great days of the Tongan revival of the preceding year (page 74) was an Aberdeen graduate with considerable linguistic ability. He devised the shortened Fijian alphabet along strictly phonetic lines, laying the foundation for the grammar and dictionary of David Hazlewood, a later missionary. Cargill was a complex mixture of faith, talent and vanity. He could be prickly and disdainful to his less educated co-workers, especially to Gross, who was older than Cargill, but subordinate to him after Cargill became Chairman of the Fiji District in 1838. In the early days of their mission in Lau, while the chiefs played with them by vacillating, they worked in the villages and succeeded in gathering small groups of baptized Christians among the people. The Fijian custom of taking and using their household belongings, in return for hospitalities extended, made life irksome for them; they thought of it as theft. Gradually they became aware that Tui Nayau, who had by this time close associations with Tanoa, the high chief of the rising island fortress of Bau, was not about to embrace Christianity until Tanoa and other great chiefs to westward also moved in that direction.

Bau, near one of the mouths of the Rewa River on the largest island, Viti Levu, was adjacent to another of the most powerful "kingdoms" of Fiji, Rewa. The astute chiefs of Bau had by this time come to play a central part in wars between the chiefs of Viti Levu, Taveuni and Vanua Levu. Naulivou, Tanoa, and his son Seru (the future conqueror who became known as Cakobau, conqueror of Bau) had adopted free-booting beachcombers and castaways, who taught them to use muskets in their battles. The most notorious of these unflattering heralds of European civilization was Charlie Savage, a survivor of the wreck of the brig Eliza, adopted by Naulivou of Bau, a callous fighter whose morals, and those of his associates, were "of the poultry yard."

Recognizing that effective Christian mission in Fiji depended to a large extent on the attitude of Bau, Rewa and the Tui Cakau, the Wesleyans sent Josua Mateinaniu westward alone from Lakeba toward the end of 1835 to mingle with the many Tongans who were spread out through the islands and to sound out the situation in the strongholds of the high chiefs. He was a well informed scout who advised on the future course of gospel warfare. By September 1836 he was back at Lakeba. On the Sunday after his return Cargill's small chapel was overflowing with a congregation of 300 or 400 Tonguese from the Leeward Is. of Feejee. ' Many of them had embraced Christianity through the instrumentality of Joshua, an accredited Preacher whom we sent among them 10 Months ago. He has acted with great zeal and fidelity.

The Wesleyans caught the message of the journey. In June 1838 a large canoe provided by Taufa'ahau of Ha'apai, the future king of all Tonga, brought to Lakeba six more teachers to serve the Fiji mission: Joeli Pulu (spelt Bulu in Fijian), Sailosi Fa'one, Siuliasi Naulivou, Uesile Langi, Selemaia Latu and Semisi Havea. Guided by Cargill, they acquired the dialect of Lau. Their names, renowned in the annals of Fiji, indicate at this early stage the importance of a long succession of Tongan missionaries who used their country's many contacts in Fiji to introduce their faith. By the time these Tongans arrived Gross had gone on ahead to Bau and Rewa, following Josua Mateinaniu's track. Peter Dillon (page 76), the Irish Roman Catholic mariner, transported him, at a price, to Bau. Unfortunately Tanoa, the highest chief, was found to be not at home. Gross met his son, Seru, the future Cakobau. Young, wild in his appearance, very much in

control of the interview, he told Gross he could stay if he wished on Bau, but that his safety was not guaranteed. Gross, with prudence but limited foresight, decided to go on and try Tui Dreketi, the highest chief of nearby Rewa on the Viti Levu mainland, who was at that time allied with Bau. There he was offered the protection he sought and decided to settle.

The meeting between Gross and Cakobau retarded Wesleyan advance in Fiji. Gross, small of stature and sensitive, was no chief. In Fiji men were measured by their physical presence and air of authority. John Hunt, who later earned Cakobau's respect, once observed that one of the pre-Christian high chiefs at Rewa feared Hunt as a likely spiritual competitor because Hunt, unlike Gross, was tall. Cakobau, always eager to appropriate white men of any kind for his own advantage, was also piqued because Gross went to Rewa instead of residing on Bau.

Wesleyan reinforcements from Britain came to Lakeba in December 1838, bringing supplies sufficient to compensate Cargill, Gross and their families for the loss of their household goods. The three new missionaries, John Hunt, James Calvert and Thomas Jaggar, all came direct to Fiji in response to appeals in the English religious press. Jaggar, a printer, soon transferred his machinery from Lakeba to Rewa, and later to the island of Viwa near Bau. The mission was deprived of his skill following a sexual encounter with a young Fiji girl on Viwa in 1848. Calvert manned Lakeba for ten years at the beginning of his long service to Fiji; he became an expert on the islands and lived to be present at the celebrations of the mission's first quarter century and half century. Hunt, the other member of the gifted trio, ranks with the most able and dedicated Christian missionaries of any period.

With his wife Hannah, John Hunt followed Gross to Rewa, where he arrived on 7 January 1839. During the next nine years this twenty-seven-year old former plough boy from Lincolnshire, ordained in and for Fiji, lived close to the people. He understood them, listened to them, loved them. He lived near the centres of power of the great chiefs - Rewa, Somosomo on Taveuni, Viwa. His eye for personality -traits in Fiji's noblest men was sharp; he measured their quality beneath their outward status. They liked him; his dealings with them were frank, never obsequious. ``The fact is, ' he once wrote, `` the favor of a Feejeean chief is rather to be dreaded than courted , and the less a Missionary has of it the better. ' But the chiefs respected him.

Though not technically trained for linguistic work as Cargill had been, Hunt learned the important Bauan dialect, which was to emerge as the standard of written Fijian: Before he died he had translated the New Testament and begun the Old. He started at Rewa with the Gospels. "I have more help in them than in any other part of the Scriptures , ' he confided to his journal. He had Cargill's translations in the Lau dialect before him, but wrote, `` I don't intend to call any man master but to think for myself. ' Hunt was as open as any of the missionaries to what he had to learn from the old culture of Fiji; he never ``went native, ' remaining himself, English and a Methodist; but he talked of Christ rather than of European furnishings, clothing to the neck-line and punctual hard work. His readiness to follow the local custom of kerekere in giving away his own and his wife's possessions to Fijians exasperated some of his colleagues. This sharing of personal goods in Fiji is customarily reciprocated, without reference to the first appropriation, by later equivalent gifts of food, mats or help in need. John Hunt grasped this aspect of Fiji's social life and reaped its warm rewards. Nor was he easily shockable or prim; his observations of pre-

Christian religion were acute; he also recognized that some of his own immunity from being killed and eaten was attributable to the special tabu holiness credited to a "man of God".

From July 1839 Hunt and his family lived at Somosomo on Taveuni, where the Tui Cakau, an elderly warrior and intemperate man-eater, presided over his war-wracked realm of Cakaudrove, where his son, Tui Kilakila, wielded much of the effective military power. Richard Burdsall Lyth, another notable missionary, who was both minister and medical man lived with Hunt through a period of bloodshed and danger at Somosomo. Lyth's matter-of fact Yorkshire temperament accorded well with Hunt's. By comparison they found Cargill moody; Gross, who suffered at Rewa from severe dysentery, was relatively weak. Hunt's Somosomo journal astonishes by clear-minded assessments of a world where its author was a stranger. Somosomo gave Hunt the apprenticeship for his later crucially important work on Viwa. He was far from naive about the impression the Methodists created in Fiji:

The god and the priest are in their opinion so connected as to be one and the same; I asked a person the other day if he knew who Jesus Christ is, and he said yes; I was Jesus Christ and often when we pass the houses the children call after us, Jisu Ruisiti, thinking either that we are pleased when we hear the name or thinking the name belongs to us, most likely both . . .

Cannibal customs, recorded by others in the mission with distraught horror, were to Hunt a matter of calmer consideration; he observed before stepping in to reform. After a battle, he studied the sacrifice of a captured chief, who was given to the God, cut up and cooked about three or four yards from our fence; I saw the operation which was performed with a skill and dispatch that might be expected from well instructed cannibals. I saw a priest sitting in the door of the temple looking at the men who were employed in cooking, etc.

On another occasion Hunt went into the bure kalou, the god's house, to become better acquainted with the religion to which he was presenting an alternative. "We requested permission to go into the temple," he wrote, "which was granted, and we took our seat near the High Priest and the old King. ' Hunt' s journal went on to describe the chief' s prayers before a battle, the presentation of highly prized tabua, whales' teeth, and coconuts, and the absence of any of the customarily anticipated ecstatic behaviour by the priest . After the war ended he later laconically reported that the women danced to welcome the fighters home and that "the songs on these occasions are very lewd." Hunt, Lyth and Thomas Williams, their successor, were on good terms with the priest of Somosomo' s great war god, and visited his temple.

Disease affected the mission seriously during its first period. At Somosomo Hannah Hunt's twelve-day-old baby and one of Mary Anne Lyth's children died. Cargill's wife Margaret bore a child who died at Rewa and herself succumbed afterwards to protracted dysentery and haemorrhage. She had been Cargill's mainstay - one person in Fiji who loved him. Plunged in grief, he sought and gained leave to return to England with his small orphaned girls, against the will of Gross, who thought he should have stayed on. Gross offered to lodge the children in his house if Cargill decided not to go. The two British pioneers of Wesleyan Christianity in Fiji were not easily compatible; there was often friction between them, described ruefully by Hunt: "Our two good brethren soon got warm and we had sad work. ' Hunt acted as a moderator; he did not conceal his preference for Gross, who died and was buried at Somosomo; he had come from

Viwa to seek treatment from Lyth in October 1842. In the swampy Rewa delta, Gross suffered from dysentery, typhus and hernia trouble; his transfer to a better climate on Viwa had come too late. Gross would not hear of leaving Fiji for health reasons. Hunt wrote an affectionate memoir of him, but was less devoted to Cargill, whose intended return to Fiji for a second term failed to please him. With characteristic plainness Hunt confided to his journal: "I must object to Mr. Cargill as a man and a Christian. "

Cargill, in the event, never reached Fiji a second time. He remarried in England, then came back as far as Vava'u in Tonga, where he died in a state of depression and over-sedation on 26 April 1843 still grieving for his "dear, Maggie" for whom he had published a tender tribute. He was dejected over the sagging fervour of the church on Vava'u, where he had lived through the happiness of the revival of 1834: His last pathetic hours were clouded by excessive brandy-drinking, to which he had been long addicted; by a self administered overdose of laudanum; and by psychotic symptoms, probably brought on as a result of dengue fever. His death could have been suicide, or simply distraught over-dependence on drugs.

From Somosomo Hunt accurately assessed the significance of the presence of Tongan adventurers in Fiji. He noticed how many of them were fighting in the Cakaudrove wars. "Christian men should have something to do besides gossiping about from one Island to another in this way, " he wrote as early as September 1839. By 1841 he and Lyth, who had already served in Tonga for a time before coming to Fiji, were trying to minister to the shifting Tongan populace around Tui Kilakila's village. Some of them had been in Wallis and were on their way back to Tonga, including a chief ``who appears to have made considerable progress in Popery. " Hunt referred to their attendance in the school the missionaries ran at Somosomo . `` Many of them attend; some of the party only have actually embraced popery, " he wrote `` and others do not seem to be much attached to it . " In fact , neither they nor the Fijians at that stage seemed much attached to anything foreign; Hunt thought they would not "embrace" Christianity "until the king leads the way.

Wesleyan missionaries could not be satisfied until the high chiefs had outgrown their easily recognized longing for the vavalagis' knives, cloth and mana. They wanted the chiefs to recognize Christ as the God who died as man in love for the world. They were not prepared to instruct and baptize chiefs until they showed `` godly sorrow ' and made their submission to Christ among their own common people in the church. Though they saw the importance of having the chiefs "turn", the missionaries required evidence of an inner change as prior test. Methodism had itself been born as a protest against merely formal Christian adherence.

There were no obvious results of this kind among the high chiefs at Lakeba, Somosomo, Rewa and Bau when Hunt moved to Viwa in August 1842. Qaraniqio of Rewa was by then a sworn enemy, who had instigated violence against the mission. Cakobau, already prominent as a warlord on Bau, continued hostile toward Hunt and, Jaggar's religious claims on nearby Viwa. He knew they had eyes on Bau; when he met them he joked about it. He and the other high chiefs found the pressures mounting within their little cockpits of power. Their wars grew more efficient as they obtained firearms from ships; they lived in fear of reprisals or takeovers by warships of Britain or France. A growing enclave of white traders on the busy beach at Levuka on the island of Ovalau had to be alternatively confronted and placated. The Wesleyans were a

partially understood religious complication within this developing dilemma; they seemed to bring a strong mana, yet they were peaceful; they condemned many local customs, yet they offered a friendly magic centred in puzzling little books.

On Viwa the conversion of Varani, the nephew of the island's high chief Namosimalua, brought about the decisive break-through. The name Varani (France) was bestowed when its possessor led in looting the French ship 'Aimable Josephine in Bau waters in 1834, murdering its captain and crew. In 1838 the French officer Dumont d'Urville burned the settlements on Viwa. Varani was Cakobau's ally and comrade in arms - famous as a killer and eater of his enemies. To Hunt's surprise, as he was one day reading about the crucifixion from the newly translated Gospel according to St. Matthew, Varani was visibly stirred. When Hunt was teaching him to read he formed the habit of going into the bush to pray in imitation of Hunt. The story of the crucifixion decided him. He told Cakobau he was going to become a Christian. Cakobau, incredulous, threatened to kill and eat him if he did, but never carried out the threat. Varani "publicly bowed the knee to Jehovah" on Good Friday 1845. He married his principal wife and set the others aside when he joined Hunt's Methodist Class Meeting as a candidate for baptism. Hunt's circuit report at the end of June said, "His whole spirit and conduct give the most pleasing evidence of the great change that has taken place in his mind, and the whole so evidently and exclusively the work of God, that we are much, very much, encouraged and strengthened. '

Hunt's reports did not usually inflate progress, but Varani's change elated him. Here he had a truly Christian chief. Varani's uncle, Namosimalua, had made a formal submission to Christianity as early as 1839, but Varani's conversion centred in a more fervent attachment to Christ. Hunt located the change in his mind - his thought and his will. Following Varani's experience, in the second half of 1845 Viwa became the scene of emotional revivals comparable with those in Tonga in 1834. Hunt described in October how private houses and the public services of the church reverberated with sobbing, simultaneous prayers and physical convulsions. He did not deprecate them; to him they were signs of a fervour all good Wesleyans longed to see, from the days of John Wesley onward; but behind the excitement he sought a more permanent change of heart and mind. "During the first week of the revival, he wrote, nearly 100 Persons professed to obtain the forgiveness of sins, through faith in Jesus Christ. Some were exceedingly clear, others not so clear. '

Hunt was not blind to the influence external wars and rumours of wars had on the revival. He began his account of what took place by drawing attention to ' ` a great deal of anxiety of mind ' ' over the bloody war impending between Bau and Rewa, two of Viwa's traditional allies. The most extreme emotional seizures occurred in the house of Namosimalua, the high chief. Pre-Christian Fijian religion included the ecstatic paroxysms of the bete, or priest, who was believed to be possessed by the god of the place when he was consulted about prospect of success in battle, or other grave matters. It seems likely that in the Viwa revival some of this pre-Christian conduct transferred itself to the Christian congregation as a whole. All the Lord's people became prophets. J.B. Watsford, the Australian missionary who lived with Hunt through the revival on Viwa noted that ' ` blood and fire and pillars of smoke ' ' (Joel 2.28-32) were a classical setting for such Pentecostal behaviour (Acts 2.17-19). The war with Rewa, indeed, broke out in December to round out the picture.

Cakobau did not know what to make of the conversion of his great friend Varani, who continued to fight on the side of Bau, but refused to permit the killing and eating of captives. Varani's model was Hunt - forthright and courageous, but a man of peace rather than war. Meanwhile Cakobau passed off his disinclination to have a missionary on Bau with shows of his wit. Hunt told him that the bodies of all he had eaten and killed would rise again at the Last Judgment, and that if Cakobau and his victims did not repent before then they would be cast into the ire of hell. Cakobau replied ` `Ah, well! It is a fine thing to have a fire in cold weather. ' Hunt told him ` `I shall still pray for you with a good mind, although you treat the subject so lightly. ' Cakobau, perhaps revealing a slight chink in his jocular armour, said "Go on with that . '

When John Hunt died of dysentery on Viwa on 4 October 1848 at the age of thirty-six, foundations had been laid for the growth of a truly Fijian church. Four Pacific Islander pioneers of the mission were approved to proceed toward ordination to the ministry at the District Meeting a few weeks before Hunt died: Joeli Bulu, Josua Mateinaniu, Uesile Langi and Paula Vea. Hunt and Lyth worked to give the lotu in Fiji its own liturgical character, using sonorous local chanting and action songs for canticles of victory like the Te Deum. One Fijian who was Hunt's helper on Viwa in translating the New Testament has almost faded from the record; Noa, who "knew his own language better than any other native, ' was a picturesque and amusing lay preacher, forerunner of many in Fiji. His insanity in later life did not prevent his friend John Watsford, who learned Fijian under him, from paying him tribute.

Hunt and Lyth permitted Christianity to become a spontaneous movement of people and chiefs. Both men belonged to the early Wesleyan tradition; their liturgical forms were derived from the Book of Common Prayer; their doctrine of the sacraments retained Charles Wesley's high doctrine of the Real Presence. Their teaching about practical holiness in everyday life linked up with Fijian ideas of tabu, now given moral content within a monotheistic spiritual setting. The missionaries entered Fijian life as new religious persons of high standing. They and their Fijian successors, called talatala or ministers, gradually took the social position occupied by the discountenanced priests of the numerous old divinities. In the midst of his healing, translating and preaching on Viwa Hunt found time to write his Letters on Entire Sanctification, directly inspired by John Wesley's writings on the same central Methodist theme. ` ` He wrote his own life , ' Watsford remarked, telling how Hunt, unselfconscious in his longing for the full vision of God, would nevertheless call Watsford away from his language study with the invitation ` ` let ' s have a run , ' or ` `let us do a bit of gardening. ' Hunt could be heard each morning singing a favourite hymn to the accompaniment of his small accordion. These recollections give clues to Hunt's hold over the affection of Fijians, who like good times and singing and prefer their work to be enjoyable.

Varani prayed memorably at Hunt's deathbed. His eyes met those of Cakobau over the coffin at the funeral on Viwa. The two men, and later chiefs who followed them, knew that Hunt prayed for them while he lived. His life and death had been crucial in leading Cakobau to submit eventually to Christ in 1854, though in Ratu Seru Cakobau, soon to be acknowledged on Bau as vunivalu, supreme lord of war, motives were intriguingly mixed. Varani died tragically while endeavouring to reconcile the warring mountain people of Lovoni on Ovalau with those of Levuka. As a Christian he achieved a measure of heroic simplicity.

Not so Cakobau, who was always complicated, even as a genuinely penitent sinner with the new name Apenisa (Ebenezer, I Samuel 7.12). The baptismal font in the great church on Bau is made out of the killing stone where Cakobau's victims had their heads clubbed before being sent to the cooking ovens, which were reported "never cold" during the wars with Rewa in the years before his conversion. Those wars, together with the pressure brought to bear on him by incoming white men and unpredictable Tongan soldiers, filled him with forebodings of a change in Fiji, possibly tragic, in any case irreversible. As Cakobau's former world broke up he saw that what could be saved of the past might in part be re-fashioned by the Christian Church. To share in it he must follow the examples of Namosimalua and Varani.

Evidence of the religious changes was on his doorstep. On 30 July 1849, when Lyth and Calvert were absent from Viwa at a District Meeting on Vanua Levu, their wives heard through Namosimalua that Cakobau's father, the old chief Tanoa, was superintending the killing and eating of fifteen female captives. They could hear the great lali, the death drum of Bau, beating; they rowed across the small intervening space of water to confront Tanoa in his own house, accompanied by Namosimalua. By the time they entered twelve of the prisoners had already been killed. The women then made offerings of tabua, highly prized whales' teeth, to Tanoa, pleading with him to spare the three frightened survivors. Their entreaties were eventually successful. This brave action, revealing the place women could be expected to assume under Christianity, was followed by another in December 1852, when Tanoa died. Six of the chiefly widows were set apart to be strangled according to custom, in the presence of Cakobau. Fijian belief held that they must go to the place of departed spirits, *burotu*, to serve their husband and lord. Watsford went across from Viwa to Bau to intercede for them, this time without success. The gripping pages of his eye-witness account of the silent strangling of the blindfolded women describe the happiness of the victims, "as if going to a dance." Cakobau challenged Watsford. "Are you not afraid to come here to interfere with our customs?" he asked. Watsford said he came out of love for both Cakobau and his victims. "Love," replied Cakobau "oh we all love them: we are strangling them because we love them."

Cakobau's awareness of a specifically religious side of the competition between British and French naval power in the Pacific dates from his being informed of Protestant conflict with Catholics in Tahiti. Bataillon on one occasion visited him, traveling on a French warship. He told Cakobau that Bau had been providentially, up to then, preserved from Protestantism by the protection of the Virgin. Cakobau fenced with his usual speed; he "told the bishop to leave him and his city to the care of the Virgin, and to come again when the Virgin had converted them." Roman Catholicism never succeeded in establishing itself on Bau. Its representatives, Fathers Jean Baptiste Breheret and Francois Roulleaux came, under Bataillon's instructions, to Lau from Tonga in 1844. After eleven years of frustrating efforts to gain a grip in numerous places in Lau, they settled on Ovalau and Taveuni to nurture a Fijian Roman Catholic Church until it could spread out, and stay (pages 286-8).

In 1853 Cakobau was installed as *vunivalu*, warrior-ruler of Bau; eighteen people were eaten at the traditional feast. In the same year the people of Kaba, an exposed peninsula dominating the delta waterways leading to Rewa, revolted against him in Rewa's favour. He had troubles on Ovalau, associated with more general threats to his authority; in 1853 Varani died in the resulting fight. The instigator of revolt on Kaba and Ovalau was Ratu Mara of Rewa, a defector from Bau.

In October Joseph Waterhouse, a resourceful missionary with some of Calvert's tougher qualities, landed to set up house on Bau. Calvert, who had been stationed at Levuka among the fractious whites of the beach community, had prepared the way for Waterhouse; but before he could be sure of a welcome he had to confront Cakobau face-to-face. Cakobau agreed to let him have the house-site of his choice, ``on the Bauan summit. ' The location, in the mind of the missionaries, connoted prestige, though both parties to the agreement were aware at the time that the highest point on the little island had been its rubbish dump. In November a rather more prestigious person appeared on Bau - Taufa'ahau, King George Tupou I of Tonga, at the peak of his power. He came in. company with Robert Young, a deputationist from the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Britain, who was surveying the missions in the Pacific preparatory to handing over responsibility for the field to the Australasian Wesleyan Methodists in 1855.

Taufa'ahau urged Cakobau to become a Christian. Cakobau presented him with a large double canoe for ocean sailing, thirty-one metres long, with a beam of five and a half metres. Young and the missionaries in Fiji were suitably proud and deferential about the visit of the Tongan monarch; their views on monarchy derived from John Wesley, a fervent high church Tory. However, the religious element in the meeting of the two great sea kings was mingled with personal communication between them on matters not directly related to the faith. Waterhouse was present when together they went to look at the military prospects on the Kaba peninsula. "The rebel fortress seems to me to be anything but impregnable, ' said George. `` It was evident ' Waterhouse observed, ``that each king understood the other. '

After he had gone on to Sydney, where he was received in considerable state, Taufa'ahau wrote in February 1854 to Cakobau from Nuku'alofa. He said he intended to come back to Bau, with a gift of a handsome schooner. He said: "I wish, Cakobau, you would lotu. When I visit you we will talk about it." But there was no need; on 27 April 1854 Waterhouse `had an unusually long interview in private with the king, entreating him to take up his cross and renounce heathenism. ' On the following Sunday, 30 April, Cakobau, with his priest, more than forty wives, and his family, attended church on Bau. His submission was made. He cut down a sacred grove of iron-wood (vesi trees, took reading lessons, held family prayers in his house and placed himself under instruction for baptism. He put away all but one of his wives. Three years later, on 11 January 1857, he was baptized.

The conversion of Cakobau did not lead quickly and automatically to acceptance of Christianity by a majority of Fiji's people. On Bau itself other chiefs held out for a short time; then the people came in large numbers to church and were instructed. In Bau's dependencies in Lomaiviti and on Viti Levu the process was slower. Although they loyally followed their chiefs, the people seemed to understand that a fundamental personal decision was also involved in renouncing local and ancestral spirits in favour of Christ. When they did follow, the feeling of the church so formed was overwhelmingly communal. The unity of vanua, country, matanitu, chiefly authority, and lotu, the Christian religion, took on an almost Trinitarian solemnity in the inner life of Fijians. The text "Fear God, honour the king" (1 Peter 2.1) has become part of the heraldic apparatus of Fiji; it stands for a freely honoured union of chiefs and people within the Christian faith. As previously in Tonga, traditional Wesleyans felt no strain over the emergence of a church established within the framework of custom law; John Wesley and his early followers defended

and never officially forsook the established Church of England, built on similar assumptions about the sacred and secular.

Cakobau's attempts to storm and recapture Kaba in 1854 the year of his conversion, were repelled. In March 1855 Taufa'ahau arrived in Fiji with a large fleet. He was accompanied by his dashing nephew Ma'afu, who had been securely based as a chief on the island of Vanuabalavu in Lau since 1848, and had been appointed governor over the Tongans in Fiji in 1853. Taufa'ahau stopped to deliver messages at Levuka en route. There he was revoked by attacks on his troops. The chief at Levuka was in league with Ratu Mara of Rewa, who was defiantly in possession of Kaba. Similar rash shots by Fijians were aimed a little later against the Tongan troops, as they aided the forces of Bau in on-shore preparations at Kaba preparatory to an assault on the fort. Thereupon, without direct orders from their own king, the Tongans took the fight into their hands. With the Fijians, they stormed the position Taufa'ahau had thought "anything but impregnable." Kaba fell and was burned; its defenders fled. Taufa'ahau helped Cakobau to assume Varani's mantle of clemency as together he and Cakobau forbade the slaughter of prisoners and cannibal feasting. The victory of the lotu Tonga and this day of "Tongan armed superiority together helped to crown the supremacy of Bau in Fiji. Symbolically, Enele Ma'afu, the Tui Lau, and Joeli Bulu, who ended his days as chaplain to Cakobau on Bau, reaped the fruits of the Tongan intervention in Fiji by the prominent part they played in the country's history in the next twenty years (pages 279).

Chapter 12 (Pages 279 - 288)

Each Church Distinct II

Fiji, Kiribati, Vanuatu, New Caledonia, Solomons

Fijian Methodism at the same period evolved without passing through the divisive crises of its mother church in Tonga under Baker, Moulton and King George Tupou I. In Fiji the excitement of the first conversion of the islands tended to subside into staid consolidation, moralism and uneasy partnership between dominant white missionaries and restive high chiefs. The fortunes of the Wesleyan Mission had been affected by the wars and ultimate victory of Cakobau (pages 113-115). For a few years after Cakobau's conversion the influence of the church on other parts of the group, beyond Bau and Rewa assumed a Bauan complexion as the Cakobau government unsuccessfully tried to run Fiji as an independent monarchy. When the attempt foundered Cakobau and a group of the highest chiefs ceded supreme authority to Queen Victoria in 1874 with the understanding that there was a general desire of securing the promotion of civilization and Christianity and of increasing trade and industry." Joseph Waterhouse, Cakobau's guide at the time of his conversion, was a blunt and able Yorkshireman who believed in helping Fijians toward full equality with missionaries in a church of their own. After direction of the mission passed in 1855 from the British to the Australasian Wesleyan Mission Board, Waterhouse fell out of sympathy with an incoming breed of colonially trained missionaries whose authoritarian approach did not show his own confidence in the capacities of Fijian ministers and Tongan missionaries to take fuller responsibility for running the church.

Frederick Langham, born in Tasmania, became the strong man of the mission as its chairman for the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Unlike Waterhouse, who was born in a parsonage, Langham was a builder's son. He visited England when still young and was a schoolmaster at

Gastlemaine in Victoria before proceeding to Fiji and ordination, Sir Arthur Gordon, Fiji's patrician first governor, who resented Langham's great influence in Fiji, called him 'the Cardinal'. Gordon, who idealized Fijian chiefs as analogues of Scottish highland clan leaders and noble families, strove to cultivate them in spirit; Langham knew them more intimately through the church. He could count on immediate contacts in the villages and with great chiefly families. His influence on Bau was strong. Langham's career was marked by a contest of authority between the church and the Fijian administration instituted by the colonial government. His colleague Lorimer Fison better educated than Langham, stood on middle ground between Langham and Waterhouse in a bitter conflict. Waterhouse supported Fijians and Tongans in their claim to equal representation with European missionaries in the governing bodies of the church; Langham resisted him. Fison, a gradualist, mediated by advocating movement toward full equality in stages. His training at Cambridge gave him criteria for the study of Fijian social structure and land ownership. Fison's observations and learned papers laid foundations for a governmentally received version of the collective rights of the owners of the land - an inalienable endowment through the ancestors. As a disciple of the American anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan, he interpreted what he found in Fiji as a variety of primitive communism, with patterns of descent he believed to be universally present in the 'ascending scale' of human societies. Notions used by Darwin and Engels thus became associated with a 'socially concerned' Christian theology - broader than the classic Wesleyanism of Fison's forerunners in the mission - while preserving the quest for personal holiness and perfection.

The conflict between Waterhouse and Langham ended when Waterhouse was drowned in a shipwreck off New Zealand in 1881. The death of the author of *The King and People of Fiji*, whose work had culminated in Cakobau's acceptance of Christ, marked a transition to different leadership from the Australian colonies. Both Langham and Fison were ordained within the new order of things; they ceased to look back to London; their marching orders came from Sydney and Melbourne. Langham had a raw streak within his masterful personality; he was solid, dogmatic, anti-papalist, tough in a fight. Wesleyan brushes with the administration were often based on fuller knowledge of things Fijian within the church, but the thrusting middle-class style of many of the new missionaries from the Australian colonies in time came to contrast unfavourably in the eyes of Fijian chiefs with the assured urbanity of British administrators - and with the selfless devotion of earlier missionaries of the quality of Calvert, Lyth and Hunt. Under Langham's chairmanship evangelism - centred on the person of Christ and communion with God - was succeeded to a great extent by moralism, with rigid enforcement of penalties for drinking and sexual offenses. Many Fijian chiefs felt and resented the change; though most adhered to the church of Cakobau, their English accents and social preferences testified to the influence of Sir Arthur Gordon and his successors. By the early twentieth century, in the era of Edwardian imperialism, the colonial government had more power among chiefs and in the villages; white Australian missionaries also deferred more readily to Government House, in uncritically patriotic adulation of their empire, on which the sun was not expected to set.

A deeper continuity in the life of the Fijian Wesleyan Church lay at the level of the circuits and villages. Lorimer Fison's translation of the Autobiography of Joeli Bulu conveys this continuity in Bulu's own dictated memories. Born in Vava'u, Tonga, in about 1810, Bulu became a Christian through the preaching of Peter Turner in 1833. He recorded the shattering experience of the great revival of 1834 in northern Tonga. Of his own acceptance of Christianity he said:

I went forth with the lads of our town . It was a fine night; and looking up to the heavens where the stars were shining, this thought suddenly smote me: 'Oh the beautiful land! If the words be true which were told us today, then are these lotu people happy indeed; ' for I saw that the earth was dark and gloomy, while the heavens were clear, and bright with many stars; and my soul longed with a great longing to reach that beautiful land. 'I will lotu, ' said I, 'that I may live among the stars.'

Bulu came to Fiji with Calvert. He was with John Hunt at Rewa, and later on Viwa at the time of the revival and the conversion of Varani (page 109). He spent eight years on the small island of Ono in Lau where he was ordained and put in charge. ' ` I used to think Ono was a little heaven, ' he said. He served twice at Nadi in western Vanua Levu, where his dual allegiance - to his own Tongan chiefs and to the mission - made it hard for him to avoid suspicion of entanglement in the wars of Ma'afu's ruthless Tongan henchman Wainiqolo. Between 1863 and 1866, following the death of his first wife, he was in charge of a training institution for Fijian pastors and evangelists at Waikava (Fawn Harbour) on Vanua Levu. He trained Fijian catechists to carry forward the circuit work he knew well in many parts of the group. Some conception of the brotherhood between early Tongan and Fijian missionaries in Fiji is conveyed by the names of a group of thirty of them who in 1869 signed a message to their departing chairman, William Moore. In 1865, when Bulu was at Waikava, 100 villages, with about 10,000 people, accepted Christianity in Fiji. Much of the hard work at local level was done by the kind of catechists he trained. The catechist (uakatawa) remains today an important figure in village church life; his name describes him as the sentinel of the lotu.

Bulu's second wife, Akesa, was a Fijian from Vanua Balavu in Lau 9 Ma'afu's headquarters, where Tongan influence was strong. By the time he remarried he had become part of the Fiji scene. When he described how two heathen chiefs made peace with him by the traditional presentation of a whale's tooth (tabua) he said: "They kissed my hands, sniffing at them, after our fashion in Fiji and Tonga. ' His arm bore the scars made by a shark during his early ministry at Rewa; the shark bit him on the thigh when he was swimming in the river after playing with a group of boys and a young chief, who were diverting themselves by pushing toy canoes. The shark transferred ; its jaws from thigh to arm. Bulu roused himself to anger and fought it. He pushed his hand down its throat, raised it out of the water, dragged it ashore ' and collapsed unconscious. Bulu recovered from the shark bite to live on into mellow later years on Bau as chaplain to Cakobau. There Miss Constance Gordon Cumming. a guest of Gordon, "a very tall, plain woman, a regular globe-trotter," rhapsodized about him in 1875:

His features are beautiful, his colour clear olive, and he has grey hair and a long silky beard. He is just my idea of what Abraham must have been, and would be worth a fortune to an artist as a patriarchal study. Miss Gordon Gunning was present during Bulu's last days and at his funeral in May 1877 . ' ` He has been the old king' s special teacher ' she wrote. "- and many a difficult day he has had with him and all his handsome; strong-willed sons and daughters. They are all very much attached to him; and some of them are generally with him now, fanning or just watching beside him. Lady Gordon, the governor's wife, sent him a parcel of jujubes and acid drops. He was buried beside his friend John Hunt on Viwa. Many other Fijian and Tongan

ministers and teachers who were his friends have grave-sites effaced by hurricanes or lost in scrub.

When Bulu died some of Fiji's most able evangelists were going to New Britain. At home in Fiji the ardor of a second generation was cooling off. The mission met problems in the mountainous interior of Viti Levu, a region suspicious of the influence of Bau. In 1867 Thomas Baker was murdered and eaten trying, probably without adequate advance reconnaissance and cultural tact, to take Christianity into the area. In 1874, the year of Fiji's cession to Britain, Joeli Bulu and thirty other Islander missionaries clashed with Langham over their exclusion from the decision-making annual District Meeting of the church. In fact they carried great responsibilities and did much of the pioneering work. The western side of Viti Levu remained unevangelised as late as 1890. In Fiji, as in many parts of the Pacific, local religious reactions set in. During the 1880s, among the disaffected mountain people of Ra and Wainimala, a colourful cult called Tuka, combining elements of the old pagan religion with vaguely Christian messianic expectations, appeared under the leadership of a wizened and dynamic little man, Dugumoi, known as Na Vosa Vakadua (I speak but once). Its seditious possibilities and heresies raised tremors in both the mission and the government. It was suppressed by force.

The island of Rotuma, three hundred miles to the north, gave the Wesleyans and Roman Catholics further trepidation. Its first missionaries had been two teachers left by John Williams in 1839 on his last voyage to Vanuatu. Rotuma has a language and culture of its own, distinct from Fiji and other parts of the Pacific. Samoans from the LMS and Tongan Wesleyan teachers made slow progress there, even after Rotuma in 1841 became the missionary responsibility of the Wesleyans by agreement. Chiefs to south and north of the mountainous and heavily wooded island had long fought each other. When Roman Catholic missionaries arrived in 1847 the prospects of adding religious differences to old animosity further complicated the picture. Father Pierre Verne, with members of the pioneer Marist party, withdrew in 1853. Catholics did not return until 1868. Fijian teachers under supervision of visiting Wesleyan missionaries worked on Rotuma with little statistical success. However, between 1859 and 1864 a Rotuman, Serupapeli (Zerubbabel), who had become a Christian, using a translation of Matthew's Gospel in Rotuman, took up the task of teaching other Rotumans to read, imparted the Christian faith and organized a local church along Methodist lines. He opposed the priests of the island's old religion and became the effective pioneer of a lasting devotion to Methodist Christianity in the chiefly districts of the west and north of the island. In 1864 William Fletcher of the Fiji Wesleyan Mission arrived to reside, with four Fijian teachers. The return of the Catholic mission with Rotuman Catholics trained at Wallis and Futuna served to polarize old feuds between the districts, leading in 1871 and 1878 to savage fighting between Catholics and Protestants. The wars were frequently supported from behind by white missionaries of both parties, whose mutual venom contributed to the conflict. After the last sharp battle in 1878 Wesleyans and Roman Catholics on Rotuma lived in an uneasy peace. The island became administratively related to Fiji in 1881 while keeping its identity; the churches, today reconciled became permanently related to Fiji's Catholic and Wesleyan communities.

In Fiji itself religious diversification increased during the 1880s and 1890s. In the old capital of the colony, Levuka, William Floyd, the Tractarian Anglican Irish chaplain to the white residents, sought wider association with other Anglicans in the Pacific, notably with the bishops of

Melanesia, who handled his approaches with caution - Levuka was a centre for ships of the Melanesian labour trade. By agreement with the Wesleyans, Floyd and his successors abstained from any attempt to make Fijian converts within Fiji, though some high chiefs in time, unhappy with Methodist moralism and lack of ceremonial, became Anglican. Immigrant plantation workers from the Solomon Islands, and later some converts among Indian indentured labourers, expanded the nucleus of colonists within the church. In 1908, when the Diocese of Polynesia, with its bishop in Suva, emerged (page 264), the Anglicans of Fiji joined forces with Bishop Willis' small church in Tonga, and with scattered groups in Samoa and Kiribati. But the most important change in the religious life of Fiji came in 1879, when indentured labourers were introduced from India to work on plantations. Hinduism and Islam came to Fiji with the new wave of population, which has transformed the country in the twentieth century into a multicultural community in which almost exactly half the population is of Indian extraction.

Wesleyan activity among the migrants began in 1892; an Indian catechist from the United Provinces, curiously named John Williams, undertook slow and difficult work around Nausori on Viti Levu. In 1897 an Australian woman, Hannah Dudley, a single-minded conservative evangelical who had prepared herself in India, began to devote herself to Indian families in and around Suva, tirelessly helping the poor; she became a vegetarian to enforce the credibility of her concern. The enterprise she mothered, often combatively, until 1912, was not taken seriously at first by the Wesleyan missionary establishment in Fiji. The number of Fiji-Indians who became Christians was small from the beginning of the work among them. With important exceptions such as John Wear Burton, Richard Piper and W.R. Steadman, Australian Methodist missionaries to the migrant people from India complied with the dominant attitudes of their colleagues who served among Fijians. Under the chairmanship of Arthur James Small between 1900 and 1924 the mission deferred as a rule to the British administration and the Australian-based Colonial Sugar Refining Company rather than to the cultural, spiritual and political aspirations of their new neighbours from the Indian sub-continent.

FIJI'S ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH developed slowly. The poverty-stricken and ill-supplied Marist fathers of the early mission could not count on any large contingent of Pacific Islander missionaries to aid them. With the help of their lay brothers, also celibates, they refused to let years of local opposition and Protestant prejudice dislodge them. Their first leader, Jean Baptiste Breheret, born in the Vendee was in Fiji for forty-four years - an inextinguishable missionary with a passion for sailing, but a poor organizer. Bishop Bataillon brought him to Lakeba in 1844 with Francois Roulleaux-Dubignon; the bishop was then experiencing a flush of renewed hopes for concerted Marist advance in Central Oceania. The vessel that brought the priests was piloted from Tonga by Charles Simonet, a French Catholic friend of the mission. Two Lauan converts, one of whom had been baptized in Tonga, preceded them. Simonet's vessel also brought two Wallisian catechists, Pako and Apolonia. When they arrived at Lakeba, Tui Nayau, the high chief, who had the Tongan chief Finau with him at the time declined to lodge or protect them. They went to Namuka, where they were little better received. They tried again at Lakeba, where they learned that one of the two Catholic converts who had preceded them in Fiji, the catechist Mosese, had defected to the Wesleyans. Their troubles increased Finau's Tongans pillaged their root crops and stoned their house. Roulleaux suffered from bad dysentery; Breheret injured his leg; he limped for the remainder of his life. Lyth and Calvert, unimpressed by the slender material resources of the Marists, called them 'resourceless vagabonds' but their distaste for

papists was transcended by their common humanity; they came to the rescue with medicines. This, said Breheret, was 'excessively kind.' His perils and those of his companions continued throughout 1846 and were compounded in 1847 when a contingent of Ma'afu's Tongan troops arrived at Lakeba. They brought with them, in the view of a Catholic historian "conversion by club and rifle butt" until "finally the Lau Group of islands found it had been converted to the Wesleyan sect."

Breheret's ill fortune as head of mission extended over a period of eleven years at a time when the Oceanian Company (pages 99-101) failed and Colin's grand scheme for expansion was drastically curtailed. From 1851 onward, when Bataillon brought him three new missionaries and three auxiliary brothers, Breheret, who was gentle, faintly eccentric, and generally liked by all, threaded the reefs westward in his small craft. When Bataillon went, on his advice, to try to gain favour at Bau (page 112) he was rejected. Stations were established at Wairiki on Taveuni and at Rewa; both had to be evacuated. A hope of holding on at Levuka remained. When Bataillon returned in 1855 he assembled his missionaries there to assess their discouraging reports. The battle of Kaba was won by Cakobau in that year with Tongan help. The imminent conversion of Cakobau to Wesleyan Christianity threatened the Catholics with the application of 'Wesleyan varnish' to a multitude of nominal converts who would follow the example of their chiefs. The discouragement for the Catholics seemed mountainous. Breheret and two other priests, undeterred, settled down at Levuka, with one brother, to try again. They built a small schooner, *Vola Siga* (Morning Star), and found two whaleboats for coastal work in villages. "The land and sea for work, the heavens for rest," Breheret said, as he sailed with 'one hand on the tiller and the other on his rosary.' The missionaries cultivated Rewa again, and the Verata coasts of the main island. They visited the islands of Lomaiviti nearest to Levuka, Taveuni, the western tip of Vanua Levu, the Yasawas, Kadavu, and Lau once more. After two further years' work they reported 202 conversions.

In 1861 Bataillon made the last of his five visits. By then 4,000 were under Catholic instruction; 500 had received baptism. In 1863 the mission at Wairiki on Taveuni reopened with help from the then Tui Cakau - the powerful and wayward chief Golea - who had fought successfully against the Tongan Methodist soldiers, invaders of his kingdom of Cakaudrove. Breheret was named Prefect Apostolic for Fiji; it was a consolation prize for a pioneer who clearly did not have the administrative powers to be promoted to bishop, as his colleagues wished. With bald domed head, wispy beard, old soutane and faint smile, he appears in his portrait as a seasoned and lovable old-timer, remembered affectionately at Levuka after his death in 1898 by pious Methodists and by irreligious scalliwags - a saintly man, matured by sun, brine and wind. The whole town came out for his funeral.

The closing years of Breheret's term as prefect foreshadowed consolidation. In 1868 Brother Stanislas, the mission's builder, raised the first solid church building at Rewa. Another followed at Levuka in 1878. In 1881 teaching institutions were begun at Lomere and Suva. Sister Marie de Jesus the leader of the Third Order Regular of Mary, who came to Fiji in 1882 as the first nuns, opened schools for girls and boys at Loreto on Ovalau in 1885 and 1886. The way opened up for the arrival of the first bishop, Julien Vidal, a direct and practical ruler and planner from the Marist Mission in Samoa, who was consecrated in 1888 after Breheret resigned his charge as Prefect Apostolic. Vidal brought with him to Suva the Marist Brothers of the Schools and Sisters

of St. Joseph of Cluny. In the 1890s he planned and built his Cathedral of the Sacred Heart, using Pyrmont sandstone imported from Sydney. A Catholic mission to migrants from India began in 1895; two missionaries were sent to India to learn Hindustani. Vidal also introduced to Fiji Father Pierre Joseph Emmanuel Rougier, a suave controversialist, speculator and businessman who distinguished himself as a missionary at Rewa and Namosi did battle in the public press with distraught anti-Catholic, Wesleyans over the burning of a stock of old Bibles at Naililili in the Rewa delta, and finally left Fiji and the Marists under suspicion of scandal to make a fortune in business at Papeete in Tahiti. At Suva Vidal flew the French flag; he was required by the governor to take it down. He extended and steadied the Catholic cause before he died in 1922. French missionaries were succeeded by Irish in many parishes and institutions. Local Fijian communities of auxiliary sisters and brothers spread through the group in the present century. The Catholic Church, no less rooted in the villages than the Wesleyans, and led today by a Fijian archbishop, has become the second largest Christian institution in the country.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

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