



The Australian National University

The Library

Social Sciences & Humanities Division

Post Office Box 4 Canberra ACT 2600
Telegrams & cables NATIONIV Canberra
Telephone 062-49 5111

USE OF THESES

This microfiche is supplied for purposes of private study and research only. Passages from the thesis may not be copied or closely paraphrased without the written consent of the author.



NOT FOR SALE

CAKAUDROVE:
IDEOLOGY AND REALITY IN
A FIJIAN CONFEDERATION

Shelley Ann Sayes

A thesis submitted in fulfilment
of the requirements of the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
The Australian National University

April 1982

Except where otherwise
acknowledged, this thesis is
based on my own original research

This thesis has been produced on a Dec-10 computer using the Runoff programme. Consequently French and German accents have not been reproduced: acutes are missing from words such as protege and names such as Dumezil, beche-de-mer appears without the circumflex, and Schutz appears without the umlaut. An additional problem is the placing of footnotes -- occasionally they appear on the following page.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	i
ABSTRACT	v
ABBREVIATIONS	vi
GLOSSARY OF TECHNICAL TERMS	vii
GLOSSARY OF FIJIAN WORDS	ix
NOTE ON THE CAKAUDROVE DIALECT	xiii
INTRODUCTION	xiv
<u>Chapter One</u> CHIEFTAINSHIP: THE IDEOLOGY	1
<u>Chapter Two</u> THE ORIGINS OF THE I SOKULA: MYTH VERSUS REALITY	37
<u>Chapter Three</u> THE CHANGING BALANCE OF POWER: REGIONAL AND LOCAL POLITICAL CONFIGURATIONS UNTIL THE EMERGENCE OF THE I SOKULA	65
<u>Chapter Four</u> THE BASIS OF POLITICAL POWER	96
<u>Chapter Five</u> THE I SOKULA: THE REALITY OF TITLE POSSESSION AND LEADERSHIP	131
<u>Chapter Six</u> CAKAUDROVE: ITS DEVELOPMENT	172
<u>Chapter Seven</u> CAKAUDROVE: ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH BAU	208
<u>Chapter Eight</u> CAKAUDROVE: ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE TONGANS	257
CONCLUSION	307
APPENDIX	310
BIBLIOGRAPHY	322

MAPS

Map 1	Fiji	follows xv
Map 2	Cakaudrove <u>vanua</u> , Vanua Levu	follows 37
Map 3	The <u>sala volivoli</u>	follows 57
Map 4	Taveuni	follows 137
Map 5	The old districts of Cakaudrove province (based on a map by R.G. Ward)	follows 192

FIGURES

Figure 1	The <u>yavusa</u> Somosomo	85
Figure 2	The <u>yavusa</u> Cakaudrove	follows 87
Figure 3	I Sokula claimants to the title Tui Cakau	follows 131
Figure 4	The Cakaudrove connexions with members of the lineage of the Vanivalu of Bau	follows 221

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis owes much to the people of Cakaudrove, living both there and elsewhere. I wish to express special gratitude to Ratu Kitione Kubuabola and his wife Mela of Somosomo. Another important debt of gratitude must be to Ratu Ratavo Lalabalavu, Ra Turaga na Tui Cakau, for his support of my research. I also wish to acknowledge the assistance of Simione Tumoia of Somosomo who invariably accompanied me on my interviews on Taveuni. With his initial support I was able to learn the correct procedures of visiting villages and initiating interviews.

Seven weeks were spent at Somosomo during the months of June, July, and September 1979, and this was followed by a stay of a further week in October 1980. The outstanding informant there was Vereniki Kalulukaloubula Nasarowa (known as Gade), son of a former Mai Kavula, whose knowledge of the traditions of Cakaudrove is extensive. Ratu Kitione Kubuabola and Ratu Seniloli, both members of the i Sokula, also assisted. Of other groups at Somosomo I am indebted to the Tui Somosomo, the Tui Vione, Isikeli Vasukilagi of the Benau people, and Simione Tumoia and Mela Kubuabola of the Mataitoga.

To the south, I received information from the Tui Laucala who was staying with his daughter at Naqara (within larger Somosomo), and his brother Ratu Josefa Velodroka who was living at Loloi, adjacent to Waiyevo. At Lovonivonu I spoke with Ratu Seru Ramanu, brother of the late Tui Rabe, and at Tavuki with the Tui Tavuki and other members of the group. At Vuna (Nakorovou), Ratu Ilaitia Maikaba Waqanivala, the Tui Vuna, gave often of his time and knowledge, as did his wife Adi Elenoa. Within Vuna, his subordinate the Tui Waimakilu also assisted me.

To the north, I am indebted to the Vunisa at Welagi, Daniele Tusolo at Naselescle (Wainikeli), Mosese Rova of the Mataitoga at Pagai, and at Bouma to the Vunisa and Ratu Elia Loco, the latter formerly of Somosomo and another outstanding informant -- his knowledge of the history of the northern half of Taveuni is excellent.

In mid-July 1979 I crossed the Somosomo Strait to Vanua Levu. Just over a week was spent at Natewa where Setoki Dranibaka, Mai Dreketi the matanivanua (herald) of the Vunivalu, recalled as much as he could for my benefit. For his many kindnesses and his desire to help, I am very grateful. The late Ratu Meli Savubuliti and his son Ratu Delauca, descendants of both Tu Natewa and Vunivalu, also discussed the traditions of Natewa as, too, did Maikeli Lepai. To Marika and Vale Cagilaba, whose hospitality I enjoyed, I am also indebted. From Natewa I was able to visit the villages of Vusasivo and Vusaratu where I interviewed the Tui Vusasivo (Ratu Asere Lebaivalu) and other members of the village, and the Tui Vusa (Ratu Lepani Rova).

At Drekeniwai, Ratu Jiote Rabete Wainiu of the Navatu people assisted me; and from there I travelled to Tunuloa. At Buca, the village of the Kama people, the Tui Kama and Ratu Poasa Vulaono Kavoka discussed the traditions; then at Koroivonu I was helped by the Tui

Tunuloa and Ratu Vikatore Lagilagi. In the last two days of August I revisited this area, where I interviewed Ratu Aborosio Vada who has descent ties with the people of Kioa and Rabe Islands, near Buca, and Simone Nabete near Wailevu village situated on Natewa Bay.

In late July four days were spent at Nukubalavu, the village of the Tui Nasavusavu. To his wife Sereana, who made my stay so enjoyable, I record my thanks. Although the Tui Nasavusavu himself had grown up away from Nukubalavu and knew little of the area's history, he helped me interview Ratu Elia Gavi Waqasokonibogi. From Nukubalavu I went to Naidi village where I stayed and spoke with Ratu Lele Cakobau, a descendant of the i Sokula and Ratu Inoke Wainilagi of the Qalitu people. From Naidi I was able to interview Ratu Isikeli Maro of the Volivoli division of the Ketei people, and Ratu Seci Loabalavu, also of the Ketei, at Savudrodoro; at Yaroi, the village of the Nakama, I spoke with Ratu Semi Tabucala, Ratu Isoa Tabucala, and Ratu Elia Gavi Waqasokonibogi (after whom the first Ratu Elia was named).

The Wailevu district was then visited. At Dreketi I spoke to Ratu Ame, brother of the Tui Wailevu; then I walked inland to Valeni where another member of the paramount's family was living. A ceremony was being held for the first visit of a daughter's child and I was able to interview Ilaitia Naweale of the Dogoro people, and Solomoni Bota of the Vatuvonu. From there I went to Nakawaga to speak with Ratu Simone Momoivalu, son of Adi Maca the head of the Koroalau people.

From southern Vanua Levu I then crossed to the Macuata coast, reaching Lagi (Udu Point) on 11 August. Here the Tui Lagi, Ratu Mikaele Qiriamu, and Ratu Lorosio Qiriamu explained their relationship with the Vunivalu of Tawake, and then I walked overland to Tawake itself. I waited three days to interview the Vunivalu, Ratu Eremasi Levu, and while here enjoyed the hospitality of Ratu Isimeli Nalomaca and his family. From Tawake I moved on to Wainigadru where I spoke to Ratu Sirilo Vulalo (better known as Ratu Talone). The next village I stayed at was Vuniwai where an evening was spent round the yaqona (kava) bowl with Vula Vakacegu, Tevita Rakitu, Rupeni Rabici, and Lepani Celeasiga. Ratu Sanaila Radevo, reputedly the most knowledgeable in the area, was absent but I interviewed him at Lakeba, a village down the coast. At Biaugunu Nemia Tumaka, a well-known matanivanua, was interviewed, and at Saqani I spoke to Akuila Kolidamu and Josala Daugunu. Josala Daugunu had a reputation throughout Cakaudrove for his knowledge, as did Jona Cane Misapeni who lived at a settlement near Korotasere and came down river to see me. Misapeni's knowledge was everything his reputation claimed, and I am most grateful to him for his assistance and the journey he made (in the rain).

By 20 August I was close to the bottom of the bay. At Nukunasie near Vuinadi I spoke with Ratu Akuila Matayaviyavi, and then moved on to Nabua where I spoke with Ratu Pauliasi Nene about the history of Koroalau. At Viani, Malakai Veisamasama gave valuable information on the early history of the i Sokula, and from there I travelled to Naweni where I talked with Adi Lusiana Tinaisiwa Kabakoro. Then I backtracked to Korolevu at the bottom of Natewa bay, where Ratu Tonia Kabakaba and other people of his village assisted me. From Korolevu I moved on to Nasinu where several people, including Pauliasi Nuku, helped me as much as they could. Then I met Ratu Epeli Ligamada

Damenaise, the Tunisa of Nagigi, at the Wainigata Research Station. His own knowledge is extensive, and at Nagigi he helped me interview Ilaitia Lewanavanua who was even more knowledgeable -- especially of the migrations and expeditions from Ra. For the hospitality and assistance of Tu Liga, I am most indebted.

I then moved into the immediate Cakaudrove area, staying a few nights with Ratu Emosi Tuimouta, the Tui Korocau, in his house adjacent to Nakobo. Together we visited Nakobo, where he helped me speak informally with those who could help, and his sons also accompanied me on the walks to interview Ratu Willame Tarogi of the Mataikoro at the village of the same name, and Ratu Eferemo Tuisoqulu of the Matakadavu at Vunivunivavi. With the Tui Korocau, I also visited Ratu Epeneri Dakuitoga of the Navuni division of the Mataikoro at Bagasau.

The names of many people I spoke to, and the names of some of the villages I visited, have not been listed here, since the information I received has not been used in this thesis. It has also been impossible to remember and record the names of all who assisted me in the field. To those people who met me on the paths to villages, who helped me make my i sevusevu (yaqona presentations) to the correct turaga (chiefs), who recommended informants in the next villages, and who offered hospitality and a place in the yaqona circle to the marama mai Niu Siladi I am most grateful.

Cakaudrove people assisted me in Suva, too. These included Peni Baba and Pio Manoa, both lecturers at the University of the South Pacific. Ratu Viliame Maivalili, the Tui Wailevu, was also interviewed here. I especially wish to record my gratitude to Inoke Tabualevu of the matanivanua division of Nanukurua who arranged my stay at Somosomo, and to Ropate Rakuita Qalo of Natewa who discussed my work and became a friend. In Canberra, I am indebted to Masimeke Latianara, the Second Secretary at the Fiji High Commission, from Bouma.

People who were not from Cakaudrove were also interviewed, notably members of the Masau of Bau (who included Ratu Deve Toganivalu), the late Ratu Kitione Visakula of Verata, and Sir Josua Rabukawaqa of Bua. A final note of thanks goes to Paul Geraghty, who assisted me with translation work and helped me sort out many problems.

Several libraries and archives provided a wealth of source material: in Canberra -- the National Library of Australia, and the Menzies Library, Australian National University; in Sydney -- the Mitchell Library; in Wellington -- the Alexander Turnbull Library; in Fiji -- the National Archives, the Fiji Museum, and the Roman Catholic Archives, all in Suva. I thank the staff of all these places, especially Setariki Tuinaceva and Margaret Patel of the National Archives of Fiji, Mrs Margaret Knox who catalogued the Roman Catholic Archives, and Fergus Clunie the Director of the Fiji Museum.

I wish, too, to thank the Australian National University for the scholarship I received, and all contemporary members of the Department of Pacific and Southeast Asian History for their support and encouragement. To my supervisor Dr Deryck Scarr, whose knowledge of Fiji's history is considerable, I owe a special gratitude, as I also do to Dr Niel Gunson whose additional support in the final stages

helped me greatly. I also wish to thank John Nation in the Department of Political and Social Change for interesting discussions we had together.

Additionally I am indebted to Nina Mullin who first helped me learn some Fijian, and to Steven Draper who accompanied me on my fieldwork and provided the presence I needed in a male-oriented society. Also to my mother Peggy Sayes who patiently pointed out my errors of grammar, and who helped with the proofreading. For the maps, I am indebted to Keith Mitchell. Finally, I wish to record my thanks to Marcia Murphy who is responsible for the final production of the thesis. Her friendship and patience will always be remembered.

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the ideology of chieftainship in Cakaudrove, a confederation of chiefdoms in eastern Fiji, and then contrasts it with the reality of power possession. According to the ideology, the paramount Tui Cakau was a godlike figure who, by mediating between the temporal and spiritual worlds, controlled the material and political prosperity of the confederation. His senior descent from the ancestor-gods, and his access to their supernatural powers, gave him the right to hold the paramouncy. Any challenge to this right was a challenge to the religious basis of the society: custom asserts that supernatural punishment would be the consequence.

Yet an historical perspective reveals that challenges to ruling lineages were normal. The i Sokula -- the semi-divine lineage headed by the Tui Cakau -- achieved their own pre-eminence relatively recently, while an examination of political configurations before their emergence indicates that their rise did not take place in the context of an immutable power structure. There was nothing unusual in a newly emergent group overpowering others; rebellions against the authority of established leaders were normal.

Control of the supernatural is no explanation of power possession, therefore. Rather, a powerful position may be explained by the successful use of human resources. Access could be acquired either by overt political relationships, or by the forming of sociopolitical relationships -- marriage and kinship connexions. Subordinate peoples and allies were a source of both labour, and the produce of their labour, which could be used to purchase, encourage, or enforce allegiance and support. Such power resources needed to be used skilfully so leaders could receive the maximum benefit from their expenditure; thus the politically astute could increase their power.

Such conclusions, while placing Cakaudrove within the historically realistic context of a constantly changing balance of power, help elucidate the history of Cakaudrove after the initial emergence of the i Sokula. Competitions for power among the i Sokula themselves indicate that political status needed to be achieved, and then maintained against the encroachment of other relatives; the ideological sacredness of the Tui Cakau is, invariably, at odds with the reality of his genealogical rank and often at odds with his actual role.

The history of Cakaudrove's development and the i Sokula's relationships with other powerful Fijian lineages and a Tongan chief illustrate the complexity of Fijian politics: power positions needed to be achieved and then constantly maintained. The i Sokula managed to withstand pressure from the confederation of Bau, but the Tongan was to dispossess the i Sokula of their territory of northern Lau, a rich power resource.

ABBREVIATIONS

CP	Consular Papers -- Records of the British Consul for Fiji and Tonga 1858-1876
FO	Foreign Office, Great Britain
FCSO	Records of the Colonial Secretary's Office, Fiji
FM	Fiji Museum, Suva
LCC	Land Claims Commission
MF	Fiji Methodist Mission Collection, NAF
ML	Mitchell Library, Sydney
MMS	Records of the Methodist Missionary Society, London (on microfilm at the National Library of Australia, Canberra)
MOM	Records of the Methodist Overseas Mission, ML
NAF	National Archives of Fiji, Suva
NLC	Native Lands Commission
PMB	Microfilm of the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, Australian National University
Pac.Hist.	Department of Pacific and Southeast Asian History, Australian National University, Canberra
RCAF	Roman Catholic Archives of Fiji, Suva
TL	Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington
WMS	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, London
<u>WMN</u>	<u>Wesleyan Missionary Notices</u>

GLOSSARY OF TECHNICAL TERMS

Authority	established power, given legitimacy by its relative permanence
Head	an installed leader
Ideology	a belief system linked to and legitimating the political interests of a particular group in a society
Leader	1. used for a head when it appears he is the effective leader 2. used for an effective leader when he is not the head
Lineage	unilineal consanguineal group tracing descent from a known ancestor
Paramount	high chief
Political status	a prestige position that has been achieved through political proficiency whereby an individual's political standing has been increased
Politics	refers to the distribution, maintenance, exercise of, and struggle for power
Power	an abstraction referring simply to relations of domination and subordination
Rank	1. a stratum in a hierarchically organized sociopolitical system 2. a position in a genealogically graded lineage
Rebellion	a conflict over which groups should control particular peoples rather than over the effectiveness of virtue of the sociopolitical

system

Ruler

used for both a head and a leader

GLOSSARY OF FIJIAN WORDS

<u>Adi</u>	honorific for women of rank
<u>bakola</u>	human bodies which are eaten
<u>bati</u>	border people, hence warriors as they defend the borders
<u>bati balavu</u>	further border people or warriors, used to describe people within both a <u>yavusa</u> and a <u>matanitu</u>
<u>bati leka</u>	closer border people or warriors, used to describe people within both a <u>yavusa</u> and a <u>matanitu</u>
<u>bete</u>	priest
<u>bure kalou</u>	god-house, temple
<u>i cibaciba</u>	place at which departed spirits descend into Bulu or the invisible world
<u>dadakulaci</u>	water-snake, banded black and white
<u>drose</u>	jelly-fish
<u>ponedau</u>	fisher people, also <u>tunidau</u> which is more commonly used for the head of the fisher people
<u>kai</u>	people of, for example <u>kai Weni</u> , the Weni people
<u>kaiwai</u>	sea people
<u>kalou</u>	ancestor-god
<u>kalou vu</u>	supreme ancestor-god
<u>kula</u>	red parakeet
<u>lala</u>	command from <u>turaga</u> for labour services, or for presentations of food or manufactured articles
<u>i loloku</u>	death custom
<u>lotu</u>	the Christian religion, hence to convert

<u>magiti</u>	food presentations, hence a feast
<u>mana</u>	spiritual efficacy
<u>marama</u>	a woman of rank, a lady
<u>masi</u>	1. Fijian cloth made from the paper mulberry 2. also the name for a chief, for example <u>masi vou</u> (new chieftain); used as a title proper in the Wailevu area especially
<u>mataki</u>	envoy to (a particular land), a position which usually belongs to a specific descent group
<u>matanitu</u>	a political confederation of <u>vanua</u> , one of which leads
<u>matanivanua</u>	a herald, ambassador, spokesman for a <u>turaga</u>
<u>mataqali</u>	a division of the <u>yavusa</u> , ideally the largest sociopolitical descent group
<u>qali</u>	a subject village, land, or people
<u>rara</u>	open ceremonial ground of the village
<u>Ratu</u>	honorific for men of rank
<u>sa'i'i</u>	or <u>i iri masai</u> , a chiefly fan made from the fan palm (<u>Pritchardia pacifica</u> , <u>Palmae</u>).
<u>i sala</u>	head-dress, turban of thin white <u>masi</u>
<u>sala volivoli</u>	tribute path or route
<u>Sau</u>	high chief where there is only one, or the second chief where there is more than one chiefly line
<u>sauturaga</u>	second chiefs
<u>sauvou</u>	new <u>sau</u> or second chief, the <u>i Sokula turaga</u> who holds the position of <u>Mai Nakorovou</u> in <u>Cakaudrove</u>
<u>i sevu</u>	first fruits offering
<u>solevu</u>	a ceremonial exchange
<u>i soro</u>	a representation made to the ancestor-gods or,

	more frequently, a presentation made to other persons or the ancestor-gods as an atonement
<u>tabua</u>	a whale's tooth, of great ceremonial importance
<u>tama</u>	salutation made to those of higher rank
<u>i taukei</u>	1. original occupiers of the land, as opposed to immigrants 2. all inhabitants of the land, as opposed to outsiders 3. land owners
<u>i tokatoka</u>	a division of the <u>mataqali</u> , a descent group
<u>Tui</u>	head of a people
<u>turaga</u>	chief, a person of higher rank
<u>vakamasi</u>	a ceremonial presentation of Fijian cloth
<u>vakarorogo</u>	to listen to, hence obey, used of a people to their <u>turaga</u>
<u>vanua</u>	1. land 2. a chiefdom which may be part of a <u>matanitu</u>
<u>vasu</u>	sister's son
<u>vasu levu</u>	a high-ranking <u>vasu</u>
<u>vasu i taukei</u>	1. a <u>vasu</u> to the original people of the land which his patrilineage now leads 2. a <u>vasu</u> to his own people
<u>vesa i sole</u>	long piece of <u>masi</u> which is tied on the upper right arm of <u>turaga</u> as an insignia of headship
<u>vesi</u>	hardwood tree
<u>vu</u>	founding-ancestor of a people, an apical ancestor from whom they ideally trace their descent
<u>vaqona</u>	kava
<u>i yau</u>	manufactured articles often of ceremonial

yavusa

importance, for example yaqona and tabua
ideally, the largest sociopolitical descent group;
in fact a political federation

NOTE ON THE CAKAUDROVE DIALECT

Most Fijian words in this thesis have been given in Bauan, the official dialect of Fiji, unless the Cakaudrove word is different. Apart from the use of different words, the Cakaudrove dialect has two other obvious peculiarities -- the 'k' is almost always dropped and a 'p' often, but not always, replaces the 'v'. Thus Cakaudrove is Ca'audrove, the Tui Cakau is the Tui Ca'au, and the name of his lineage is i So'ula, not i Sokula.

The following is a brief list to further indicate the correct orthography and pronunciation.

Members of the i Sokula

Tuikilakila Tui'ila'ila

Vakamino Va'amino

Kubuabola 'Ubuabola

Titles

Mai Kavula Mai 'Avula

Mai Nanukurua Mai Nanu'urua

Gods

Mai Koroiruve Mai 'Oroirupe

Mai Nukusemanu Mai Nu'usemanu

Placenames

Wainikeli Waini'eli

Waikava Wai'ava

Korocau 'Orocrau

INTRODUCTION

I am always amused when people come to the islands and talk about politics as if this was new and something we had to learn. To some extent this is true of modern party politics, and it is certainly true of parliamentary procedure...But politics themselves are as old as man and well known in the islands.

Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, high chief of Lau and Prime Minister of Fiji, thus asserted the importance of traditional politics.[1] This thesis examines the nature of power and traditional politics in pre-colonial Fiji. Politics refers to the distribution, maintenance, exercise of, and struggle for power; power is an abstraction referring simply to relations of domination and subordination.[2]

Those Fijians involved in political activity were practised politicians. 'They think themselves best employed when plotting & effecting the destruction of their enemies; and, therefore, devote their time accordingly' wrote Thomas Williams, an astute missionary observer in the mid-1840s.[3] The political tactics of successful turaga (chiefs) were innovative and cunning. 'Open attack is less esteemed in Fiji than stratagems or surprise, and to these their best men trust for success and fame. Their plots are often most treacherous, and exhibit heartless cruelty.'[4] Williams also recorded an amusing anecdote about some turaga from Bau (the capital island of a confederation of the same name in eastern Viti Levu) who

1. From a speech made on 16 May 1975, quoted in T.J. Macnaught, *Mainstream to millpond? The Fijian political experience 1897-1940* (Ph.D., ANU 1975), 343-44.
2. A. Cohen, 'Political symbolism', Ann. Rev. Anthropol., VIII (1979), 88.
3. Williams to General Secretaries, 30 March 1846 in WMS, *Letters from Feejee*, V.
4. Williams, Fiji and the Fijians (London 1858), I, 51.

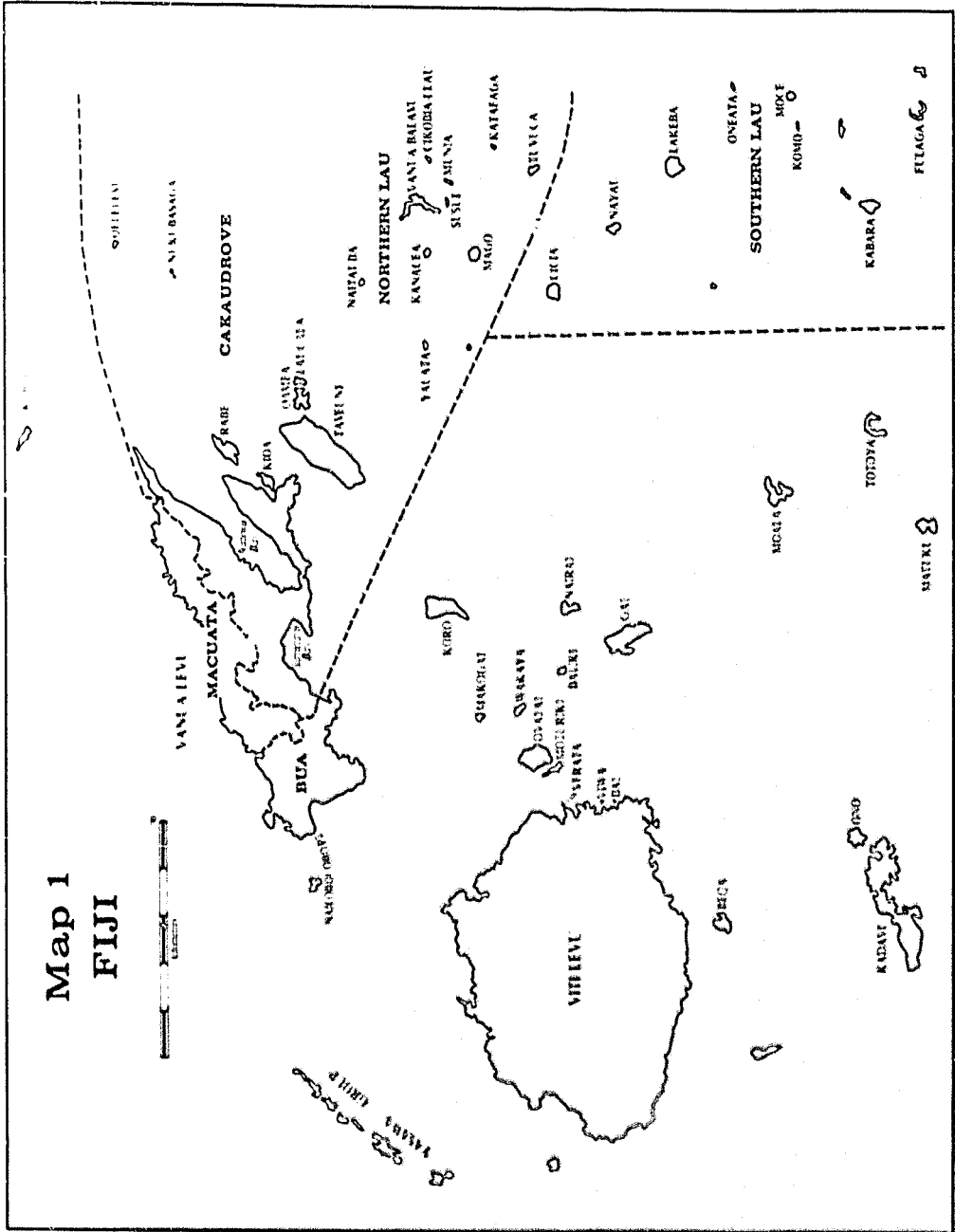
visited the nearby island of Viwa. While there they inspected the newly-built mission house. Made of stone, it was the first they had seen with more than one level. The first floor did not excite comment, but the attic delighted them -- 'it would be such an excellent place to concoct plots in, being so private'.[5]

CAKAUDROVE is a matanitu, a confederation of chiefdoms or vanua; the dominant vanua, Cakaudrove, gave its name to the whole confederation. It is typical of the power configurations which developed in eastern Viti Levu and to windward. The sociopolitical structure of the matanitu in eastern Fiji is basically Polynesian. Cakaudrove approximates the Polynesian model of political organization -- an extensive pyramid of groups capped by the lineage and following of a high chief. The head of the vanua Cakaudrove, the Tui Cakau who was a member of the i Sokula lineage, was the paramount of the matanitu. At its zenith, a time period which included the 1830s and 1840s, Cakaudrove comprised the majority of southern Vanua Levu from (and including most of) Savusavu Bay eastwards to Udu Point, together with Taveuni and the adjacent islands of both, as well as the islands of northern Iau.

The time period studied here is the pre-Cession (1874) situation, after which the colonial administration restricted the more forceful political behaviour. But since traditional leadership retains its importance in colonial Fiji, occasional reference has been made to sociopolitical events which occurred after Cession. It has been argued cogently that the Fijians have retained a 'strong leadership supported by effective social structures and traditional sanctions or

5. The stone house Vewa in Miscellaneous notes chiefly concerning Feejee & Feejeans, II, 65.

Map 1 FIJI



emotions.'[6] Consequently the tensions associated with pre-colonial politics are still alive.

Traditionally, all peoples within the matanitu Cakaudrove would vakarorogo vua na Tui Cakau, listen to and obey the Tui Cakau. One obeyed any person who was sociopolitically senior to oneself. Thus one obeyed the head of the household, for example, as well as the head of the village, vanua, and matanitu. Many of the lands whose people obeyed a high chief such as the Tui Cakau were his qali, subject places. To be a qali implies the subject land had had little choice but to accept the hegemony of the superior power.

The designation of political relationships depended upon the perceptions of the people concerned. Thus the i Sokula might consider a vanua was their qali, while the inhabitants of the vanua might think they merely obeyed the Tui Cakau. Moreover, since lands often rejected the authority of their overlords, it is difficult to describe them as qali while the paramount had not re-established his control over them. Today there is a tendency to assert one merely respects (vakarokorokotaka) the Tui Cakau. This trend reflects both the contemporary lack of temporal sanctions available to the Tui Cakau, and the traditional flexibility of political relationships.

Turaga hold (taura) a people or land, but this people or land can change (vukica) allegiance when they turn to (goleva) a new head. Changes in allegiance were frequent in Fiji, and this prompted the missionary R.B. Lyth to write that

no dependence can be placed on the tribes tributary to any land. They are on one side to-day & on the other side tomorrow, there exists no solid union, the best only fear their superiors & adhere to them whilst theirs is the strongest influence.[7]

6. Macnaught, *Mainstream to millpond?*, 1.
7. R.B. Lyth to T. Burdall, 9 July 1844 in Lyth, *Letters to and from Rev Dr Lyth 1836-1854*.

Power relationships never remained static; relative positions could alter both subtly and dramatically. Turaga were constantly engaged in maintaining their power against aggrandizement by others, or in increasing their own power to the detriment of others. Thus the balance was continually changing.

Such a dynamic characterization of the political structure is at odds with the ideology of chieftainship and power possession. Fijian paramounts are believed, still, to hold their positions because their right has been prescribed. To prove this, the Bible may be quoted: 'For there is no authority except from God, and those [governing authorities] that exist have been instituted by God.' [8] Ethnographers, too, have stressed the ideology of Polynesian-style chieftainship to the detriment of the reality; the ethnographic present has rendered dynamic sociopolitical systems immobile. A reassessment of the ideology and reality of power in Fiji is needed; this work is a contribution toward elucidating the problem.

'NOTHING can be involved in more uncertainty & darkness than the history of Feejee'. The missionary John Hunt, writing in the early 1840s, considered the Fijians knew 'next to nothing' about their past which was a 'profound secret'. [9] But, of course, the Fijians are not without a sense of their own history. Though the calendrical dating of events which took place before contact with Europeans is impossible, they still recognize sequences of events which lead up to

8. Romans 13:1. This passage was used in December 1981 by Mr Tomasi Vakatora, the Minister for Labour, Industrial Relations and Immigration. See the Fiji Times, 4 December 1981, 8.
9. Hunt, The History of Feejee, dated July 1840 in Lyth, Tongan and Feejeean Reminiscences, I, 35; Hunt, Private Journal 1839-1841, I, 28 October 1843, 183.

their own location in time. Moreover, they distinguish between mere stories and traditions. Ai talanoa are rumours, useless talk; ai tukuni are tales or, in the missionary David Hazlewood's view, traditions which generally concerned the gods. Peter France, an expert speaker of Fijian, believes that ai tukuni can include stories which are accepted as untrue.[10] It is misguided to attempt to equate Fijian classifications with those of Europeans, however. The anthropologist Edmund Leach, writing on the work of Levi-Strauss, has pointed out: 'The distinction that history is true and myth is false is quite arbitrary'.[11] 'Truth' can only be determined in the cultural context. It is not essential that the Fijians' traditions reflect the past accurately; it is only important that their traditions are meaningful.

This thesis relies heavily on indigenous historical evidence which can be divided into two main categories -- oral history or personal recollections, i.e. events which happened in the time of the narrator who may have taken part in them, and oral traditions, i.e. narratives 'describing, or purporting to describe, eras before the time of the person who relates it.'[12] Time converts personal recollections into oral traditions. It is possible to categorize, on a conceptual level, the Fijian oral traditions into two distinct classes: those that are obviously myths, i.e. traditions that

10. Hazlewood, A Fijian and English and an English and Fijian dictionary (London 1872), 138. Ratu Sir Eruate Cakobau distinguished between ai tukuni, tales and ai talanoa, rumours. See France, The charter of the land: custom and colonization in Fiji (Melbourne 1969), 180n.
11. Levi-Strauss (London 1970), 54.
12. The distinction follows J.C. Miller who, however, termed personal recollections as personal reminiscences. See his 'Introduction: listening for the African past' in Miller (ed), the African past speaks: essays on oral tradition and history (Folkestone, Kent and Harnen, Conn. 1980), 2.

contain supernatural elements, and traditions that do not. Myths represent only a fraction of the tradition corpus.

Oral traditions were gathered from different sources. Many come from works by Europeans in which indigenous information has been recorded. The works, published and unpublished, of the Wesleyan missionaries are a mine of information. The writings of the early twentieth century anthropologist A.M. Hocart are another excellent source. He visited much of Cakaudrove where, as well as detailing the sociopolitical divisions and customs, he collected traditions and explanations for political relationships.

The most useful official source (to which access is restricted) for a study such as this is the *I. Tukutuku Raraba* (General Histories). Some heads have copies of the statement for their own people, and I was fortunate enough to be given access to a few while in the field. The statements were compiled by the Native Lands Commission which was formed in 1880 to decide the ownership of land among Fijians. Evidence had to be given to justify 'title' to the land; accounts were given of the movements which brought occupants to the land which they were then living on and using, as well as an outline of their remembered history. Its work was not completed until 1965, evidence of the caution with which it proceeded.[13] France, who has studied the activities of the Commission for which he worked, considers these histories were 'subjected to critical examination and recorded in circumstances which encourage reliance on their substantial accuracy.' [14] The set format of their presentation dictated the information which was recorded, however. Groups had to name their

13. France, Charter, 10, 181n. This contains an excellent account of the working of the Commission.

14. Charter, 10.

founding-ancestor and detail the growth of the sociopolitical divisions and their respective customary roles. In order to oblige the Commission, a few informants explained, in some cases the information was fabricated. Certainly the final statements are not an indication of the quality of the traditions. Events are outlined briefly; no great detail is given.

A few Fijians have recorded traditional material themselves. A noted example is Ratu Deve Toganivalu who wrote a history which concentrated on Bau, and its relationships throughout Fiji. Toganivalu, a member of the Masau who were the matanivanua (heralds) of the Roko Tui Bau, was well versed in the Bauan traditions. Another is Setariki Koto of Lau, who worked with the Native Lands Commission and produced the manuscript 'Ko Viti', which contains indigenous historical information from all important areas in Fiji. It includes information, apparently learnt during the official compilation, which has not appeared in the *i Tukutuku Raraba*.

Material was also gathered from contemporary Fijian informants (see Acknowledgements). Good rapport could only be established with knowledgeable informants on occasional instances. In many cases, only one night could be spent in a village. Stays of days, weeks, or more than one visit did not necessarily dispel doubts about the wisdom of communicating traditional information to an outsider. Despite the brevity of many of my visits, however, informants were often generous in the information they gave, though some were obviously distrustful and preferred to give as little as they could.

A second major problem in the collection of oral material was the state of the existing knowledge. Many bemoaned the loss of earlier knowledge; relatives had died without ensuring members of the younger

generations had learnt it adequately. Others felt their knowledge was imperfect, and possibly wrong. Both attitudes may reflect, to some extent, distrust of an outsider. Many informants, however, knew much concerning the history of their own people, as well as neighbouring groups. Fijians interested in their past had consciously learnt as much as they could.

The past -- that of their own immediate people, and their relationships with other groups -- is still relevant to Fijians. It dictates their presentday standing in the local community and wider Fiji, and the rituals associated with intercommunication. Fijians cannot be separated from their past, knowledge of which confers prestige on the possessor. Its continuing relevance places pressure on the traditions to become more immediately explainable, especially when the oldest traditions are known to only a few. Thus there is a tendency to give more recent explanations for traditional political relationships. A long standing subjection to the i Sokula may be explained by more recent instances of intermarriage with residents of the i Sokula's village of Somosomo; a specific relationship may be explained by a relatively late marriage of political importance. Explanations are important, and so they are found in the information at the disposal of the people concerned.

Much of the information I collected was given to me on the understanding that I would use it responsibly. This I have endeavoured to do. Furthermore, many informants wished to remain unidentified, especially when they gave traditional knowledge concerning other groups as well as their own. Consequently no informants have been specifically named except for a general acknowledgement.

The second category of indigenous historical evidence -- personal recollections -- also have their place in this work, because they are contained in the contemporary European sources. The best source is the writings of the Wesleyan missionaries from 1839 onwards. Even Hunt, despite his assertion that the Fijians had no sense of history, would occasionally note down historical information of interest. In early January 1842 he visited, near Somosomo, the site of an old village which he named Leita. He learnt that about twenty years before it had been a substantial settlement until, as a young man, Tuikilakila (the son of the Tui Cakau) had massacred the inhabitants.[15]

Some of Hunt's colleagues actively sought personal recollections. Lyth, while he resided at Somosomo, recorded the most valuable information for the history of Cakaudrove. Between 1839 and 1844 he collected recollections of members of the i Sokula. Lyth had shown an early interest in the history of Cakaudrove; in December 1839 he had conversed with Lewenilovo, Tuikilakila's half-brother, on the previous state of Taveuni. He was informed that war had 'awfully depopulated' Taveuni, 'hundreds upon hundreds had been slain'. [16] Curious about the earlier movements and history of the i Sokula, he recorded what he learnt about prior events, within the lifetime of people then living, which had led to the establishment of the Tui Cakau at Somosomo. [17] Lyth also collected information about earlier events of political importance which concerned relationships within and outside Cakaudrove. In 1844 he recorded the occurrence, in sequence of progression, of eight wars which were remembered by Lalonayau. The

15. Private journal 1842-1848, II, 7 January 1842, 35.

16. Journal 1836-1842, 31 December 1839, 425.

17. Somosomo in his Notes on Islands, 3b.

informant was a 'respectable Somosomo man about 35 years of age' who was probably a youth at the time the first war commenced.[18]

Another important contemporary source for Fijians' personal recollections is the records of the British Consulate for Fiji and Tonga. Here are recorded the testimonies of both Fijians and Tongans, as well as Europeans, concerning activities of Tongans in the territory of Cakaudrove and elsewhere from the late 1840s onwards. The reports of the Land Claims Commission, set up after Cession to decide which European purchases should be allowed, are another useful source. Both Fijian and European witnesses were called. Fijian testimonies contained personal recollections, for prior indigenous occupation and reasons for the sale of the land would be ascertained. A subordinate relationship to a turaga might be established; indigenous political reasons for the sale of the land might be given. Occasionally the European purchasers became involved in local politics. In one celebrated case a purchaser provided European weapons for one group to conquer another, his payment to be the land of the enemy if they were defeated.[19]

Personal recollections are similar to the evidence with which historians normally deal; they can be evaluated by procedures familiar to historians who assess evidence from contemporary documents and participants.[20] Lyth, for example, corrected information in his journals and day-books if he later found it to be incorrect. Lyth's records, which comprise only fairly straightforward accounts of events, are as accurate as he was able to make them. Moreover, the

18. Somosomo Wars in his Notes on Islands, 65b-67b.

19. LCC R904.

20. R. Willis, 'The literalist fallacy and the problem of oral tradition', Social Analysis, IV (1980), 33.

evidence was not given in such a politically sensitive situation as is the case with the Consular records and the reports of the Native Lands Commission and the Land Claims Commission. Here witnesses were interested in justifying their possession of land, or its political control.

Personal recollections of important power competitions and their participants may be taken as generally correct. This is not to state that they are always indisputably accurate since accounts may contain exaggerations or incorrect evidence. Any information which cannot be recorded except in the memory is subject to distortions, both conscious and unconscious. But often there are no other sources available with which to cross-check it. The less tangible evidence which accompanies an account can only be appraised in the context of the culture of the peoples concerned, and the situation in which the evidence is given. Personal recollections are biased. No one account, which encompasses more than a statement of a military encounter, for example, can be considered true; perceptions of causes and the attitudes of participants can never be definitively interpreted. Vansina, relying on the work of psychologists on memory, suggests that motivations can usually be dismissed as fabrications.[21]

Traditions are political symbols which serve specific purposes at particular times, and so they are subject to continual modification.[22] Traditions develop by an interactive process in which others contribute to the information; they are subject to alteration as the narrator gains new information from his audience.

21. J.J. Hoover, 'Message and medium: some recent developments in oral tradition', Social Analysis, IV (1980), 14.
22. D.P. Henige, The chronology of oral tradition: quest for a chimera (Oxford 1974), 6.

By this process they become oral traditions. The 'truth' is arrived at in a 'consensual and synthetic manner similar to that of a literate social scientist or historian.' [23] It is possible, therefore, that sensitive sociopolitical information is forgotten in this process because, as well as being embarrassing for people who often wield the power, its unsuitability for public performance means it is easily lost.

The experience of historians working with African oral traditions has shown that some memorable personal recollections, when passed on to and remembered by members of younger generations, become extended personal recollections. Extended recollections may exist up to 120 to 150 years, typically four or five generations. [24] This suggests that oral evidence from the twentieth century concerning the i Sokula is relatively correct, at least back until the headship of Yavala the Tui Cakau when first recorded contact with Cakaudrove began by 1830 (for a list of Tui Cakau and genealogical information, see Appendix). Some of the information may have become distorted but all cannot be rejected on the chance that this may have occurred.

As many oral traditions describe events after contact, the reliability of much information can be proven from European sources, while the oral traditions themselves can correct conflicting reports recorded by Europeans. When Vakalolo (son of Tuikilakila) died violently in 1854, Lyth recorded two contradictory reports which he had heard at Lakeba, the capital of the matanitu of southern Lau situated to windward of Cakaudrove. The first report stated that

23. Miller, 'The dynamics of oral tradition', draft article dated May 1977 (later published in B. Bernardi, C. Poni, and A. Triulzi (eds), Fonti Orali, Milano 1978), 11.

24. Miller, 'Dynamics of oral tradition', 10, 22.

Mara, Vakalolo's half-brother, conspired with a man from Namara (eastern Viti Levu) to kill rival members of the i Sokula. Their rivals themselves then gained the allegiance of the Namara man who betrayed Vakalolo into their hands. The second report asserted that Vakalolo was killed during an engagement near Somosomo. During the clash Vakalolo was wounded by a bullet after which a Namara youth struck him as he lay on the ground.[25] The latter version is supported by the oral evidence; members of the i Sokula remember that Vakalolo died in battle.

The provable accuracy of many oral traditions makes it justifiable to claim that those recorded in the first few decades of the twentieth century -- the material collected by Hocart and the histories of the Native Lands Commission, for example -- push the time of reliability back further. Credence can be given to the traditions at least from the rule of Vakamino, the third Tui Cakau, who would have been head of Cakaudrove at the turn of the eighteenth century. Only the basic outlines of major political events are remembered, the subtleties are not. Thus the information remembered comprises the main competitors, their supporters, and the major clashes. It may be presumed the accounts are credible even though the information may not be entirely accurate, and may have been subject to manipulation by successive narrators.

Loss of accuracy is illustrated in the following example. Vakamino had succeeded to his father Ratavo's position of Tui Cakau which, ideally, should have gone to Rakuro, his elder brother who was genealogically senior. But a subsequent challenge to Vakamino was led by Rakuro who had the support of, among others, his nephew Ralulu.

25. Lyth, Journal 1853-1860, 21 April 1854, 80-81.

Rakuro was killed early in the contest, after which leadership of the faction fighting Vakamino passed to Rakuro's son Naiqama and nephew Ralulu. Ralulu was the more politically astute rival; he established a secure power base at Welagi and Taveuni, and outlived Naiqama who was murdered. Most traditions of peoples associated with the prolonged civil war represent Ralulu as the head of the rival faction, undoubtedly because he continued politically successful longer than the others. Traditions concerning the power struggle were made more relevant when Ralulu was given the leading role from the beginning of the leadership dispute.

Difficulties with the pedigree and history of the i Sokula begin with the antecedents of Vakamino. Information is scanty for the immediate descendants of Rokevu, the first Tui Cakau. Since high-ranking men practised polygamy, it is probable that Ratavo (the second Tui Cakau) had more brothers than Loaloa, the only one known to the oral record. The origins of the i Sokula are also obscure. Only the briefest of information, which is not involved with the supernatural, is available. But since there is no reason to believe that generations have been dropped from the establishment period of the i Sokula lineage in Cakaudrove, the prosaic record concerning the achievement of power pre-eminence by the i Sokula may be presumed to have some basis in truth.

The available information concerning the prior inhabitants of the immediate Cakaudrove area is small, but may be taken seriously. The earlier groups have maintained their own collective identity in relation to the other groups of people in the immediate Cakaudrove area. Information concerning their former positions has been preserved as a matter of pride, the same reason for which they have

preserved their distinctive identity. Such changes in the power balance are remembered not only to justify the hegemony of the later rulers, but also to explain the inferior position of earlier inhabitants. For later leaders depended on prior leaders for their legitimacy.[26] The Mataikoro, the leaders replaced by the i Sokula, play a crucial role in the installation ceremony of the Tui Cakau, for example. They sanction the installation of a descendant of newcomers.

Obviously, however, information becomes more scanty and less reliable as time passes. Basing his arguments on the work of psychologists, Vansina points out 'how the human mind tends to recall concrete images more clearly than abstractions'. One manifestation of this tendency is the narration of oral traditions in 'personalistic terms'. This is the manner in which the origin traditions of Fiji are phrased, for instance.[27] Such personalizations 'regard a single archetypical figure as the personification of an entire epoch of uncertain duration.' [28]

The earliest origin traditions in Vanua Levu account for an extension of control from Verata, eastern Viti Levu, to windward. Migrations of people were certainly involved. Supporters of a regime were necessary if some control over less powerful people was to be maintained. The migrations, in which small immigrant groups perhaps took over leadership positions, have become personalized so that founding-ancestors (vu) have been credited with the founding of yavusa, sociopolitical groups the members of which are ideally descended from such epical ancestors. When the vu are said to have

26. Miller, 'Introduction', 41.

27. Miller, 'Introduction', 10.

28. Henige, Chronology of oral tradition, 34.

participated in a single migration, it is probable that a migratory trend has been consolidated and represented by the mass movements of individuals. Many small population movements over a long period of time are more likely to approximate the actual situation.

The migratory traditions used in the following chapters give a further false impression. The traditions imply that the founding-ancestors are the first to arrive in the areas they settled. Fijian settlement dates back as early as the sixteenth century B.C., a time depth for which Fijian succession lists and genealogies cannot account. Traditions usually enumerate no more than nine or ten successive heads, at the most, before Cession. Even with the occurrence of drastic telescoping, it is not feasible to accept the traditions as a memory of the original foundation of a population in the area. Since chieftainship has always existed in Polynesia,[29] it is probable that the power balance has been constantly changing in Fiji. Thus these traditions do not record an initial occupation of land. Rather, they record the extension of power by one group over another.

In a sense the personalizations are mythical and, like elements of the supernatural in myths, are devices to make the past more memorable. The addition of the supernatural is not inconsistent with the religious beliefs of the Fijians. Ancestors often became deified; their involvement in supernatural events is a logical corollary of their paranormal status, which they acquired after death. The supernatural serves a second function -- it helps disguise the reality of power domination. Thus origin traditions of the i Sokula associate them with the supernatural.

29. See below, 128-29.

Contrary to the African situation, however, myths associated with Cakaudrove do not necessarily belong to the most distant past.[30] It is not impossible, therefore, to extract historical information from the myths, especially with the assistance of prosaic versions of the same events. The analysis of myths may also follow the ahistorical line of structural analysis. According to this school of thought such analyses may reveal, at the most profound and unconscious level, timeless symbolic themes common to all mankind. On a more limited scale, structural analyses may explicate themes specific to the culture in which the tradition is narrated. Such a restricted exploration is useful in an historical context. Myths are subject to both structural and historical examination, therefore; the one does not preclude the other.

It is not incongruous that myths should be associated with the i Sokula, high-ranking turaga possessed of sacred efficacy. Their sacredness was inextricably bound up with their possession of power. An understanding of this association with the sacred is essential for an understanding of the Tui Cakau and their lineage; the myths may not reflect the past accurately but they are meaningful to those people to whom they belong.

30. See, for example, Willis, 'The literalist fallacy and the problem of oral tradition'.

CHAPTER ONE

CHIEFTAINSHIP: THE IDEOLOGY

The Tui Cakau, the paramount of Cakaudrove, was 'a kind of human spirit, much more important than the spirits; for they are useful in war, but he is responsible for prosperity.' So he appeared to Hocart when this anthropologist contrasted the role of the Cakaudrove head with the role of much less important heads in the area. The Tui Cakau belonged to a line of immigrants; the inferior heads belonged to earlier groups. Both the political and material welfare of Cakaudrove were the domain of the Tui Cakau. His worship by the people helped assure this. The presentations which reached him from all parts of the matanitu were akin to offerings made to a god. Their purpose was to ensure that Cakaudrove would be prosperous under his rule.[1]

The Tui Cakau and his lineage, the *i* Sokula, were distinguished from their subordinates by a system of etiquette observances and by their insignia of rank. Their sacredness, and particularly that of the Tui Cakau himself, further set them apart from the rest of the people. The 'social distance' created by these restrictive and deferential practices was a politically effective means of inculcating an attitude of respect. The *i* Sokula were also distinguished from the leading families of other matanitu by customs and symbols which were unique to themselves or which were unusual among other families of high rank. Their distinctiveness symbolized Cakaudrove, just as their

1. A.M. Hocart, The northern states of Fiji (London 1952), 19-21.

well-being symbolized the well-being of Cakaudrove.

FIJIANs of high rank (turaga) were easily discernible to the early European visitors. The deference shown by those of lower rank was obvious. Members of the lower ranks would squat on the ground when a turaga passed nearby; in a house they would never stand in his presence, but shuffled on their knees even though the turaga would be at the far end of the house reserved for those of high rank. Turaga were spoken to respectfully; when lower-ranking people passed their house, first saw them in the morning, or were in a canoe opposite the village, they would tama (call a special greeting).[2] The appearance of turaga was also an indication of their superiority. The dressing of a turaga's hair and the ornamentation of his body were more elaborate. A man's dress was usually a few yards of thin and narrow masi (Fijian cloth) between the legs with one or two folds around the waist, a small tail of which hung down the back. The length of this train determined the rank of the wearer; the malo yara, made of the thinnest and whitest masi, would trail on the ground if the wearer was of very high rank. An i sala or turban of thin white masi also denoted a man of high rank.

The Tui Cakau, the head of the i Sokula and Cakaudrove, was further distinguished from the rest of the lineage by his use of a sunshade, a privilege with which Ratu Yavala the fourth Tui Cakau also favoured the two most important bete or priests.[3] The fan palm

2. In Cakaudrove the men would call Duo! wo!, while the women called Mai na va'adua! See Williams, Fiji and the Fijians (London 1898), 1, 37-38.

(the niu masei or Pritchardia pacifica, Palmae) was the palm tree from which sunshades were made for turaga. The leaves were made up into fans from two or three feet across, and their surrounding border was of flexible wood.[4] Not only were individual leaves of this fan palm made up to be used as sunshades, but the specially shaped products were also used as fans (i iri masei), and as protection from the rain.[5] The uniqueness of the i iri masei, or sa'i'i in the Cakaudrove dialect, was its usage as a sunshade by the Tui Cakau. The Wesleyan missionary Thomas Williams, resident at Somosomo the village of the Tui Cakau between August 1843 and October 1847, recorded that there was a position of 'Tui na saiki', i.e. Tui Nasa'i'i, whose task, it is probable, was to hold the sa'i'i so as to shelter the Tui Cakau from the sun.[6]

One other group of Cakaudrove people was allowed the use of the sa'i'i -- the Mataikoro who had lost the position of leadership in Cakaudrove to the i Sokula. They retained this privilege as a reminder of their former rank.[7] There was also a prohibition on the use of more ordinary fans and umbrellas. It is still thought proper that only members of the i Sokula should use fans or umbrellas (i vakaruru) in public, but this rule is no longer strictly followed. The prohibition is relaxed outside the confines of Somosomo or

3. Williams, Fiji and the Fijians, I, 25.
4. B. Seemann, Viti: an account of a government mission to the Vitian or Fijian Islands 1860-1861 (Reprint, London 1973), 369. For an illustration see Williams, Fiji and the Fijians, I, 68.
5. For the latter purpose they were laid almost horizontally on the head, the water being allowed to run down behind the back of the bearer. See Seemann, Viti, 369.
6. Williams, Officers at Somosomo: rank of in his Miscellaneous notes chiefly concerning Feejee & Feejeeans, III, 98.
7. They were allowed this privilege and others, see below, 92.

Vatu'ulo, the estate residence of the present Tui Cakau. There is another exception to the rule prohibiting the use of fans and umbrellas. Members of the Mataitoga group may use fans or umbrellas whenever they wish, although many forego their public use as a means of showing respect.[8] They claim they received this privilege after one of the previous Tui Cakau asked the Tui Nayau, the paramount of the matanitu of southern Lau, to give him some Mataitoga so they could be his carpenters. In return for their change of residence and allegiance they were allowed the chiefly privilege.[9]

Another insignia of rank which helped to designate the Tui Cakau was his use of a particular kind of staff, usually called Matana-ki-lagi, Point to the Sky.[10] This name was given to staffs used by all turaga. The staffs, with a distinguishing incised design, were made to suit the height of the individual owners. Early missionary descriptions of Yavala the fourth Tui Cakau occasionally mention that he had a stick. In July 1839, for example, he was described as sitting in his European chair 'with a long stick in one hand by which he supported himself, as he bent forward on his seat'.[11] The succeeding Tui Cakau, Ratu Ralulu, would make frequent use of his staff to chastise his wives when they displeased him. But this sign of rank was beginning to disappear by the 1850s when Williams wrote that 'it used to be a mark of royalty'.[12] It

8. It is noticeable, though, that the Mataitoga make frequent use of their right to use an umbrella -- a convenience which is too useful to forego.
9. For a discussion of the origins and arrival of the Mataitoga, see below, 261-63.
10. Williams, Fiji and the Fijians, I, 25.
11. Lyth to his father and mother, 27 July 1839 in Lyth, Letters to and from Rev Dr Lyth 1836-1854.

is possible the staff was actually a straight-sided pole club, which sometimes flared slightly towards the head. It was often made in truncheon size, but the longer ones could be taken for staffs. They were called after the wood from which they were made; two popular choices of wood were gadi and mada. [13] With the ill health of Ralulu it was remarked how the 'ponderous "manda" has given way to a light wand, formed of a masi stick'. [14]

Red was the colour associated with high rank and in particular with the *i Sokula*. It is significant that, when Yavala chose to wear an article of European clothing, it was red. In November 1839 he attended a ceremonial feast 'in full dress, having a scarlet coloured handkerchief bound round his head, with a ribband secured in front, with a large silver buckle'. So suitable was the scarlet handkerchief as an indicator of rank, and perhaps of membership in the *i Sokula*, that Yavala was buried, about six years later, wearing a scarlet handkerchief as an *i sala*. To shelter himself from the sun, at the same ceremonial feast, he had used a crimson silk umbrella. [15] The bird associated with the *i Sokula* was the *kula*, or red parakeet (*Phigys solitarius*). Its small breast feathers were used to fringe the finest mats, the fringe receiving the name *kula*. The *kula* bird was found throughout Fiji, except in southern Lau. Taveuni, especially the Bouma area on the northeast side, was renowned for the

12. Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, I, 25.
13. F. Clunie, *Fijian weapons and warfare* (Suva 1977), 56.
14. Williams, Tuithakau the Second in his Somosomo Quarterly Letters, Letter 1:4 (24 June 1846), 14.
15. Lyth to his sister, 29 January 1839 in Lyth, Copy-book of letters 1840-1841, under the entry for 4 November 1839, 90. For Yavala's burial with the scarlet handkerchief, see G.C. Henderson (ed), *The journal of Thomas Williams, missionary in Fiji, 1840-1853* (Sydney 1931), II, 313.

number to be found.[16] One translation of the name i Sokula is a flock of parakeets.[17]

Death customs also distinguished the i Sokula from other leading families. Each locality has an i cibaciba by which the souls of deceased persons depart to Bulu, the invisible world. There is a road from every village to the dimension occupied by the spirits; Drakulu is the i cibaciba of the i Sokula. The path to Drakulu lies in the strait between the small islands of Benau and Cakaudrove-i-wai. Drakulu is the mouth of a cave on the path of death, the exit of which is at Nafecobocobo in Bua. If one of the i Sokula died, Drakulu could be seen by the living. Three small hills or mounds, awash with water, rose from the sea. Dakuwaqa, a mythical shark associated with the i Sokula,[18] was said to swim around, while on land a hundred parakeets (kula) would fly about, crying.[19]

It was one of the Fijian customs, when turaga died, to strangle some of their wives. When the turaga's spirit had left his body it waited nearby, on the reefs in Cakaudrove, until his wives' spirits joined him. Their spirits would then be able to wait on his, just as they had done in the temporal world.[20] When Ratu Rabici, the son

16. Information from Fergus Clunie, Director of the Fiji Museum, Suva. The particular association with Bouma is to be found in Journal of Thomas Williams, I, 239.

17. G.H. Loster, 'Kava drinking in Viti Levu', III, Oceania, XII (1941), 117; Hocart, Northern States, 100.

18. For information on Dakuwaqa, see the following chapter.

19. Lyth, Feejeean notions respecting the residence of their departed friends in his Tongan and Feejeean Reminiscences, II, 40; Hocart, Northern States, 100.

20. Lyth, Bulu or the place of the departed spirits in his Tongan and Feejeean Reminiscences, I, 104; Lyth to his father and mother, 27 July 1839 in his Copy-book of letters 1840-1841, 67-69; Hunt, Private journal 1839-1841, I, 14 October 1839, 97.

of Yavala, died in 1839, thirteen of his wives were strangled. Yavala claimed that on the death of his father, Ratu Vakamino the third Tui Cakau, thirty women were strangled.[21] The practice seems to have been more extreme for the i Sokula than for other chiefly families. At Bau, for example, Naulivou and Banuve who both held the title of Vunivalu had only three wives strangled as their i loloku. [22]

The i Sokula were further differentiated from other chiefly families in Fiji by the custom of women being strangled as the i loloku of female members of the family. When Ratu Ravulo died in 1839, Adi Vaturogo, his betrothed wife and daughter of Tuikilakila (Yavala's son), was strangled to accompany him. For her own i loloku, two women classified as her grandmothers (tubuna) were also strangled. [23]

Another unusual, though not unique distinction, was the strangling of men as i loloku for members of the family. It was customary for a matanivanua (herald) of the Tui Cakau to be buried with him. This may have been either Mai Kavula, the head matanivanua, or Mai Nanukurua, who was the body servant of the Tui Cakau. [24] This custom was not followed at the death of Yavala in August 1845.

21. Mrs Mary Lyth, Diary 1838-1842, 9 August 1839; Lyth, Journal 1842-1844, 4 November 1842, 22.
22. Lyth, Strangling of Widows in his Reminiscences and Customs, 23.
23. Lyth, Strangling of Widows, 23, 27. Some of this information was given by Adi Gativi, another daughter of Tuikilakila.
24. For a discussion of the roles of the various matanivanua, see below, especially 92-94. There is an instance from Bau of men being the i loloku of a Bauan. Two Vusaradave turaga elected to die and be buried with Mara Kapaivai when he was hanged in 1859. see D.A. Scarr, Ratu Sukuna: soldier, statesman, man of two worlds (London and Basingstoke 1989), 4.

It was said that the matanivanua at that time was not the true holder of the position.[25] This may be interpreted to mean that he had not been installed at the same time as Yavala had received the title. Presumably the true matanivanua had died earlier, and his successor could not be installed with the title until the installation of a new Tui Cakau. The Radi ni Cakaudrove (Queen of Cakaudrove) or Ra Marama (Lady), the leading wife of the Tui Cakau, was also supposed to have her matanivanua strangled as her i loloku. This custom was followed on the death of Adi Levulevu, Yavala's leading wife and mother of Tuikilakila.[26] Her matanivanua, Ramasi Lago, came from the Nabariqi division of the Mataikoro people. He did whatever Ra Marama ordered, including keeping away the flies (lago). The Nabola division, also of the Mataikoro, provided another matanivanua for Ra Marama.[27] Additionally, in the event of a Tui Cakau dying, another family was supposed to supply a strong man who would be able to hold back a fierce dog which was believed to block the way to Drakulu.[28]

It became customary for the Tui Cakau to be buried at Welagi, northwestern Taveuni, the village situated above Somosomo. The custom had begun with Ratu Ratavo, the second Tui Cakau, whose mother had been a marama (or lady) of this place. He had retired to her land in order to remove himself from political life. Vakamino, his son who succeeded him as the Tui Cakau, died at Vunisavisavi, on Vanua Levu opposite the small island of Cakaudrove-i-wai, and does not appear to have been buried at Welagi. His own son Yavala the fourth Tui Cakau was; and so were Ralulu and Tuikilakila, the fifth and sixth Tui

25. Journal of Thomas Williams, II, 23 August 1845, 317.

26. Information from Adi Gativi recorded by Lyth, Strangling of Widows, 22.

27. Hocart, Northern states, 88.

28. Journal of Thomas Williams, II, 23 August 1845, 317.

Cakau respectively.[29] Important turaga were often buried in canoes. Yavala himself did not receive such a burial but his wife Adi Levulevu, Ra Marama, did. She was buried behind Yavala's house Nasima, at Somosomo, where the ends of the canoe could be seen above the ground.[30]

THE religion[31] of Cakaudrove was essentially one of ancestor-worship. Fijians believed that a person's spirit survived after death. Funeral rites were acts of reincorporation which readmitted the deceased to the community in a new status. One set of rights and duties was exchanged for another; the dead now played a different role, a role they were able to perform because of their continued relationship with their descendants. 'The ancestors of a Fijian chief are not removed from him' wrote Williams, 'they are present with him'.[32] In a prayer to the ancestor-gods, (kalou) the dead members of the i Sokula were referred to as i Sokula for all time (va'adua).[33] Tuikilakila, the son of Yavala, once demonstrated the

29. Evidence of Ratu Manasa Boginivalu (a member of the i Sokula), 22 August 1902 in NLC, Notes & Minutes of a Meeting of the Chiefs and people of Cakaudrove held at Somosomo on this 15th day of August 1902, 79. For a description of the burial of Yavala see Journal of Thomas Williams, II, 316-17.

30. T.J. Jaggar, Journal, 17 April and 17 August 1939.

31. Religion is here defined as 'a system of actions and interactions based upon culturally shared beliefs in sacred supernatural powers'. See Annemarie de Waal Malefijt, Religion and culture: an introduction to anthropology of religion (New York 1968), 12.

32. Williams, Annotated copy of Fiji and the Fijians, I, after 220.

33. Lyth, Gods of Somosomo.

immediacy of the ancestors by pointing around himself and saying 'spirits walk about there & there & there'. [34] The ancestor-gods were personified, perceived in human terms. 'The moral character of their gods is like their own' wrote another Wesleyan missionary. They were 'Proud, envious, covetous, vengeful & some monsters of beastly passions.' [35] Interaction with the ancestor-gods was therefore modelled on human forms of communication: their spirits could 'hear' prayers, 'notice' ritual ceremonies, and 'receive' offerings.

Genealogically senior males were the ideal links with the ancestor-gods, a bridge between the temporal world and the spiritual world, both of which were part of the traditional environment. The first born male child of a man was considered the living representative of the ancestor-gods, a temporary earthly possessor of the line's efficacy. Installed leaders of a group were, ideally though not in practice, the genealogically senior members of a descent line which itself was, again ideally, the genealogically senior line among the people over whom they ruled. A paramount should be descended from an earlier turaga, the efficacy of whose spirit (as well as the spirits of other dead ancestors) would ensure his temporal success. For ancestor-gods could affect the temporal world which their descendants inhabited; fortunes of the living depended upon the efficacy of ancestor-gods.

The i Sokula, whose power position meant they often had need of supernatural assistance, possessed several efficacious gods. Nasima, the house of the Tui Cakau, was 'surrounded by heathen temples'. [36]

34. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 3 December 1841, 383.

35. Feejeeans knowledge of God (Vewa Quarterly), quoted in Williams, Miscellaneous notes chiefly concerning Feejee and Feejeeans, II, 80. See also Williams, Annotated copy of Fiji and the Fijians, I, opposite 236.

Williams considered that the Fijian gods were divided into two classes, kalou vu and kalou yalo. The first were true deities who were eternal; the second were deified mortals who were subject to humanlike passions, wants, accidents and even death.[37] This distinction does not occur among the kalou of the i Sokula. Furthermore Hocart did not consider such a distinction accurate for Fiji at large. The distinguishing feature of the kalou vu were their particular association with the installed leader. A kalou vu was a 'spirit acquired at consecration'.[38]

The nearest and most conspicuous temple to Nasima was that of their supreme ancestor-god or kalou vu, Mai Natavasara. Some of the early writers refer to him simply as Tavasara, without the preposition.[39] Hocart has suggested that Mai Natavasara was a reference to the bure kalou (god-house, temple) called Natavasara. Hence the name of the kalou vu was Mai Natavasara, From Natavasara.[40] Williams confirms that Tavasara was the name of a temple; the names of other ancestor-gods were also the names of their temples.[41] The kalou were therefore referred to by names other

36. Lyth, A brief Sketch of Rev John Hunt's Missionary Career in his Biographical sketches, 17.
37. Williams, Fiji and the Fijians, I, 216.
38. Hocart, Northern states, 9. A distinction does occur in Cakaudrove, however, between the ancestor-gods of the i Sokula and another deity who takes the form of a shark, Dakuwaqa.
39. See for example S. Holmes, Journal, II, 16-17 August 1840, 88; Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 3 December 1841, 682. Williams, who did not arrive at Somonono until 1843, referred to him as Mai Natavasara, as do the Cakaudrove people who know of the ancestor-god today.
40. Northern states, 100. For an illustration of the bure kalou see Williams, Fiji and the Fijians, I, 222. A reproduction of Williams' original sketch is in Journal of Thomas Williams, II, opposite 286.
41. Fiji and the Fijians, I, 144. The others were Koroiruve, Veideli and Loaloa. Lyth's information agrees, see his Gods of Somonono.

than their own, names they became known by after their deification.[42] Natavasara is generally translated to mean the immediate or prompt cutting up. One explanation for the name is that the kalou vu disliked having to keep the flies off his food, and wished therefore to have it cut up at once.[43] Another translation refers to the kalou vu being 'fresh from the cutting up or slaughter'.[44]

Within the Fijian pantheon, Mai Natavasara has also been identified with Kubuavanua, the kalou vu of Moala, who is known in Lakeba by the latter name.[45] Additionally Mai Natavasara has been said to be Mai Nabare or Saurara, an immigrant ancestor of the turaga of Natewa in Cakaudrove.[46] Such identifications may be misleading. In 1844 Tuikilakila told Lyth that Mai Natavasara was a god from Bulu, where the spirits of deceased people went. It might be presumed, therefore, that he was once human. Tuikilakila also added that he came from Tonga.[47] The stated connexion with Tonga may explain his association with other places to windward which were also in regular contact with Tonga. Alternatively, Hocart recorded that he was the first Tui Cakau.[48] If this evidence is correct, then he may be

42. For Mai Natavasara, Hocart was given the alternative name Raodrau, which is inconsistent with the Cakaudrove dialect. See Northern states, 100.

43. Hocart, Northern states, 100.

44. Williams, Fiji and the Fijians, I, 218, Elsewhere Williams also translated the name as 'Cut up directly', see his Miscellaneous notes chiefly concerning Feejee & Feejeeans, I, 162.

45. Hocart, Lau Islands, Fiji (Honolulu 1929), 193, 221; Williams, Miscellaneous notes, I, 162. Horatio Hale of the 1840 U.S. Exploring Expedition identified Mai Natavasara as a son of Degel, a deity known throughout Fiji. See his United States Exploring Expedition...Ethnography and Philology (Philadelphia 1846), 53.

46. Hocart, Northern states, 129.

47. Lyth, Somosomo in his Notes on Islands, 2b.

Rokevu, the first member of the i Sokula to be installed Tui Cakau. Lyth, on the other hand, states that Mai Natavasara was one of three ancestor-gods related to Welagi.[49] If so, then Mai Natavasara may be Ratavo, the second Tui Cakau, yet the first to be installed in the proper manner and thus considered the first Tui Cakau by some. Ratavo is the son of Rokevu, and calculated to be the second Tui Cakau in the reckoning adopted here; his mother is said to have come from Welagi.[50] The combination of this direct descent from Welagi, and his generational precedence over succeeding Tui Cakau makes his candidature more probable than any of the later title-holders. A choice between Ratavo and his father Rokevu still remains, however; the genealogical priority of Rokevu favours his selection.

The kalou of second importance for the i Sokula was Koroiruve, Village of the Dove, or Mai Koroiruve.[51] This ancestor-god was associated with the gauvou (second chief) of Cakaudrove, who was a member of the i Sokula and heir apparent to the Tui Cakau.[52] Tuikilakila asserted he was 'a young chief of the olden time, of the royal family'. At about the age of ten he had been killed in battle. After his death there had been a great mourning and each 'tribe' had had to provide ten people to be strangled.[53] More specifically, he

48. Northern states, 100.

49. Of Mai Natavasara, Mai Naveidoli and Mai Koroiruve it was said they 'taqa tu i Welagi'. See Lyth, *Gods of Somosomo*. The translation of taqa is problematical. An informant from Cakaudrove translated it to mean blood relationship in this context.

50. For a list of the Tui Cakau, and the genealogy of the i Sokula, see Appendix.

51. This kalou is never referred to by the missionaries as Mai Koroirupe, but he is so referred to in the prayers to the i Sokula ancestor-gods. (See Lyth, *Gods of Somosomo*) and by Hocart (see Northern states, 101).

52. For a discussion of the gauvou position, see below, 45, 134-35.

53. Lyth, *Somosomo*, 2b.

was identified to Hocart as a son of Mai Natavasara.[54] Mai Koroiruve cannot be identified from the oral traditions; as yet no tradition has been collected which records the death of a youth. Despite the paucity of information, however, it is not improbable he is an unrecorded son of Rokevu, a half or full-brother of Ratavo who succeeded to the title on Rokevu's death. Mai Koroiruve's importance and association with the heir apparent, who is placed over the Nakorovou people, may indicate that he was the genealogically senior son who should have inherited his father's title had he lived.[55] There was also a temple for Mai Koroiruve at Namuka in eastern Macuata, the matanitu situated in northern Vanua Levu which adjoins Cakaudrove, where he was worshipped as well.[56]

Veidoli, [57] or Mai Veidoli, ranks with Mai Koroiruve below Mai Natavasara. Mai Veidoli was also connected with the i Sokula and belongs to the set (which includes Mai Natavasara and Mai Koroiruve) of kalou who are said to have been related to Welagi. Mai Veidoli was specifically associated with the i Sokula turaga who was placed over the Tinanivale division of the Nakorovou people. Tuikilakila identified Mai Veidoli as another of the former Tui Cakau.[58] This kalou may possibly be identified as Ratavo, the second Tui Cakau. The only other candidate for the kalou is Vakamino, the third Tui Cakau who succeeded his father Ratavo. The fourth Tui Cakau, Yavala, was

54. Northern states, 100.

55. Lyth, Somosomo, 2b.

56. Northern states, 101. Mai Koroiruve is said to have gone to Namuka. It is not stated whether this was a temporary visit or a permanent residence, but presumably it was the former.

57. Veidoli is a name that was later held by at least one member of the i Sokula. A grandson of Ralulu, the fifth Tui Cakau, was given it.

58. Lyth, Somosomo, 2b. In 1844 Vakalolo, the son of Tuikilakila, was placed over Tinanivale.

living at the time the information was given.

A fourth kalou was Baleinairai (Died at Nairai), who was associated with the member of the i Sokula placed over the Nacokula division of the Nakorovou.[59] Baleinairai has not been identified although it may be presumed he was another member of the i Sokula. There is no mention in the oral traditions of an i Sokula turaga who died at Nairai but visits to this island, which is situated to the south of Koro Island, are not unlikely.

The i Sokula also invoked the kalou vu of the Cakaudrove people who inhabited the immediate Cakaudrove area, centred on the Cakaudrove River in southern Vanua Levu, before the i Sokula themselves arrived. This was Mai Nukusemanu -- Nukusemanu was an island to the east of Vanua Levu which does not appear to have been permanently occupied. Mai Nukusemanu, also referred to as Nadomoca (The Evil Voice) and Ligakau (Wooden Hand), was specifically associated with the Mataikadavu,[60] perhaps the original leading group of the immediate Cakaudrove area.[61] Thus the i Sokula had not taken over the kalou vu of the i taukei (prior inhabitants in this context), despite Sahlins' assertion that this was the case throughout Fiji.[62] They

59. Lyth, Somosomo, 2b. In 1844 Ligaligadi, whose genealogical position among the i Sokula is uncertain to the writer, was placed over the Nacokula.
60. Matai'adavu in the Cakaudrove dialect, or possibly Mata'i'adavu, Herald to Kadavu. This is Hocart's belief, see Northern states, 86.
61. Lyth, Somosomo, 2b. The identification of the deity as Ligakau is in Williams, Miscellaneous notes, I, 162.
62. M.D. Sahlins, 'The stranger-king or Dumézil among the Fijians', IPH, XVI (1981), 120. The Mataikoro who had displaced the Mataikadavu as leaders, however, had apparently adopted the kalou vu of the i taukei.

invoked Mai Vuniyaro (?Founding-ancestor of Yaro), also known as Loaloa (Black), too. This kalou belonged more specifically to the Kavula people who supplied the head matanivanua of the Tui Cakau.[63] Both these kalou were also said to come from Bulu, the land of the spirits of the dead.[64]

The process by which a dead person became a recognized kalou was simple. Tuikilakila once even offered to make one of the Wesleyan missionaries a god, if the European died before he did.[65] If a man had been successful during his lifetime, his descendants could choose to make him a kalou. [66] Williams recorded that it was difficult to pinpoint a time when a deceased ancestor became an ancestor-god.[67] A case which came to the notice of the Wesleyan missionaries was that of Yavala who died in August 1845. In February 1850 Williams wrote that the people were now regarding him as an effective kalou whose efficacy was used during a war with Natewa, a vanua within Cakaudrove in southeastern Vanua Levu which was always questioning the authority of the i Sokula. The process of conversion into an institutionalized kalou had begun by July 1847, when Tuikilakila and his favourite wife cleaned the gravesite. A war with Natewa was already in progress. Through this action Tuikilakila was attempting to please the spirit of his father who, it was hoped, would effect success in the campaign. In February 1850, in another attempt to gain the goodwill and assistance of Yavala's spirit, a new tomb-house was built over his

63. Lyth, Somosomo, 2b. Yaro was the name of a land and people in Vanua Balavu, northern Lau.

64. Lyth, Somosomo, 2b.

65. Information from David Haslewood given in J.E. Erskine, Journal of a cruise among the islands of the western Pacific (Reprint, London 1967), 296.

66. Hocart, Northern states, 100.

67. Annotated copy of Fiji and the Fijians, I, after 220.

grave.[68] But a bure kalou had not been built yet at Somosomo, perhaps because Yavala's status as a kalou had not been fully established. His efficacy was not proven.

THE ideology of chieftainship in Cakaudrove was, and still is, one in which sacred efficacy or power was the driving force. To Williams it seemed as if there was 'an invisible superhuman power, controlling or influencing all earthly things'.[69] The people of Cakaudrove use mana[70] to describe sacred efficacy, but they also use the term kaukauwa, which usually means strong or powerful in a profane rather than a sacred sense. Ratu Golea, the eighth Tui Cakau who died in 1879, was said by one informant to have been kaukauwa sara, a reference to his extreme sacred efficacy as well as his temporal power. Its applicability to a supernatural context is not an illogical extension of its meaning, for its usage reflects the connexion between sacred and temporal power.[71]

Important turaga in Fiji were considered sacred. Williams wrote that

68. Journal of Thomas Williams, II, 282, 516.

69. Fiji and the Fijians, I, 215-16.

70. Roger Keening does not consider the view of a diffuse supernatural power to be indigenous. European observers have reified the concept of sacred efficacy. Pers. comm., November 1981.

71. For the use of kaukauwa in a supernatural context, see also Sahlin, Moala: culture and nature on a Fijian island (Ann Arbor 1962), 319. Kaukauwa does not drop the 'k', as is normal, in the Cakaudrove dialect.

There is very little difference between a chief of high rank and one of the second order of deities. The former regards himself very much as a god, and is often spoken of as such by his people, and, on some occasions, claims for himself publicly the right of divinity.[72]

John Hunt, another Wesleyan missionary, could see very little difference between a presentation to a turaga and an offering to a kalou. [73] Rather than swear by the ancestor-gods, the people of Somosomo would deny something by swearing by the Tui Cakau. [74] Incumbents of the title Tui Cakau, the paramount of Cakaudrove, thought of themselves as gods, demanding and receiving constant acknowledgement of their sacredness and superiority. Williams asserted that the Tui Cakau was one of the three most sacred title holders in Fiji. [75] This sacredness also adhered to other successful members of the i Sokula. Tuikilakila, before he succeeded to the title, would sometimes assert 'I am a god', believing he was 'something above a mere man.' [76] Another member of the i Sokula, Ralulu, had received the name Kaloubula, Living God, long before he was installed Tui Cakau.

Paramounts in Fiji were considered so sacred that they imparted a degree of sacredness, which was dangerous to lower-ranking persons, to whatever they might wear or touch. Thus any contact with things touched by the Tui Cakau, or any contact with the Tui Cakau himself, could lead to illness. In Cakaudrove there was a belief that such contamination would result in a skin disease similar to leprosy

72. Fiji and the Fijians, I, 223.
73. Hunt, Private Journal, I, 7 September 1840, 187-88, Hunt also agreed with the above assessment by Williams.
74. Williams, Annotated copy of Fiji and the Fijians, I, opposite 39.
75. Fiji and the Fijians, I, 26. The other two were the Ratu Mai Verata and the Roko Tui Dreketi of Rewa.
76. Hazlewood, quoted in Erskine, Journal of a cruise, 247.

(Kovi). As in other parts of Fiji, the contamination may also have manifested itself in swelling of the parts of the body which had made this contact. A possible result was death. A cure could be effected if the Tui Cakau touched the affected area of the body.

In the 1840s a subordinate was ordered to move a European chair on which Yavala, the Tui Cakau, usually sat. The man first covered his hands with green leaves and lifted the chair above his head, thus elevating it to a position of pre-eminence in relation to himself, a person's head being considered the most important part of the body.[77] The possibility of contamination was further reduced by the task being carried out in the shortest time possible, the man running off at full speed as if in doing so lay his only chance of completing the journey alive.[78]

The same Tui Cakau took advantage of the temporary residence of a European beachcomber who was allotted the task of carrying some of Yavala's possessions. When the European carried the chair on to a canoe, he found that the people cleared a way through the crowd 'lest by accident any should be touched by the chair'. He also had care of the Tui Cakau's two pet birds, a teri and a bush fowl, which were dangerous to lower-ranking Fijians as well. Once, when the bush fowl was forgotten, attendants of the Tui Cakau were sent back to fetch it. The man who carried the bird from the canoe covered his hands with masi to prevent his skin coming into contact with the bird.[79] Yavala also used to clothe this same beachcomber in his chiefly dress, sending the European to throw the train over any article of food which

77. The same system of beliefs makes it bad-mannered to reach over a person's head or to walk about when a person of higher rank is seated.

78. Williams, Fiji and the Fijians, I, 24-25.

he might see. The food, which had now become too dangerous for their own consumption, would be presented to the Tui Cakau immediately.[80]

Another anecdote, which concerns Golea the eighth Tui Cakau, has been recorded. Once, while Golea was crossing the Somosomo Strait between Taumani and Vanua Levu, the canoe in which he was travelling capsized. Strong currents and wind made swimming towards the shore difficult, and even more difficult for Golea who was hampered by an arm which had been injured in 1862. Yet it was claimed that none of his subordinates could help him because they were not allowed to touch him. It was left to a European youth, who was on board a small cutter, to secure a line around Golea in order to get him on deck.[81]

The Tui Cakau was not able to touch his own food but was fed by his wives. His children and their nurses were not supposed to either,[82] but this prohibition on the children would appear to have been relaxed as they grew older. There is no mention, for example, of Tuikilakila the son of Yavala being fed by others although there is a description of the missionaries eating with him.[83] Mai Nanukurua, also, could not touch his food. The matanivanua responsible for the grooming of the Tui Cakau, Mai Nanukurua was able

79. 'Jackson's Narrative' in Erskine, Journal of a cruise, 419. I am grateful to Fergus Clunie, Director of the Fiji Museum, who identified the 'bird with a red beak' as a teri or swamp hen and the 'cock' as a toa ni veikau, bush Towl the ancestors of domestic fowl and which are very common in the Taveuni bush.
80. 'Jackson's Narrative', 422. Williams confirms this habit, see his Miscellaneous notes, I, 3.
81. E. J. Turpin, Programme of Anecdotes, Narratives & Legends of Fiji in Diary and Narrative of Edwin James Turpin 1870-1894, 106.
82. Halmea, Journal, II, 10-13 June 1840, 25; Jaggard, Journal, 17 August 1839.
83. Williams to his father, 16 May 1844 in AWRMS, Fiji letters 1835-1903.

to touch both his turaga and his possessions without ill effect.[84]

THE sacredness of the Tui Cakau and other members of the i Sokula was derived from their bridging position between the two worlds, temporal and spiritual, both of which were perceived to exist by Fijians. The ability of turaga to communicate successfully with their kalou vu and other kalou, attested to by their temporal success, accords them their sacredness. They are in a position of liminality between the two worlds, participating in both and belonging properly to neither.[85]

Events concerning an accession to the title of Tui Cakau and the approaching death of an incumbent were inextricably bound up with the temporal welfare of Cakaudrove. A Tui Cakau underwent one private and two public installation ceremonies.[86] The first was private. When it was decided who was to become the next Tui Cakau, and the position had been accepted, the chosen member of the i Sokula was installed with the title Masi 'Aeu'aeu.[87] This was done by his drinking the first bowl of yagona (kava), after which members of the Mataikoro, who had lost their position of leadership of Cakaudrove to the i Sokula, tied the vesa i sole mana ni vanua (literally, the offering which is imbued with the sacredness of the land), on his upper right arm.[88]

84. Hocart, Northern states, 88.

85. Leach, Culture and communication: the logic by which symbols are connected (Cambridge 1976), 81-82.

86. Information for the installations of the Tui Cakau comes from indigenous informants and Hocart, Northern states, 93-96.

87. 'Aeu is the generic name for tree in the Cakaudrove dialect. It is kau in Bauan. For a theory on the significance of the title Masi see Sahlins, 'The stranger-king', 117-19.

This was a piece of black masi. The tying of the masi scarf on the arm was repeated in the public installation ceremony. Its express purpose was to give the Tui Cakau the mana of the land which had been possessed, previously, by the Mataikoro. After this private installation, the first public ceremony was arranged. At this the people could see who had been installed Masi 'Acu'acu, by observing who drank the first bowl of yaqona.

There may have been a substantial time gap between the first and second public ceremonies. Several years could elapse until the second, when the Tui Cakau was formally installed.[89] Ralulu the fifth Tui Cakau, for example, was recognized as Yavala's successor in September 1845 but it was not until May 1847 that he was formally installed as Tui Cakau.[90] As well as allowing the considerable preparations for the ceremony to be made, this interval would also have given time for a decision to be made on the suitability of the designated head. If Cakaudrove prospered materially and politically under his headship, his fitness for the position would be proved. If he had not proved himself sufficiently effective, then it is possible his confirmation as head, by his installation as Tui Cakau, could be withheld. If his installation went ahead, prayers for the continued prosperity of Cakaudrove would be made during the mixing and straining

88. I Sole is also a term which is used for a presentation or offering made during a funeral. It is synonymous with i reguregu, when an offering is made and the corpse may be kissed. The parallels between these two rites of passage are obvious. Hocart noted that all Fijian rites of passage (and some other rituals) followed the same formula: communion, investiture or unction followed by a period of quiescence, usually four days, then bathing and a feast. See Northern states, 53. For a structural analysis of the installation ceremony of another paramount, see Sahlins, 'The stranger-king'.

89. Williams, Fiji and the Fijians, I, 24.

90. Journal of Thomas Williams, II, 321, 394.

of the installation yaqona: they asked that the i Sokula be allowed to live, the agricultural fertility of the land and the sea catch be generous, the land be kalougata, blessed or prosperous.

At this second public ceremony, the bilo ni vanua (cup of the land) was presented to the designated Tui Cakau three times. Each time it was offered to him the turaga announced that if anyone thought he should not be installed as Tui Cakau they should take the bilo. Any of those present might try to take and break the bilo if they did not want him to be the Tui Cakau. After each of the three presentations, when nobody had shown disapproval, the assembled people promised the Tui Cakau that, if he drank the installation cup of yaqona, they would carry out all his commands to ensure that Cakaudrove was prosperous while he held the title. After the bilo ni vanua was finally accepted by the Tui Cakau, then it was the task of Mai Mataikoro, the head of the Mataikoro people, to tie the vesa i sole mana ni vanua, on the Tui Cakau's arm.

At the final installation of Ralulu in May 1847, the tying on of the masi was performed by two priests given the names of Na Savasava and Korai Ruki (?Koroiruve). The two men approached with a new i gala or head-dress, which they unfolded slowly, each holding a side and standing so that the lighter end would be wafted towards the Tui Cakau. Then they advanced slowly towards the Tui Cakau, at the same time giving him advice. They told him, for example, not to rule despotically or be lazy in his duties. The masi was then tied on his arm, during which they said it was the task of the turaga to sit and receive presents and urged the people to give generously. After that the two priests, with several old men, walked four times round in a circle with their hands clasped, their eyes looking up, and their

noses twitching as if they were smelling for something. Then they seated themselves as the people clapped, until the person in charge of the ceremony stopped them. Suddenly, the priests and the old men turned, stopping for a few moments with their backs and sides towards the Tui Cakau.[91]

After this final installation ceremony, the Tui Cakau's role was to continue promoting the welfare of Cakaudrove. If Cakaudrove's prestige declined, if he could not maintain his territories, or if droughts, crop failures, or epidemics afflicted the land, these events would be interpreted as signs that the ancestor-gods had withdrawn their support from him. The implication was that he was no longer fit to head Cakaudrove.[92]

A failing in the health of a Tui Cakau would be seen as a sign that his powers of efficacy were failing as well; the support of the ancestor-gods was being withdrawn. The Wesleyan missionaries at Somosomo were told it was not the custom to allow a Tui Cakau, if he was ill or very old, to die a natural death but that it was customary for the eldest son to kill his father. The people cleared away the rubbish from near his house and weeded the ground in front of it. Once these tasks were completed, the declining Tui Cakau and his son went to bathe together. At an opportune moment, the Tui Cakau was clubbed by his son. Later the missionaries were informed that the custom applied to the Tui Vuna (head of the Vuna people in southern Taveuni and subordinate to the Tui Cakau) alone, and not the Tui

91. Williams quoted in Mary D. Wallis, Life in Feejee, or five years among the cannibals (Reprint, New Jersey 1967), 280-81.

92. Hocart recorded that, in Vanua Levu, a turaga would abdicate when the crops failed. Ideally, the high chief of Cakaudrove was not supposed to retire until his death. See his Northern states, 20, 35-36.

Cakau. Their denial may have been to divert the disapproval of the missionaries.[93] In 1835, some years before the missionaries began their station at Somosomo, a European attached to a trading vessel had also been told that the Tui Cakau were not allowed to die a natural death.[94]

Very few people at Somosomo died normally anyway. During the first twelve months of the missionaries' residence at Somosomo, they claimed they had known only one case of a natural death.[95] Fijians considered a person was dead when the soul had left the body, even though it might still be functioning as normal. Once people became ill and seemed unlikely to recover, they would be either strangled or buried alive. The missionaries believed they were killed prematurely in order to avoid the burden of caring for the sick.[96] Yet the natural death of a Tui Cakau appears to have been particularly necessary to avoid; if a Tui Cakau did die a natural death, a violent end was said to have been simulated. He was symbolically killed, by striking his forehead with a stone or by clubbing, to avoid the displeasure of the kalou. [97]

It was expected that the Tui Cakau would promote the welfare of the land through his relationship with Mai Natavasara. The Tui Cakau was responsible for the agricultural prosperity of the land. Even his

93. Williams, Fiji and the Fijians, I, 192; Williams, Miscellaneous notes, I, 2.
94. J.W. Osborn, Journal of a voyage in the Emerald, 202.
95. Holmes, Journal, II, 10 June 1840, 22.
96. W. Cross, Death and Burial of Chiefs in Fiji in Williams, Miscellaneous notes, I, 106.
97. Joseph Waterhouse, The king and people of Fiji: containing a life of Cakobau (London 1866), 414. The same ritual was said to apply to the body of the Rokovaka of Kadavu if he died of natural causes.

everyday activities reflected the importance of his role. A portion of all the food he ate was first presented to the ancestor-gods before he himself partook of his meal.[98]

The most important rite of the day was the yaqona ceremony which was performed early every morning. More ritual was said to accompany the drinking of the Tui Cakau's yaqona than elsewhere in Fiji.[99] No work could be done by the people of the Tui Cakau's village until the ritual of the first yaqona of the day was completed.[100] Furthermore, all the people residing in the village of the Tui Cakau became involved in the ceremony. If the Tui Cakau himself was absent, the ritual could not be fully carried out.[101] The early morning ritual would take place at sunrise. The principal matanivanua of the Tui Cakau, Mai Kavula, would stand in front of the Tui Cakau's house and shout 'yaqona' at the top of his voice. All people within hearing would then respond by screaming 'mama' (chew it). A beachcomber who repeatedly heard this screaming (kaila) described, about this unique custom, how the people of Somosomo would 'screech and halloo aloud from house to house, inside and outside, echoing and re-echoing all over the place, till at last it became -- to me at least -- perfectly disgusting.' [102]

98. Williams, Somosomo Quarterly Letters, Letter I:7 (25 March 1847), 10.

99. Williams, Fiji and the Fijians, I, 141.

100. If Europeans wished to be on good terms with the i Sokula, they would not work or make a noise until the ceremony was over. See C. Wilkes, Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition 1838-1842 (Philadelphia 1844), III, 167.

101. Lyth, The Great Yanqona or Kava King according to the Somosomo custom, dated 24 March 1842 in his Tongan and Feejean Reminiscences, I, 68.

102. W. Diaper, Cannibal Jack: the true autobiography of a white man in the South Seas (London 1928), 93.

The prayers were intrinsic, the most important part of the yaqona ceremony. In them the ancestor-gods, mentioned specifically by name, were asked to favour the land. The major prayer would be made by the mativanua Mai Kavula during the mixing of the infusion. Another was made while the cupbearer presented the first drink to the Tui Cakau. Two examples from invocations follow.

A loma vina'a a turaga a 'alou
 me siga mai na uca
 me cila mai na siga
 (the chiefly gods be gracious
 so that the rain will cease
 so that the sun will shine)

a loma vina'a a 'alou
 me lutu mada na to'alau
 (the chiefly gods be gracious
 so that the wind will come from the east)

Other prayers would ask for the health of the Tui Cakau or for the arrival of European vessels so the i Sokula could receive imported goods. The Tui Cakau would then pour a small quantity on to the floor, as an oblation to the ancestor-gods, before he drank the liquid. The end of the prayer, and the announcement that the chiefly yaqona had been drunk, was signalled by a shout which was taken up by the people around the house and throughout the village. The people were then free to go about their work for the day.[103] The supplicatory character of the ritual is also indicated by the action of the Tui Cakau after he had drunk his yaqona. The dregs were spat out, after which it was customary to make a wish (i vakacivo). A customary request of Yavala was -- oddly enough -- a luve ni yali, an

103. The sources for the yaqona ceremony of the Tui Cakau are as follows. Williams, Fiji and the Fijians, I, 141-45; Williams, The Great Yangona Ring according to the Somosomo Custom, dated 16 May 1846 in his Miscellaneous notes, I, 47-50; Lyth, The Great Yangona or Kava Ring according to the Somosomo custom, 61-62, 68; Diapea, Cannibal Jack, 93, 95; Wilkes, Narrative, III, 166-67.

orphan, that of his son Tuikilakila a uto, a heart (to eat).[104]

Another major ritual associated with the welfare of the land was the presentation of i sevu (first fruits) to the Tui Cakau. This usually took place at the end of January or the beginning of February.[105] When the new yam (uvi) harvest was ready, the first yams to be dug would be presented to the Tui Cakau as the representative of the ancestor-gods. After the future fertility of the yam crop had been ensured by this presentation, the prohibition from digging up and using the yams was then lifted.[106] I sevu might not necessarily take the form of yams. Other first fruits, such as lairo (land crabs) and gata (snakes) could be presented to the Tui Cakau at other times of the year by peoples subordinate to the Tui Cakau.

Because of their ancestor-gods' efficacy, the Fijians would ask them for favours or propitiate them when something was wrong. Specific requests for success (i soro), accompanied by food or property offerings (i sigana), could be addressed to the kalou. They could be asked to ensure good weather for a sea journey (ai soro ni noko e wai), for good weather (ai soro ni lagi me siga) or to ensure a profitable fishing expedition (ai soro ni qoli). Women might ask to be blessed with a child. No request was considered too trivial; one might even ask for one's hair to grow more quickly as Tuikilakila once did.[107]

104. Williams, Miscellaneous notes, I, 55; Lyth, The Great Yanqona or Kava Ring according to the Somosomo custom, 68.

105. See for example Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 27 January 1840 or 1 February 1841, 434, 596.

106. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 1 February 1841, 596; Williams, Miscellaneous notes, I, 13.

107. Nathaniel Sapani, Offerings to the gods in Lyth, Tongan and Feejean Reminiscences, II, 56-59.

In times of trouble, atonements (also referred to as i soro) were made to the kalou. A sickness could mean the propitiatory offering of food, or even of an amputated finger, as long as it was accompanied by a tabua (whale's tooth) or yaqona. In May 1842, when Tuikilakila was ill, an i soro was made 'to his gods'. It consisted of fowl and an 'abundance' of baked pigs and turtles. In September of the same year another i soro was made for the return of his good health. This was a cow, a rare and prestigious possession at that time.[108] The kalou were said to eat the soul of the presentations, while the humans would eat the body.[109]

Climatic disasters also warranted their own particular requests. On the occasion of a hurricane, for example, Tuikilakila acted promptly, in an effort to end it, by propitiating a kalou. As an act of atonement, he shaved his head. Then, as he could not cross the river to the temple of Mai Nukusemanu, his son Vakalolo performed the i soro. As the storm continued, Vakalolo formally presented a tabua to Mai Nukusemanu, asking for an end to the bad weather.[110] When Tuikilakila was visiting one of the missionaries in 1839 there was a 'fearful thunder storm'. R.B. Lyth was said to have 'preached on' this natural phenomenon. It may be presumed he stressed the creative and all-powerful nature of God. Used to placating his own kalou, Tuikilakila made Lyth promise that the missionaries would intercede with their own God so that he and his land (i.e. the people) 'might live'. [111]

108. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 17 May and 5 September 1842, 722, 746; Samani, Offerings to the gods, 36-57.

109. Feejeeans knowledge of God (Vewa Quarterly) in Williams, Miscellaneous notes, II, 80.

110. Lyth to Hunt, 23 March 1844 in Hunt, Eighteen letters to John and Hannah Hunt 1844-1868; Samani, Offerings to the gods, 58.

During periods of warfare, offerings were made to the ancestor-gods, especially Mai Natavasara. Both support and advice were required. Feasts would invariably be prepared and presented to the ancestor-gods to make them favourable towards their descendants. In August 1840, before excursions against Vuna, the i Sokula made two feasts at which Mai Natavasara and Mai Koroiruve were propitiated with large quantities of food.[112] The presentations were always large so as to impress the kalou with their generosity. In December of the same year, by which time the i Sokula were also at odds with Bau, the leading place of another and more influential matanitu, they held another feast for Mai Natavasara and Mai Koroiruve. An immense quantity of taro, at least fifty-six turtles, an abundance of native puddings, cooked fish, land crabs, and ripe bananas were first presented to these ancestor-gods before being redistributed.[113] In February 1844 another feast was presented which comprised a large quantity of yams, about thirty turtles, a quantity of yaqona, shellfish, and taro. One in June the following year included 3,000 taro, 2,000 puddings, and twenty to thirty turtles.[114]

Just before a proposed encounter with the enemy, the kalou vu, Mai Natavasara, would be consulted for his opinion on the outcome of the intended attack. The ceremony would begin early in the morning when the first participating warriors would assemble on the rara (the open ceremonial ground located by the bure kalou and the paramount's house). With the coconuts for presentation on their backs, the

111. Hunt, Private Journal, I, 30 December 1839, 107.

112. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 24 August 1840, 518; Lyth to General Secretaries, 18 December 1840 in WMSG, Letters from Feejee, II; Hunt, Private Journal, I, 24 August 1840, 182.

113. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 16 December 1840, 582.

114. Lyth, Journal 1842-1844, 24 February 1844, 168. Hazlewood, Day-book 1844-1846, 25 June 1845.

warriors commenced dancing. The main part of the ceremony began when the bete of Mai Natavasara, who was known by the same name as the kalou vu, the Tui Cakau and other major participants assembled in the bure kalou. The warriors then approached the temple, before which they danced. The dance completed, some of the warriors entered the building and laid their coconuts down in a heap before the Tui Cakau. All was quiet for a short time and then the Tui Cakau took the lead. Holding a tabua in one hand and a bunch of coconuts in the other, he made a prayer to the bete. He would normally apologize for the modesty of the offerings and ask the kalou vu to be benevolent and help them destroy their enemies. When the Tui Cakau finished the prayer, the bete rose and received the offerings. On some occasions the bete would become possessed by the kalou vu, when he would announce the reply. While possessed the bete would be in a 'kind of paroxysm of shaking and trembling...often attended with the priest's beating his feet or knees &c. in a violent way'. Otherwise the priest replied on behalf of the kalou vu, using the coconuts to divine answers, swinging them through the air, shaking them well and then letting them fly in all directions.[115]

Enemy killed during an encounter were not just eaten, but were made the subject of a religious ceremony. Events associated with the bakola (bodies intended to be eaten) were ritualized, from the time of the arrival of the body or bodies until their presentation to Mai Natavasara. The approach of the various warriors was signalled by their triumphant shouting and their beating of the canoe paddles on

115. Hunt, Private journal, I, 7 September 1840, 185-89; Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 31 August 1840, 519-21. In the ceremony described here, Mai Natavasara did not enter the priest because he had gone to Vuna to decoy some people outside the defences where they might be killed. The description of the priest when he was possessed by the god is to be found in Lyth, Tongan and Feejeean Reminiscences, I, 66.

the water. In response a special lali (drum) beat was sounded in the village where the women assembled to dance and sing their own meke (songs) reserved for such occasions. They greeted the warriors, who also sang, on the beach where the bakola were the subject of much obscene derision. Then the bakola were dragged to the bure kalou where they were ceremonially presented to Mai Natavasara.[116] Yavala said in 1840 that it was essential for the bakola to be presented to Mai Natavasara, who would eat the spirits of the cooked bodies. If they did not follow the ritual, Mai Natavasara would kill them.[117]

The residents of Somosomo were famous throughout Fiji for their considerable consumption of human flesh. They were said to have 'almost a passion' for it. They valued it so much that they were also said to keep it until it was putrescent when it would be washed and then eaten. A claim by the Somosomo people that they would salt it, in order to keep it fresh, has also been recorded. Members of the i Sokula considered this food was their particular, though not exclusive, prerogative. Priests and warriors also participated in the meals, the uneaten portions of the bakola being passed down to the other less prestigious members of the community. 'I believe that most of them eat it both Chiefs & people, old & young and even many of the women & children' wrote Lyth about Somosomo.[118]

116. For descriptions of the return of the warriors with bakola see, for example, Hunt, Private Journal, I, 14 September and 4 October 1840, 191-92, 198-99. The returning warriors sang a cibi ni valu (war song) while the women sang a dele. For examples sung at Somosomo in the 1840s see Williams, Miscellaneous notes, I, 68-69, 153 and Lyth, Tongan and Feejeean Reminiscences, I, 79.

117. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 29 July 1840, 496. See also Williams, Miscellaneous notes, I, 14.

118. Lyth, Journal 1842-1844, 21 February 1843, 54-55, 57; Lyth, Reminiscences 1851-1853, 94.

The traditional Fijian world view admitted the influence of the ancestor-gods into all aspects of people's lives. 'The people here certainly carry their religion into everything' wrote Lyth.[119] Yet special efforts designed to please the kalou were made only during times of stress. Maintenance of the bure kalou was often neglected until events necessitated an approach to the kalou. 'Ruined temples are rebuilt, some half-buried in weeds are brought to light, and new ones erected' wrote Williams.[120] The temples of the ancestor-gods associated with the i Sokula do not seem to have suffered from such drastic neglect, perhaps because the services of the kalou were frequently in demand. The territories of Cakaudrove often needed to be maintained in the face of opposition, for example. The bure kalou did lack consistent attention, however, and the climatic conditions would ensure normal deterioration of the building itself and unwanted growth around it. A visitor to Somosomo in June 1840 wrote that he never saw anyone near the temples which seemed neglected and forsaken.[121] All they required, however, was a general tidying up when the kalou needed to be approached.[122] If the i Sokula wished to make a particularly favourable impression on the kalou vu, they would build a new bure kalou. [123]

When turaga were away from the home village, model temples before which presentations could be made would be used.[124] If the circumstances warranted it, and the manpower was available, bure kalou

119. Lyth, Religion in his Tongan and Feejican Reminiscences, I, 49.

120. Fiji and the Fijians, I, 44.

121. Holmes, Journal, II, 10-13 June 1840, 24.

122. See for example Hunt, Private Journal, I, 7 September 1840, 186 when all the grass and rubbish were cleared away around the temples.

123. Williams, Fiji and the Fijians, I, 223.

of a normal scale would be built. In June 1846, preparations were being made at Somosomo to attack Natewa. When Cakobau and his supporters arrived from Bau to help in the offensive, they built a bure kalou, named Vatanitawake after the main temple at Bau, for Gagawalu who was the principal Bauan deity.[125]

THE mana of a turaga, and his relationship with effective kalou, could be used as a means of temporal control. The Tui Cakau could cause illness or bad fortune, a capacity which is reflected in the honorific which the Cakaudrove people use when addressing the Tui Cakau (and other higher-ranking turaga). It is va'aca, literally to cause evil. He could express his anger towards a wrong-doer in a harangue, and this verbal expression of his anger would alert the ancestor-gods, who would also consider themselves insulted and aggrieved. Or the ancestor-gods themselves might have been witness to the transgression. Once the kalou were aware of the grievance, they could punish the offender or offenders. Thus the i Sokula feared their gods, especially Mai Natavavara, 'a dreadful eater of men'. [126] Even the Wesleyan missionaries at Somosomo were not exempt from his displeasure. In 1841, Tuikilakila considered their kalou vu had

124. J. Calvert, the first note-book labelled Missions, 53. A.R. Tippet considered the models were kept inside the true bure kalou and were the actual dwelling place of the deity, or the structure entered by the god for communication with the priest and for receiving offerings. See Tippet, Fijian material culture: a study of cultural context, function, and change (Honolulu 1968), 143, 167.

125. Hazlewood, Day-book 1844-1846, 24 June 1846; Lyth, Reminiscences and Customs, 12.

126. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 15 November 1841, 676-77.

caused John Hunt's illness.[127] Offenders themselves need not have suffered the consequences of their actions, a relative perhaps receiving the misfortune instead. Consequences might be long term, for a person's descendants could suffer for generations because of one man's transgression. The descendants of one of the i Sokula who was involved in the murder of Tuikilakila in 1854, for example, are said to suffer from financial misfortune today because of his wrong-doing. Thus the disease and misfortune sanction would have deterred individuals from committing socially disapproved acts, acts which might have included rebellion against the established hierarchy.

The sociopolitical order was, and still is, identified with a moral order in which health and prosperity depended on virtue: to challenge the established order and customary conduct was to challenge the religious basis of the society, a society whose well-being depended on the pleasure of the ancestor-gods. If supernatural sanctions were insufficient deterrent, supernatural assistance was to be feared in another way. The high rank of the Tui Cakau was evidence of the sacred efficacy of the Tui Cakau and his ancestor-gods. Any rebellion by those of lower ranks against his rule would be discouraged on the grounds that the i Sokula's more powerful ancestor-gods would assist them to win the battles which could take place. Thus the religion was a conservative force, sustaining the political power balance. The supernatural powers imputed to the Tui Cakau, and the supportive role played by the ancestor-gods, sanctioned and safeguarded his exalted position.

127. Letter from Lyth, 22 November 1841 in Lyth, Letters to his family 1829-1856.

The ideology of chieftainship in eastern Fiji justified the continued leadership of particular families. Religious beliefs upheld the sociopolitical hierarchy of the society and so helped to maintain the political system. Title-holders were revered because of their privileged access to non-temporal power; the Tui Cakau's capacity to bring prosperity to Cakaudrove warranted his hegemony. Thus power relationships were camouflaged by religious implications of an established order. Rank, and hence authority, depended on descent from godlike ancestors who continued to influence the power balance. 'The stability and continuity of the regime are made possible through a complex system of symbolism that gives it legitimacy by representing it ultimately as a 'natural' part of the celestial order.' [128]

CHAPTER TWO

THE ORIGINS OF THE I SOKULA: MYTH VERSUS REALITY

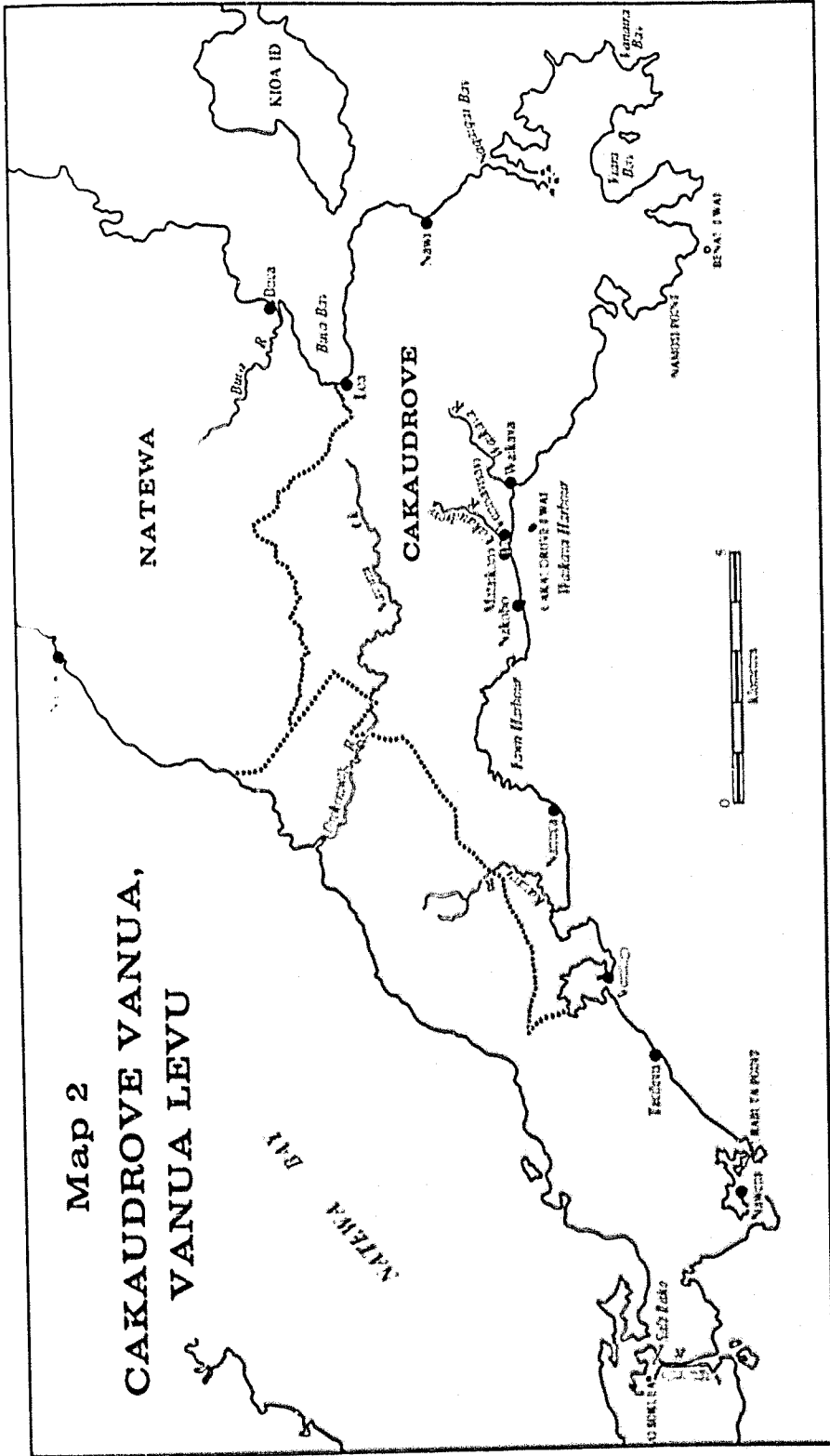
In the history of all celebrated individuals there is a fabulous era. A descent from the gods occupies the first pages of a chiefs or a hero's biography. Terrestrial honours may satisfy some of the chiefs but only a few.[1]

The i Sokula are not only descended from gods, their deified ancestors; their origins are also, perhaps deliberately so, surrounded in mystery. In some traditions the i Sokula are associated with the supernatural, in others their ancestors are unknown. It is possible the mysterious explanations served a political function by disguising the reality of leadership and power. For the i Sokula came to prominence, not because of their superior birth, but because of their superior power. Their origins can be deduced from traditions which are remembered by the peoples of Cakaudrove, and it is apparent they fought and intrigued their way to the headship of Cakaudrove.

THE Tui Cakau's matanivanua people, in the Kavula division, possess a tradition which explains the installation of Rokevu, also known as Bati roga, as the first Tui Cakau. The tradition, which has mythical elements, will be termed a myth. It establishes Rokevu as a descendant, in the male line, of the previous power-holders in

1. Williams, Annotated copy of Fiji and the Fijians, I, following 214.

Map 2
CAKAUDROVE VANUA,
VANUA LEVU



Cakaudrove. Thus it justifies the i Sokula's paramouncy in Cakaudrove, asserting they are not descended from a male outsider.

The myth is as follows.

A division of the Cakaudrove people lived on the Cakaudrove River. Their turaga inhabited Cakaudrove-i-wai (Cakaudrove-in-the-sea), a small island situated near by. One of the turaga's wives, a lady of Lekutulevu, gave birth to twin boys. One was normal while the other was distinguished by a dorsal fin, and had a skin which was smooth and hairless, that is he was like a shark. The matanivanua informed his turaga, who decided they were not human and should be abandoned.

The matanivanua returned to the mainland where he informed the people, who grieved but had to obey the command of their head. The carpenters carved a large wooden bowl which was lined with mats and magi, the twins were placed in it and painted with rerega (a yellow-orange powder used during life-crisis ceremonies). Then the bowl was set adrift. As it floated out to sea, the people on the shore saw the shark twin slip into the water, and follow the floating bowl.

The shark followed the bowl everywhere it drifted until one high tide it became stranded inside a reef. The shark could only swim out to sea and wait outside the reef for the next tide. When the women of Sinu village came down to the shore to fish, one saw something glinting in the sun. Then she cried 'Noqu soqu kulai', 'My marvellous object which has drifted [here]!' [From this exclamation the name of the i Sokula is supposed to have been derived.] As she was rejoicing over her find, the turaga Mai Kavula arrived and told the woman to give him the child so he could bring him up.

After about ten years the child, known only as Gone (Child), had grown into a boy who was large for his age. At this time the Cakaudrove people were preparing to install their head. Mai Kavula and Gone went to the ceremony, but before they left Mai Kavula instructed the boy to drink the installation cup of yagona if he called out the boy's name. Though the new head had already been chosen and was prepared to accept the installation cup, Mai Kavula called out the yagona was for the boy, who promptly drank it. The head designate accepted the arrogation of his position, although he demanded his group retain the outward signs of leadership. Thus the first Tui Cakau was installed.

The shark had eventually given up waiting for his twin brother and swam away. He followed round the coast of Dua and then along Macusta, inside Natewa Bay and around Kubulau Point. When he was near Kioa, a storm forced him to take refuge within a hollow tree trunk on this island. Some gonedau, fisher people, also sheltered on the island.

When the storm abated, the gonedau used the tree trunk, in which the shark was concealed, to move their canoe over the

build up of sand. When the canoe (waqa) was placed on top, it began to crush the back (daku) of the shark who called out to be allowed to live. The people assented when the shark promised he would be their god who would bring them success in warfare; he became known as Dakuwaqa after the way in which they had acquired his services. As the gonedau continued their journey, Dakuwaqa followed them. They anchored their canoe at Namosi and then walked to the capital village. There the head of Cakaudrove decided he would accept their allegiance if they could kill the head at Navodo. That same night they successfully attacked Navodo, and killed the turaga. So they were given land and an island which they named Benau, the name by which they also became known. The island, Benau-i-wai, became the home of Dakuwaqa.[2]

This myth stresses the role played by a leading ancestor of the Kavula group, and legitimizes their present position as principal matanivanua of the Tui Cakau. Another tradition, possessed by the Matikoro who lost their headship to the i Sokula, asserts the child was brought up by Mai Nanukurua, another matanivanua of the Tui Cakau, who was the Tui Cakau's body servant. Alternatively, the Navadra people, who originally occupied Sinu and were known by this name, claim the Tui Sinu brought up the child.

The Navadra people have a different myth which accounts for the origin of the i Sokula. A Tui Cakaudrove once married a lady of Kadavu who had the form of a droce, or jelly-fish. She gave birth to twins, dadakulaci of both sexes. The dadakulaci is a water-snake, banded black and white, which can live in the two elements of sea and land.[3] The male child, after being lost to his father's people, was brought up by the Tui Sinu. Later he became the first Tui Cakau.

2. This myth belongs to the lineage of the matanivanua Mai Kavula.

3. I am grateful to Fergus Clunie, Director of the Fiji Museum, and Paul Geraghty of the Fijian Dictionary Project for information on droce and dadakulaci.

Neither this myth, nor others, explicitly associate the first Tui Cakau with Dakuwaqa. Other traditions often state the first Tui Cakau was seen coming round the reef, sometimes at the time the installation ceremony was being held, sometimes at the time he was very young. There is, therefore, a definite association of the first Tui Cakau (King of the Reef) with this coral formation. When a killing was made in battle, it was the custom to give a special war cry (i vakacaucau ni ravu). The different cries often followed a similar formula: koto mai (lie at) and then the yavutu (original settlement site) of the people concerned.[4] The cry of the i Sokula was koto mai Yavuuvi, the name of the reef off Naweni. Naweni is only a few miles to the east of the entrance to Salt Lake, on whose shores the village of Sinu was once located. It is likely, therefore, that Yavuuvi is the reef on which the bowl is meant to have become stranded.

Alternatively, other versions of the origin tradition claim the bowl became stranded at different locations near Sinu. Salt Lake is not completely enclosed by land; it is a tidal lake fed through a narrow river. Some people assert the bowl was stranded on a rock, Vatu ni Sokula (Rock of the i Sokula), which was located in the river, and which was uncovered at low tide. Small red sharks, i sokula, are said to swim around it. Other informants claim it was a small island, Ai Sokula, located on the west side of the lake. The island is not natural. It is manmade, from lumps of coral taken from a nearby reef, and is said to have been used as a retreat in times of war. There are also signs of habitation (pottery and tools), so it may once have been permanently occupied.[5]

1. Hocart, The northern states of Fiji (London 1952), 55.

2. FM, Archaeological files, site Val 13/1.

One other location, Qara ni Sokula (Cave of the i Sokula), is associated with the i Sokula. This is a sea cave at Naicobocobo Point, western Vanua Levu, which is said to be a haunt of Dakuwaqa.[6] This cave was also said to abound with young sharks.[7] The shark god Dakuwaqa is often associated with similar locations -- deep volcanic holes, for example, of which there are at least four on Vanua Levu. Inside them can be seen human bones, the remains of people supposedly killed by sharks or, it has been hazarded, the remains of earlier sacrifices. It is believed that underground passages connect them with the sea. One is located at Benau.[8] This may be a reference to Qara ni Kanaca (Cave of Evil Eating), a cave under the small island of Benau. It has an entrance which is revealed at low tide, and Dakuwaqa's bure kalou is said to have been built over this hole.[9]

All traditions, which account for the presence of the i Sokula in Cakaudrove, have one common feature: they all contain an element of the mysterious. When the traditions relate supernatural occurrences, the parentage of the first Tui Cakau is explicit. When supernatural events do not occur, the mysteriousness applies to the first Tui Cakau's parentage. As successful members of the i Sokula, especially the Tui Cakau, were once regarded as gods, the attachment of such mysteriousness to the i Sokula is fitting.

6. G. Quain described the cave as a submarine grotto off Naicobocobo. See his The flight of the chiefs: epic poetry of Fiji (New York 1942), 233.
7. Lyth, Somosomo in his Notes on Islands, 3b.
8. Quain, Flight of the chiefs, 164n, 234.
9. C. Wall, 'Dakuwaqa', Transactions of the Fijian Society for 1917, 41.

THE origin traditions of the first Tui Cakau emphasize the title-holder's bridging or liminal position between the temporal and sacred realms. As already established, a Tui Cakau mediates between the living and their gods, deified ancestors of the lineage, that is Tui Cakau and other successful i Sokula. In some versions, the first Tui Cakau has a brother who is abnormal, a shark. Though he himself was normal, he participated in his brother's abnormality because of their shared birth. Being more human than his brother, he represents a more cultural point on a continuum drawn between the two extremes of culture and nature. Nature is represented by the shark brother although he, too, has associations with the cultural. Thus both cannot represent the extremes, the normal, for both are neither one nor the other; they are mediators themselves.

In these origin traditions, the land is associated with a cultural state, the sea with the natural. Islets, reefs, rocks and sea caves represent mediating positions between the two opposing elements of land and sea, and hence the association of the first Tui Cakau, a mediator himself, with these locations. The title Tui Cakau, King of the Reef, reflects the importance of the liminal position of the paramounts of Cakaudrove. In the first myth given above, the father of the original Tui Cakau is himself a mediator between the two elements because he lives on the small island of Cakaudrove-i-wai. As such, however, he also keeps his distance from the land people. He is not closely linked with them; he is apart, different. This version's message may be that he is really an outsider who has chosen to live in Cakaudrove.

In truth, the father of the first Tui Cakau is an immigrant, the stranger-king of Georges Dumezil and Marshall Sahlins.[10] The original Tui Cakau's father is from outside, a representative of the sea, while his mother is a representative of the land (an i taukei). The son is, therefore, a mediating figure between the two. The woman, associated with the i taukei rulers of the land, gives legitimacy to her child, the outsider's son who displaces the i taukei rulers. Sahlins, following Hocart, has noted the dual division of land and sea, the i taukei who came to be ruled by the immigrant turaga, later arrivals from the sea. Thus the following binary oppositions are arrived at

land : sea :: indigenous : foreign

inferior : superior :: female : male

Each variant myth or tradition of origin is 'a temporal rendition of these basic distinctions, the setting of a binary logic to time, to produce it as a narrative'.[11]

The variant, which identifies the mother as a jelly-fish and the father as the Tui Cakaudrove, inverts the dichotomy of male and female.[12] Yet the dual division is still present. The jelly-fish, an outsider, is associated not only with the sea, but also with the reef. Another variant of the myth claims her husband kept her in a pool on the reef, where he would visit her. Significantly, she gave birth to two dadakulaci, sea-snakes which are said to be prolific on

10. Sahlins, 'The stranger-king, Dumezil among the Fijians', JPH, XVI (1981), 107-32.

11. Sahlins, Culture and practical reason (Chicago 1976), 24-26.

12. Thus, as the female is the immigrant in this myth, so the twin who does not become the first Tui Cakau is a female.

the island of Cakaudrove-i-wai. This type of sea-snake can live in both the elements of sea and land, and thus dadakulaci are liminal characters themselves. The kalou vu of the i taukei Cakaudrove people, Mai Nukusemanu, can take the form of a dadakulaci. [13] Thus, in this instance, the first Tui Cakau is more closely associated with the i taukei; after all, in this myth he is a descendant of the i taukei ruler in the male line. To say he was a dadakulaci is to legitimize the suzerainty of the i Sokula. The jelly-fish is a nebulous and seemingly pliable organism, with no bone structure. As in other Polynesian cultures, it may be a metaphor for uncertain parentage. [14] If parentage is ever uncertain, in normal circumstances it is the father who is unknown. Thus it can be argued that this myth acknowledges the mystery of the i Sokula's origins.

The presence of twins in some of the traditions is significant. Twins represent another dichotomy, the division of leadership roles. In Fiji there is a basic opposition between the sacred head and the profane leader. Thus at Bau, there existed a dichotomy between the Roko Tui Bau, the sacred ruler, and the Vunivalu, the temporal ruler. The sau or sacred head may become relegated to the position of second in importance: the Roko Tui Bau, for example, was eclipsed by the Vunivalu. In other cases the sacred and the profane came to be combined in the same person. This is so in the case of the Tui Vuna of southern Taveuni who holds the two titles of Tui Vuna and Sau concurrently. In Cakaudrove, a different situation arose. The sonaka of the Tui Cakau (sacred head) came to be enforced by the head of the Nakerovou naturaga who was the sauveu (new sau), a member of the i Sokula and heir elect. [15] Thus different permutations of the

13. Wall, 'Bakawaga', 41.

14. Peig. opp., Hank Briceosen.

theme have been made possible because of historical events.

Thus the *i Sokula* held the two roles of sacred and profane heads, a role division which is reflected by the twins who each represented, relative to each other, the sacred and the profane. So, too, did the Tui Cakau embody both these characteristics. He moved from being the sauvou to Tui Cakau, yet he still could not distance himself completely from mundane matters of state. Even when Tui Cakau, he was involved in the secular as well as his important sacred duties. Just as the twins partook of each other's characteristic, so too did the Tui Cakau represent both the sacred and the profane. The dichotomy of one person having the characteristics of a god as well as a human being is resolved in the metaphor of the twins. The Tui Cakau was, therefore, considered a god and worshipped, while the sauvou, though also a god, was not. Yet both were descendants of the original Tui Cakau. As such, members of the *i Sokula* did not conform to the norms of society, and so their chieflike behaviour was justified.[16]

In Polynesian cultures, the shark represents power. To the Hawaiians, 'a chief is a shark that travels on land'.[17] Dakuwaqa, whose abnormally large shark form was said to have a red back, and a startlingly white belly which might be tattooed, is closely associated with the *i Sokula*. [18] After a newly installed Tui Cakau

16. For a lengthier discussion of this position, see below, 134-35.

17. Sahlins writes that the ruler is 'above society'. There is an affinity between power and nature which means a paramount need to conform to conformity with the rules, while his subjects do. See his 'The stranger-king', 110, 111.

18. Sahlins, 'The stranger-king', 112.

has been confined indoors for four nights (na tonitoni bogi va), he ceremonially bathes in the sea. Dakuwaqa is supposed to come and brush his body against the new Tui Cakau. Another form Dakuwaqa can take is the dadakulaci. [19] Since the dadakulaci is the waqawaqa (embodiment) of Mai Nukusemanu, the kalou vu of the i taukei Cakaudrove, this suggests Dakuwaqa may previously have been associated with the rulers prior to the i Sokula. The i Sokula's association with Dakuwaqa bestowed, and still continues to bestow, benefits on the Tui Cakau, and consequently on the people under his leadership. Dakuwaqa protects the Tui Cakau, ensures his success and thus bestows mana on him. Today people in Cakaudrove assert the paramouncy of the Tui Cakau, and the prestige of Cakaudrove were owing to the Tui Cakau's association with Dakuwaqa. But Dakuwaqa is not, as popularly believed, the i Sokula's kalou vu, nor the kalou vu's embodiment. This shark god is the kalou ni valu, war god, of the Benau people who are subject to the Tui Cakau. Their task was to provide the bakola (human bodies) which the i Sokula required for customary ceremonies. Today they live at Somosomo with their head, the Tui Be who was the bete of Dakuwaqa.

There are several accounts which give the provenance of the kai (people of) Benau. The Kavula tradition asserts they were gonedau from Beqa who had left their island after becoming offended. Other people at Beqa had eaten the vakalolo delicacy (a pudding sweetened with coconut), which was customarily presented to the gonedau. One day, when they were returning from a voyage, they had seen the leaf-wrappings of vakalolo floating in the sea. So they had

[19. Hall, 'Dakuwaqa', 41; A. Capell and Lester, 'Local divisions and movements in Fiji', II, Oceania, XII (1941), 32.

[20. Hall, 'Dakuwaqa', 41.

emigrated. Before moving to serve the Tui Cakau, they had lived with the Vunivalu of Natewa, and had named their land Beqalevu (Big Beqa) after their homeland.[20] An origin from Beqa is supported by the close association of the Beqa people with the kai Benau. If the head of Beqa visits Somosomo, he goes first to the house of the Tui Be.

Another tradition records the kai Benau came from Soso, Bau where their task had been to fish for men, that is they were gonedau ni tanita. There was a quarrel because of a woman, and then Ulalou led them away. They stopped at Koro Island for a short while. Then they went to live at Vusasivo in Natewa.

A third version, current among the Benau people today, reconciles the above two traditions. The kai Benau were originally from Beqa, where they were the gonedau of the Tui Sawau at Rukua. The Tui Sawau would tell his gonedau to fish for him, and when they returned he would have magiti ready for them. But once the Tui Sawau did not fulfill his obligation, so the dissatisfied gonedau left to search for a land where they would be treated better. First they went to Kaba (on the Rewa River, eastern Viti Levu), where they anchored for a short while. From there they proceeded to Bau, where they landed at Vukasivo and settled. A new generation was born there, but the Beqa people decided to look for somewhere else. They sailed to windward, reached Bau, and then sailed along the Macuata coast to Mualudu, Udu Point. They rounded the point and sailed into Natewa Bay (Nawamate), where they anchored off Vusasivo. They were given Magiti, a small island, to live on but, because it was small and poor, they chose to live on the mainland at Vusasivo.

[20] This land may be identified with the island of the same name. It is situated close to Vukasivo, to the right of Natewa village.

From Natewa, the Beqa people moved to Cakaudrove. They had seen people anchor their canoes at a point of land, Naicolacola between Vusasio and Natewa. Then the people would carry (cola) magiti over the hills to the land on the other side of the peninsula. This was a shortcut, a walk which took only a few hours, rather than the longer and often rough journey around Kubulau Point. The kai Beqa concluded an important turaga must live on the other side of the peninsula, and decided to go and see for themselves. They did not follow the overland route but sailed in their canoe. As it rounded Kubulau Point, its progress was hindered by the wind known as hogiwalu (eight nights) which blew against it, and the heavy rain. So the Beqa people sheltered at Kioa, where they met Dakuwaqa who became their war god.

Dakuwaqa is also associated with Natewa. One tradition claims he was the aborted child of a Natewan turaga. The foetus was buried in a shallow grave on the bank of a creek but, when it was washed downstream by a flood, it became the shark god.[21] One of the heads of Natewa, the Vunivalu, was named Dakuwaqa. He was the son of Saurara, an immigrant ancestor, who is linked with Mai Nabavara.[22] The Buca River, on the border of the immediate Cakaudrove area and Natewa, is also associated with Dakuwaqa. In the myth of the Kavula matanivanua, the lady who gave birth to the twins was from Lekutulevu, a land situated up the Buca River. It may be the creek on whose bank the foetus is said to have been buried. The local people, the kai Kama, talk of a cave on the river. It is said to have contained stones which were the seats of Dakuwaqa who frequented it. These, however, had disappeared during a flood.

21. Hall, 'Dakuwaqa', 40-41.

22. Hoart, Northern states, 129. Saurara was also known as Mai Nabare. He is said to have come from Bau. An embodiment of Mai Nabare was the kua.

DESPITE myths which contend the i Sokula are patrilineal descendants of prior rulers of Cakaudrove, the more prosaic accounts assume their vu, founding-ancestor, was an outsider. Some consider the i Sokula came from Totoya in the Yasayasa Moala, others that they came from the island of Moala itself. One tradition asserts the first Tui Cakau was Waqanawanawa. His canoe arrived opposite the village of the head of Cakaudrove. The head sent messengers out to the canoe to interview the visitors. But they could not approach the canoe closely, because the face of the strangers' leader shone as if it were alight. This may indeed be a reference to his face, which could have been painted red as was common among men of high rank, or it may merely be a reference to the general magnificence of the stranger's appearance. When the turaga on shore heard, he ordered the newcomer be installed head of Cakaudrove. He was installed on the reef, which was covered with coils of vines, at low tide.[23]

This frequent association of the i Sokula with Moala may be because Mai Natavasara, the kalou vu of the i Sokula, is identified with Kubuavanua, the kalou vu of Moala. Kubuavanua is known in Lakeba as well.[24] The i Sokula are also linked with Kabara Island, situated to the east of the Yasayasa Moala. Waqanawanawa (also known as Nawaqivanua), the son of Daunisai, is said to have led his people to Cakaudrove, and after his death to have become incarnate in the

23. Information from Paul Geraghty, who was told the tradition by Eilepi Saqarere, 24 January 1979. I also heard, in the immediate Cakaudrove area, the tradition that the first Tui Cakau had been installed on coils (coni) of pandanus rope (dali). This was why there was a village called Daliconi on Vanua Bilavu in northern Lau. The Naturuku people of Daliconi themselves possess a tradition that their village was so named because the seat, on which their first head was installed, had been covered with dali.

24. Smart, Lau Islands, Fiji (Honolulu 1929), 193, 221; Williams, Miscellaneous notes chiefly concerning Feejee & Feejeans, I, 162.

shark god Dakuwaqa.[25]

It has also been argued that the i Sokula came from further to windward, that they are descendants of Tongans who arrived by canoe, or as castaways after their canoe was wrecked. These traditions are discussed later, in the context of the Tongan involvement in Cakaudrove. But other evidence makes another provenance for the i Sokula more likely than an origin from Tonga, or the Yasayasa Moala.

WHEN the political situation in which the i Sokula came to prominence is examined, the evidence points to an origin from the west, not from windward. The i Sokula came to Cakaudrove in a colonizing drive, the main purpose of which was the maintenance of the suzerainty of Verata. Verata, located in Tailevu, eastern Viti Levu, was the most important power centre on this island prior to Bau. Oral traditions record the extension eastwards of Verata's power to Vanua Levu. It was achieved by the movement of people; much of Vanua Levu is said to have been colonized by Veratans or their followers from subject lands on Viti Levu. Many of the sociopolitical groups (officially termed yavusa) in Cakaudrove acknowledge that their ancestors came to Vanua Levu under the leadership of Veratans or at the direction of those whose task it was to maintain and extend Verata's hegemony.

25. Capell and Lester, 'Local divisions and movements in Fiji', I, Oceania, XI (1941), 325. Dausisal is said to be the son of Lutunacobacoba who arrived in Fiji with Bagel in the Kacaitoni.

A Veratan tradition, which is supported by the statements of many of the groups concerned, records the migration to Vanua Levu of people from Verata.[26] Buatavatava Naulumatua, the eldest son of Roko Moutu the leader of Verata, was sent away from Verata by his father. He and his supporters reached the south coast of Vanua Levu, along which he left followers as the expedition sailed westwards towards Bua, where he himself settled at least temporarily at Setura.[27] At Nasavuavu, which local and Veratan traditions assert received its name from Buatavatava's canoe being driven (savu) towards the large bay, the leading and three of the eight subordinate peoples were founded by turaga (or in one case the son of a turaga) who arrived in Vanua Levu with Buatavatava.[28] Of those people in Wailevu whose origins have been recorded, three-quarters claim they originated from Verata. Half of these arrived with Buatavatava himself. The remaining two groups, including Navesi of which the Tui Wailevu is head, came eastwards from Bua. As did others, it may be presumed they moved eastwards after the Veratan colonizers had reached Bua.[29] Peoples once subject to the Tui Wailevu, before they were turned to the Tui Cakau, also claim to have arrived with Buatavatava. The inland Nukubolu people held the allegiance of the Nasolea and Wairiki

26. For a detailed account of the migration tradition see Qane ni Viti Makawa, 'Ai talanoa ni gauna makawa', XI-XII in Na Mata, Lalai, Okocita and Sepiteba 1933, 101-02, 117, 131.
27. See Quain, Fijian village (Chicago 1948), 31. For traditions associated with Setura, see Quain, Flight of the chiefs, 21-88. More correctly, Setura is Senaturaga, Flight of the Chief. Buatavatava Naulumatua is the turaga (chief) who was forced to flee (ae) Verata.
28. These are the yavusa Nasavuavu, Nakama, Navatuma and Wairuku. The latter was founded from Navatuma. Four of the five remaining yavusa -- Yaroi, Qalitu, Solovetini and Ketei -- originated from Nakalawaca in Namara, Tailevu. Nakalawaca is situated in the later boundary area between Verata and Bau, on a point close to Vava Island. The last, Onova, is said to have been founded from Ovalau.

peoples, all of whose founding-ancestors are associated in the oral traditions with Buatavatava's voyage. The Koroalau people, who had settled next to Nukubolu lands on the shore of Natewa Bay and whose allegiance once lay with Nukubolu, came with Buatavatava too.

Further east, other peoples claim an origin from Verata, yet do not specify a link with Buatavatava. It is possible they came about the same time as these first migrants, and were part of an easterly migration of peoples whose allegiance would continue to lie with Verata. Above Koroalau, the Vaturova people came from Verata to Vaturova through Bua, while one of their subordinate groups, the Wawawa, came to the area from Verata through Wallevu.[30] Adjoining Natewa, on the other side of Natewa Bay, are the lands of the Korocau, Mabuco and Nadaraga peoples who owe allegiance to the Tui Cakau through the Tui Korocau. Their oral traditions assert their sociopolitical groups were founded by ancestors who came from Verata.[31]

In Tunuloa, on the Natewa peninsula above Natewa itself, the Naitravatu leaders, whose position was later usurped by descendants of a slave turaga, came from Verata. The subordinate groups under

29. The yavusa Muanivatu, Urata and Soloveuneune are associated with Buatavatava's migration. The yavusa Drakanivai, Vadrani and Nitoaika claim to have originated from Verata, but not to have arrived with Buatavatava. The two yavusa from Bua are Naveol and Navatukawa. Hocart recorded that the Wallevu people came from Viti Levu, see Northern states, 221.
30. The Lokutulevu and Ravinivatu people came from Bua. Another group, the Vuvaratu, also came from Verata through Bua but are associated with a later colonization by supporters of Matawalu, see below in this chapter.
31. The founding ancestor of the yavusa Korocau was Mai Vuniwi, the name of the chief claimed by the Veratan tradition to have left Buatavatava's canoe at Wallevu. No Wallevu people claim descent from Mai Vuniwi, so it is possible that he is the founding-ancestor of Korocau.

the Tut Tunuloa claim descent from the Naqaravutu.[32] Below, in Natewa, the leading people are said to have originated from the Naqaravutu in Tunuloa. All except one of the sociopolitical groups subordinate to the Vunivalu of Natewa claim descent from the Naqaravutu turaga who settled at the village of Natewa.[33]

The historicity of these oral traditions is suspect. It is unrealistic to insist that the colonizers were the first peoples to populate the areas concerned. Prior inhabitants, whose own identity and traditions became lost, would have been assimilated, by force if necessary, into a new power structure in which they held subordinate positions. If the i taukei did not submit, they may have been annihilated or forced out of their land. It is also unrealistic to assume that only the initial migratory expeditions were involved. It may be presumed intercommunication between west and east was necessitated by the customary presentations, which were economic expressions of political subordination. Settlers would thus have had ample opportunity to migrate eastwards; the extension of power would therefore have taken several generations, if not longer. Turaga such as Buitavatava Naulumatua have become culture heroes who symbolize the migration, as well as represent the first undifferentiated leaders of the migrants. Thus the actors in the colonization traditions are personalizations who make the extension of Veratan power easier for succeeding generations to remember.[34] There is no reason, however, why the migrations associated with Verata cannot have taken place. It may be presumed Verata was already politically successful, and colonization was the simplest way to expand its power eastwards.

32. The Cakaudrove turaga founded the yavuna Tunuloa.

33. The remaining yavuna Vesaratu came from Nayava, Tailevu and is associated with the migration of Matawala, see below in this chapter.

34. For a discussion of personalizations as memory devices, see the Introduction.

Subsequently, Verata tried to maintain control of Vanua Levu, at first successfully but later not, in two ways: first, by tributary expeditions which demanded acquiescence, and which became involved in local disputes; secondly, by the emigration of more peoples whose task was to encourage loyalty. Military intervention achieved two immediate ends. It could enforce the allegiance of those defeated, thus encouraging others who were inclined to reject Verata's supremacy to continue obedient. Military assistance to the subordinate peoples also encouraged continued loyalty, as the ability of Verata to protect and support them justified their hegemony. The result of a successful presence was to keep firm the allegiance of much of Vanua Levu to Verata.

Oral traditions, widespread in Cakaudrove, relate the visit to Vanua Levu of an army directed by Naboutuiloma, a turaga of Kavula, Nakorotubu, Ra in Viti Levu. The Kavula leaders were the Gonesau, whose role before the eclipse of Verata by Bau was the support of the Ratu, head of Verata. The reason for this expedition was the collection of tribute, and to make a display of the power of Verata. One of the expedition's names was Yayalevu, Many Goods. The second name, Torotorosila, is associated with the movements of the expedition. Naboutuiloma is said to have had a brother who also had charge of the army. After the force landed at Nabouwalu in Dua, it divided into two. Each brother took a separate command; Naboutuiloma was to lead his army through Dua to eastern Vanua Levu, while the other brother was to go through Macuata to reach the east. Before they parted the two brothers agreed on a password, a common Fijian term, which would allow them to recognize each other. This they would always call out as they went into battle, so they would not attack each other by mistake. The password was torotorosila -- move

(toro), move, further (sila). Another explanation of the name refers to the continual movement of the army eastwards, always moving further.[35] While the force was in Vanua Levu, the two armies assisted local peoples in their disputes. The Natewans, for example, asked one of the divisions to assist them against their enemies. It was not until Naboutuiloma was wounded that the password was given, and the two divisions realized they had been pitted against each other.

It is probable the expedition also encountered some resistance to their demands, because peoples were to be settled in the troubled areas. When the expedition returned to Ra, settlers associated with the Gonesau and Verata were left behind. Others were also transferred to Vanua Levu on the expedition's return. The Sovatabua went to the village of the Tu Natewa; the Vusaratu established themselves at the neighbouring village of Vusasivo.[36] The village of Korolevu, at the head of Natewa Bay, was established by some Korolevu people, while the Weni people of Ra settled at Naurabuta, on the point opposite the present day village of Naweni on the south coast between the immediate beach area and Nabavuvavu.[37]

35. Ikell ni Veidelana, 'Talanoa ni i tutu vaka-Gonesau' in Nai Lalakai, 3 July 1980, 14. Here the Torotorosila is identified, wrongly, with a later expedition which sailed at the direction of Bau. Joseph Waterhouse has commented on the use of passwords in Fijian warfare, see his The King and people of Fiji: containing a life of Thakombau (London 1866), 318.
36. The leading yavusa in the chiefdom of Natewa still retains the name Sovatabua, although the Sovatabua are no longer leaders. The Sovatabua were a division of the Dewala from Nakorotubu, Ra where some still remain with the Nasausauwai people, another division of the Dewala. The Vusaratu who were once a division of the Gonesau at Kavula, Nakorotubu still live at Vusasivo. Other descendants, who became the leaders of Viwa, took the name with them. The Vusaratu of Bau are also said to be descended from another member of the Gonesau. Those at Vusasivo claim they came from Nayavu in Tailevu, as do the Vusaratu of Vaturova.

Malodali, the Navatu chief of Tanavuso Point in the southern border area of Ra, led some of the Navatu people to the head of Natewa Bay. They settled first on the mainland at Waidau from where they shifted to the security of Navatu Island, a small artificial islet off the shore. Their task was the protection of the other settlers and the carrying of messages among the loyalists. They were to sail about in Natewa Bay so they could watch over the other settlers. Matawalu, another Navatu chief, first went with some Makogai people to the island of Nasonisoni situated at Kubulau, Bua. From Kubulau he shifted with some of his followers to Navatu Island in Natewa Bay, where Malodali had settled. The crowded conditions on this islet encouraged his subsequent move to the mainland, where he lived on Korolevu lands. Matawalu's move to Natewa Bay would have put further pressure on the resources, because Malodali and the Navatu people already on the islet would have been forced to plant on the mainland as well. [38]

Matawalu's migration eastwards to Navatu accounts for the establishment of more peoples associated with Verata in eastern Vanua Levu; many of his followers were to leave and populate the west side of Natewa Bay. The Vugaratu left Korolevu and reached the Vaturova

17. Some people still reside in Ra. The yavusa lives in the chiefdom of Nagilogilo, while smaller divisions are settled in the Kavua and Nakoretubu areas, as well as Saiveu where many of the Korolevu people live.

18. Yavute Island was not large enough to hold more than a small number of people and it was unable to be cultivated. Its purpose would have been defensive. The Navatu people are those under the Tu Navatu, head of the chiefdom of Naisogoliku in Rakiraki, Ra. Their villages are between, and include, those of Vunitogoloa and Vitawa. The yavusa Navatu live at Naivuvuni. Another division are the Navatu people who reside above Tanavuso Point, to where they migrated from Ra. The yavusa Navatu live at Nansobua and Nafogoloa, the yavusa Baunavatu at Nadogoloa. It is some of these latter Navatu people who migrated to Vanua Levu with Malodali. The people from the island of Makogai had originally lived at Tawafave, a small island near Verata, see Hebert, Northern states, 139.

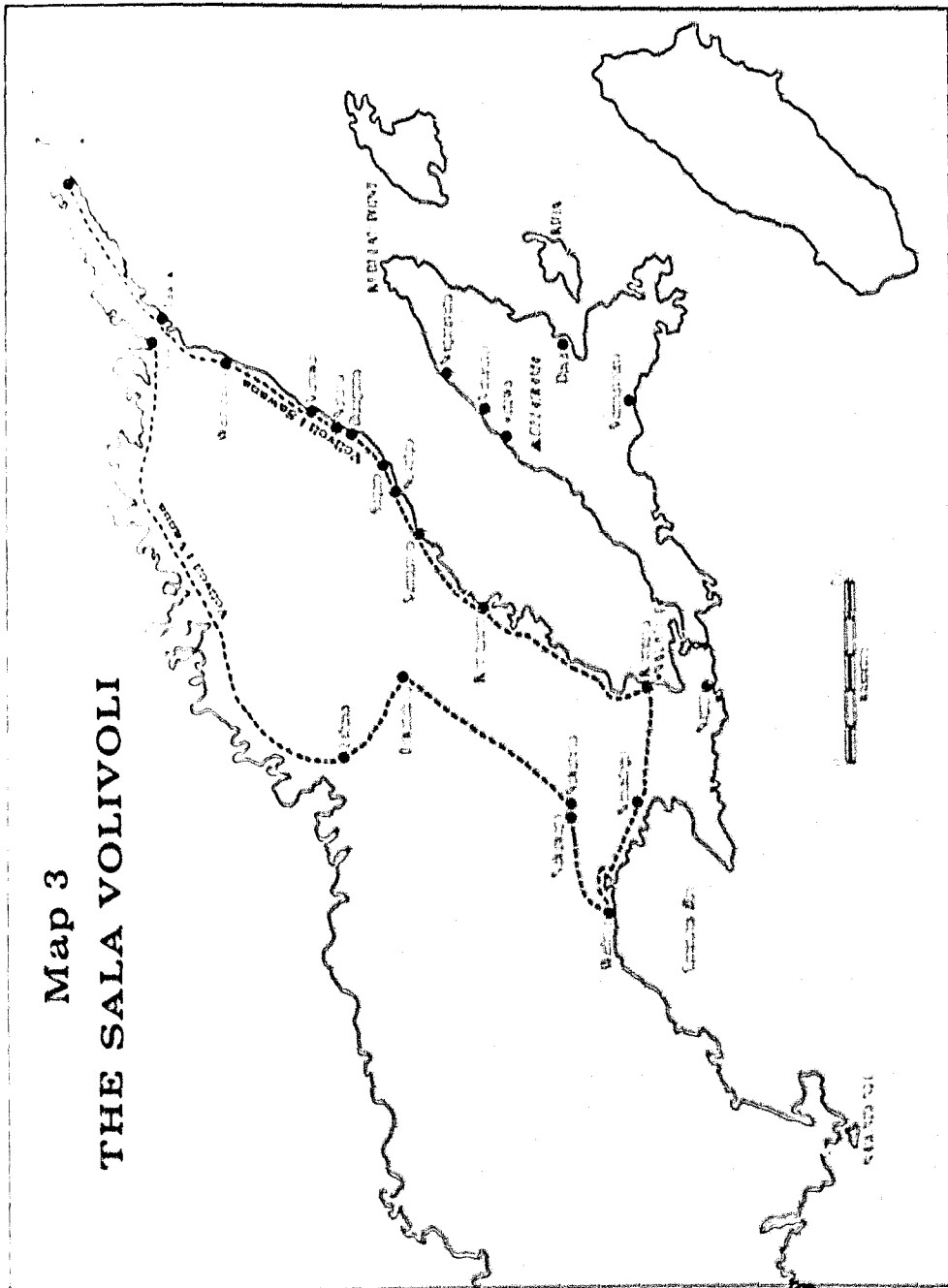
area where they landed at Vanuavou, their village today. The Saqani people also left Matawalu at Korolevu and established themselves at Saqani. The Teiteiciva people came with Matawalu to eastern Vanua Levu, as did the Vunivatu and Nautosolo who still acknowledge the leadership of the Tui Vanualevu of Vuniwai in Teiteiciva.[39] The Karolala people of Natuvu village also recognize they came from Korolevu. Further up the west side of Natewa Bay, on Udu Point, the Iwale peoples, too, claim to have arrived from Matawalu's settlement at Korolevu. Thus many of the peoples on the west shores of Natewa Bay can trace their origins back to Matawalu's migration from Viti Levu.

These lands, which today belong to Cakaudrove, made presentations to the Ratu of Verata through the Tui Wailevu, the focus of Veratan control in much of Vanua Levu. Wailevu was used as a clearing house for property and food presentations which were to be taken to Verata, the Tui Wailevu retaining his share before the major portion would be sent to Verata. The term used to express the bringing of presentations was sala volivoli. Hocart, who first wrote about the existence of the sala volivoli, has translated it to mean 'traffic route', considering the alternative translation of 'tribute route' might be unwarranted. It connotes a physical subjection which might or might not have been present in the relationship, perhaps only a recognition of higher rank being involved.[40] The less cautious translation of

39. The Vunivatu, with the subordinate Solawaqa and Namadro peoples, also belong to Teiteiciva. The first two claim they came from Vanuavou, Ra while the Namadro claim they came from Daa. Of other people in the area the Dawato, who owe allegiance to Natewa, claim to have come from Verata; while the Wainibu, who owe allegiance to Tunulaa, claim to have come from Daa.

40. Northern states, 226-27.

Map 3
THE SALA VOLIVOLI



tribute route is justifiable, however. Higher rank was not, in itself, sufficient cause for wealth presentations. Rather, it was the superior temporal power possessed by those who held the higher rank.

There were at least two sala volivoli in the eastern half of Vuanu Levu. One went as far as Udu Point and was generally termed the volivoli i sawana, volivoli by the shore. The Tawake people on Udu Point began the sala or path at Yasawa village. They travelled to Wainigadru from where the path went into Teiteiciva lands, pausing at Vanitwai, the village of the Tui Vanualevu.[41] The next stopping place of the volivoli was at Natuvu, where the rest took the form of a sala or ceremonial feast at which there may also have been redistribution of presentations. From Natuvu the volivoli passed through Biaugunu to Saqani where the travellers slept and ate. From Saqani it continued through Navetau, then into Vatureva lands through Vanivou and Korotasere until it reached Korolevu, people with their presentations having joined the trek at each place. At Korolevu the most important rest was made, feasting and dancing taking place before the overland trip to Wallevu through Veitibogi and Naisadogo.[42] From their strategic position, the Korolevu people were ideally placed to be the channel of communication between the land around Matewa Bay and Wallevu to the west.

A second sala, the volivoli i vanua or volivoli by land, went through Maunata. It began at Lagi, the village opposite Tawake on the western side of Udu Point.[43] It used to go westwards to Labasa,

41. The villages given by informants correspond with the contemporary villages occupied by the people concerned and are not necessarily the villages occupied during the time the volivoli was active.
42. Naisadogo was the village of some of the Nukulea people who had populated the area on Savusavu Bay, westwards of Korolevu, from Wallevu. Veitibogi has not been identified.

then inland through Lekutulevu, Nakawaga and Biaugunu (Nukubolu) and on to Wailevu. Labasa in Macuata appears to have played a role similar to that of Korolevu in Cakaudrove. It was a main staging post before the overland walk to Wailevu.

The i Sokula came to Cakaudrove with the migration from Verata and Ra. Not everyone in a sociopolitical unit migrated, and so the groups still exist in the area from which the settlers originated. Thus their continued existence provides evidence of the homelands of many of the migrants. It is no coincidence that units with the names Naisokula and Tui Cakau still exist in the province of Ra. A mataqali (component unit of a yavusa) entitled Tui Cakau is to be found within the yavusa Namotutu, whose head ruled the vanua of Rakiraki. A mataqali Naisokula is also to be found in Rakiraki. It is now included in the yavusa Rara although, like the mataqali Tui Cakau, it originally belonged within the yavusa Namotutu. Another breakaway from the yavusa Namotutu, a mataqali which is also named Naisokula, is now included with the neighbouring vanua of Naisogoliku. This is the homeland of the Navata people, and it is led by the Tu Navatu, head of the yavusa Naisogoliku. The mataqali Naisokula is not found within this yavusa, but within the yavusa Navatu.[44] As other names of people now living in Cakaudrove are still to be found throughout the province of Ra, it would seem the i Sokula originated from this area, despite the other origins claimed for them.

43. Report recorded that the path was called Macuatutu, see Northern Province, 227. The path may not have begun at Lagi but further west. The Lagi and Tawake peoples claim that the Lagi people were the fishermen and subordinates of the Vunivalu of Tawake.

44. Table No. 6B, Classification of Communal Units in the Province of Ra in NLC, Final Report for 1927, 107, 109-10.

It is possible that, like Matawalu, the i Sokula came to Cakaudrove through Kubulau, Bua, and then travelled eastwards. The Kubulau people, who also originated from Ra, were associated with the i Sokula. A division of the kai Kubulau, some of whom still remain in Bua, now live in Tunuloa. They have a tradition that they arrived in Cakaudrove with the i Sokula turaga. Later they petitioned the i Sokula for permission to move further eastwards.[45] Only two other traditions support an origin of the i Sokula from the west. The first merely indicates this was the direction from which they came. The second supports the theory of a migration through Bua. The i Sokula are said to have stopped to rest at the cave called Qara ni Sokula at Naicobocobo before they continued on their journey to Cakaudrove.

VERATAN control of Vanua Levu was not to last long after its hegemony began to be effectively disputed. A rebel faction began to challenge the power of Verata in the area. After Matawalu had established his settlement in Korolevu lands, he became annoyed with both the Korolevu people and those who had first settled on Navatu Island. One source claims the dispute arose when Matawalu became angry with the Korolevu who resented his use of their lands. Alternatively, it is claimed Matawalu wished to become leader of Navatu Island himself. Its leader Malodali refused to cede his position on the grounds the Gonesau had given him the task of patrolling Natewa Bay, a role he intended to retain. The Korolevu people, already resentful at the loss of some of their land to Matawalu, supported Malodali the official representative

45. Table No. 6B, Classification of Communal Units, 117, 120.

of Verata in the area. A war ensued in which Korolevu was taken as well as Naurabuta, the village of the Weni people. The victors led by Matawalu, the rebels against Veratan authority, then took possession of Navatu Island.

It was not long before a report of Matawalu's coup reached the Gonesau at Kavula. Their response was to send a second expedition led by Naboutuiloma Lailai (or Naboutuiloma II), a descendant of the earlier turaga of the same name who had visited Vanua Levu some years before. The rebels, who were joined together under Matawalu against the Veratan hegemony, gathered at Caucunu, in the vicinity of Nagigi, where they were attacked and put to flight. In the panic, Navadra and Sinu were also abandoned. Naboutuiloma then proceeded to Navatu Island to ask Matawalu if the report of his involvement was correct. But before he could reach it, its occupants fled up to Natewa. A battle was then fought at Delaikama where the Natewans and other rebels had assembled.[46] This offensive was unsuccessful, however, probably because of the size of the defending forces.

The i Sokula had become involved in this dispute. They had settled at Sawaimosoi, a land situated a short distance up the Waikava River on its west bank. Their leader was Naulumatua (The First Born), and under his leadership the i Sokula are said to have assisted the Cakaudrove people in a war which reached up to Nagigi. It is likely this was the war which involved the Sinu people when they joined with the rebels who challenged Verata's official representatives. Sanini, a Cakaudrove turaga, had established his lineage as heads of the Sinu people. He had migrated from Vunisavisavi to Sinu, where he had married Adi Vunitiko. They settled at Navadra, and he was later

46. Delaikama is located on the western side of Natewa, a few miles below Natewa village.

installed with the title Tui Navadra. There is also a tradition that members of the i Sokula had settled at Sinu and Caucunu. Matawalu approached them with tabua and a request for assistance, and so it was that the Sinu people had been in the centre of the fighting. The rebels had gathered at Caucunu, one of their villages which was taken by Naboutuiloma Lailai's army. When the Sinu (Navadra) people abandoned the villages of Navadra and Sinu as well, most fled to the safety of Kasavu and Vunilagi, villages in the immediate Cakaudrove area. Thus the Cakaudrove people cannot fail to have become involved in this war. Presumably their immediate territory was by-passed on the Ra army's march to Natewa. It would have travelled along the shores of Natewa Bay rather than the south coast of the peninsula.

From the evidence available, it may be presumed the i Sokula under Naulumatua had been essential in Cakaudrove's war effort. This assistance would not have been sought if the i Sokula had not been capable of providing or attracting appreciable military aid. Their involvement could well have discouraged attacks by Naboutuiloma Lailai on the immediate Cakaudrove area. In return for the i Sokula's assistance, the Cakaudrove people presented Naulumatua with a marama of Cakaudrove. She became his wife, and they had a child named Rokevu. This child might have been brought up at Sinu, because chiefly children were often raised away from their parents.

After the strife, the i Sokula would have continued to ally themselves with the Cakaudrove leader, and it is even possible they arrogated to themselves the effective leadership. At the time of the installation of an i taukei leader (his name is given as Mai Nakamakama), the i Sokula must have determined to install a member of their own lineage as head of Cakaudrove. Rokevu, who represented both

the i Sokula and the i taukei, was the ideal choice. The i taukei leaders would have accepted Rokevu, rather than engage in an unequal competition with the i Sokula.

Rokevu's installation was probably unexpected. The surprise element in his installation is remembered by the position of the wa ni sau (the sinnet rope with cowry shell ornaments) of the yaqona bowl. Instead of pointing to the Tui Cakau, as would be usual, the wa ni sau points away from the paramount of Cakaudrove, both at his installation and at subsequent yaqona ceremonies. At Rokevu's installation ceremony as the first Tui Cakau, the wa ni sau had pointed to the i taukei turaga, but Rokevu had been installed instead. Rokevu's installation before manhood might also be factual. The circumstances are remembered by the exceptional honorific phrase -- Ra Gone, They the Children -- used to refer to members of the i Sokula, both singly and as a group. It is common for high-ranking Fijians to be called Gone Turaga, but not Ra Gone.

The i Sokula were to take advantage of Verata's loss of power and lead Cakaudrove to a position of pre-eminence. Although routed, Naboutuiloma Lailai did not give up entirely. Instead he attempted to reassert Verata's control through strategic settlement of more groups loyal to Verata. Supporters were appointed to the main area of dissension where the rebels had been centred. In the Nagigi area Balu amoto, the Vusaratu turaga of Kuvula, was appointed to Caucunu, while Vudimila with some of his Dewala supporters was appointed to Vureyagi. Naqaravatu, the Bure turaga, was appointed to Sinu, on the northern shore of Salt Lake. To replace the kai Weni at Naurabuta, the Natauya people established Naweni on the other side of the bay to the original village.[47] Veratan hegemony was never effectively

re-established, however. Cakaudrove was to grow until it encompassed the extensive matanitu known to European observers in the 1830s.

THUS the i Sokula's presence in Cakaudrove can be rationally explained. There is, in fact, nothing mysterious about their genesis. As sacred turaga, however, it is appropriate the traditions about their origin should either reflect their sanctity or present an enigma. It was, no doubt, easier for subordinate peoples to accept the suzerainty of overlords whose origins were something more than mundane. It made sense for powerful turaga to encourage traditions which stressed their link with efficacious gods and the supernatural, or their mysterious origins.

47. The Bure people were from the chiefdom of Sawakasa, in the district of Sawakasa, Tailevu North. The Natauya were from the Saivou chiefdom, which they headed, in Saivou district, Ra.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CHANGING BALANCE OF POWER:

REGIONAL AND LOCAL POLITICAL CONFIGURATIONS

UNTIL THE EMERGENCE OF THE I SOKULA

Ideally, then, the Tui Cakau was the hereditary paramount of a matanitu which had always existed. A descendant of the gods, he possessed their sacred efficacy which had been transmitted to him through his ancestors. A challenge to his supremacy, or an attempt to deny him his hereditary rights, would bring the wrath of his ancestor-gods upon the dissidents. The reality is different, however. The Tui Cakau was not the genealogically senior member of the immediate sociopolitical group, a yavusa, which he headed. Yavusa were not descent groups but power constructs which depended on the energies of successive turaga, just as the continued existence of matanitu depended on the ability of the turaga by whom they were ruled. Furthermore, all territory known to have been part of the matanitu of Cakaudrove has also been under the hegemony of paramount chiefs other than the Tui Cakau. It is evident that matanitu were not immutable. For before the i Sokula developed Cakaudrove into a confederation, other power configurations had risen and fallen, or were in the process of decline. Verata, as described in the previous chapter, had extended its power over Vanua Levu. But its influence had also extended further east. Colonizers became associated with the

island of Laucala, adjacent to Taveuni, and the islands of northern Lau further to windward. Vuna, in southern Taveuni, then emerged. It was to replace Verata's hegemony which had been exercised through Laucala.

LAUCALA Island, to the east of Taveuni, was once an important power centre. Hocart recorded the Fijian recollection that it had been 'a land famed in the world like Great Britain'.[1] The i taukei, the Qaraniyaku people, claim their founding-ancestor is Buatavatava Neulumatua who established the village Nauluvatu on Laucala. Buatavatava is the Veratan who, traditions record, led the settlement of Veratan people and followers on Vanua Levu. The village of Setura, which he established, was to be a power centre in the Bua area for some time.[2] It is possible, therefore, that the first known settlers on Laucala, the Qaraniyaku whose leading family was the Vuanicau, are associated with the eastward migration which established Verata's hegemony in lands to windward of Viti Levu. As Laucala was to become the focus of political allegiance for many of the islands to windward, it is possible it fulfilled the same role as Wailevu. It may have been another collection point of tribute for Verata, another satellite centre of Veratan power.

1. Hocart, The northern states of Fiji (London 1952), 80.
2. The name of the Qaraniyaku's kalou vu is Mai Vunibua. Vunibua means Founding-ancestor of Bua. Thus, it also connects Laucala with Bua.

Lands in northern Lau, to the southeast of Vanua Levu, are said to have been subject to Laucala at one time. By the contact period northern Lau was divided into two vanua, Mualevu and Lomaloma, each independent of the other. In 1854 Mualevu comprised the northern half of Vanua Balavu Island above the village of Levukana, on the east coast, and included the islands of Munia, Kanacea and Cikobia-i-lau.[3] Lomaloma comprised those villages on Vanua Balavu to the south of Levukana, as well as the islands of Susui, Mago and Tuvuca.[4] The inhabitants of Mualevu acknowledged the leadership of one turaga, the Sau or Tui Mavana, of the Senimoli group. In Lomaloma, however, no group dominated, rivalry existing between two leaders -- the Ravunisa who headed the Qala people, and the Rasau, head of the Buca people. Their respective spheres of influence were not divided into two discrete territories, but were intermixed. Levukana, Narocivo and Susui were subject to the Ravunisa; Uruone, Dakuilomaloma, Tuvuca and possibly Namalata were subject to the Rasau.

Hocart was told the following places in northern Lau were once subject to Laucala: the villages of Daliconi and Mavana on Vanua Balavu, and the islands of Naitauba, Namalata, Yacata and Qelelevu.[5] Mavana and Daliconi were villages of Mualevu; Naitauba Island, located to the northwest of Mualevu, belonged to Lomaloma, as did Namalata Island; while the political affiliations of Yacata and

3. Levukana is considered part of the Lomaloma district today. Cikobia-i-lau was populated by people from Cikobia Island, situated to the north of Udu Point, Vanua Levu.
4. Lyth, Towns of Vanuabalavu, dated July 1854 in his Day-book 1854-1855, 22.
5. Hocart, Northern states, 80. Futuna was also included in the list, but incorrectly. The association came about for two reasons. First because the people who inhabit Qelelevu are believed to come from Futuna, and second because a few Futuna men lived on the island after the Qelelevu people abandoned it temporarily in the 1840s.

Qelelevu lay to leeward. In the time of the Laucalan domination, however, the island group was not divided into the two vanua of Mualevu and Lomaloma. Later migrations and subsequent changes in the balance of power were to cause the division. If the information Hocart collected is correct, at one time Laucala's power extended over much of northern Lau.

The evidence of earliest political affiliations support such a widespread Laucalan hegemony. The first migration remembered to have affected northern Lau is associated with both Verata and Laucala. Buatavatava Naulumatua, the Veratan, is said to have led it from Setura. The migration path was evidently through Laucala, for people in both areas claim him as their founding-ancestor. Others assert they came from Laucala, yet they claim no connexion with Buatavatava.

Traditions of the Naturuku people of Lomaloma village record the arrival of Buatavatava Naulumatua at Naqilaqila Point, northern Vanua Balavu. From Naqilaqila he journeyed down the island, stopping first at Daliconi. Consistent with a migration path through Laucala, the Vusawaitui people of Daliconi believe Qorovula, their founding-ancestor, came from the island. The next settlement established was Malaka, the people of which also believe they originated from Laucala. Following a ridge, the travellers reached Levukana. Here it is said the Namasi people, who had come from Nwainovo, Namara in Tailevu, were left. From Levukana the migratory group journeyed until they reached Nakorolevu, a mountain which they are said to have named after Nakorolevu at Namara. Here Buatavatava made his settlement. His son Vusonilawe, who also figures in Buan traditions, became leader of the Naturuku people, and was honoured with the name Naulumatua the Second.[6]

Four other peoples in Lomaloma also derive from this migration. At the village of Uruone, between Levukana and Lomaloma, the kai Navusaqa believe they separated from the Naturuku people at Nakorolevu. Vakasauvanua, their founder, is identified as the third son of Vusonilawe Naulumatua the Second. The Turaga Yavusavuetai (or Vusaturaga), who inhabit Dakuilomaloma, claim Lutunakuru, the eldest child of Vakasauvanua, founded their group after he left his father's settlement. The Kavika people who live at Narocivo are also descended from Naulumatua the Second. Their founder was Cinavinakorolevu, his second son, who had also left Nakorolevu to establish his own settlement. The Vanuanawa people, whose land is Susui Island, claim descent from Masivou, son of Cinavinakorolevu.

The traditions of the people to leeward do not preclude Buatavatava's later migration to Laucala, and then to northern Lau. He is supposed to have left Setura in Bua, leaving behind two of his sons -- Vusonikaida and Buli -- to be the turaga. [7] Buatavatava returned to Verata, after which he no longer figures in the Veratan traditions, as he did not succeed to the leadership position. It is possible, therefore, that Buatavatava chose to leave Verata again, voyaging with followers to windward. An alternative explanation may be that a descendant made the migration. Colonies founded by one or more descendants may, in time, have become attributed to Buatavatava himself, when in fact several turaga may have been involved. Alternatively, as argued in the preceding chapter, Buatavatava was a culture hero who came to symbolize a series of migratory voyages. He

6. Today the Naturuku people inhabit Lomaloma village, together with the Qala and Buca peoples. For the Buan traditions see Quain, The flight of the chiefs: epic poetry in Fiji (New York 1942), 69n, 238, 246. The mother of Vusonilawe (Feather's Tip) was Di Seretoga (Lady Song of Tonga), Buatavatava's first wife.
7. Qase ni Viti Makawa, 'Ai talanoa ni gauna makawa', XIII-XIV, Na Mata, Sepiteba 1933 and Feperueri 1934, 131-33, 25-27.

may not have existed, but the memory of the colonization was more easily preserved by attributing the migrations of many people to the single migration of Buatavatava.

A second migration took place from Laucala and may represent a firmer assertion of Laucala's hegemony. The Buca people of Lomaloma have a tradition of Laucalan origins. Their arrival is of a later date than the migration of Buatavatava, however, and appears to be concurrent with the arrival of a second people from Laucala who became known as the Qala. The Buca and Qala groups were to become rivals in Lomaloma. The Buca people settled at Nakorolevu, the village of the Tui Naturuku who, as the descendant of Buatavatava, led the people associated with the earlier migration. At Nakorolevu the Buca people achieved the leadership. They displaced the Tui Naturuku whose followers then installed the Buca turaga with the title Rasau. Thus Laucalan hegemony in northern Lau may have been successfully reinforced by a change in leadership.

The islands of Naitauba and Qelelevu, both of which were to maintain their links with Laucala successfully, are located outside the Mualevu and Lomaloma areas. The Vuanimaba of Naitauba believe they originated from Verata, so their links with Laucala were strong. When Naitauba was sold to Europeans in 1865 by the Tui Cakau, the inhabitants were moved to Laucala. Later they were shifted, as were the Laucala people, to the neighbouring island of Qamea. These connexions argue for a prior subordinate relationship with the Laucalans, a relationship which may have dated from their arrival at Naitauba with the Veratan migration through Laucala.

Naitauba's relationship with Laucala was to be weakened after the decline of Laucalan power, while Qelelevu was to remain clearly within the sphere of Laucalan influence. Qelelevu was first settled by people from Futuna who were to become subordinate to the Vuanicau turaga of Laucala, two of whom arrived and settled on the island. When a dispute over precedence arose, the Vuanicau proved the stronger. The island of Cikobia, today included in the territory of Macuata, is also said to have been subject to Laucala.[8] The peoples of Cikobia and Qelelevu were said to be one: the leading groups in both these islands had a common origin from Laucala, for Vuanicau turaga had also established themselves as leaders of Cikobia.[9] The island of Nukubasaga, between Laucala and Qelelevu, also came under the sway of Laucala although it was never permanently occupied.[10] Despite Hocart's evidence, Yacata was never a Laucalan territory. There is no independent evidence to indicate it was once politically subordinate to Laucala.

Laucala's links with Vanua Balavu, its associated islands and others outside Mualevu and Lomaloma, indicate that a former position of power is not improbable. The migration traditions argue for a political relationship with Laucala, a deliberate colonization from a power centre. Immigrants associated with Laucala twice established themselves as leaders, once over all Vanua Balavu, and then over Lomaloma. They would have looked to Laucala to support their control.

8. Hocart recorded that part of Cikobia was subject to Laucala, and part to Macuata. That part subject to Macuata was nobler. See his Northern states, 189.
9. Evidence of Loganimoce or Ramasi (Tui Qelelevu) and Ratu Pita (former Buli Laucala), 3 November 1887, and Tui Qelelevu quoted in minute J.B. Thurston to Assistant Native Commissioner, 17 December 1888 in FCSO 3156/1887.
10. LCC R974.

In turn Laucala would have expected Verata to help them maintain their interests, but this does not appear to have happened for Laucala was unsuccessful in holding on to its dominions. Vuna was to expand its own power at their expense.

VUNA is the only other known place of political importance before the growth in power of the i Sokula in Cakaudrove. Even after their loss of power, the Vuna turaga still remained sacred, an indication that their temporal power had once been considerable.[11] Vuna came to hold sway over northern Lau, displacing the Laucalan influence. The immediate lands of Vuna once encompassed the southern and larger portion of Taveuni. To the west they bordered with Somosomo, and included Wairiki, a Tavuki land which later came under the direct rule of the i Sokula. On the east coast Vuna bordered Bouma, with whose people they were closely related through intermarriage. It is probable Vuna's influence once extended over the peoples in the northern part of Taveuni, as well as Laucala and its former territory to the southeast. For a short time their sphere of influence also included Lakeba, which was later to become the power centre of a matanitu composed of the islands of southern Lau.

The Vuna people claim Vunivanua, their founding-ancestor, came from Moturiki, while a variant tradition asserts the place of origin was actually Davetalevu near Moturiki. Davetalevu, which means a large (levu) opening in a reef (daveta), is said to have been a piece of land which sank and became known as Sautabu.[12] Vunivanua

11. Diapaa, Cannibal Jack: the true autobiography of a white man in the South Seas (London 1928), 92.

arrived at Vuna with Tui Wai who, contrary to the beliefs of the Wainikeli people, is said to have left Vuna and settled at Wainikeli in northern Taveuni with his two sons Waqanawanawa and Ului.[13] Vuna claims that Tui (or Tuwei in the local dialect), the title of the turaga at Wainikeli, is derived from the name Tui Wai.

Waqanawanawa and his younger brother Ului then went to search for their own land. They sailed to windward, and reached Lakeba where the two brothers established separate villages. Waqanawanawa settled at Nasaqalau, while his younger brother Ului established his settlement on the other side of the island. The traditions of two peoples on Lakeba support the validity of such a migratory settlement. The Naseuvou people at Nasaqalau, together with the people of the yavusa Lakeba, are said to have originated from Vuna.[14] Hocart's information confirms the relationship between Vuna and Lakeba. He was told the Tui Lakeba was a god from Cakaudrove who had sailed there and landed near Nasaqalau, at a place called Lakeba situated to the east of the village. Before his arrival it is said the island was known as Natuicake, the Windward Island; later it became known as Lakeba after the landing place.[15] At Vuna, the connexion was also confirmed. Hocart was told the Lakebans were formerly men of Vuna; it was also claimed they were once subordinate to Vuna.[16]

12. Hocart was told the vu of Vuna came from Nakauvadra to Naicobocobo, Bua and thence to Vuna. See his Northern states, 68.
13. The i taukei Wainikeli people claim to be descended from Rawaka, a turaga from Vunisavisavi. See below, 183, 212-13.
14. A.C. Reid 'The fruit of the Rewa: oral traditions and the growth of the pre-Christian Lakeba state', JPH, XII (1977), 3-4.
15. Lau Islands, Fiji (Honolulu 1929), 190.
16. Northern states, 64.

Ului and his followers deferred to his older brother. They would take Waqanawanawa i sevu, the offerings of first-fruits, as well as the largest fish of their catches as homage. Eventually they grew tired of their deference to Waqanawanawa and, to indicate their dissatisfaction, ate a large saga fish without offering it to the senior brother first. Waqanawanawa decided to make a fight of the dispute, but lost to his younger brother who gained possession of the island. In recognition of Ului's victory, his name was lengthened to Uluilakeba, a name found with the Vuanirewa who lead Lakeba to this day.[17] Uluilakeba became Tui Lakeba but was soon to lose his supremacy; his power was to be usurped by newcomers from Kabara.[18]

Defeated, Waqanawanawa left Lakeba and returned to Taveuni. At Vuna Mai Naqereqere, Vunivanua's grandson, was now the Sau. Waqanawanawa settled at Navunawa (Nayavunawa) where he was installed as Tui Vuna. There he and his wife Adi Raravua, a lady of the Burebasaga, Rewa, stayed with their son Komaiwai. Komaiwai married Di Vaturogo, the younger sister of Mai Naqereqere, the Sau. Their son, Tawake, was taught not to visit his uncle at Vuna as he had not been presented to him as his nephew, and the vasu to his land. One day Tawake, with his companions, wandered in the direction of Vuna, and came across his uncle's state canoe. This he took by right of vasu, though he had not been formally recognized to hold this position, and sailed it back to Navunawa. When the Sau was informed he replied that, as well as his canoe, Tawake could have his land, people, and

17. The earliest person, recorded in the Lakeba traditions, to be named Uluilakeba was the elder brother of Rasolo, the first Tui Nayau to be installed Sau of Lakeba.
18. The newcomers may have migrated from Vuaqava, an island near Kabara. See Reid, 'The fruit of the Rewa', 4n.

title. This explains why, today, both the titles of Sau and Tui Vuna are held by the head of Vuna.

A member of the leading family of Verata claimed a different origin for Waqanawanawa. He alleged Waqanawanawa's father was Daunisai,[19] who had migrated to Kabara where he established his village at Nakeleyaga. One day adverse weather conditions drove Waqanawanawa's canoe from Kabara until it reached a reef near Vuna. Here he is said to have left his own son who was to become the Sau.[20] Another variant states Waqanawanawa decided to leave the island of Kabara so it would belong only to his father Daunisai. He and his followers reached Taveuni, where they built a house and called the land Vuna, because the house was the beginning (vuna) of the village.[21]

It is claimed at Vuna that, during Waqanawanawa's journey back to Taveuni, people were left at the places at which he is said to have stopped -- Tuvuca, Mago, Vanua Balavu, Kanacea, Yacata, Naitauba, and Laucala. From this, their subordinate relationship with Vuna is supposed to stem, a relationship which only affected Kanacea and Yacata by the time of European contact. The Naitauba people openly

19. Daunisai is usually identified as a brother of Roko Moutu and son of Lutunasobasoba. For a discussion of traditions associated with Lutunasobasoba, see France, 'The Kaunitoni migration: notes on the genesis of a Fijian tradition', JPH, I (1966), 107-13. Although the Kaunitoni tradition is suspect, this does not necessarily invalidate traditions about a dispersal from Verata. The migrations do not, as previously argued, account for initial settlement of an area, but record an extension of power.
20. For a discussion of traditions associated with Daunisai and Kabara, see S. Best, Oral traditions and archaeology in Fiji and the Lau group: a preliminary survey, paper presented at the ANZAAS conference 1981.
21. Qase ni Viti Makawa, 'Ai talanoa ni gauna makawa', II-IV, X in Na Mata, June, July and Sepiteba 1932, June 1933, 90, 105, 140, 89-90.

recognize a link with Waqanawanawa. Traditions of the Vuanimaba of Naitauba recall a visit by Waqanawanawa to their island. His canoe reached the island at Laselase where Todua, one of the occupants of Waqanawanawa's canoe, was left. After the death of the Vuanimaba head, Todua was installed as ruler with the title Vunivalu.[22] Today the head is known as Tui Maba. The traditions of the Laucalans also record a loss of leadership to newcomers associated with Waqanawanawa. Mai Nauluwaisole, or Mai Naulusole, one of the canoe people of Waqanawanawa, was installed as Vunivalu after the death of the Vuanicau head. This power takeover by the Nasovu group probably represents the loss of Laucalan influence in the islands to windward, as well as the subordination of Laucala to Vuna.

The traditions of one more people recall a power takeover associated with Waqanawanawa. The Wainikeli people in northern Taveuni maintain that Manabau arrived in the canoe of Waqanawanawa, and was left at the village. Manabau, who married the Tui Wainikeli's sister, was given the land of Kaulau, which became the name of the group he established. His child, Cele, was to become the next head of the Wainikeli people. Tradition states the Tui Wainikeli chose his nephew, the vasu to his land, to succeed him. This he did at a morning yagona ceremony. The Tui Wainikeli did not accept the first cup of yagona, which signified the person of superior status, but gave it instead to Cele. After the Tui Wainikeli's death, Cele was installed as head, at which time the title was changed from Tui Wainikeli to Tui.

22. The Vuanimaba associate Waqanawanawa with Vunisavisavi, the earlier residence of the Cakaudrove paramounts, not with Vuna. This may indicate they consider a prior subordination to Vuna unacceptable; a later subjection to Cakaudrove is more palatable. Alternatively, it may represent an inclination to link later leading families with the lineages of previous rulers, thus legitimizing them.

Waqanawanawa is a similar folk hero to Buatavatava Naulumatua. Traditions maintain they are related -- they are cousins. Waqanawanawa's father, Daunisai, is usually considered the brother of Buatavatava's father, Roko Moutu. The Tui Vuna's identification of Waqanawanawa as the son of Tui Wai is idiosyncratic, unless Tui Wai is Daunisai. All traditions mesh, however. It is possible that, from Kabara, Waqanawanawa established himself first at Vuna while he or other relatives also colonized Lakeba and, from there, northern Lau. Later other turaga from Kabara (descendants of Daunisai in the first or second generation) became the rulers of Lakeba, but Waqanawanawa and his descendants retained their position in Vuna and their influence in northern Lau for some time. Like Buatavatava, Waqanawanawa may also symbolize a colonization and power extension which may have continued over a period of time.

The subordination of the remainder of northern Lau does not appear to be associated with Waqanawanawa. There are other successful migrations to account for the subordinate relationship. The most important is that of Balolo, who migrated from Vuna to Vanua Balavu. He arrived in the Lomaloma area, where he landed at Namalata. There his followers went ashore and found Adi Tokayawa, the Marama Siga Tabu, daughter of the Tui Narocivo who led the Kavika people.[23] They kidnapped her, and Balolo took her as his wife to Mualevu where he established his village at Nalele. He and his followers founded the yavusa of Senimoli and Mualevu, both resident today at Mualevu village. The Yaro people, headed by the Tui Yaro, were then the rulers of Mualevu, or Yaro as it was called earlier.[24]

23. A marama siga tabu was a lady of rank who, on approaching a marriageable age was forbidden (tabu) the sun (siga), and fed well so she would appear more beautiful. Communication, except with a few people, was also forbidden.

The Tui Yaro had established his control over Yaro. The Lomaji people of Mualevu village and the Muamua people both consider they established their settlements from Korobasaga, the first village of the Yaro people. Their power was also increased when members were sent to establish themselves as rulers over other groups. Thus Koroiyaro, successor to the first head of the Yaro, sent supporters to the villages of Daliconi, Muamua, Boitaci, and Susui Island. This establishment of a new leadership elite in northern Vanua Balavu probably helped to weaken Laucalan hegemony.

The Vuna people who became known as the Senimoli were, in turn, to oust the Tui Yaro as head of Mualevu. When Balolo's grandson Kaba was installed as Sau, he increased the power of the Senimoli. Mai Rara, one of his brothers, was sent to become the leader of the Lomaji, while another, Roi, was sent to the Salia people of Boitaci. After this establishment of control of peoples formerly subordinate to the Tui Yaro, the Sau became infuriated when the Yaro and other people ate turtle which he thought should have been presented to himself. So he had the son of the Tui Yaro murdered; then he attacked and killed the Tui Yaro. Now the Sau held the leadership of northern Vanua Balavu, where he was installed with the title Tui Mavana, which once belonged to the head of the Qalitu people of Mavana village.

24. The vanua was still called by both names in the mid-nineteenth century. The Yaro people appear to have arrived in northern Vanua Balavu as part of an intermediate migration -- between that associated with Laucala and that associated with Vuna. They claim to have come to Yaro from Nakauvadra, via Moala and Totoya. The Qalitu people of Mavana, and the Sokenivatu people of Tuvuca Island claim to have come from Moala, and thus may be associated with this migration.

As well as establishing control of Yaro, which was increasingly to become known as Mualevu after their village, the Senimoli probably attempted to gain control of Lomaloma. For this reason, perhaps, some Senimoli people under Delaivanuabalavu arrived and stayed with the Qala people. But Lomaloma managed to retain its independence from the Senimoli of Yaro, the division of Lomaloma perhaps making subordination difficult.

Inhabitants of two other islands claim a descent from Vunans. The people of Yacata assert they came from Vuna; their establishment at Yacata is of a later date than the journey of Waqanawanawa. In the early years of the nineteenth century, after Raitau the Sau was murdered, Motonicocoka sailed from Vuna to Yacata with his followers. There he established Kakabale as his village.[25] The Yacata people still acknowledge the leadership of Vuna. The people of Munia, too, claim to have come in a large group from Vuna. The short histories of both these groups suggests they represent immigrants who established control of i taukei people, and thus brought the islands under the hegemony of Vuna. Their allegiance is no longer with Vuna, however, but with Mualevu, a change which may be attributed to their close proximity to Vanua Balavu. A third island retains its links with Vuna. This is Kanacea, the people of which claim no descent relationship.[26] The Tui Vuna is said to have been their overlord, however, and in 1867 they were removed from Kanacea to Vuna because their island had been sold by the Tui Cakau in 1863.[27]

25. A precise dating is not possible, but it was Ratu Raitau who welcomed Yavala, who was to become the fourth Tui Cakau, at Vuna, perhaps in the 1820s.
26. They claim to have come from Naicobocobo in Bua. Hocart was told that the Vuna people came through Naicobocobo, so there may be a connexion.
27. LCC R3.

From the links Vuna retains, and the evidence of population movements and leadership takeovers, it is clear that Vuna was once a centre of power. Its influence at one time even extended outside the later Cakaudrove matanitu, to Lakeba in southern Lau. But Vuna, which had expanded at the expense of Laucalan interests, was to find its own power curtailed by the i Sokula.

UNFORTUNATELY, the dating of the known political formations is problematical. Archaeological evidence[28] for the Fiji group dates settlements -- associated with the makers of Lapita pottery, which shows a continuous distribution from eastern Melanesia to western Polynesia -- from as early as the sixteenth century B.C. to the sixth century B.C. Current linguistic theory argues that these people spoke an early Polynesian language. As Lapita pottery has been found on southern Viti Levu as well as Vanua Levu, Laucala, and the Lau islands including Lakeba, it may be argued that, if these are not the settlers of the migration traditions, most areas had known settlement prior to the movements eastward.

By 100 B.C. a new pottery tradition -- associated with Viti Levu, Taveuni, and Lakeba, and characterized by an impressed decoration -- had emerged. Until recently the new style was presumed to have come from outside. It was possibly affiliated with a pottery style known from New Caledonia, and as far west as Southeast Asia. But it is now thought an outside influence is an unnecessary

28. The following general archaeological information has been taken from E.L. Frost, 'Fiji' in J.D. Jennings (ed), The prehistory of Polynesia (Canberra 1979), 61-68, unless otherwise indicated.

explanation: the development was indigenous. It took place on Viti Levu, but makes a sudden appearance at Lakeba and Taveuni. This abrupt appearance suggests a sudden movement of people to east Fiji.[29]

Another obvious change in pottery style occurs about A.D. 1100. Incised pottery, with New Hebridean and other Melanesian affiliations, appears in sites on Viti Levu, Taveuni, and Lakeba. The prior impressed tradition co-existed with this incised ware, although it gradually lost ground to the intrusive style. It is possible that fortifications first appear with the new tradition. An increase in incised motifs, with the elaboration of incised decoration, about A.D. 1600 defines a division within a continuous tradition which continues until the present day. The lack of archaeological work on Vanua Levu accounts for the apparent absence of the impressed and incised traditions.[30]

Succession lists are an unreliable indication of the time depth of settlement, and assist little in determining a possible dating. Those enumerated in the oral traditions would suggest, allowing an arbitrary twenty-five years for each rule of a head prior to 1840, that the migrations associated with Buatavatava Naulumatua took place no earlier than the mid-seventeenth century. A.C. Reid, using a similar succession list for Lakeba in correlation with a longer and more reliable Tongan genealogy, has estimated that the first settlers known to the oral memory at Lakeba had arrived from Vuna by the end of

29. R.C. Green, 'Location of the Polynesian homeland: a continuing problem' in J. Hollyman and A. Pawley (eds), Studies in Pacific languages and cultures in honour of Bruce Biggs (Auckland 1981), 138-39, 149-50.
30. The writer was shown a sherd with incised decoration at Vusasio, Natewa. It was found by, and is in the possession of, Tui Vusasio.

the sixteenth century.[31] Although all succession lists are comparably short, Reid's experience would suggest that telescoping of leadership lists and the associated genealogies must be taken into account.

Archaeological evidence may date the Tui Lakeba's settlement far earlier than Reid's comparative material from Tonga suggests. Pottery finds on Lakeba indicate that Kedekede, one of the sites of the Tui Lakeba, was occupied by the first century B.C.[32] Similar evidence from the Vuna area, from where the Tui Lakeba is said to have migrated, supports such a date. Settlement occurred there by about the same time, the second century B.C.[33] These dates suggest the possibility that both Vuna and Lakeba may have emerged over 2,000 years ago. The nature of the telescoping may, therefore, be much more extensive than Reid supposed.

There is no reason, however, why the people of the oral traditions should be those who first occupied the sites for which there is dating information. Their migration eastwards may be associated with the later pottery change beginning in approximately A.D. 1100. The possible introduction of fortifications coinciding with a new pottery style may indicate this was the era when complex political formations did first develop.[34] As Uluinikoro, for which

31. Reid, 'The fruit of the Rewa', 7-8.
32. M.J. Rowland and Best, 'Survey and excavation on the Kedekede hillfort, Lakeba Island, Lau group, Fiji', Arch. & Phys. Anthrop. in Oceania, XV (1980), 46-47. Even then these people were not the earliest inhabitants. Settlement on Lakeba dates from about the eleventh century B.C. See Green, 'Location of the Polynesian homeland', 139.
33. Frost, Archaeological excavations of fortified sites on Taveuni, Fiji (Honolulu 1974), 107.
34. A possibility also suggested by Frost, although he supposed them to be those of the nineteenth century.

the occupancy dates are A.D. 1000 to A.D. 1500, is said to have been the first settlement of the Tui Lakeba, it is possible Kedekede was first occupied by an earlier people.[35]

But the available evidence does not preclude the latest dating possible. The fairly recent emergence of the i Sokula, for whom precise genealogical evidence is available, in the mid-eighteenth century would allow a more recent dating of the earliest known matanitu, as it suggests a lengthy time span was not necessary for their development. Despite the difficulty in locating the early political confederations in time, it is not impossible that earlier unknown configurations held positions similar to those matanitu known to have existed in the early nineteenth century and before. Until more archaeological work is undertaken, no firmer answers can be given.

CHANGES in power ranking can also be seen at the more local level. The Tui Cakau heads a yavusa, the yavusa Cakaudrove. Ideally a yavusa is a descent group, the head of which is the genealogically senior descendant of a common apical ancestor, the founding-ancestor or va. In fact it is a power construct. Descent terminology has been used both to camouflage and express power relationships.[36] A yavusa is an amalgamation of various groups held together by allegiance to a common head who has gained the position through the power superiority

35. Rowland and Best, 'Survey and excavation on Kedekede hillfort', 42.

36. Cohen, 'Political symbolism', Ann. Rev. Anthropol., VIII (1979), 89.

of his group. Membership in a yavusa is not restricted to descendants of a founding-ancestor. Furthermore, the ranks of component units do not derive from an original genealogical ranking. A yavusa is the result of historical events. Different groups of people, who have come to reside in the same area, have become linked and 'gradually the unifying theory of common descent transformed them into the descendants of a tribal deity.' [37]

According to official policy [38] the smallest descent unit is the i tokatoka, [39] a patrilineal lineage, several of which combine to form mataqali, which in turn combine in the yavusa, the maximal patrilineal descent unit. Within Fiji, regional variations in the social structure and its terminology have led observers to disagree on the correct definitions of the yavusa, mataqali and i tokatoka. The term i tokatoka, for example, does not appear to have been used in much of Gakaudrove. Batinilovo, side of the oven, was used instead. [40]

The perfect development of a yavusa would be as follows. A man, who will become the founding-ancestor or vu, marries. The first family in a descending generation to have two or more sons gives rise to the mataqali -- the descendants of each son found a separate

37. France, The charter of the land: custom and colonization in Fiji (Melbourne 1969), 14.
38. In 1880, the colonial government set up a Native Lands Commission (NLC) which took several decades to formulate the policy in the process of establishing Fijian ownership to land. For a discussion of their proceedings, see France, Charter.
39. The i tokatoka delineated here seems to have comprised several extended families, although today these may include several nuclear families, some perhaps combined in extended families. See Sahlins, Moala: culture and nature on a Fijian island (Ann Arbor 1962), 241. Another anthropologist claims i tokatoka may best be seen as one large extended family. See R.R. Nayacakalou, Tradition and change in the Fijian village (Suva 1978), xi.
40. The batinilovo is used to refer to a subordinate division. One would never refer to the i Sokula of Valelevu as a batinilovo.

mataqali. In a similar manner, the first family of sons gives rise to the i tokatoka. The yavusa Somosomo (see Fig. 1), the original occupants of Somosomo (the leading village of Cakaudrove today) conforms to this characterization, for example. Their vu is said to have been Mai Navatudromu who, together with his wife Adi Mai Savanikoro, migrated from Nakauvadra to Taveuni, where they established Somosomo village. The founding couple had three children -- Mai Nawacikoro, Botowai and Malinibua. In turn they begat families, the three brothers becoming the founders of the three mataqali which today constitute the yavusa Somosomo -- Valelevu, Vusamudu and Vione respectively.

FIGURE 1

YAVUSA Somosomo	MATAQALI Valelevu	I TOKATOKA	Vuniduva Nawikacu Weni Navukaga Vunimoli
	MATAQALI Vusamudu	I TOKATOKA	Vusamudu Sala Maluwa Nalele
	MATAQALI Vione	I TOKATOKA	Nakorolevu Nayavutabu Verata Loma

In reality the composition of yavusa was never static, as the ideal model implies. It is in the very nature of patrilineal lineages to bifurcate and amalgamate. 'A process of fission and fusion (unfortunately the latter in these days of excessive mortality) is continually taking place', wrote Basil Thomson, one of the

commissioners who enquired into the population decrease.[41] But the establishment of the Native Lands Commission records in which the lineages have been documented means that a once fluid system has been deprived of its customary flexibility. Thus they reflect the situation at the time they were recorded. A yavusa, for example, might have declined in strength and therefore, at the time of recording, have been demoted to the status of a mataqali within another yavusa. The present Tui Vione, head of the mataqali Vione, claims this is the situation with Vione.[42] It is possible, however, that Vione was originally part of the yavusa Somosomo, its numbers and relative strength allowing it to be thought of as a yavusa. A diminution in its strength resulted in its re-incorporation. If the size of Vione increases again, however, it will remain a mataqali, and not be able to re-establish itself as a yavusa.

Outsiders were not forbidden from joining because they could not establish a descent relationship; in reality they were absorbed into the yavusa. It was possible for persons who were not unilineally descended from the vu to be incorporated at all levels of the structure. It was, for example, quite normal for the i tokatoka to include outside males, as well as females. Both were usually incorporated through marriage or kinship ties. This has prompted Sahlins to define the i tokatoka as a 'residential group' with all the members remaining together.[43] Immigrant groups of people could

41. B.H. Thomson, The Fijians: a study in the decay of custom (London 1908), 355.

42. In historical times, the people of Vione resided separately from the Somosomo people. They have lived at both Drekeniwai and Vione, for example.

43. Moala, 223, 242.

also be incorporated as mataqali or i tokatoka, according to their size. So the mataqali, too, has been defined as a co-residential group whose members stay together.[44] The yavusa, an association of mataqali, may therefore be no more than a group of mataqali who have remained together in the same locality.[45] The relationship need not have been one of common descent; kinship through intermarriage often might have been their only ties.

Consequently, the traditions which purport to explain the expansion of a vu's descendants until a yavusa was formed cannot be accepted as true. The named actors are personalizations, concrete representations who symbolize the ideal process by which a yavusa should be formed. These personalizations conceal reality; the idiom of descent is used to disguise a power relationship. The true formation process would appear to be one in which different co-residential groups have been drawn together by intermarriage and, more importantly, the dominance of one of the component groups.

Certainly such a pretence, of descent from a common ancestor, cannot be maintained for the yavusa Cakaudrove (see Fig. 2). It is an amalgamation of various groups of people, and in no way can the fiction of common descent be maintained. It comprises groups who have migrated to Cakaudrove at various times. These different groups are held together by their political allegiance to the Tui Cakau. Successive power takeovers are the hall-mark of the yavusa's development. This rivalry has led, of necessity, to changes in rank within the structure, although the basic structural principles have

44. Nayacakalou, Leadership in Fiji (Melbourne 1975), 21; Sahlins, Moala, 244-45.
45. Sahlins, Moala, 225, 246; R.F. Watters, Koro: economic development and social change in Fiji (Oxford 1969), 113.

FIGURE 2

YAVUSA Cakaudrove

MATAQALI Valelevu	I TOKATOKA	Valelevu Nacokailagi Nakaukilagi Waikava Nasavumaca Vunibaka
MATAQALI Nakorovou	I TOKATOKA	Tinanivale Nacokula Mataikadavu Nalovo Nakoromatua Nacokacala Vatubalavu
MATAQALI Mataikoro	I TOKATOKA	Mataikoro Batiniwai Levuka Nabola Nadi Nabariqi Navuni Namasiciwa Naserua
MATAQALI Cakaudrove	I TOKATOKA	Kavula Nanukurua Nayala Vatutaya Nakasaika
MATAQALI Wailevu	I TOKATOKA	Wailevu Yalave Vunilagi
MATAQALI Welitua	I TOKATOKA	Matapule Namulomulo
MATAQALI Mataitoga	I TOKATOKA	Mataitoga

remained unchanged. The information which follows has been obtained, immediately or ultimately, from the oral traditions of members of the yavusa Cakaudrove. The traditions may be taken seriously because, as argued in the introduction, the memory of prior leadership is a matter of importance to the people concerned. The memory is also important to the new leaders; the acceptance of intruders as the new rulers, by those they displace, legitimized their power takeover.

The available traditional evidence -- which unfortunately cannot be compared with archaeological findings -- suggests the Nakorovou people were the earliest inhabitants of Cakaudrove proper, the area in southern Vanua Levu which was once the location of all divisions of the yavusa Cakaudrove. Hocart recorded that the Nakorovou were autochthonous: they were there in Cakaudrove when the world was made.[46] This may be interpreted to mean they consider themselves the locality's original inhabitants, and do not remember or care to remember if they had once migrated from elsewhere. Conversely, the leader of one of their divisions, Mataikadavu, possesses a tradition that Mai Nukusemanu, their kalou vu, came from the west. He travelled through Bua towards Cakaudrove, resting at Navava beside the Nagilogilo River which feeds Salt Lake. From Navava he passed through Vuuilagi to Vunisavisavi, on the east bank of the Cakaudrove River.

The head of the Nakorovou came from this Mataikadavu division. He was overall leader of the small area which then comprised Cakaudrove, and was installed with the title of Tui Cakaudrove.[47] The kalou vu Mai Nukusemanu belonged to the Mataikadavu, and so it is possible they were an immigrant group who became leaders of the

46. Northern states, 86.

47. Hocart, Northern states, 86-87.

original Nakorovou people. Alternatively, the Nakorovou may have arrived with their leaders, the Mataikadavu. The Tinanivale of Nakorovou were once thought of as a mataqali who held the position of sauturaga. As displaced leading peoples usually become the sauturaga (or second chiefs), they may have provided the earliest rulers. Today the Nakorovou people generally are ranked as the sauturaga, for the Mataikadavu were, in turn, displaced as leaders by later arrivals. The task of the Nakorovou was to ensure the Tui Cakau's wishes and commands were obeyed, and lower-ranking people showed him the respect due to his position.[48] In remembrance of the position they once held, the women of Nakorovou could leave the strings, which tied their grass skirts on one side, hanging.[49]

The next immigrants to arrive were the Mataikoro who claim to have come from Tiliva in Bua. It may be assumed they were part of an easterly migration trend from Bua, as were the i Sokula. The Mataikoro's ancestors rested first at Nanuca, where the Wailevu people remained. From there they continued to the Cakaudrove River where they settled on the west bank opposite Vunisavisavi. Presumably it is these people who, Hocart was told, came to Cakaudrove through Nasavusavu. They conquered the people there, and then settled by the Cakaudrove River where the prior inhabitants gave them land.[50]

48. Hocart, 'The estates of the realm in Thakaundrove, Fiji', School of Oriental Studies Bulletin (University of London), IX (1938), 410; Hocart, Northern states, 86.
49. Hocart, Northern states, 87.
50. Northern states, 84. Hocart identified these people with the Tui Cakaudrove, the Mataikadavu leader of the Nakorovou before they lost power. He thought, however, that the leader prior to the Tui Cakau, actually the Mataikoro turaga, was entitled Tui Cakaudrove. But the possibility that these were the Mataikadavu cannot be discounted.

Their previous military success suggests they were a strong group whom the Nakorovu, under the Mataikadavu, found difficult to resist. Defensive measures may not have been taken at all. It is equally possible, however, that the newcomers defeated the people already inhabiting the Cakaudrove River area. At Cakaudrove the newcomers were known by the names of both Tiliwa and Mataikoro, a shortened form of Matainikoro, First Village.[51] The title of their head became Vunivalu, and it is said he ruled both sides of the Cakaudrove River.

The Mataikoro increased the influence of Cakaudrove. They had secured their western boundary when the Wailevu people had been settled at Nanuca and Vunilagi. Then they provided a further buffer against their neighbours to the west. Past Vunilagi, the yavusa Tacilevu was to come under the leadership of Balata, a member of the Mataikoro.[52] The closest settlement would have been that established at Naurabuta by the kai Weni who were there at the orders of the Gonesau of Kavula. When the rebels massacred the Weni people, the Gonesau had sent the Natauya people to replace them so Verata's influence in the area would not be lost completely, and the Natauya established their village at Naweni. To the east, the Ratu of Korocau owed the Mataikoro allegiance. He willingly responded, for example, to the request that he help build Tinanivale, the house in which Mainakamakama, the Mataikoro turaga, was to be installed as head of Cakaudrove. The Korocau lands were in the border region with the vanua of Natewa. The Ratu's strength was equal to his people's role of bati, border people or warriors, for he headed a substantial sub-chiefdom which also included the Mabuco and Nadaraga peoples.

51. Hocart thought Mataikoro was a shortened form of Mataki Koro, Envoy to Koro, see his Northern states, 87.
52. This leadership by a member of the Mataikoro may have lasted only during the lifetime of Balata. He was succeeded by a turaga from Nadi, Bua.

These subordinates occupied the peninsula which protruded east towards Taveuni.

Then came the *i Sokula* who achieved the leadership when they displaced the Mataikoro turaga. It was the Mataikoro who asked the *i Sokula*, settled at Sawaimosoi up the Waikava River, to assist them in the rebellion against Verata's official representatives, and hence against Verata's hegemony. And it was the Mataikoro leader Mainakamakama who lost the headship of Cakaudrove to Rokevu, the member of the *i Sokula* who became the first Tui Cakau.[53] The *i Sokula* lead the mataqali known as Valelevu, Big House, a name which is often used to refer to the house of a head. When the Mataikoro lost control of Cakaudrove, they became the bati, warriors, whose official duty was to defend the supremacy of the *i Sokula*. [54] By accepting the *i Sokula* as their turaga they had pledged themselves to support the *i Sokula*'s suzerainty, a promise which they repeated at every successive installation ceremony. The Wailevu people, their immediate neighbours to the west, would have assisted the Mataikoro -- with whom they had arrived in Cakaudrove, and with whom they acknowledge a common origin. Normally the Mataikoro, as displaced leaders, would have become the seaturaga. But this position is held by the Nakorovou who, under the Mataikadavu, ruled before the Mataikoro. Because of the constantly changing leadership, there is ambiguity: the Mataikoro have been referred to as the sauturaga.

53. Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna considered Tui Cakau was an abbreviation of Tui Cakaudrove. This title does not appear to have been held by the Mataikoro, but by the Mataikadavu, the rulers before. Given the association of the *i Sokula* with reefs it is probable that none of the *i Sokula* rulers were ever Tui Cakaudrove, but always Tui Cakau.
54. Hocart, 'Estates of the realm', 411.

The Mataikoro people remember their previous position in several ways. They may wear one flower in their hair and flowers around their necks, carry umbrellas and use sa'i'i (chiefly fans) in Somosomo, the leading village of Cakaudrove. On ceremonial occasions in earlier times, the men might also paint their faces with three black circles, one on their foreheads and one on each cheek, while their women might wear the chiefly black grass skirts. They also retained the right to wear the vesa i sole of masi kuvui (black masi), the insignia of headship. When they take advantage of these prerogatives, they are not said to be disrespectful as would be other people who are lower ranking than the i Sokula. The Mataikoro explain these privileges in the following manner. When Rokevu drank the installation yagona, their ancestors allowed him to become the head, but they would not give up these prerogatives, the outward signs of leadership.

The turaga usually supposed to have installed the first Tui Cakau became his matanivanua Mai Kavula (From Kavula), and his lineage continues to head the matanivanua peoples. Their origin is uncertain. They may have come in one of the migratory waves from Viti Levu. The name Kavula suggests a connexion with Kavula, the land of the Gonesau in Ra, and so they may have arrived in the migration with which the i Sokula are associated -- the movement of people supposed to have been directed by the first Naboutuiloma. Hocart's informants, however, when explicating the divisions of the immediate Cakaudrove people, associated the matanivanua groups with the Mataikoro in contraposition to Valelevu and the Nakorovou.[55] But there is no evidence to suggest they are one people: they were included with the Nakorovou because they could not be counted with Valelevu. The overall title of their mataqali -- Cakaudrove -- does not necessarily indicate they

brought the name to the area; it would appear they took it over after their establishment.

Mai Kavula is officially the head matanivanua. As such he was often accorded the honorific Na Mata. He was the intermediary to the Tui Cakau; those who wished to see the Tui Cakau approached him through Mai Kavula. Mai Kavula thus announced the business of all who entered the Tui Cakau's presence, passed on his answers, and proclaimed his orders. Mai Nanukurua is the masi tabu, holy chieftain, the personal attendant of the Tui Cakau. He could touch the Tui Cakau's body and possessions without the mana adversely affecting him. Thus he could assist the Tui Cakau in bathing and dressing, but his close contact meant it was forbidden for him to touch his own food. The third matanivanua, Mai Nayala, holds the position of Tui Rara. He apportioned the food at the feasts and the presentations made to the Tui Cakau on the rara, the ceremonial ground of the village.[56] Unlike Mai Nanukurua, his place was not inside the Tui Cakau's house, as there was no need for him to be in constant attendance upon the Tui Cakau. Mai Kavula, too, did not have to stay as close to the Tui Cakau as Mai Nanukurua. Mai Kavula was said to station himself by the door of the Tui Cakau's house, whence he could control the business adequately.[57] These three matanivanua were installed at the same time as the Tui Cakau. Hence they were often referred to as the masi vou (new cloths or chieftains).[58] If an

56. The matanivanua from the Vatutaya division obeys Mai Kavula, who may instruct him to divide the feast, presumably if Mai Nayala was unavailable or needed assistance. Hocart, Northern states, 89.

57. Hocart, 'Estates of the realm', 410; Hocart, Northern states, 87-89.

58. Hocart, Northern states, 90.

incumbent of a title died, his successor was not installed formally until the installation ceremony of a new Tui Cakau.

Newcomers did not necessarily take over the leadership of the local people; this would have been a rare occurrence. Most newcomers who entered the group lost their previous identity as outsiders. Some, however, were noticeably different. They were welcomed because of their skill specialization, and so retained their distinctiveness. These immigrants, who served the Tui Cakau, were the descendants of Tongans and Samoans. The Native Lands Commission gave these peoples, the Welitoa and the Mataitoga, the status of mataqali so they were able to own land according to the official formulation of land tenure.[59]

The yavusa Cakaudrove is, therefore, an assemblage of different groups, all acknowledging the Tui Cakau as their turaga. The yavusa's cohesiveness is derived from the subordinate relationship of the different groups to a common head. The yavusa, while in theory based on genealogical descent from an apical ancestor, is, in reality, a political federation which came into existence because of historical events. The major unifying factor is not one of common descent but of political allegiance to a common head. The ranking structure reflects a power superiority, not a genealogical ranking. Normally members of a yavusa reside in one area, but this is not true of the yavusa Cakaudrove. Because of leadership disputes among the i Sokula, members of the yavusa are divided between two islands -- Vanua Levu and Taveuni. In the first decades of the nineteenth century, some of the i Sokula and their supporters moved to Taveuni. By 1830, however, the i Sokula and hence the yavusa, were no longer so uncompromisingly

59. For more information concerning these groups, see below, 258, 261-63.

divided. The turaga all lived on Taveuni, but the yavusa was now divided between the two islands.[60] Yet the yavusa still remains one sociopolitical group. Incumbents of the title Tui Cakau have been the focus of allegiance for nine generations; before the i Sokula, other turaga were the focus of this allegiance. Thus continued residence in the same general area is not always essential, because a yavusa is a power structure held together by the strength and political acumen of successive turaga.

FROM an historical perspective, it is evident that the power balance in Fiji was constantly changing. When the i Sokula replaced the Mataikoro as rulers of Cakaudrove, this was not the irreverent upsetting of an order which had existed from time immemorial. Furthermore, their expansion was not a violation of custom. For these alterations in the power balance took place within a tradition of leadership changes, a tradition which may be traced by the oral record only as far back as the Veratan hegemony. Cakaudrove is considered a relatively new power. But this invalidates neither the i Sokula's possession of political prestige, nor their possession of supernatural efficacy, both of which were achieved with their rise to power.

60. These disputes are discussed in detail below, see Chapter Five.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE BASIS OF POLITICAL POWER

Ideally, and in theory, a Fijian turaga's power rested on his genealogical superiority. This, and the associated sacredness, indicated authority -- the legitimate right to rule. But the constantly changing balance of power contradicts such a prescribed possession of authority. Historical evidence demonstrates that the temporal strength of a turaga was more effective than reliance on supernatural sanctions. In eastern Fiji, power depended not on an ideological power resource but on access to, and successful use of, human resources. The main aim of turaga was the possession of as many followers, subjects, and allies as possible. Sahlins' comment on the nature of the Hawaiian power base is applicable to Fiji:

Manifestly, the political cycle had an economic base. The great struggles between powerful chiefs and their respective districts were transposed forms of the more essential struggle over domestic labour: whether it was to be more modestly employed in household livelihood or more intensively deployed to political organization.[1]

THE mana (efficaciousness) of a turaga, and his relationship with effective kalou, could be used as a means of temporal control. But

1. Sahlins, Stone age economics (Chicago 1972), 146-47.

ancestor-gods could not be relied upon to punish a wrong. They were, it seems, somewhat capricious in regard to the transgressions they chose to punish, and retribution could never be assured, even when a specific request for punishment was made. Victims would remain unaware until they had been stricken by illness or ill-fortune, and the cause was divined by a priest. Consequently the disease and misfortune sanction would not have deterred individuals, completely, from committing socially disapproved acts, but it probably discouraged such conduct by arousing anxiety at the very thought of possible consequences.

Within high-ranking families, when a junior member wielded more power than the installed head, the junior still feared the sacred power of the senior. Thus Tuikilakila, by 1839 the effective leader of Cakaudrove, feared the possible results of a disagreement he had with his father Yavala, the Tui Cakau, by then less active because of his age. The Tui Cakau had separated from a new wife, a high-ranking lady from Bau who had been named Radi Cakaudrove, Queen of Cakaudrove. The lady's welfare was politically important, for her marriage symbolized and cemented an alliance between the i Sokula and a faction of the Bau turaga. Tuikilakila disapproved of the lady's rejection which could jeopardize an alliance he wished to continue. He retaliated by threatening to kill all the wives of his father, then acted less extremely by depriving Yavala of all his wives except one. A week or so later, Tuikilakila appears to have regretted his actions, for he needed his father's, and hence the ancestor-gods', goodwill. With his face painted red and his head bared, he abased himself before his father and made a tabua and yaqona presentation, asking forgiveness. This the Tui Cakau gave, and then condescended to take back his new wife.[2]

Tuikilakila had needed his father's permission and goodwill to catch turtles for an approaching feast which had been prompted by the intensification of Bauan efforts against the *i Sokula*. Cakobau (son of the Vunivalu of Bau) had recently visited Vuna with warriors, only to find the town had already been destroyed by Tuikilakila. Once back at Bau, Cakobau made peace with Verata, for he wished war with Cakaudrove to take priority. Aware of the menace from Bau, and of attempts by Cakobau to turn the allegiance of some of the Tui Cakau's supporters, the *i Sokula* planned the feast. The Butoni, who owed allegiance to Bau, were to be the guests of honour; they lived at Somosomo, and had chosen to support the *i Sokula* rather than Cakobau. Large amounts of food were required to please the Butoni and others who were attending the feast, as well as the ancestor-gods, for the food would be presented to Mai Natavasara and Koroiruve before being redistributed. More than fifty-six turtles were presented when the feast took place. As turtles were caught in a ritual context, permission and support of the Tui Cakau was essential. Tuikilakila had required the goodwill of his father to enable the turtle presentation to be generous enough to please both the gods and the guests, knowing he needed the assistance of both in the contest with Bau.[3]

But the efficacy of the ancestor-gods was not to be feared as much as the temporal strength of the turaga. [4] The people subject to the Tui Cakau obeyed his commands, fearing his temporal strength more than supernatural sanctions. If they knew the Tui Cakau or the effective leader to be in a strong position, they also knew he would

2. It may also be argued that the i soro allowed the father to save face and, as the issue was politically important, Tuikilakila could see the benefits of making such an i soro.
3. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 16 November, 7, 9 and 16 December 1840, 566, 572-74, 582.

not hesitate to use his strength against them. Mana was a sanction; but physical force, rather than the possibility of spiritual retribution, was the real constraint which bound subject turaga and people to a paramount.

In his dealings with those people under his more immediate control, the Tui Cakau has been described as an 'autocrat in the most extended meaning of the word'.[5] His commands were obeyed instantly by his attendants and subjects. Because of his temporal strength, he had no need to rely on supernatural sanctions to enforce his wishes. Thus the i Sokula were not slow to punish those with whom they were displeased. A Tongan living with Tuikilakila stole and ate one of the pigs of a Wesleyan missionary. As soon as the missionary complained, Tuikilakila ordered that a little finger of the culprit be cut off and presented as an i soro or atonement for the crime.[6]

While their rule was difficult to challenge, the Tui Cakau and other members of the i Sokula held the power of life and death over the inhabitants of Somosomo village and others within their vanua. Tuikilakila, for example, was able to tell his carpenters that he would have any man in Somosomo, who should dare to profess Christianity, clubbed and cooked for his dinner.[7] Williams had already written about Taveuni that

4. It is ironic that high-ranking paramounts, who could usually call on large numbers of supporters to enforce their wishes, also possessed the strongest sacred power. A low-ranking village turaga, however, had a restricted ability to maintain order within the village, relying on the force of public opinion. He, too, had some efficaciousness, but this was nearly always commensurate with his temporal power.
5. Diapea, Cannibal Jack: the true autobiography of a white man in the South Seas (London 1928), 96.
6. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 25 July 1842, 732.
7. Hazlewood, Day-book 1844-1846, 18 May 1845.

Preaching on this island, too much resembles canvassing in a close[d] borough, where, although the people may approve of a mans principles, and judge him well qualified to represent [them] they dare not vote for him, least they feel the effects of the landlords displeasure. It is true the king has said that any of his subjects are at liberty to 'lotu' [become Christian], but they, to a man, know that they would thereby incur his displeasure.[8]

Consequently, people subject to the i Sokula wisely refused to become Christian until the Tui Cakau or his son converted, or the power of the i Sokula became inadequate to control their subjects' actions.

While the i Sokula's rule was firm, they could enforce their will with military expeditions. The inhabitants of the head village on Laucala Island, for instance, incurred the i Sokula's displeasure by two acts of disloyalty. It was rumoured they had killed a member of the Butoni, whose goodwill the i Sokula wished to retain for their support was useful. It had been reported, too, that the kai Laucala had refused food to the Yaro (or Mualevu) people of Vanua Balavu, when they had stopped at the island on their way to Somosomo with tribute. In response the i Sokula did not passively, and expectantly, wait for supernatural sanctions to punish the people concerned. Instead an armed force from Bouma was despatched to the village, where up to forty people, including the Tui Laucala, were massacred.[9] Thus actions maintained the Tui Cakau's control of the people in the area, rather than reliance on the supernatural.

A continued and effective leadership required a power backing. Without this the more complex political configurations of vanua and matanitu could not be maintained. Because the power balance in Fiji was never static, but constantly changing, power struggles were numerous -- relative strength was the deciding factor of success.

8. Williams to his father, 20 January 1844 in AWMS, Fiji letters 1855-1903.
9. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 10 February 1840, 436-40; Hunt, Private Journal 1839-1841, I, 11 February 1840, 111.

Thus, to a large extent, the traditional polity relied on temporal power, the final arbiter in any political dispute. The Tui Cakau ruled with the club, not through the force of supernatural sanctions, an ideological power resource. Temporal strength maintained his hegemony, not supernatural strength.

POWER depended upon access to labour services, and the wealth which labour could produce. These power resources, which constituted political capital, could be spent and invested for political advancement in various ways. Skill in gaining access to resources, which also had to be used effectively, was essential for success in political life. Timothy Earle, following Sahlins, has come to a similar conclusion from the Hawaiian evidence. He argues that Hawaiian chiefs used the people, and their productions, to finance political activities. These resources were used to increase productive capacity, i.e. the resources under their control so their 'financial base' could be expanded by agricultural intensification, by warfare, and by craft specialization; to establish and maintain political relationships; and to support the chief, and his immediate specialists, in a manner commensurate with his rank.[10]

The Tui Cakau used both the wealth and labour services he received to maintain or expand his territories. 'All Feejean transactions are done by the exchange of presents, and by giving freely a Chief keeps favour with his people.' [11] A confrontation in

10. T.K. Earle, Economic and social organization of a complex chiefdom: the Halelea district, Kaua'i, Hawaii (Michigan 1978), especially 169, 189-89, 195.

which he extended or defended his territories would usually depend on his possession of a superior number of supporters. The central power, in order to maintain the allegiance of subordinates, also provided military services to peoples within its territory. The i Sokula would support one side in a succession dispute or, alternatively, the service might take the form of military protection from external enemies. The stronger the protection offered by the Tui Cakau, the firmer the allegiance to Cakaudrove. It was to the i Sokula's advantage to assist, for the people of the lands Cakaudrove controlled were the major source of wealth and labour on which the Tui Cakau's political power depended. Since the continued support of subject peoples was essential for the maintenance of his power position, such activities were investments in the security of his territory.

Wealth, as well as helping to ensure the military services of subordinates, could be used to court the support of independent groups outside Cakaudrove. They would be flattered with feasts, food, and property presentations. Hosts were well aware that they were entertaining potential allies who would then be under an obligation to reciprocate with later feasts and presentations, and in times of trouble would feel obligated to give military aid. Presentations were often made with a specific object in mind. When the relationship between Cakaudrove and Bau deteriorated in late 1839, the Lakebans with their Tongan supporters were courted with generous presentations in the unrealized hope of obtaining their support against Bau. They were given a large share of the food presented to the Tui Cakau at a feast.[12] Then, when the Lakebans departed to their own land, they

11. Lyth to his mother, 1 May 1844 in Lyth, Letters to and from Rev Dr Lyth 1836-1854.
12. Hunt, Private journal, I, 11 November 1839, 103; Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 4 November 1839, 402-03.

were presented with fishing nets, sail mats, clubs, spears, and tabua. [13] At another time, when Cakaudrove was trying to subdue Natewa, Tuikilakila sent 'a considerable amount of property' to Macuata in the hope that assistance would be forthcoming. At the same time he was also said to be giving generously to the Tongans in an attempt, as the Wesleyan missionaries thought, to receive help from the Tongan king. [14]

Changes in allegiance, often only temporary, were frequent for wealth presentations could influence subordinates against their overlord. If subordinates were already dissatisfied with their paramount's performance -- agricultural prosperity might be inadequate, or the turaga might be considered unjustifiably tyrannical -- they would be easily swayed. Both sides in a dispute, for example Bau and Cakaudrove between late 1839 and 1842, tried to turn the other's villages and vanua to their own side. [15] The normal stratagem employed by major powers such as Bau and Cakaudrove was the presentation of gifts with promises of more to follow after the successful conclusion of the war. High-ranking women and tabua were some of the immediate inducements. In times of political unrest, tabua might be constantly on the move, both sides soliciting friendship and support. In about 1860 the British consul William Pritchard, for example, received tabua from both Bete and Ritova, rivals for the paramouncy of Macuata. [16] Either side often endeavoured to neutralize the advantage of the other, sending more tabua to cancel out the opposition's presentation. [17]

13. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 3 December 1839, 414.
14. Williams, Somosomo Quarterly Letters, Letter I:9 (25 September 1847), 4.
15. See below, 229-38.
16. W.T. Pritchard, Polynesian reminiscences; or life in the south Pacific Islands (London 1886), 339.

Assistance would be rewarded by the Tui Cakau. In 1841, after Namena had joined Cakaudrove against Bau, the Namena people kept Tuikilakila informed of Bauan movements. The services of the head of Namena were recognized at Somosomo, when a vakamasi (a ceremonial presentation of Fijian cloth) was held in his honour.[18] In early 1843, during the prolonged war between Natewa and Cakaudrove, a solevu magiti (a ceremonial presentation of food) was held to thank the strangers who had remained at Somosomo to defend the capital in case of attack in the warriors' absence. The defenders would have received a disproportionately large share at the redistribution of the food, a share not concomitant with their rank.[19]

Property was also needed to help heal breaches between two parties. After hostilities between Bau and Cakaudrove were concluded in early 1842, friendly relations between the leaders of the two matanitu were reinforced by exchanges of visits during which there was feasting as well as property presentations. Presentations were heavily weighted in the favour of Bau, however, for it had emerged from the encounter with the most success. When the Somosomo people visited Bau in April 1842, a presentation was made to Tanoa of the Ramarama, the newly finished and prized drua (double canoe) of the i Sokule, as well as much magimagi (sinnet) and katudrau (bales of Fijian cloth).[20] The second major solevu was held at Somosomo where the Bauans stayed for about three weeks, during which time the i Sokula would have been obliged to feed the large party. The highlight

17. Williams, Fiji and the Fijians (London 1858), I, 44.
18. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 21 June 1841, 628.
19. Lyth, Day-book 1842-1843, 9 November 1843, 149.
20. 'Jackson's Narrative' in Erskine, Journal of a cruise among the islands of the western Pacific (Reprint, London 1967), 451, 455.

of the visit was a vakamasi to the party from Bau.[21]

Wealth could also be invested in other ways. It could be used to pay for craft specialists, the carpenters, for instance, who built the large double canoes necessary to control subjects separated from the power centre by expanses of water or difficult terrain.[22] They were especially important to the i Sokula whose territory covered a wide area of sea, and whose own planting grounds in the nineteenth century were divided between the two islands of Vanua Levu and Taveuni.

Turaga subject to a paramount, or attempting to maintain their own independence, could use their own resources to prevent the more powerful group from interfering in the affairs of their land, or to resist the other's demands. In the early 1840s, for example, the Vunivalu of Natewa was aware that his wealth allowed him to maintain a certain independence from the i Sokula. But even though this involved Natewa in frequent warfare with Cakaudrove, it was to acknowledge Cakaudrove's supremacy eventually. In the early 1840s when he observed a European visitor looking at the large amount of masi he had stored in his house, the Vunivalu explained that 'these were made purposely to give away to other places for the sake of being at peace with every "vanua turanga" (chief or ruling government), but, notwithstanding all his efforts and manoeuvres, it was with great difficulty that he managed to keep himself from being reduced to a gall (or tributary place).'[23]

21. Lyth, Day-book 1842-1843, 23 June 1842, 5.

22. In April 1842 Yavala the Tui Cakau gave a feast for some of his canoe builders, see Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 28 April 1842, 720.

23. 'Jackson's Narrative', 431-32.

THE true power resources in Fiji were the people. It was their labour, and the produce of their labour, which was used as political capital. Thus, Sahlins' defines chieftainship as 'a right to things realized through a hold on persons'.[24] Territorial possessions were essential not for their natural resources alone, but for their human resources; they converted the potential wealth into actual capital, and provided a direct source of labour. Political activity entailed the struggle over, and the use of, these human resources.

The first category of human resources was subordinate peoples. The Tui Cakau was located at the pinnacle of a sociopolitical hierarchy which controlled the productive and distributive processes of economic life. He was the ultimate recipient of agricultural produce (magiti) and manufactured products (i yau). They were passed up the sociopolitical hierarchy from household heads, to heads of more inclusive groups such as mataqali (which might comprise a village), to heads of vanua and ultimately to a paramount such as the Tui Cakau. All such heads profited from their position in the hierarchy: the scale of the collection and redistribution depended upon their rank -- the higher the rank, the higher the quantity and quality of the goods received.

Redistribution in chiefdoms, and confederations of chiefdoms, was actually extraction.[25] The sociopolitical hierarchy was a very efficient system of appropriation. In order to maintain themselves, it was the role of heads to encourage, and if necessary compel, subordinate peoples to produce more than was necessary for their subsistence. But although they extracted surplus, the heads at the

24. Sahlins, Stone age economics, 92-93.

25. H.T. Wright, 'Recent research on the origin of the state', Ann. Rev. Anthropol., VI (1977), 382.

higher levels were not directly involved in production, apart from supervision of their own immediate household and village. The household was, and still is, the basic productive unit.[26] The duplication of hierarchy at each level, the vanua and the village, for example, meant few demands were placed on the head of a confederation. Projected requirements would pass down the hierarchy, through successively lower-ranked heads, until the household heads knew the demands likely to be placed on them. It was their task to produce the surplus which would then be extracted by heads at higher levels.

People within Cakaudrove, especially those who lived relatively close to the village of the Tui Cakau, presented i sevu or first-fruits to their paramount. These were usually yams presented from late January onwards. The ceremony held religious implications: the superior's ancestor-gods would be inclined to make the land agriculturally prosperous if respectful acknowledgements of superiority were made to the turaga and his ancestor-gods. More importantly the presentations, acknowledgements of sociopolitical inferiority, held great political significance, and such ceremonies took place between and within all political levels. Even less senior members of the i Sokula would make presentations to the Tui Cakau, as did Tuikilakila to his father in late January 1840 for example.[27] I sevu might not be restricted to the presentation of yams. The Tavuki people, for example, would present both yams and gata (snakes).[28] The gata were the traditional accompaniment and were termed the magiti ni vanua (food presentation of the land). The magiti ni vanua of the Somosomo people to the Tui Cakau was dalo yaco (a variety of taro), that of the Wainikeli people was vudi

26. Sahlins, Stone age economics, 76, 93.

27. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 27 January 1840, 434.

(plantains), while the Qamea people presented lairo (landcrabs) as well as tivoli (a wild yam often used in times of root crop shortage).[29]

Life-crisis ceremonies of high-ranking people were associated with presentations by subordinate groups. Property, for example, would be presented at the installation of a head. Nearly twenty years after Golea the eighth Tui Cakau's solevu vuluvulu (the ceremony held when a newly installed Tui Cakau was able to wash for the first time some days after his drinking of the installation yaqona) it was still remembered as exceptional: it had 'excelled in glory'.[30] Even the return of a turaga to his village, after an absence of only a few days, was an occasion for a presentation. Following a week's absence, the *i Sokula* who had been visiting Vanua Levu were honoured with a feast to mark their safe return. A prominent part was taken by the women of Somosomo who, in their finest attire, carried various foods which they then presented.[31]

In times of stress great quantities of food, later to be redistributed among the participants, would be presented to the ancestor-gods. The *i Sokula* received a disproportionately large share, though they would also have contributed to the presentations. In June 1845, during a prolonged war with Natewa, 3,000 taro, 2,000

28. Josefa Lala to Governor, 3 September 1894, memorandum W.L. Allardyce to Colonial Secretary, 15 September 1894, memorandum H. Monckton to Colonial Secretary 13 October 1894 in FCSO 3355/1894; evidence of Tui Tavuki, 17 August 1902 in NLC, Notes & Minutes of a meeting of the Chiefs and people of Cakaudrovi held at Somosomo on this 15th day of August 1902, 14.
29. Evidence of Mauriceo Cavuilati (uninstalled Tui Somosomo), 19 August 1902 in NLC, Notes & Minutes, 38.
30. J. Blyth to Colonial Secretary, 28 May 1881 in FCSO 973/1881.
31. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 15 and 23 August 1841, 660.

puddings, between twenty and thirty turtles, and twelve tabua were calculated to have been offered to Mai Natavasara, the kalou vu. [32] The i Sokula even profited when small amounts of property were presented to the ancestor-gods when they were consulted about various matters. In one instance in August 1840 coconuts, presented by warriors to Mai Natavasara, were apportioned to the various i Sokula who had attended the ceremony. [33]

Presentations, as expressions of loyalty to a higher-ranking person, were not necessarily associated with any ceremonial occasion. In early January 1840, for example, the Bouma people presented about 130 large pigs, tabua, and masi to the Tui Cakau. It took the form of a pig presentation. A large round enclosure was constructed into which each Bouma man threw a live pig which he had carried on his shoulder to the rara. After the pig presentation, the Bouma men exchanged their new masi clothing for the old dress of the Tui Cakau. [34] In September 1841 the Butoni showed their loyalty to the Tui Cakau by holding a large feast at Somosomo. Many supporters of Cakaudrove, who also brought pigs, attended. Lyth described it as 'the largest feast I have seen'. Hundreds of pigs were eaten; while not less than 50,000 yams had been presented to the Butoni people for redistribution at the feast. So large was the gathering that a series of feasts and interchanges of property could take place, the redistribution involved benefiting the i Sokula more than any other group. [35]

32. Hazlewood, Day-book 1844-1846, 25 June 1845; Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 16 December 1840, 582-83.
33. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 31 August 1840, 520.
34. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 6 January 1840, 428; Lyth to his sister, 29 January 1840 in Lyth, Copy-book of letters 1840-1841, 100-01.
35. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 30 August, 20 September and 1 October 1841, 662, 664-66.

When property was needed the i Sokula could themselves hold feasts which subordinates would be invited to attend. In March 1842, when the i Sokula needed property for a visit to Bau, they hosted a feast at which an 'unusual quantity of riches' was presented to Yavala the Tui Cakau.[36] At another time, in November 1839, they required food to present to their Lakeban visitors, and again they organized a large feast. People from Vione, Bouma, Welagi, Tavuki, Wairiki, Waica and Vuna on Taveuni, people from the islands of Laucala and Rabe, and people from the immediate Cakaudrove area on Vanua Levu came bringing large quantities of food. Presentations consisted of an immense quantity of taro, yams, fish, about thirty-five turtles and thirty pigs, as well as a large quantity of tabua. So plentiful was the food that the portion distributed to the Wesleyan missionaries consisted of five to six thousand yams.[37]

Feasts given by subordinates in their own lands, to which the i Sokula were invited, would also mean the acquisition of food and valuables. When turaga visited subordinate lands without an invitation, it meant they were in search of property. Lyth wrote cynically that property was 'always the end in view in the visit of Feejeean chiefs'.[38] When property was required for a specific purpose, it was not unusual for special visits of a predatory nature to be made to subordinate peoples. In November 1839, when the i Sokula had wished to make wealth presentations to the Lakebans and their Tongan supporters, Yavala the Tui Cakau went to the immediate Cakaudrove area on Vanua Levu while his son Tuikilakila visited the

36. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 7 March 1842, 707-08; Mrs Mary Lyth, Diary 1838-1842, 16 March 1842.
37. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 4 November 1839, 402-03; Hunt, Private Journal, I, 11 November 1839, 103; Lyth to his sister, 29 January 1840, 91.
38. Lyth, Journal 1845-1848, 31 January 1846, 189.

vanua of Tunuloa and Natewa to obtain property.[39]

Presentations by subject peoples were often made willingly, but at other times food and property presentations were forced when the turaga, accompanied by large numbers of supporters, arrived. The islands of northern Lau were a convenient and rich source of wealth. The i Sokula, with a large company of armed men, would descend on Vanua Balavu. On one visit in 1846, the party returned to Somosomo with large amounts of sinnet and masi. [40] Perhaps to forestall such a predatory visit, which would have necessitated the presentation of much property, the Yaro people of Vanua Balavu visited Somosomo in February 1840 to present tribute to the Tui Cakau. [41]

Plundering of enemies' plantations also led to the acquisition of food. When the Somosomo, Bouma, and Wainikeli peoples made an incursion into Vuna territory during a dispute with the Vunans, they failed to make contact with anyone outside the defences. Instead they contented themselves with stripping plantations, returning 'well laden' with yams and taro. [42] When rebelling peoples were subdued, this was also an opportunity to gain property, more than would be taken on a predatory visit to those who had not challenged the authority of the i Sokula.

The direct labour of subordinate peoples could be the subject of lala ni turaga, chiefly order, too. It could be expected in the form of military help, for example. People within the Cakaudrove territory

39. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 12 and 25 November 1839, 411-12.

40. Hazlewood, Day-book 1844-1846, 2 February 1846.

41. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 10 February 1840, 436. On 2 February they presented a large quantity of masi to the Tui Cakau. See Mrs Mary Lyth, Diary 1838-1842, 2 February 1840.

42. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 31 August 1840, 519.

supplied warriors to help the Tui Cakau defend, maintain, and extend his leadership. They would be employed in all capacities, including defending the capital while the i Sokula were absent on an expedition.[43]

Turaga could request lower-ranking groups under their control to work their gardens for a certain time, or mind their pigs. In the early 1870s the Tavuki people, for instance, were sent by Golea the Tui Cakau to help plant and then to tend a garden at Qacavulo, between Wairiki and Vuna, while some Europeans were building a boat for him. Later, Golea had them plant coconut palms there.[44] At another time, the Vione people were sent to Vurevure, on the east coast of Taveuni above Bouma, to tend his pigs.[45]

Assistance in communal projects was another common form of labour conscription. In September 1842, Lyth recorded that strangers were at Somosomo helping to build a bure kalou. [46] About fourteen months later he recorded another instance of the use of labour by the i Sokula. At that time the Wesleyan missionaries had paid Vakalolo, son of Tuikilakila, to have the roof of one of their houses rethatched. Vakalolo supervised subordinates from Somosomo, Welagi, Vione, and Tavuki who probably supplied the necessary building materials too.[47]

43. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 19 September 1842, 751.
44. Evidence of Tui Tavuki, 17 August 1902 in NLG, Notes & Minutes, 12.
45. Evidence of Joani Lala (matagali Vione), 20 August 1902 in NLG, Notes & Minutes, 62.
46. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 19 September 1842, 751.
47. Lyth, Day-book 1842-1843, 16 November 1843, 152.

The privilege of lala still continued into the twentieth century, but was by then officially confined to projects relating to district or provincial matters. Ways were found to circumvent the restrictions on the traditional rights, however. In 1902 Josefa Lala the ninth Tui Cakau requested housebuilding help, ostensibly to build houses for the approaching Bose ni Yasana (Provincial Meeting) but actually for people coming to the vakataraisulu (the ceremony for removing mourning) for his daughter Adi Elenoa who had died about a year before. Some claimed that the vakataraisulu was an excuse for a ceremonial wealth presentation to the Bauan turaga. More than half the able-bodied men in all the Vanua Levu districts of Cakaudrove were said to have been called to Somosomo.[48]

The refusal of a subordinate turaga to give labour when requested was tantamount to rebellion. In 1873 the Tui Cakau sent a message to the Tui Wailevu, asking him to send some of the Drakaniwai people to work at Qacavulo. But Lario Dovia, Vunivalu of Drakaniwai, refused the Tui Wailevu's request. In retaliation the Tui Wailevu had the gardens of the Drakaniwai people destroyed. The Drakaniwai people then erected defences at their village of Nabau, an action equivalent to a declaration of war. Troops from Nasavusavu, and possibly Matewa, joined the Wailevu force. Several skirmishes took place; a few casualties were suffered on both sides. Intervention, by representatives of the Cakobau government, led to a cessation of hostilities after which the Drakaniwai people were moved from the hills down to Navudi on the coast, where they could be kept under surveillance.[49]

48. C.A. Chalmers to Assistant Colonial Secretary, 14 September 1902, and memorandum, W.S. to Colonial Secretary, 14 December 1902 in FCSO 4423/1902.

49. The Fiji Gazette, 29 October 1873 and 1 November 1873.

The second category of human resources, not necessarily discrete from the first, is people linked by marital ties or kinship relationships. Expediency was the guideline which governed marriages between high-ranking people; marital relationships with leading families were valued for the goodwill they could generate. When the i Sokula married into subordinate chiefly families, for example, it helped gain their acceptance of an inferior position.[50] With such marital ties, wealth and labour would be more willingly given, and their allegiance was less likely to be turned from the i Sokula to their enemies. Sons-in-law, especially, were bound to render services, both civil and military, to their wives' fathers.[51]

Marriages were sometimes celebrated as a means of officially recognizing a political alliance -- the beginning of a new one or the reaffirmation of an old one. In September 1840 Yavala the Tui Cakau married a lady of Bau -- the lady he later tried to repudiate. She was said to have been a 'lady of great rank', middle-aged and a widow of about twelve months.[52] The marama has been identified as Toro, probably the grand-daughter of Banuve through his son Ramudra.[53] Wainiu, classificatory brother of Tanoa, had fled to Somosomo where he had joined forces with Tuikilakila against Cakobau, Tanoa's son. To cement the new alliance, Toro was married to Yavala. During the marriage ceremony, a speech in which the political conditions of the marriage were stated was made by the Bauans. It was said that this union made the Bauan party at Somosomo 'one' with the i Sokula.[54]

50. M. Fortes, 'Introduction' in Fortes (ed), Marriage in tribal societies (Cambridge 1972), 4.
51. Williams, Annotated copy of Fiji and the Fijians, I, opposite 19.
52. Hunt, Private Journal, I, 28 September 1840, 192; Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 28 September 1840, 529.
53. Deve Toganivalu, History of Bau.

Later, in early 1842, when Bau and Cakaudrove resumed friendly relations, a daughter of the Tui Cakau was presented to Tanoa as a wife.[55]

Marama involved in such alliances could act in a politically effective manner. In the middle of 1853, for example, the people of Lakeba were expecting an attack from Cakaudrove because they had been interfering in northern Lau, islands which the *i Sokula* still considered subject to Cakaudrove. Adi Gativi, daughter of Tuikilakila and head wife of the Tui Nayau, together with some resident Cakaudrove people, performed an *i soro* with the ceremonial presentation of a spear. Adi Gativi was seen as the leading representative of the *i Sokula* at Lakeba and her action defused a tense situation, creating a 'temporary calm'.[56]

External marital alliances could also be valued for the wealth to which they could open access. When Adi Gativi became the head wife of Tui Nayau, it had brought economic advantages to the *i Sokula*. In June 1852, for example, Tuikilakila sent a message to his daughter, asking her 'to contribute her share of cloth, whales' teeth, &c' to a ceremony soon to be held at Somosomo.[57] Furthermore, such alliances were a link by which military assistance could be requested by both parties.

54. Hunt, Private Journal, I, 28 September 1840, 192-93. Because of her rank she was formally declared the *Marama Levu*, principal wife of the Tui Cakau.

55. 'Jackson's Narrative', 455.

56. Lyth, Day-book 1852-1854, 28 July 1853, 90. The Cakaudrove people were probably her attendants and others residing with their Lakeban spouses on the island.

57. Lyth, Voyaging Journal 1852, IV, 30 June 1852, 36.

Kinship rights and obligations gave access to power resources, too. When a child was born to a Tui Cakau or high-ranking member of the i Sokula by a marama from another matanitu, the resulting kinship relationships helped the i Sokula gain access to the wealth of the mother's land. The birth of children by a marama from a subordinate land made acceptance of their subordinate position easier, for the two families became related by consanguineal ties. It was even possible that the son of the lady might become a subsequent Tui Cakau. Alternatively, a son might become the leader of the subordinate land. Either way, access to power resources was made easier.

The children of a group's women occupied a relationship with political significance. They were said to be vasu, a title rather than a kinship term.[58] The term vasu is normally restricted to the male children, more particularly to the eldest son, but it may also be used of daughters, especially if she is the first-born.[59] Its political nature is reflected in its usage; strictly speaking a person is described as a vasu to a place or to a kinship group, not to a specific individual.[60] The political nature of the relationship is also reflected in the relative scale of the people to whom a person was vasu, for the vasu privilege was delimited by rank. One could be a low-ranking vasu, a status which might apply to only a small number of people. Or one could be a vasu levu, a high-ranking or great vasu,

58. See for example L. Fison, 'Land tenure in Fiji', JRAI, X (1881), 339; Hocart, Lau Islands, Fiji (Honolulu 1929), 40; Hocart, The northern states of Fiji (London 1952), 108; Quain, Fijian village (Chicago 1948), 247.

59. See Capell and Lester, 'Kinship in Fiji', I-II, Oceania, XV (1945) and XVI (1945), 179, 124. Hocart (Lau Islands, 40) maintains, however, that the term is never applied to a woman in Lau; cf. Sahlins states that this was possible in certain circumstances on Moala, see his Moala: culture and nature on a Fijian island (Ann Arbor 1962), 169.

60. Hocart, Lau Islands, 40.

both of whose parents were of high rank and who was vasu to the whole spatial area -- a vanua or a matanitu -- which was led by the mother's family.[61] The vasu levu category was divided into two classes. First, the vasu levu to another independent vanua or matanitu who would be termed as if he was vasu to the whole territory, for example the vasu vakaCakaudrove. Secondly, the vasu levu to an area under the control of the father's family; he was the vasu nei ira na vanua qali, the vasu of the subject land.

The rights of vasu in their mothers' land were so important that one reason for the strangling of women, after the death of their husbands, was to prove the legitimacy of their children.[62] The rights meant such a relation could carry off the portable property, such as tabua, mats, masi, canoes, and pigs of his mother's people. But he could not take permanent possession of women, houses, and land.[63] Lyth recorded an example of the vasu privilege in 1840. A feast was held at Somosomo and, when the Wainikeli share was apportioned, Delaimoala, brother of the Tui Nayau and vasu to Wainikeli, put his hand on two turtles which were instantly carried off for him.[64] The custom of being able to vasuta property was generally practised within Cakaudrove although, in a few inland areas of western Vanua Levu, the practice was restricted to the appropriation of offerings which had been made to the ancestor-gods of the mother's people.[65] Where the custom was more generous to the

61. Williams, Fiji and the Fijians, I, 34.

62. 'Jackson's Narrative', 448.

63. Williams, Fiji and the Fijians, I, 34.

64. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 16 December 1840, 582-83.

65. Hocart, 'Chieftainship and the sister's son in the Pacific', Am. Anthropol., XVII (1915), 642; Capell and Lester, 'Kinship in Fiji', III, Oceania, XVI (1946), 241.

vasu, the women's children could take property with much more recklessness than his mother's family would normally dare from their own subordinates.[66] When a high-ranking turaga was vasu to a matanitu, he could cause great havoc in the territory of his mother's group by seizing whatever he wished.[67] Lyth described Mara Kapaiwai, the Bauan vasu levu to Lakeba and hence all southern Lau, as a 'thorough wolf'.[68] The leader of the paternal group could benefit from the vasu's appropriations; when a vasu levu returned home with the property he had taken by right of vasu, most of it was given to the paramount.[69]

The vasu levu played a political role too. The vasu privilege not only entitled a vasu to exact property from his maternal relations, it also entitled him to military support. When the i Sokula decided to ask Bau to help them conquer the rebellious Matewans, Tuikilakila made a 'pathetic' plea for assistance in which he stressed his relationship of vasu. [70] In times of war the vasu could be used as a go-between, for he was able to travel in his mother's territory without risk of injury.[71] If he had joined the side to which he was vasu, however, he was then likely to be harmed by his father's people. In early 1842, after Cakaudrove's atonement had been accepted by Bau, for example, it was some time before Wainiu, vasu levu to Cakaudrove which he had supported during the dispute, could muster enough courage to return to Bau and ask Tanoa and Cakobau

66. Hocart, 'Chieftainship and the sister's son', 641.

67. Diapea, Cannibal Jack, 89.

68. Lyth, Sayings and Doings in his Reminiscences 1851-1853, 109.

69. Williams, Fiji and the Fijians, I, 34.

70. Hunt to Lyth, 7 January 1843 in Letters to and from Lyth.

71. I.H. Eagleston, Ups and downs through life, II, 19 July 1832; Eagleston, Logbook of the Emerald, 7 June 1834, 26.

for forgiveness.[72]

Because of the political advantages, it was, therefore, a conscious policy to seek marital alliances with women from powerful families. In practice, however, the success of a vasu, particularly in making appropriations, depended upon the relative power of the two sides in the relationship. Bau, for example, seems to have been very successful in utilizing the vasu privilege in relation to other areas, but to have successfully resisted claims of vasu levu on Bauan wealth.[73] A leading family would therefore welcome marriages with marama for the access to valuables and military support which might result. But they would be wary of their own women's children, whose allegiance lay with the father's people. To help prevent the birth of vasu levu, it has been claimed that a woman skilled in procuring abortions would be sent among the attendants of the lady who was to be married.[74] Some marama were obliged to kill their male children.[75]

Consequently members of the i Sokula had many wives, the relations of whom would be treated as a power resource, a resource made even more accessible with the birth of children. Golea, the Tui Cakau at the time of Cession, is reputed to have had more than one hundred wives; Yavala, his grandfather, had seventy.[76] Many of

72. Toganivalu, History of Bau.

73. Scarr, 'Cakobau and Ma'afu: contenders for pre-eminence in Fiji' in J.W. Davidson and Scarr (eds), Pacific Islands portraits (Canberra 1970), 96.

74. A.B. Joske to Colonial Secretary, 17 February 1892, Appendix IV in B.G. Corney, J. Stewart and B.H. Thomson, Report of the commission to enquire into the decrease of the native population of Fiji: 1893 (Suva 1896), 9.

75. Williams, Fiji and the Fijians, I, 180.

76. Holmes, Journal, II, 10-13 June 1840, 25.

these remained in their home villages, for the paramounts of Cakaudrove were said to have had wives in many villages in their territory. Wives were also an immediate source of wealth. Their labour produced food and manufactured articles essential for the position of a turaga. When wives left a turaga, it was a serious matter. In January 1846, after Ralulu had been installed Tui Cakau, one of his wives left him. Ralulu had given her a thrashing for being disobedient, and she had run away to either Welagi or Wainikeli. He was so concerned that he asked Williams to use his spy glass to locate her; Williams had difficulty convincing him that the spy glass was of little use.[77]

THUS, the maintenance of power in eastern Fiji depended upon the successful control of people. So necessary were loyal supporters, that members of chiefly families would often take particular groups under their immediate protection. The people concerned appear to have had little choice. On Taveuni, for example, the Vione people belonged to a succession of i Sekula turaga. First they were taken by Ralulu but, following his eclipse by his half-brother Yavala, they fell to Rabici, one of Yavala's sons. On Rabici's premature death in late 1839, control passed to his older brother Tuikilakila. Leleiveivono and Qerawaqa, the i Sokula turaga who often lived at Vuna, developed a special relationship with the Tavuki people who were originally subject to Vuna. Their closeness to Somosomo meant they came under

77. Williams, The natives have strange notions of the Power and properties of certain English instruments, dated 20 January 1846 in his Miscellaneous notes chiefly concerning Feejee & Feejeeans, II, 39.

the sway of the Tui Cakau, so Leleiveivono and Qerawaqa lost control of them.[78]

Consequently turaga were ever watchful for signs which could indicate dissatisfaction with their authority. They were constantly alive to the possibility of changes in allegiance: changes meant more than a loss of power resources since they would be rechannelled to the benefit of others. Sahlins and Earle view Hawaiian warfare in this light. It was not a struggle between communities over limited land, but competition for control of communities which provided the labour on which chieftainship was based.[79] Reasons for war might often have seemed trivial to European observers but, to the participants themselves, seemingly petty events held great significance.[80]

In 1840, for instance, the i Sokula fought a war with Vuna, whose head was attempting to change his allegiance to Bau. Relations between Somosomo and Vuna were said to have been strained, initially, through the behaviour of one of the Vuna people: the i Sokula were insulted after they had been made to appear ridiculous. A man from Vuna repeatedly claimed that one of his countrymen had dug up, after three days labour, a yam which was about thirty-six feet long. The i Sokula, offended because this extraordinary yam had not been presented to the Tui Cakau, sent a canoe to Vuna so it could be conveyed to

78. Evidence of Tui Tavuki, 17 August 1902 and Ratu Manasa Boginivalu, 22 August 1902 in NLG, Notes & Minutes, 9, 82, 87. These associations led to members of the i Sokula being named Mai Tavuki and Mai Drekeniwai. Drekeniwai was a village of the Vione people.
79. Earle, Economic and social organization, 165, 183-84, 190, 191. Earle takes his argument further. Chieftoms, as regionally organized political units, greatly restrict warfare between local communities; chieftoms act to establish a regional peace.
80. Mrs Mary Lyth to Mrs J. Jackson, 8 May 1843 in Lyth, Letters Home from R.B. and Mary Ann Lyth 1829-1856.

Somosomo for inspection. When it arrived, however, they found it was only nine feet long. Accordingly the i Sokula were humiliated, and felt they had been deliberately tricked. Their reaction led the Vuna people to believe they might expect some sort of retribution; so they looked to Bau for protection.[81]

Intergroup communication was performed to set rules. Variations from the conventions, either subtle or obvious, carried messages for those who had an interest in their interpretation. Deliberately small presentations could indicate a dissatisfaction with the behaviour of another group. After the death of Rabici in 1839, for example, the i Sokula openly showed their disapproval of the Bauan involvement when they made only a small presentation of masi to the visiting turaga of Bau. It was also rumoured the Bauans were sent away in a hurry.[82] Had the i Sokula's anger been less, a more subtle indicator might have been used. An improperly cleaned pig, for example, might have been presented as part of a magiti. [83] Non-presentation of i sevu would have been a great insult to a high-ranking turaga and his ancestor-gods, as would have been a refusal to give property which a turaga requested.

The last major war in Cakaudrove before Cession, known as the Wainukubolu war, was occasioned by the refusal of a few pigs to Golea. About 1869 the Vaturova people presented food and property to the Koroalau people at Wainimala, the village of the Tui Koroalau (more properly the Rokotuwani). It was the response to an earlier presentation held at Naqeleni at which the Vaturova people had

81. Williams, A Yarn of a Yam in his Miscellaneous notes chiefly concerning Feejee & Feejeeans, I, 150-51.
82. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 12 and 14 September 1839, 384.
83. FCSO 170/1887.

benefited from the presentations. Golea was staying in the neighbourhood at Waimotu with a division of the Vaturova people, whose position was that of mataki (envoys to) Cakaudrove. He sent tabua with a request for pigs to the Tui Koroalau, who tried to find some other people to receive the tabua and fulfil the obligation. Finally the turaga of Nukubolu, to whom the Koroalau people were subject, told the Tui Koroalau that the tabua belonged to Koroalau. Still not wishing to accept the tabua, the Tui Koroalau further insulted the Tui Cakau by returning the tabua to him. The Vaturova people at Waimotu reacted by building a fence against Koroalau, a declaration of the seriousness of the offence. When the Tui Cakau returned with warriors to enforce his authority, all Vaturova joined the party at Waimotu. Faced with the forces from Cakaudrove, the Koroalau people allowed themselves to be moved to Natarawau rather than suffer an attack. But the Nukubolu head, seeing his power was being further eroded in favour of the Tui Cakau, refused to accept Cakaudrove's authority. With their supporters, the Wairiki people of inland Vanua Levu who were also subject to Nukubolu, the Nukubolu people retreated further into the interior where they were decisively defeated by the combined Cakaudrove forces.[84]

Another major insult to a turaga was the unlawful (in Fijian terms) breaking of a tabu, either a temporary prohibition placed for a specific reason, or a permanent prohibition which supported a chiefly prerogative. These crimes, infringements against the sacred order of the society, could reflect dissatisfaction with the performance of a turaga, or dissatisfaction with an inferior position. The taking of coconuts from an area on which a tabu had been placed in anticipation of a solevu, for instance, involved a deliberate flouting of the

84. Blyth and others to Acting Colonial Secretary, 2 November 1887 in FCSO 2997/1887 attached to 306/1890.

turaga's authority, indicating disapproval of the prohibition if only because there was a shortage of food. More serious discontent with the leadership could have been indicated, for example, by the eating of turtle, a chiefly entitlement.

This would explain the strong reaction in 1898 of Josefa Lala, the ninth Tui Cakau, to the Welitua people who, after fishing for the Tui Cakau, caught five turtles, all of which they ate. Lala wanted the colonial government to dismiss Welitua's head from his position of Matapule, for their actions were considered most disrespectful to himself. The correct procedure would have been for the Matapule to inform the Tui Cakau before eating the turtles, an action which in all probability would have meant appropriation of the catch by Lala. Lala contended that, before colonial rule, a Tui Cakau would have avenged the insult. 'It required very little provocation to cause a place to be devastated, but this thing is very serious and very impudent.' [85] Even other members of the i Sokula could eat turtle only with the permission of the Tui Cakau. Before leaving their village they would first ask the Tui Cakau's permission to be allowed to eat turtle while they were absent. When Peni Lepai, a relative and rival of Lala, ate turtle before informing Lala, Joni Vakalolo (Lala's half-brother who was Buli Cakaudrove) unsuccessfully took Lepai to court. [86]

47. Lala to Governor, 5 January 1898 and memorandum, Allardyce to Acting Colonial Secretary, 22 February 1898 in FCSO 925/1898. For a discussion of the importance of turtle fishing in Cakaudrove see F. Baxendale to Colonial Secretary, 13 October 1893 and memorandum Allardyce to Colonial Secretary, 30 October 1893 in FCSO 3634/1893.

In an atmosphere of suspicion, even unintended insults could be seized upon and made to assume unrealistic importance. Any incident could be treated as an indication of political unrest or friction by turaga always mindful of the shifting nature of political allegiance. This sensitivity extended to turaga of areas which were not under their political hegemony, especially those with approximately equal power. Political aggression in these instances meant a threat to the integrity of the turaga's territories and possibly the independence of the turaga himself. Thus possible resentment, and distrust between and within political territories, meant that events, considered minor by people from an outside culture, assumed great importance in the minds of the participants.

OTHER than constant displays of power supremacy, and regular appropriations of tribute, a simple means of controlling access to power resources was to withdraw them from circulation -- by using them. Thus human and material resources would be used in communal projects, such as building temples and houses for the turaga, and in ceremonial associated with turaga, their mortuary practices for example. Such ostentatious expenditure had a dual purpose. As well as preventing rivals from gaining access to resources, the prestige associated with such expenditure helped reinforce the authority of the

86. Chalmers to Colonial Secretary, 16 August 1904 in FCSO 3525/1904. Peni Lepai was a son of Kuila who had opposed Lala's father Golea and his uncle Raivalita the Tui Cakau in the early 1860s. Lala felt that Lepai was a threat; it appears Lepai encouraged those who had grievances against Lala and other members of the I Sokula who supported him.

power-holders. The spenders were made to appear more important, and consequently their authority was strengthened.[87]

Such an argument also helps explain a function of warfare. Successful warfare did more than increase a turaga's prestige and economic base. It prevented wealth and labour being channelled into activities which were detrimental to a paramount's position. Subordinate turaga used their resources to assist the paramount, rather than to increase their own power at the paramount's expense; potential rivals among the paramount's family found their access to power resources was restricted when these were being channelled into the defence or expansion of resources.

The political authority of turaga was unstable, however, because differential control of power resources could not be constant enough to create a specific and lasting political hierarchy. This was what Sahlins meant when he wrote

Primitive peoples have invented many ways to elevate a man above his fellows. But the producers' hold on their own economic means rules out the most compelling history has known: exclusive control of such means by some few, rendering dependent the others. The political game has to be played on levels above production, with tokens such as food and other finished goods; then, usually the best move, as well as the most coveted right of property, is to give the stuff away.[88]

The household was a unit which could not be indefinitely controlled by a particular group in the sociopolitical hierarchies of Fiji.

Many men had access to power resources. The head of an extended household possessed the nucleus of a power base: the manpower which was needed to convert natural resources into wealth, and the manpower

97. W.L. Rathje, 'Melanesian and Australian exchange systems: a view from Mesoamerica', Mankind, XI (1978), 170; Earle, Social and economic organization, 181.

88. Sahlins, Stone age economics, 93-94.

itself. From such a nucleus, it was theoretically possible for the head of a household to increase his power. Careful investment of the wealth and labour services of his household, and the contraction of numerous and advantageous marital alliances, could lead to an increase in power. Because men also possessed personal resources such as intelligence, political acumen and fighting skills, all of which were useful in the contest for political advancement, such increases in power at the expense of others were possible.

Only a clever use of resources under a man's control was needed to increase his power. Power could be self-amplifying -- given an initial resource advantage, a skilful turaga could use it to gain additional power. Thus even a minor position in the sociopolitical structure could lead to differential accumulation of power resources, as one turaga or group gained increasingly.[89] Since rank ultimately depended upon the possession and skilful use of power resources, not the possession of genealogical superiority, changes in rank, and hence the balance of power, were common. Status rivalry between groups in Fiji was endemic.

The concept has been discussed by Irving Goldman who argues that status rivalry, i.e. competition for power, explains the different aristocrat-type social structures in Polynesia. Strong chieftainships, which are always associated with social stratification, represent the outcome of severe status rivalry. His three categories of ranking systems in Polynesia -- the traditional, the open, and the stratified -- represent an evolutionary

89. T. Baumgartner, W. Buckley and T. Burns, 'Meta-power and the structuring of social hierarchies' in P. Schuster (ed), Power and control: social structures and their transformation (California 1976), 237. Earle also uses their notions of positive feedback loops and power amplification.

progression.[90] And Fiji, one could argue, belongs to his most complex category of stratified societies. Sahlins has a valid criticism of Goldman's argument, though. He writes that

Status rivalry is not some disembodied value or an attribute of the Polynesian psyche, it is a social relation characteristic of a given political system. It is the political system that produces rivalry, not vice versa. Goldman is only dealing in tautology.[91]

Earle, while approving of Goldman's dynamic representation of Polynesian societies, does not appear so dogmatic as Goldman. He rejects Goldman's restricted evolutionary sequence, yet assumes that change has led to a more complex sociopolitical system in Hawaii. For Earle, hierarchical principles existed in the original conical clan. Competitive processes within these original conical clans, decentralized village chiefdoms, led to the elaboration of regional centralizations which were limited by environmental factors.[92]

It has usually been assumed that the highly stratified political systems of Polynesia had evolved from such smaller-scaled and more egalitarian political systems as Melanesia has retained. Researchers have felt obliged, therefore, to explain how the Polynesian chiefdoms, and confederations of chiefdoms, developed. Recent work has begun to remove this onus. There is sound linguistic evidence to suggest that, in fact, the Polynesians have preserved their original hereditary chieftainship and ranking systems, while most of the Melanesian peoples have lost these qualities of structural organization.[93] It

90. I. Goldman, Ancient Polynesian society (Chicago and London 1970), especially 482.

91. Sahlins, Social stratification in Polynesia (Seattle 1958), 131n.

92. Earle, Social and economic organization, 169, 170, 191-92.

93. Pawley, 'Melanesian diversity and Polynesian homogeneity: a unified explanation for language' in Hollyman and Pawley (eds), Studies in Pacific languages and cultures in honour of Bruce Biggs (Auckland 1981), 283, 285, 296-98.

has also been argued that anthropological knowledge of the present may be misleading when it is applied to the past. The contrast between Polynesian and Melanesian sociopolitical systems may not extend back into the archaeological record. There are tangible remains, such as large-scale megalithic structures and elaborate burials, which suggest the prior existence of ranked sociopolitical systems in Melanesia.[94] Finally, anthropological descriptions of Melanesian chieftainships are becoming increasingly common.

The known history of changing power hierarchies in Fiji indicates that confederations of chiefdoms could have been rising and declining for some time. Lack of contrary evidence for the matanitu centred on Verata, Laucala, a Vuna suggests these earlier political formations were modelled on the same lines as the later matanitu such as Bau and Cakaudrove. It is possible, however, that the organizational structure of the Veratan empire differed somewhat, for the earlier presentation paths in Vanua Levu argue for an organizational difference in allegiance expression. Instead of each chiefdom making presentations to the turaga whom they acknowledged as their immediate superior, paths leading in the geographical direction of the Tui Wailevu were followed. One suspects it was a pleasant while pragmatic solution to an otherwise difficult journey. Korolevu would be the logical place for the peoples to gather before proceeding to Wailevu. The journey to Korolevu would be made the more enjoyable by the institution of resting points where festivities could be held. The idea of paths has not been lost for the concept of sala vakavanua, customary paths, is still current. The correct path of the Natewans to the Tui Cakau, for example, is through the Korocau people, yet the Natewans are not subordinate to the Tui Korocau.[95]

94. Rathje, 'Melanesian and Australian exchange systems', 171.

The concept of status rivalry is useful, nevertheless. But it is not, as Goldman asserts, primary, with power political and a secondary development, a consequence of status rivalry.[96] Status rivalry is an integral part of the sociopolitical system. It was status rivalry, the desire for a more powerful position which was held by others, that led to the rise of Cakaudrove, just as it led to the decline of other matanitu such as Verata and Vuna.

RANK, then, depended upon the skilful use of power resources which potentially were available to men on the lower levels of a hierarchy as well as those occupying the highest level. This accounts for the dynamic nature of the Fijian sociopolitical configurations, for the rise and fall of matanitu. The matanitu of Cakaudrove depended upon the energies of the i Sokula who achieved an initial power base in the immediate Cakaudrove area, and from it extended their control to surrounding areas.

95. Hocart, Northern states, 120,131.

96. Ancient Polynesian society, 22.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE I SOKULA: THE REALITY OF TITLE POSSESSION AND LEADERSHIP

Just as the i Sokula in general achieved and maintained their high-ranking position in the society at large by temporal strength and thus showed they possessed the corresponding sacredness, so the Tui Cakau, too, achieved his position and sacredness among them. Rivalry among the i Sokula is readily explainable in the context of the Fijian polity, in which achievements could counterbalance and outweigh genealogical seniority. The history of succession to the title Tui Cakau is one of disputes by rival claimants, though always by claimants who were members of the i Sokula (see Fig. 3). Ideally, the Tui Cakau should be the genealogically highest-ranking member of the i Sokula. Sacredness of descent was displaced by the reality of temporal success, however.

IDEALLY, rank is inherited patrilineally in the genealogically senior line. The Tui Cakau should be the genealogically senior male member of the i Sokula, the eldest son in a line of eldest sons; he inherits his ancestors' sacredness which, theoretically, is transmitted more strongly by seniority. The Fijians are pragmatists however; there was no requirement that a title should be succeeded to on a purely

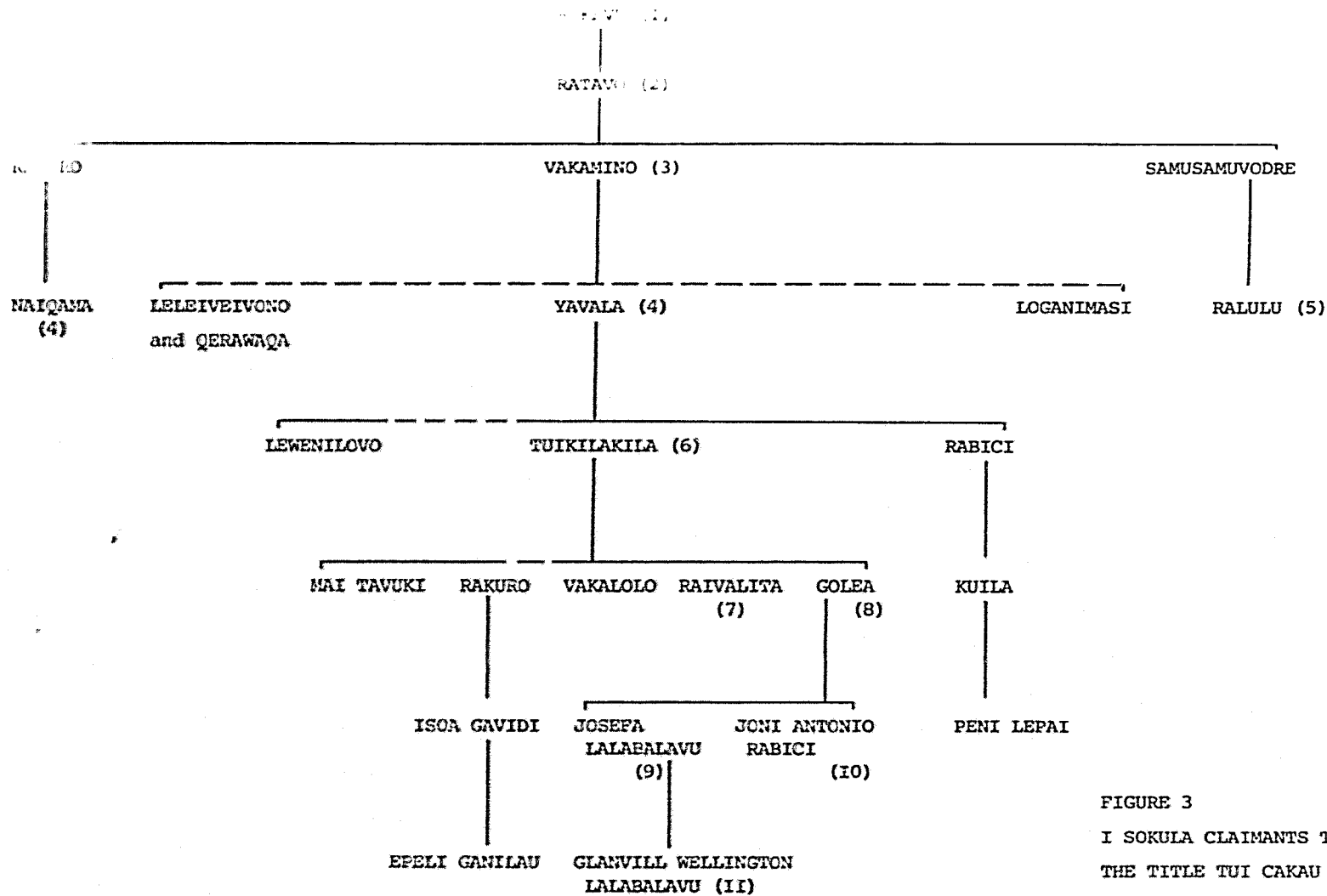


FIGURE 3
I SOKULA CLAIMANTS TO
THE TITLE TUI CAKAU

ascriptive basis. Succession rules are ambiguous, and this allowed the most politically competent turaga to achieve the title.

First, ambiguity was introduced by the practice of polygamy. The rank of the mothers often caused a deviation from the rule.[1] The relative rank of a turaga's children depended upon the rank of their mothers: the higher the rank of the mothers, the higher the rank of their sons.[2] Thus children by different mothers were not ranked by their relative age, but by order of the relative rank of their mothers and then by birth order of full-siblings. The genealogically senior male son was not necessarily the first born, therefore. He might have come some way down the list in terms of age-seniority.

Polygamy, practised the most fully by men of chiefly families, helps to account for succession disputes. The more children a turaga produced, the more likely there was to be rivalry. Yet the relative rank of wives was a means of eliminating many male children from the competition. Sons by wives of low rank never competed for the right to succeed to the title of Tui Cakau since their access to power resources was more limited than their genealogically senior relatives who, no doubt, restricted aggrandizement by such lower-ranking members of the lineage.

1. Williams, Fiji and the Fijians (London 1858), I, 24.
2. Hocart recorded for Lau that relative age-seniority among a turaga's children applied only to those children who had the same mother. 'I was repeatedly told there was no precedence among the sons of different mothers, because nobles had so many wives that it was impossible to keep a reckoning of who came before whom [i.e. their birth order].' See his Lau Islands, Fiji (Honolulu 1929), 38. Siblings would be ranked by age-seniority among themselves but not with their half-siblings. Their genealogical rank would depend upon the rank of their mother.

Ambiguity existed in the grading of the higher-ranked wives, too. The constantly changing balance of power between sociopolitical groups meant that relative rank did not remain fixed. Furthermore, there was contention as to whether the son of an i taukei lady ranked higher than the son of a lady of a powerful and independent matanitu such as Bau. It was accepted, however, that vasu vei ira na qali vanua, the child by a marama from a land subject to the family of the turaga, was inferior to both the others.[3] Claims have been made that a vasu i taukei was of higher rank.[4] Mai Tavuki and his younger brother Rakuro, the sons of Tuikilakila by an i Sokula marama, were said to be vasu i taukei to Cakaudrove, and thus of the highest rank.[5] The stress on the i taukei relationship probably reflects the desirability of a title-holder's having the minimum obligations to outside powers likely to take advantage of his sympathies.[6] A vasu i taukei title-holder would be concerned primarily with the interests of his own matanitu. The child of a union between an incoming turaga and a marama of the leading i taukei people, whose leadership might be lost to the incoming turaga or this child, would also be termed a vasu i taukei. Thus Rokevu, the first Tui Cakau, was a vasu i taukei.

Secondly, an ideal of sibling succession, after which the succession should return to the line of the genealogically senior brother, introduced another element of ambiguity.[7] This reflects

3. Lyth, Day-book and journal 1850-1851, 13 July 1851, 116.
4. Hocart, Lau Islands, 41, 234, 236.
5. Lyth, Day-book and journal 1850-1851, 13 July 1851, 116.
6. Such a succession is not considered in the context of this chapter. It was unique, the foundation of the i Sokula and the title of Tui Cakau. One of the reasons why Tanea of Bau, vanu levu to Rewa, was deposed in 1832 was because he was supplying Rewa, with whom Bau was fighting, with weapons. See Eagleston, Ups and downs through life, II, 13 December 1832.

the value customarily placed on experience. An elder has superior knowledge of customs, oral tradition, and the way the group should conduct its relations with other groups.[8] Hocart cited Lauan informants who stated that older men were preferred as leaders for their actions were less wilful and impetuous.[9] The emphasis on experience is related to the criterion of ability.[10] Claimants who had demonstrated their political competence were more likely to be supported than claimants who had been unsuccessful in their previous political enterprises. The success of a representation for support would also reflect the previous achievements of the contender, since wealth presentations accompanied such requests.

The ambiguity present in the succession rules allowed the two elements of experience and ability, especially the latter, to outweigh genealogical considerations. Inevitably, the ambiguity led to succession disputes. As an attempt, perhaps, to minimize such disputes,[11] the i Sokula installed another member of their family as Mai Nakorovou, From Nakorovou. At the installation ceremony of a Tui Cakau, Mai Nakorovou drank the final cup of the yaqona ceremony, after which his possession of the title was accepted.[12] Mai

7. Cross, Some account of the principal kings of Feejee, Wars, &c in Williams, Miscellaneous notes chiefly concerning Feejee & Feejeeans, I, 138; Nayacakalou, Leadership in Fiji (Melbourne 1975), 32; M.A.H.B. Walter, 'Succession in east Fiji: institutional disjunction as a source of political dynamism in an ascription-oriented society', Oceania, XLIV (1974), 306, 307.
8. Nayacakalou, Leadership, 33.
9. Lau Islands, 51.
10. For a general statement on ability and the right to succeed, see R. Burling, The passage of power: studies in political succession (New York 1974), 79.
11. Burling claims that circumstances of one succession often leave survivors with vivid memories of the problems. In an effort to avoid them in future, they may try to arrange matters so that the results will be different the next time. See The passage of power, 258.

Nakorovou was the sauvou (new leader), the turaga second in political importance to the Tui Cakau. He led the Nakorovou, the sauturaga of the i Sokula.[13] Together they enforced the Tui Cakau's wishes and his dominance. Hocart wrote that they acted as 'police'; their duty was to 'do the work of the land'.[14] Mai Nakorovou thus relieved the Tui Cakau of a task which was not consistent with his status as sacred leader of the land. But the position had a second function. It allowed Mai Nakorovou to be recognized as the heir presumptive of the Tui Cakau. The first turaga known to have ruled over Nakorovou was Tuikilakila; he was popularly referred to as the Vunivalu.[15]

Members of the i Sokula competed for political support from the same power resources. As well as receiving rank through his mother, a son also received political support from his matrilineal relations. The strength of his mother's people might determine the success of his candidature. It was also a diplomatic move for a contender, or potential contender, to marry marama from both external powers and land subject to their own family's control. Even without a son who would be a vasu and thus able to request property and assistance, a turaga still had the right to expect support from a wife's family. Moreover, he could also call on assistance from the affinal relations of his own sisters and of his relatives who were supporting him. To receive support through such kinship connexions was not automatically

12. Hocart, The northern states of Fiji (London 1952), 96.

13. It is possible that there was another position which, in terms of political status, ranked lower than Mai Nakorovou. This was Mai Tinanivale, From Tinanivale. Tinanivale was the highest-ranked division of the Nakorovou group. Vakalolo, son of Tuikilakila, was placed over the Tinanivale, while Tuikilakila was placed over all Nakorovou. See Lyth, Somosomo in his Notes on Islands, 2b.

14. Northern states, 86.

15. Lyth, Somosomo, 2b, 3b.

forthcoming, however; conflicting obligations might mean that the support of consanguineal and marital relations would have to be achieved.

Rivals for a title such as the Tui Cakau or Mai Nakorovou were competing for high stakes. Consequently all possible forms of support were mobilized, and intrigue was commonplace. Large amounts of political capital were spent by competing turaga to achieve leadership positions. Furthermore, rivalry did not surface only when an incumbent of an office had died, or was near death. The disputes were ever-present and likely to flare up at any time. This reflects the dependence of power on control of people. Allegiances and relationships of dominance had to be built up over a period of time, and then constantly maintained against the encroachment of potential and actual rivals who would try to win over support which others had achieved earlier. The achievement and continued possession of a title almost invariably depended upon the possession of the necessary political acumen and accumulated power resources to achieve and maintain it. Fair means or foul could be used; political success justified a title's possession.

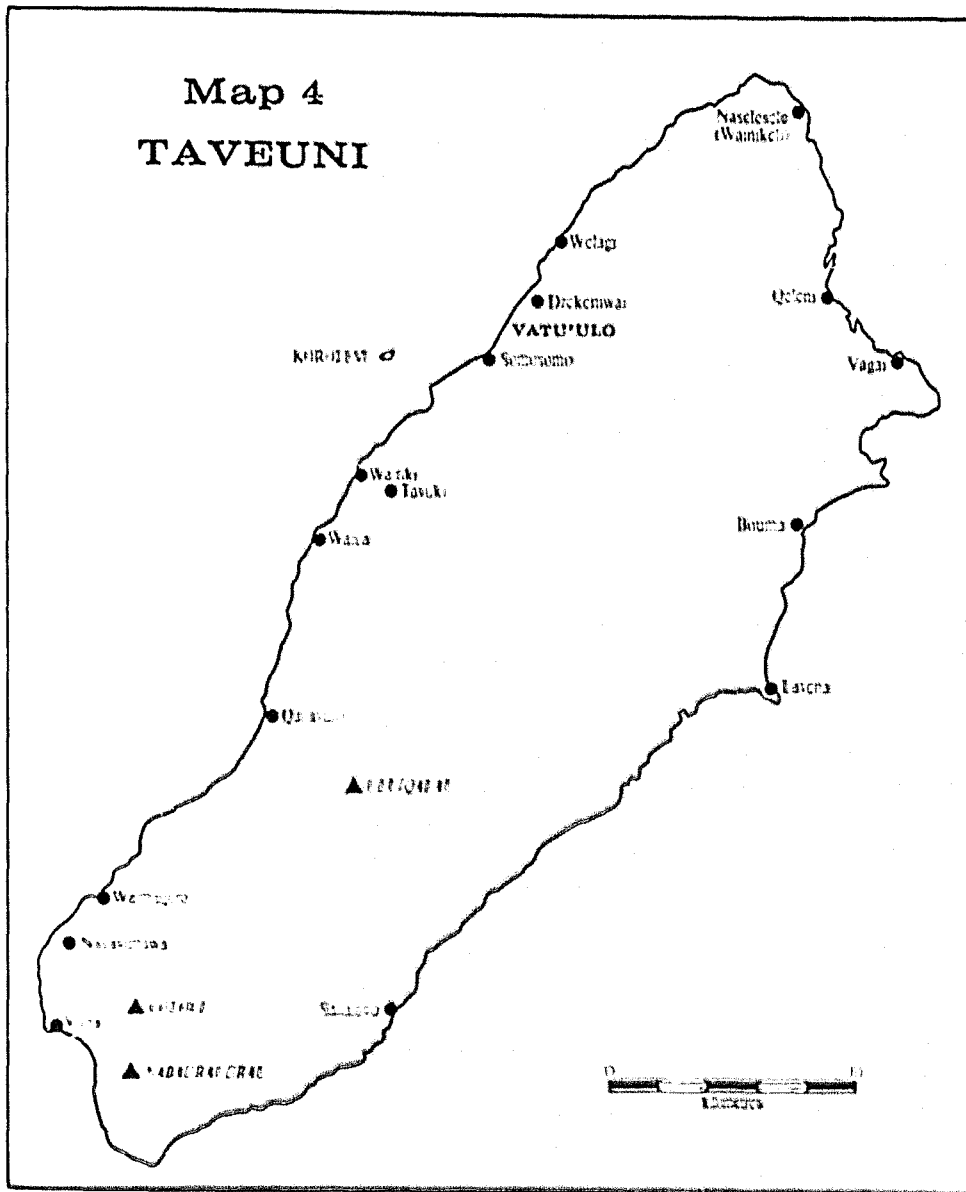
RATAVO, the second Tui Cakau who succeeded his father, does not appear to have had difficulty in doing so. There is no record of a brother or other relative challenging his right to be installed with the title. But such a challenge had been prevented, of course, when Ratavo's father sent Ratavo's brother, Loaloa, away to Tugaloa.

Ratavo was not as successful a head as his father. He did dispose of one potential threat to a peaceful succession, however, when he employed the same tactic as his own father. One of his sons, Mumai, was sent to rule Korocau. Before his death Ratavo moved from the immediate Cakaudrove area in southern Vanua Levu to Welagi in northwestern Taveuni, the land to which he was vasu; his mother was Adi Busa of the Navusayadi division. The move to Taveuni was probably prompted by his loss of power, one cause of which may have been his advancing years. Though he held the title still, his second son Vakamino had taken over the active leadership.

Rivalry among Ratavo's sons probably contributed to his move, too. Tradition records that his sons by Adi Manabi of Kioa were divided over the issue of political precedence. Vakamino was opposed by Rakuro, his elder brother, the genealogically senior descendant of the first Tui Cakau. Rakuro was supported by Naiqama and his other sons, as well as his nephew Ralulu, son of Samuamuvodre his younger brother. Other supporters of Rakuro were the Delaidaku^[16] and the Mataikoro, the latter the leaders displaced by the i Sokula. The support of the Delaidaku would have been achieved by the marriage of Samuamuvodre to one of their marana while Ralulu his eldest son had also married a lady of Delaidaku. Diplomatic representations would have achieved the support of the Mataikoro; there is no record of marital relationships. It is also possible the Mataikoro calculated the faction of Rakuro and Ralulu to be the stronger, and therefore were likely to win; it would be prudent to back the winners.

16. The Delaidaku people have not been identified by the writer.

Map 4
TAVEUNI



Rakuro had also won the support of the Tacilevu people to whom Rakuro and his supporters apparently fled;[17] the Tacilevu people had a common ancestry with the Mataikoro, and so their loyalty would have been with them. According to tradition, Rakuro's forces were defeated in a battle at Kasavu, situated between Nanuca and Vunilagi. From the disaster at Kasavu, the survivors fled to the i Sokula's relatives at Korocau where they established themselves at Delaikorolevu in the Navonu area. A second kinship link was through Ralulu, one of the defeated i Sokula, who was the child of a marama of Korocau. Vakamino followed up his initial victory over his rivals with the successful implementation of a treacherous plot; his son Yavala managed to convince the Korocau people to kill his rivals within the defences at Delaikorolevu. Ralulu and Naiqama survived the massacre. Ralulu, at least, was protected by the Korocau people, to whom he was vanu; first they took him to Kioa Island for protection and then to Welagi, where he joined his father Ratavo, the Tui Cakau in name if not in deed. Rakuro did not survive the conflict; he died, from an arrow wound, in either this clash or the previous engagement at Kasavu.[18]

On Ratavo's death, Vakamino succeeded peacefully to his father's title. The strength of the party at Welagi, to which Naiqama had also fled, cannot have been adequate enough to mount a challenge. But, like his father before him, Vakamino was to find his rule disturbed by rivalry among his sons and their children, who now began manoeuvring

17. It is possible that the first resistance to Vakamino, who was located on Cakaudrove-i-wai, was at Vunisavisavi, the village of the Mataikoro. One source asserts that the opposition erected defences at Vunisavisavi, which was attacked. The occupants then fled to Korocau. See Setariki Koto, *Ko Cakaudrove in Ko Viti*, 2.
18. Koto, *Ko Cakaudrove*, 2; Lyth, *Gods of Somosomo*. In prayers to the ancestor-gods, Rakuro was referred to as a hale i na papau, killed by the arrow or, possibly, the bullet.

to increase their own chances of achieving political pre-eminence. The division which developed was between Leleiveivono (Lele), his son by Adi Tuivaturogo a marama of Vuna, and Yavala, the son of Teatoa a marama of Wainikeli. It is probable that Vakamino favoured the younger brother Yavala, and not Lele, whose mother was of higher rank than Yavala's. Lele, also known as Cakobau[19] and Mai Tavuki, was supported by his full-brother Qerawaqa. Yavala, who had no full-brothers, was assisted by his two sons Tuikilakila and Rabici.

Yavala and his sons were to win control of Cakaudrove. In his day Yavala, whose name connotes political activity and an unsubmitive character, was 'a great warrior'. By the end of the 1830s, however, he had allowed his son Tuikilakila to take over the rule of Cakaudrove and had become 'uncommonly mild'. [20] Europeans warmed to Yavala, by then thought to be in his mid-seventies, who had the reputation of protecting them. [21] 'The old man might have been half an Englishman, so much kindness and openness beamed in his countenance, that we were at once completely comfortable with him.' [22] Nearly five years later, Williams agreed with Hunt's original assessment of Yavala. 'For a heathen', wrote the fellow missionary, 'his general character is superlatively good'. Yet Yavala still retained some of

19. Leleiveivono, apparently, was given this name before Cakobau, the Vunivalu of Bau. He might have received it after the incident at Bau when he and Qerawaqa, with Adi Salauca, became involved in the plot to kill Tuikilakila and Rabici. This plot contributed to a decline in the relationship of the Roko Tui Bau and the Vunivalu. Thus Lele had helped make Bau evil (ca) before Cakobau of Bau received the name.
20. Hunt to General Secretaries, 30 December 1839 in WMSMS, Letters from Feejee, I.
21. John Waterhouse, Journal, I, 13 July 1840; Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 27 July 1839, 352; Holmes, Journal, II, 10 June 1840.
22. Hunt, Private journal 1839-1841, I, 29 July 1839, 78.

the spirit which had helped him defeat his rivals and consolidate Cakaudrove's territories. Though usually good-tempered, he was subject still to 'sudden fits of anger'. [23] His personal appearance, too, continued to indicate his previous abilities. In 1840, though mostly confined to his house, he was described as 'a fine specimen of a Feejee Islander...particularly tall and manly, and he had a head fit for a monarch.' [24]

Yavala was reputed to be one of the most indulgent of fathers. [25] His highest-ranking sons were Tuikilakila and Rabici, who had been born to Ra Marama, Adi Levulevu of Bau. Rabici, the younger, perhaps named after a small bird (the banded rail), was his favourite. At Somosomo, he was thought the 'finest man in the group'; his father 'ascribed to him all the beauty that a man could possess'. [26] The people were said to love him, while he was the 'pet' of the elders. [27] Europeans were not so complimentary. They deplored some of his actions: he had, for instance, killed and eaten a slave (bobula) wife who had displeased him, and was thought to have murdered a European in northeastern Vanua Levu. [28]

23. Williams to his father, 16 May 1844 in ANNS, Fiji letters 1855-1903.
24. Wilkes, Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition 1838-1842 (Philadelphia 1844), III, 160-61.
25. Ereking, Journal of a cruise among the islands of the western Pacific (Reprint, London 1967), 231.
26. Wilkes, Narrative, III, 168.
27. Lyth to his sister Mary Jackson, 25 July 1839 in Lyth, Letters to and from Rev Dr Lyth 1836-1854.
28. Jagger, Journal, 17 August 1839; Lyth, Day-book 1842-1843, 25 January 1843, 68.

But Tuikilakila (The Figure-head of a Canoe, the name given to him by his mother),[29] was the genealogically senior and more politically astute of the two. Like his father and younger brother, he was tall and good-looking. In his prime, his size was 'vast', while his strength was compared to that of a giant.[30] He had the reputation of a skilled warrior and military tactician; he was renowned for his expertise in sea battles especially. Unconcerned with the chiefly conventions of dress and adornment, he still acted like a powerful turaga -- decisively and authoritatively. Contemporary observers noted his fondness for children, but they had also seen him act in what was, to them, an unwarrantably cruel manner. According to Williams, his face was 'an indescribable mixture of something like tenderness, combined with ferocity, enough to make a stout heart quail'.[31] Unable to forget his responsibilities, he could not relax as his father did; the son was 'of a very different disposition and incapable of the same kind & degree of consideration.'[32]

Their characters are clear, but those of Lele and Qerawaqa are not. Obviously they were astute politicians for, though Tuikilakila and Rabiel were vau to Bau through their mother Adi Levulevu, Lele asked for and received assistance from Bau against Yavala. This was a considerable political achievement, though the assistance would have

29. Lyth, Feejeean names in his Reminiscences 1851-1853, 8. Tuikilakila is also said to have been one of the names of Rokevu, the first Tui Cakau.
30. 'Extract from Lieutenant Pollard's Journal of his visit to the Feejee Islands in Her Majesty's schooner Bramble in 1850' in Erskine, Journal of a cruise, 296; Williams to his father, 16 May 1844; John Waterhouse, Journal, I, 13 July 1840.
31. Williams to his father, 16 May 1844.
32. Lyth to General Secretaries, 7 and 14 January 1840 in WMSM, Letters from Feejee, II.

been granted by the Roko Tui Bau, not the Vunivalu who was still the second leader and to whose mataqali they were specifically vasu. Lovoni people from Ovalau Island were sent to support Lele, whose forces attacked Yavala and his supporters at Cakaudrove, Vanua Levu. One hundred of the attacking force are said to have died in the confrontation; from his success in the defence of his father and his grandfather the third Tui Cakau, Tuikilakila received the name Lalakolovoni, Depopulated Lovoni.[33] Although defeated, Lele did not give up but applied again to Bau for assistance. A second army was sent, and this time Yavala was attacked at Bouma, northeastern Taveuni. Yavala had married three marama of Bouma, Adi Cake, Manatewa and Vunitiko, while the vasu to Vuna do not appear to have made marital alliances with these people who had, nevertheless, kinship ties with Vuna.[34] The Wainikeli neighbours of the Bouma people may have assisted Yavala, too, for he was their vasu. The vasu to Vuna had not made marital alliances with this area either. Wainikeli may, however, have remained aloof from the contest; it was closely associated with the i Sokula at Welagi, and both Ralulu and Naiqama had married marama from Wainikeli. In the battle at Bouma, three hundred of the attacking force were killed, and Yavala again emerged victorious. Lele then chose to end the contest; he made an i soro after which he and his brother Qerawaqa retired to Vuna to live with their mother's people.[35] At Vuna they would receive protection from any attack or plot of the i Sokula who were based on Vanua Levu.

33. Jackson also stated Tuikilakila had the name Lalakolovoni, Depopulated Lovoni. See 'Jackson's Narrative' in Erskine, Journal of a cruise, 454.
34. Evidence of Mauriceo Cavuilati, 19 August 1902 in NLC, Notes & Minutes of a meeting of the Chiefs and people of Cakaudrove held at Somosomo on this 15th day of August 1902, 33-34.
35. Lyth, Somosomo Wars in his Notes on Islands, 65b.

Tuikilakila and his younger brother Rabici were soon to become dissatisfied with the headship of their grandfather the third Tui Cakau. The cause of their dissatisfaction was his presentation of Adi Talatoka, their sister, to the Vunivalu of Natewa; she was to become his paramount wife with the title Radi ni Vavanua. The Natewans were then a powerful people; the marital alliance would have been an attempt to contain Natewa, and at the same time to promote friendlier relations with Cakaudrove, whose power had been weakened by the leadership disputes. The two brothers, who disapproved of the alliance, fled with Adi Talatoka to Vuna, where Lele and Qerawaqa were already established. Their father Yavala soon followed, and joined this faction against Vakamino's leadership.[36] Yavala, too, may have disapproved of the marital alliance, or the way in which the Tui Cakau was managing the affairs of Cakaudrove. Alternatively, he may have felt it was politic to retain the support of his sons, whose assistance would be necessary in the succession dispute which would occur when Vakamino's power or health began to decline. Such rivalry may have begun already; in 1840 the missionaries were informed that Yavala and his sons had been driven to Taveuni by a more powerful tuaga. [37] Vakamino, a vasu to Kioa, apparently had begun to favour Loganiasi, another of his sons, a vasu to Kioa as well. If Vakamino now considered Loganiasi his successor, this could have caused Yavala's move.

Vakamino continued to rule Vanua Levu from the Cakaudrove River area, but he had no control over Taveuni and the associated islands which were now divided into two spheres of influence. Ralulu had been left to his own devices at Welagi where he had built up a new power

36. Koto, Ko Cakaudrove, 2.

37. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 9 November 1840, 560.

base on Taveuni. Although he had not had enough strength to contest the installation of Vakamino as the third Tui Cakau, he had continued to improve his position in an attempt to make a later challenge possible. At Welagi, Ralulu established himself as effective leader. His territory came to include Wainikeli. He even used the title of the head of Wainikeli -- Tuci -- although the i taukei head also appears to have continued to use it as well.[38] Marital alliances contracted with Wainikeli marama by Ralulu and Naiqama assisted him in coming to dominate this area; Naiqama, himself, was vasu to Wainikeli. Ralulu's superior power and moves closer to Somosomo would also bring about the temporary subordination of much of this land, too.[39]

At Vuna, Yavala had been received as the leading member of the i Sokula to reside there; the Sau or Tui Vuna gave him his own house, Nasima.[40] Yavala and his half-brothers, the vasu to Vuna, joined forces with apparent amicability. Together they fought off an attack by Loganiasa, an attempt perhaps to reduce the power of the faction at Vuna before they came to undermine the power base of Vakamino and Loganiasa on Vanua Levu. It is possible the faction at Vuna had begun to marshal support from the larger island, and the attack was a response to such a nascent challenge. Alternatively, it is possible the Tui Cakau's health was declining; Loganiasa may have been attempting to defeat his rivals at Vuna in order to justify a later installation as Tui Cakau.

38. Lyth to his sister Mary Jackson, 10 April 1840 in Letters to and from Lyth; Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 5 May and 13 July 1840, 465, 483.

39. See below, 184-85.

40. When Yavala moved to Somosomo he took the name Nasima with him. His house, in which the Wesleyan missionaries first stayed, was Nasima; it was located on the flat beneath Vuniduva, the defended section of Somosomo on the heights.

Loganimasi began his offensive by stealing the canoes of the turtle fishers of Yavala; these were the Welitoa people whose allegiance would have been assured by the marriage of Adi Lolo, one of their chiefly women, to Tuikilakila. The presence of the Welitoa at this time argues that Yavala's strength was not inconsiderable. Loganimasi, however, had gained the support of the Laucala, Rabe, and Wainikeli peoples at least. The two forces clashed in a sea battle which took place near Korolevu Island off Somosomo village. Lele and his nephew Tuikilakila, who led Yavala's force, gained a decisive victory. They had only six small canoes, so the offensive may have been unexpected; yet their smaller force boldly attacked Loganimasi's army. Eighty of the enemy were killed, including Loganimasi himself and Rala, the turaga of Wainikeli. Several of the canoes together with their occupants were captured, while the rest made their escape. [41]

It is probable that Ralulu, based in northwestern Taveuni, had been sympathetic to Loganimasi, for both wanted to destroy the strength of the faction at Vuna. One explanation of Ralulu's move to Somosomo was his desire to be closer to his nearest rivals, those at Vuna. The Nalele people of Somosomo, whose lands bordered Vuna, favoured Yavala's faction. One of Nalele's chiefly women, Adi Vuki, had married Qerawaqa; another had married Rabici. Thus Ralulu would have wished to prevent any further extension of Yavala's influence into Somosomo lands.

41. Lyth, Somosomo Wars, 65b-66b; Lyth, Journal 1842-1844, 11-15 December 1843, 135. This latter reference states that 100 of Rala's men were killed when Tuikilakila's party ran down and sank the opposition's canoes.

Naiqama was to be installed as Tui Cakau on Vanua Levu, a further indication that the faction in north Taveuni might have supported Loganimasi. Vakamino had by now died a natural death, though it is possible he was ritually killed afterwards; thus he received the name Baleinavinaka, He Who Died Well.[42] After Vakamino's death, his supporters accepted his nephew Naiqama as the Tui Cakau. Naiqama, the eldest son of Rakuro, was the genealogically senior descendant of Rokevu. When he heard of the Tui Cakau's death, it is said he crossed the strait to Buca, situated in the boundary area of Cakaudrove and Natewa. Here some Cakaudrove people installed him as Tui Cakau, and then took him to Vunisavisavi where they raised his banner. From this incident Naiqama received his name of Tawakecolati, after the banner (tawake) which was carried (colata) to Vunisavisavi. Those at Vuna went their own way, however, and installed Yavala as Tui Cakau.[43]

During this period when there were two Tui Cakau at the one time -- one at Vunisavisavi and one at Vuna -- a division occurred among the I Sokula at Vuna. It is probable the vasu to Vuna had become dissatisfied with their subordination to Yavala. Lele may have felt he deserved to be head of the faction at Vuna, and therefore the Tui Cakau. Open rivalry broke out during a visit to Bau. Oral traditions of the I Sokula record that the vasu to Vuna were told by Yavala to take their sister, Adi Vulasone, with five female attendants, to Bau so that she could marry Tanoa Visawaqa, the son of the Vunivalu. Shortly after, they were followed by Tuikilakila and Rabici, the vasu to Bau who took their own sister, Adi Talatoka, with seven female attendants, to marry Naulivou the Vunivalu himself. They were also sent with property to present to Bau, while the vasu to Vuna, apparently, had

42. Lyth, *Socooona Wars*, 65b.

43. Koto claims that three Tui Cakau -- Naiqama, Yavala, and Ralulu -- were installed. See his *Ko Cakaudrove*, 2.

not been provided with presentations. When the second expedition reached Bau, the vasu to Vuna were still there. When they saw the property which their nephews had brought, they were angry. They decided to kill Tuikilakila and Rabici, but the Vunivalu prevented them.[44]

The people of Bau remembered that Adi Salauca, a marama from Cakaudrove married to the Roko Tui Bau, wanted to avenge the death of her brother, Baleikasavu, who had died in the battle at Kasavu.[45] Both the vasu to Vuna and the vasu to Bau had fought on the side of Vakamino, but she singled out the sons of Yavala, who had become the head of the faction opposing Rakuro's descendants and supporters. By now the vasu to Vuna were disaffected with Yavala's leadership and, as his enemy, would no longer be considered a target by Adi Salauca. Indeed, they probably combined together in the plot against the vasu to Bau.

The i Sokula's traditions assert that Tuikilakila asked Lele and Qerawaqa to meet him at either Ovalau or Batiki Island. Then, after the vasu to Bau had made their presentations, they sailed for these islands. When they anchored off Batiki, Kubuabola, one of the party of i Sokula on shore, swam out and warned them that the vasu to Vuna were on the island. So Tuikilakila's party did not land until dawn the next day, when they ambushed the people who had gone to draw water for the morning yaqona. [46] An alternative account claims that the vasu to Vuna sailed for Ovalau, where they intended to kill

44. An anecdote recorded by Calvert refers to Vulaono being taken to Bau by Vakamino to marry Tanoa. This may refer to her betrothal, at an earlier date, when the vasu to Vuna may still have been supporters of their father Vakamino. See Calvert, Anecdotes.
45. I have not been able to identify Adi Salauca, who may have had an alternative name. She was probably a close relation of a Tui Cakau, an unrecorded daughter of Ratavo, the second Tui Cakau, perhaps.

Tuikilakila and Rabici treacherously. Kubuabola swam out to the canoe and warned Tuikilakila, who commanded that his party leave at once.[47] Immediately after this incident, the vasu to Vuna sailed for Koro where they now settled.[48]

Unable to reside peacefully in their mother's land where they had been the first to settle, the vasu to Vuna now looked to repair their fortunes. As a first step, the Korocau people remember, Qarawaqa went and asked their leaders, descendants of an i Sokula turaga, to go to Vunaavisavi and kill Vakamino's successor Naiqama. Some of the Korocau had remained on Vanua Levu, where they had acknowledged the leadership of Naiqama; others had gone to Vuna at the request of Yavala. Those on Vanua Levu accepted Qarawaqa's request, and murdered Naiqama.

The second part of their scheme was an alliance with Samuamavedre, their father's younger brother, and his son Ralulu, who had remained on Taveuni.[49] Part of this information may be incorrect -- Samu would have been quite old by this time, perhaps dead. If correct, the following interpretation is probable. As Samu has not been implicated in leadership disputes until now, although his son played leading roles, it is possible that Samu had avoided

46. Kubuabola may be identified with the i Sokula turaga who died from a wound received in a treacherous attack on Cakaudrove supporters at Buca, Natewa in November 1842. He was a younger brother of Yavala. See Lyth, Journal 1842-1844, 22 November 1842, 31-32.
47. Kotr, Ko Cakaudrove, 2-3.
48. Koro would have been chosen because of the relationship between Nacamakiki and Vuna. See evidence of Ratu Inoke Seru the Tui Vuna, 21 August 1902 in NLC, Notes & Minutes. He claimed they were qali tu (subject), as opposed to qali dina (truly subject).
49. Lyth, Samosomo Ware, 66b.

political intrigue.[50] Lele would have seen Samu as a compliant Tui Cakau; Samu once installed, Lele could then exercise the power himself.[51] Wainikeli, Bouma and Vuna also became involved in the struggle. At Vuna, Yavala and his sons moved to Salialevu, in southeastern Taveuni but still in the vanua of Vuna. Here they lived separately from the turaga of Vuna who favoured their vagu. Now the Vanans retreated behind the defences at Nabadraudrau, but they were defeated by Yavala.

Lele went to Vanua Levu, where he and a younger brother died. Despite Lele's death, the conflict is said to have continued for some time.[52] Ralulu now led the combined faction which opposed Yavala; Ralulu was to retain control of Welagi and Wainikeli, but to lose Somosomo after Yavala and his sons moved to Vuniduva, Somosomo and forced Ralulu back to Welagi. Another reason for Yavala's resettlement at Somosomo was to move from the immediate vicinity of the Vuna people, whose sympathy lay with their vagu.

When Yavala's party proved to be the stronger, Ralulu made an i goro to Yavala to end the struggle. After the peace was concluded, Tuikilakila disposed of some of these rivals by treachery. While they were at Somosomo, Tuikilakila headed a conspiracy to kill them in retaliation for the plot, formulated at Bau, which was intended to have resulted in his own death. Early one morning Tuikilakila and his fellow conspirators massacred about ten of their guests; these

50. Samuamavodre is said to have been one of the i Sokula members referred to as bale i na vinaka in the prayers to the ancestor-gods. See Lyth, Gods of Somosomo.
51. This tactic is not improbable for Tuikilakila was to do this in 1845 when he had Ralulu, his uncle, installed as Tui Cakau so he himself could exercise the power.
52. Lyth, Somosomo Wars, 66b. The younger brother who died was identified as the father of Lalacayau, whose descent is unclear.

included a younger brother of Yavala. Yavala had been kept in ignorance of the plot, which greatly offended him. Apparently he was so upset he told his son to kill him as well, so that then Tuikilakila would be the paramount himself.[53]

Qerawaqa, too, had continued the rivalry for some time. He tried to re-establish control of Vuna, which had been defeated by the faction now resident at Somosomo. According to the traditions of Vuna, his party attacked the Vuna people at Koroilagi, their war fortress, which was then abandoned. With no satisfactory victory achieved, Qerawaqa then allied himself with the expedition known as the Dri which defeated the Vunans. But he does not appear to have benefited from the victory, for the Vunivalu of Bau had had his own reason for the expedition -- Vuna was harbouring followers of the Roko Iui Bau.[54]

With the move to Somosomo, the revenge of Tuikilakila on the Welagi supporters of his father's rivals, and the lack of success for the vaou to Vuna in his endeavours to regain a power base in Cakaudrove, Yavala's victory was complete and he could, as it were, retire from active politics. Though Yavala held the title, Tuikilakila now exercised the power; he led the Nakorovou with whom he lived at Vuniduva, on the promontory above the coastal village.[55] The most likely successor to his father, Tuikilakila

53. Lyth, *Somosomo Wars*, 66b-67b. This massacre was the cause for a change in the location of the rara and Napina, the house of Yavala, from beside the temple of Natavasara. The old location was made unsuitable after the burial of the victims of this massacre there.

54. For a fuller account of Bau's involvement, and the implications for Cakaudrove's relationship with Bau, see below, 218-20.

55. Lyth, *Somosomo*, 2b-3b.

was now to face a challenge from his half-brother Lewenilovo, Flesh or People of the Oven. When the missionaries arrived at Somosomo in 1839 they found Lewenilovo controlled the villages which comprised Bouma.[56] Tuikilakila was said to regard Lewenilovo as one of his 'nearest friends and most confidential chiefs'.[57] Outwardly, at least, the two i Sokula turaga were on friendly terms. Yet Lewenilovo's control of Bouma, to which he was vasu, indicated he was a potential threat to Tuikilakila. His power was already such that the missionaries considered him 'next in rank' to Tuikilakila.[58]

The first indication of a division between Tuikilakila and Lewenilovo was in October 1841 when the latter ran off to Bouma with one of Tuikilakila's wives. This incident may not have had political implications, but Lewenilovo could have chosen this manner in which to indicate his dissatisfaction with Tuikilakila's precedence. As such an act usually resulted in open conflict, Lewenilovo may have thought Tuikilakila would see it as a challenge; then their relative precedence would have been decided by the amount of support marshalled by the two sides, or by the result of the ensuing hostilities.[59] Since the health of Yavala the Tui Cakau was failing, an indication that the position would soon be vacant, such a political motive is

56. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 31 December 1839, 425. Hazlewood considered he received his name because of his cannibalistic propensities. See Hazlewood, Journal 1841-1844, I, 5 September 1844, 80-81.
57. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 9 November 1840, 559.
58. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 31 December 1839, 425.
59. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 18 October 1841, 670-71. When Williams saw the woman some years later, he considered her 'the best-looking Feejeean female' he had seen. See Henderson (ed) Journal of Thomas Williams, Missionary in Fiji, 1840-1853, (Sydney 1931), I, 7 February 1844, 246.

supported. In early December Lyth was to write that the Tui Cakau 'has been evidently declining of late & his demise is anticipated as being at no great distance'.[60] Lewenilovo might well have chosen to commence his challenge to Tuikilakila before Yavala's death. Tuikilakila, however, did not show outward signs of alarm, and his supporters apparently remained loyal. He chose to demonstrate his lack of concern by visiting the Vuna area where he was reported to be 'pleasuring'. He returned to Somosomo only when he received the news that Tunuloa, a vanua subject to the i Sokula, had erected defences against them (although not in association with Lewenilovo). If Lewenilovo had thought to increase his strength to the detriment of Tuikilakila, he was mistaken. Preoccupation with this new threat from Tunuloa and their Natewan sympathizers apparently united other members of the i Sokula behind Tuikilakila. When Tuikilakila returned to Somosomo from Vuna, the Bouma people presented him with an i poro and asked him to forgive their vasu levu. [61]

In mid-December a feast to re-establish friendly relations was held at Bouma. Cakaurove people from Naoavusavu to Udu Point attended, as did people from northern Lau and Lakeba. The missionaries had never seen so many people at Somosomo before; a European who attended the festivities estimated that 5000 were present. Lewenilovo's i poro to Tuikilakila consisted of tabua and a bale of maoi, but the massive attendance would have meant the expenditure of much, if not all, of Bouma's food resources. [62] Lewenilovo, too, was required to forfeit his property, as well as all his wives except the woman he had taken from Tuikilakila. He was also

60. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 3 December 1841, 682.

61. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 8 November and 21 December 1841, 673-74, 689.

62. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 13 and 21 December 1841, 683, 689, 689, 690; 'Jackson's Narrative', 443.

banned from returning to Somosomo for the time being.[63] Thus Tuikilakila substantially reduced Lewenilovo's strength; his half-brother would have to repair his resource base before he could effectively challenge Tuikilakila again.

Lwenilovo appears to have decided his political salvation lay in a conversion to Christianity; a new god might improve his fortunes. In February 1842, less than two months after he had been forced to abase himself before Tuikilakila, he converted and Hunt was asked to inform the Tui Cakau that he had become Christian.[64] This in itself was a challenge to Tuikilakila, who had forbidden any of his subjects to adopt Christianity. Lewenilovo's conversion did not help him regain his previous prestige, however, for a year later he was still in disgrace and could not withstand pressure from Tuikilakila. In early March 1843 he visited Somosomo in order to present his new canoe to Tuikilakila. When it arrived at Somosomo, the sail was at half-mast and taken in at some distance from the shore, both indications of humiliation, a reference to Lewenilovo's disgrace. Lewenilovo still managed to thwart his rival, however, as the canoe was taken from Tuikilakila by right of vapu within a few hours. It would have been particularly galling for Tuikilakila to see his new canoe being appropriated; it was taken by Mualele, their vapu from Bau, so Cakobau would have the use of it. It had already been decided at Bau that two canoes being built for the i Sokula should be presented to Cakobau before he came to assist the i Sokula against Vatawa; and here was another canoe being lost to Bau.[65]

63. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 8 November 1841, 673; Hunt to Williams, 31 December 1841 in Williams, Letters to the Rev T. Williams, I; Hunt, Private Journal 1842-1848, II, 8 February 1842, 61.

64. Hunt, Private Journal, II, 8 and 10 February 1842, 60, 65.

By 1845 Lewenilovo appears to have abandoned Christianity;[66] he would now use temporal means to challenge Tuikilakila. The further deterioration in their father's health would have prompted Lewenilovo's renewed attempts to overcome Tuikilakila.[67] In March of this year, Ritova of Macuata warned Tuikilakila that Bau was plotting to kill him, and that his half-brother Lewenilovo was implicated.[68] A party of Bauans was visiting Somosomo at this time, and may have hoped an opportunity would arise to kill Tuikilakila, whose leadership position would be taken by Lewenilovo. In June 1845 Lewenilovo again conspired to kill Tuikilakila, this time with a turaga of Bouma who was vasu to Vuna. The plot was discovered, the Bouma turaga was captured at Vuna, and then taken to Somosomo where he was ceremonially put to death. Lewenilovo was forced to flee from Bouma, and take refuge in another village.[69] Preoccupation with war against Natewa may have prevented Tuikilakila from engaging

65. Lyth, Journal 1842-1844, 2 February and 7 March 1843, 51, 62-63; Lyth, Day-book 1842-1843, 2 February 1843, 69. Indeed Lewenilovo and Mualele may have planned this together. Mualele had arrived from Bau with Tuikilakila in early February and would have had time to visit Lewenilovo. They were obviously on friendly terms, for a year later Mualele was staying with Lewenilovo at Bouma. See Lyth, Journal 1842-1844, 3 January 1844, 147.
66. In December 1843 Lewenilovo was still requesting a teacher. See Journal of Thomas Williams, I, 11 December 1843, 214. More specifically, he wanted a European missionary of his own. See Journal of Thomas Williams, I, 30 January 1844, 234.
67. When Yavala returned from Bau in March 1845 he was 'evidently on the decline'. See Journal of Thomas Williams, II, 19 March 1845, 299.
68. Hazlewood, Day-book 1844-1846, 13 March 1845; Lyth, Journal 1845-1848, 31 March 1845, 102-03.
69. Hazlewood, Day-book 1844-1846, 29 June 1845; Lyth to his sister Mary, 19 September 1845 in Letters to and from Lyth; Journal of Thomas Williams, II, 31 July 1845, 307-08. Tuikilakila is said to have sent a thigh of the dead turaga to Lewenilovo so that he might taste how sweet his accomplice was. Journal of Thomas Williams, II, 309a. The vasu to Vuna was identified as 'Bolaundolu'.

in a confrontation with Lewenilovo.

In mid-August the Tui Cakau became very weak and on the twenty-third, when his spirit was thought to have left his body, he was partially strangled and then buried while still alive.[70] Two or three days after his father had been buried, Tuikilakila laid claim to the title when he was publicly recognized as Tui Cakau by drinking the first yagona cup of the morning ceremony.[71] Arrangements were begun for the first public ceremony, but Lewenilovo prevented Tuikilakila's installation by indicating he intended to challenge him for the title. On 31 August an attempt was made to kill Tuikilakila; at the least it may be interpreted as a warning. A basket, containing valuables which had belonged to Yavala, had been left beside the fence outside Tuikilakila's house. One night it, as well as the fence, was struck with a weapon. The commotion was intended to attract Tuikilakila, who would then have been attacked. Lewenilovo's assassination attempt failed, but it convinced Tuikilakila and his advisers that it would be easier for someone else to succeed to the title and thus postpone or avoid the contest with Lewenilovo.[72] The war with Natewa was still in progress; a civil war would be detrimental to the interests of Cakaudrove.

On 5 September Ralulu, the younger brother of Yavala, was installed Tui Cakau.[73] It was intended that Ralulu would hold the

70. Hazlewood, Day-book 1844-1846, 19 and 23 August 1845; Journal of Thomas Williams, II, 19 and 23 August, 310-18.
71. Journal of Thomas Williams, II, 30 August 1845, 319; Williams to General Secretaries, 27 September 1845 in WMS, Letters from Feejee, IV.
72. Journal of Thomas Williams, II, 1 and 6 September 1845, 319-21.
73. Journal of Thomas Williams, II, 6 September 1845, 321-23. In May 1847 Ralulu went through the second installation ceremony. See Journal of Thomas Williams, II, 19 May 1847, 394.

title, while Tuikilakila would continue to exercise the power.[74] In June of the following year Williams wrote 'The respect shown him is quite of a negative kind. If Tuilaila consults him at all, about any of his measures, it is done in the same way as he talks to the Missionaries about Christianity, simply to save appearances; and that so evidently that it cannot escape Tuicaaus' observation.'[75] Ralulu was chosen because he posed no threat to Tuikilakila; he had already been defeated by Tuikilakila and Yavala but had remained at Welagi, where he continued to rule Welagi and Wainikeli under Yavala's suzerainty. In May 1840 his health was poor: Ralulu thought himself to be dying; Lyth considered his complaint to be old age.[76] In June 1843 he was ill again.[77] Thus his ill health and age would have prevented him from attempting to play an active role in political matters.[78] His 'good nature' would have made him even more likely to accept his position without complaint.[79] Williams referred to his 'very amiable' disposition, writing that 'he has all that was pleasing about the late Tuicaau,

74. Williams to General Secretaries, 27 September 1845 in WMSM, Letters from Feejee, IV.
75. Williams, Somosomo Quarterly Letters, Letter I:4 (24 June 1846), 13.
76. He was 'exceeding anxious to live' and professed Christianity on the advice of Tuikilakila, who also said his profession should only last until his recovery. Mrs Mary Lyth to Mrs Lyth, 29 June 1840 in Lyth, Letters home from R.B. Lyth and Mary Ann Lyth 1829-1856; Hunt, Private Journal, I, April 1840 Report, 129; Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 3 May and 1 June 1840, 465-66, 469.
77. Lyth, Journal 1842-1844, 19 June 1843, 83-84.
78. At Somosomo his health declined even more. 'Within the short space of seven months, Tuicaau has become another man. He has lost his firm step, and erect carriage...He has made rapid strides "to his long home." He has lost a good deal of flesh, keeps close to home, and his own impression is, that the time for him "to gather up his feet and die" is not far distant.' See Williams, Somosomo Quarterly Letters, Letter I:4 (24 June 1846), 14.

without his irritability.' [80]

Henceforth Lewenilovo is no longer mentioned in the contemporary records available. Either he had lost much of the power he had possessed, or he had decided to retire from the competition for control of Cakaudrove. [81] Tuikilakila's reign appears to have been trouble free until the early 1850s when rivalry among his sons was to disturb the peace of Cakaudrove again. [82]

Tuikilakila's favourite son was Vakalolo, the eldest of his children by Nabiri Caginitoba, a marama of Tunuloa; this favouritism may have been because Caginitoba was his principal wife. [83] Vakalolo first came to prominence in 1842, when he headed an expedition to a feast at Vaturova. Despite the wishes of his father he participated, unsuccessfully, in a war against enemies of Vaturova. [84] In the following years Vakalolo either accompanied his

79. Williams remarked that Ralulu 'was remarkable for nothing in particular, if his general good nature is overlooked, and no mention made of the size of the hole in the lobe of his right ear which receives with ease a flat ring of more than ten inches in circumference. It is generally thus distended.' See his Miscellaneous notes chiefly concerning Feejee & Feejeans, II, dated 1 October 1845, 9.
80. Williams, Somosomo Quarterly Letters, Letter I:4 (24 June 1846), 14.
81. Even Bouma is rarely mentioned in the missionary accounts. In late December 1845, Bouma people came to Somosomo to help build houses to accommodate a large party of warriors expected from Bau. See Williams, Somosomo Quarterly Letters, Letter 2 (4 December 1845). In June 1846 the Bouma people helped look after the Bauan visitors and they probably assisted in the offensive against Natewa. See Williams, The Natawa War in his Miscellaneous notes, II, 51.
82. The involvement of Bau in this rivalry is discussed separately, see below, 255-56.
83. Lyth, Journal 1842-1844, 6 October 1842, 753.
84. The attackers were repulsed. Koroibalabala, a Somosomo man, was killed and three others wounded. See Lyth, Journal 1842-1844, 21 October 1842, 15-17; Lyth, Day-book 1842-1843, 1 and 11 November 1842, 43, 46.

father on diplomatic, fighting and turtle fishing expeditions, or remained in charge at Somosomo;[85] at other times he headed military expeditions.[86] Cakobau, or Mai Tavuki[87] as he was more often known, was first mentioned in 1844. Not yet twenty years old, he was said to be the second son of Tuikilakila. In May of that year he was married to his second wife, a close relative of Ralulu.[88]

In 1846 the missionaries considered Vakalolo to be the 'heir apparent' to the leadership of Cakaudrove.[89] In June 1846, when Cakaudrove presented property to Cakobau of Bau and a taqa (a military review before war) was performed, Vakalolo played the leading role, while Mai Tavuki assisted him.[90] Mai Tavuki was not prepared to take second place for long, however. By 1851, when the two half-brothers were in their early or mid-twenties, Mai Tavuki had established himself at Welagi where he had capitalized on his marital

85. He was left in charge in September 1843 and October 1844, for example. See Lyth, Journal 1842-1844, 23 September 1843, 109-10; Hazlewood, Journal, I, 18 October 1844, 85-86; Hazlewood, Day-book 1844-1846, 18 and 19 October 1844.
86. In November 1843, for example, he and a party went to the Buca area where the i Sokula were fighting the Vunivalu of Natewa to whom the Kama people of Buca belonged. They never engaged the enemy, however, but returned disappointed to Somosomo. See Lyth, Journal 1842-1844, 31 October and 4 November 1843, 128; Lyth, Day-book 1842-1843, 2 and 4 November 1843, 147.
87. He may have received the name Cakobau either from Leleiveivono, the vasu to Vuna and half-brother of his grandfather Yavala, or from Cakobau of Bau to whom his father was a cousin. Since Mai Tavuki was also the name of Leleiveivono, it is probable he received his name from him. For the contrary opinion on the derivation of Mai Tavuki's alternative name of Cakobau, see below, 255.
88. Lyth, Journal 1842-1844, 2 May 1844, 198.
89. Williams, Somosomo Quarterly Letters, Letter I:4 (24 June 1846), 54.
90. Williams, The Natawa War, 52-54.

alliance with the relative of Ralulu. Ralulu, installed as Tui Cakau, now resided at Somosomo; Welagi and Wainikeli became Mai Tavuki's power base. His resources were further increased by other marital alliances; it was said he had 'upwards of 20 wives', perhaps as many as forty.[91] By now he was considered 'the formidable rival' of both his father Tuikilakila and his older half-brother Vakalolo. As the vasu i taukei (his mother was Rogorogoiagi, a daughter of Ralulu), Mai Tavuki's rank was considered by the missionaries to be superior to that of Vakalolo who was vasu to a land subordinate to the i Sokula. [92] The missionaries may not have understood the complexity of Vakalolo's genealogical connexions, however. His mother was a descendant, in the male line, from Loaloa the first Tui Tunuloa who was brother of Ratavo, the second Tui Cakau. [93] Such a descent may have increased his genealogical status above that of a mere vasu to a subject land, even though his mother's ancestor had been a younger brother and the line would be considered junior to the descendants of Ratavo.

Within a few weeks the two half-brothers were said to be at war. [94] Actual hostilities cannot have broken out, or the discord may have been temporarily resolved for, in mid-1852, Tuikilakila visited Bau in the company of both Vakalolo and Raivalita, Vakalolo's younger full-brother. [95] Tuikilakila would not have left Somosomo

91. Calvert, Journal, IV, in a letter to his wife dated 2 June 1851, entered under 5 June 1851. Lyth recorded that Calvert told him he had forty wives. See Lyth, Day-book and journal 1850-1851, 3 July 1851, 116. Mai Tavuki was married to at least two Welagi ladies and Lolo, a daughter of Lewenilovo. See Lyth, Journal 1853-1860, 9 March 1854, 64.

92. Lyth, Day-book and journal 1850-1851, 3 July 1851, 116.

93. Nabiri Caginitoba was the great-great-great-grand-daughter of Loaloa.

94. Lyth, Day-book and journal 1850-1851, 5 September 1851, 159.

if he thought Mai Tavuki would take advantage of his absence. But by December 1852 the conflict was in the open again. It had been proposed that Ralulu should retire as Tui Cakau in favour of Tuikilakila, and that Vakalolo should become the Vunivalu, i.e. hold the position of Mai Nakorovou. Mai Tavuki, still resident at Welagi, agreed that Tuikilakila should become Tui Cakau but wanted the competition for the position of Mai Nakorovou to continue. People at Somosomo were said to be divided in their support of the rivals.[96]

By July 1853, Ralulu had been dismissed as Tui Cakau; Tuikilakila was installed in his stead; Vakalolo was recognized as Mai Nakorovou.[97] Within eight months, in February 1854, Tuikilakila had been murdered in his sleep by the faction led by Mai Tavuki.[98] Tuikilakila may have underestimated the opposition: Mai Tavuki may not have been ready to fight Tuikilakila and Vakalolo openly, but he was prepared to commit patricide, a possibility which Tuikilakila may not have considered. Tuikilakila was the target because he was the force behind Vakalolo's precedence; in 1846, the missionaries had considered Vakalolo to be 'one [of] the very few harmless creatures in this land who "never says nothing to nobody" either to please, perplex, or pain the minds' -- which did not indicate any inclination in Vakalolo to pursue political power.[99] Tuikilakila may, therefore, have backed Vakalolo for a second reason

95. Lyth, *Voyaging journal* 1852, IV, 30 June 1852, 36. In 1843 Raivalita was thought to be about twelve. See Lyth, *Journal* 1842-1844, 21 February and 10 June 1843, 53, 81.
96. Lyth, *Day-book* 1852-1854, 28 December 1852, 33-34.
97. In July Tuikilakila was referred to as Tui Cakau. See Lyth, *Journal* 1852-1853, 26 July 1853, 110-11. In 1854 Vakalolo was referred to as the Vunivalu. See Lyth, *Journal* 1853-1860, 23 February 1854, 56.
98. Lyth, *Journal* 1853-1860, 23 February 1854, 54. One later source gives the date of the murder as 13 February. See Glanvill Wellington Lala to Crompton, 16 November 1925 in FCSO C32/1925.

-- because he wanted an ineffective Mai Nakorovou. In this way he would be able to retain the effective leadership as long as possible, and not lose control to a son as his father had to himself.

The i Sokula were divided into parties yet again. Mai Tavuki was, naturally, supported by his younger full-brother Rakuro.[100] It was he who helped hold back the mosquito curtain while Tuikilakila was murdered. He was assisted by Kuila, the son of Rabici.[101] The actual murder was committed by Cikaitamana (Cika), the son of Ravonu who was a child of Yavala by a marama of Cakaudrove. Henceforth he was often referred to as a luve ni mate, the child of death. Also heavily implicated was Seruiraturaga whose identification is uncertain but he was, probably, a son of Lele.[102] Others were sons of Qerawaqa, the vasu to Vuna (Ga, Dekedeke, and Tawake), and Vakadronu, son of Lele. Mai Tavuki was also supported by the sons of the matanivanua. [103]

99. Williams, Somosomo Quarterly Letters, Letter I:4 (24 June 1846), 55. It is possible, however, that Vakalolo's personal ambitions and political capabilities were not obvious to outsiders.
100. The following has been taken from Lyth, Journal 1853-1860, 23 January and 9 March 1854, 54-56, 60-62; A. Deniau to J-P. Breheret, 1 September 1882 enclosed in Breheret to Governor, 6 February 1883 in FCSO 634.5/1883. Other names given, but not placed are Mai Nanuku (or Mai Manuku) and Tola.
101. His name was recorded as Raduadua. He is known better as Kuila, the name he received after distinguishing himself in a military skirmish. See Williams, Buli yaca the ceremony of giving a young chief a new name, dated March 1846 in his Miscellaneous notes, II, 41-45.
102. Lyth, Somosomo Wars, 65b. Alternatively he may be Seru, who accompanied Tuikilakila to Bau with Vakalolo and Raivalita in June 1852 (see Lyth, Voyaging journal 1852, IV, 30 June 1852, 36). By association, he would be another son of Tuikilakila.
103. One was named Papa. He died in a sea battle. See Lyth, Day-book 1852-1854, 28 December 1852, 33-34.

The victors, Vakalolo's faction, were to win by using both treachery and open warfare. Vakalolo was installed Tui Cakau immediately after the death of his father; he had had to make four approaches to an unknown group before his request was accepted and he was installed.[104] After Vakalolo's installation, Mai Tavuki and a supporter from Bau, Koroi Rabici, came to ask forgiveness with the presentation of an i soro. It was accepted, and the i Sokula drank yaqona together. After the yaqona session, or at night, Raivalita and Mara (vasu to Laucala and a half-brother of Vakalolo and Raivalita) murdered them as they lay resting or asleep.[105] This second murder caused lands within Cakaudrove to align themselves with the factions.

The Wesleyan missionaries recorded that Vakalolo was supported by the qali vanua from Vanua Levu, including Natewa, and also by Macuata.[106] This support would have been gained through Tuimasi of Macuata who had fled to Macuata when the Welagi party had asked him to participate in the murder. Tuimasi lived at Somosomo where he had married Adi Bolauga, the daughter of Tuikilakila by Lolo of the Welitoo people. In August 1843 Tuimasi is said to have become estranged from Adi Bolauga after she confessed to sexual relations with other men, and in March 1844 he had absconded with Adi Lua, another of Tuikilakila's daughters.[107] Vakalolo was also supported by Laucala, part of Vuna, the Welitoo of Waica, and the Tavuki people of Wairiki. Welagi, Wainikeli, Bouma, Rabe, and perhaps part of Vuna are said to have sided with Mai Tavuki. A Catholic priest considered Vuna, Rabe, Nasavusavu, Mabuco, Naweni, and the Cakaudrove people at

104. Lyth, Journal 1853-1860, 9 March 1854, 62.

105. Lyth, Journal 1853-1860, 23 February and 9 March 1854, 54-56, 62-63.

106. Lyth, Journal 1853-1860, 9 March 1854, 64.

107. Lyth, Journal 1842-1844, 14 August 1843 and 4 March 1844, 102-03, 174.

Waikava supported Vakalolo; while Mai Tavuki received assistance from Natewa, Navatu, Tunuloa, Wainikeli, and Laucala.[108] The Welagi, Wainikeli, and Bouma peoples, but no others, admit to supporting Mai Tavuki.

According to oral traditions, Vakalolo and his supporters went first to Waica and then to Wairiki, a land of the Tavuki people who had asked them to build their defences there.[109] By early April Vakalolo, in his turn, had died in a battle near Somosomo. When Vakalolo went to the aid of one of his men he was wounded by a bullet. This injury was noticed and he was slain by a Namara man who was then killed by Mara.[110] Vakalolo was replaced by his younger brother Raivalita under whose leadership the fortunes of the party at Wairiki declined for a time. In June the Welagi faction was favoured to win, but within five months the situation was reversed when they were defeated in a sea battle. Two i Sokula, Cika and Ga, were killed along with thirteen to twenty supporters.[111] This success was followed by the taking of Welagi, an assault in which the Welagi people remember that the Vunisa (head of Welagi) was killed. Peace among the i Sokula was then established on a formal level; enmities remained below the surface, however.

Raivaita was installed as the seventh Tui Cakau,[112] but the dispute was to be kept alive by Kula. Raivalita, ill with leprosy, had relinquished the power to his younger brother, Goleanavanua

108. Deniau to Breheret, 1 September 1882.

109. Lyth, Journal 1852-1860, 23 February 1854, 56. The Vuna people also claim they asked Vakalolo to go to Vuna where they also rejected the pleas of Dekedeke and Tawake for assistance.

110. Lyth, Journal 1853-1860, 21 April 1854, 80-81.

111. Lyth, Journal 1853-1860, 28 June 1854, 117-18; Calvert, Journal, V, 30 November 1854.

(Turned the Land), by 1859.[113] Not yet twenty years old, Golea especially represented a threat to Kuila.[114] Raivalita was likely to die within a few years, and Golea could be expected to use his position to strengthen his candidature for the title. To defeat Raivalita and Golea, Kuila turned to the Tongans for help: despite having the stronger force, Kuila and his supporters were defeated in battle at Wairiki in 1862.[115] Henceforth Golea, who was to be installed the eighth Tui Cakau after Raivalita's death in the same year, was to remain securely in control of Cakaudrove until his own death in 1879.

IF any rule emerges from an historical examination of succession to the title Tui Cakau, apart from the overriding importance of achievement criteria, it is a tendency for full-brothers to be mutually supportive. After Ratavo's sons, who were born to the same mother, contended among each other for power, rivalry no longer occurs among full-brothers. The rivalry among Ratavo's sons might be

112. Vakalolo could be counted as the seventh Tui Cakau, but he is not. This may be because of the short time he held the title, or because he never underwent the second public installation ceremony.
113. Raivalita is also known as Tuipulepule. For Golea's exercise of power, see Joseph Waterhouse to Williams, 4 October 1859 in Williams, Letters to the Rev T. Williams, IV. Golea was not the first member of the i Sokula to hold this name. A 'Ratu Gulea', old enough to be married, died in September 1847. See Hazlewood, Journal 1846-1848, II, 19 September 1847, 88.
114. In May 1861, Golea was said to be about twenty years of age. See Seemann, Viti: an account of a government mission to the Vitian or Fijian Islands 1860-1861 (Reprint, London 1973), 31.
115. For a full account, see below, 285-99.

accounted for by the paucity of half-brothers; Mumui, the only known half-brother, had been sent to rule Korocau. In the succeeding generation, however, there were siblings with different mothers, and full-brothers no longer competed among themselves. Rather, they united against the pretensions of their half-brothers. Alternatively, it may be argued that competition between full-brothers was less obvious; it was resolved more quickly, and by non-violent means. It would have been detrimental to their interests to allow rivalry to weaken them, and thus allow another set of full-brothers to assert their own precedence successfully. Descendants of full-brothers could openly compete with each other, however.

Obviously, prescriptive succession rules, ambiguous in themselves, were not followed. The title of Tui Cakau could go to any member of the i Sokula who was able to marshal enough support. It did not depend upon genealogical rank; political status depended upon the realities of power. Genealogical rank was not falsified to match the reality of title possession, however. The Fijians were pragmatists who did not tamper with their genealogies; genealogically senior lines continued to be recognized as such, and there was no attempt by holders of the title Tui Cakau to make their own descent line appear the most senior. In 1843, when Vavala the Tui Cakau and Tuikilakila were absent, Tuikilakila's son Vakalolo was left in charge of Somosomo. Vakalolo held the highest political status but Vavala (also known as Mai Drekeniwai) held genealogical precedence. The senior male descendant of Ratavo the second Tui Cakau, Vavala presided at a ceremony in which bakola were ceremonially presented and the warriors were rewarded.[116] At yaqona ceremonies, including that held during

116. Lyth, Journal 1842-1844, 23 September 1843, 109. Vavala was the son of Naiqama and grandson of Rakuro.

an installation, members of the i Sokula excluding the Tui Cakau drank in order of genealogical precedence. Thus genealogical rank continued to be recognized, even though the political status of a highly-ranked turaga might be low.

The present long-standing debate concerning the right to elect and install the Tui Cakau reflects the problems of reconciling genealogical rank with political status. One school of local thought claims that it is the role of the matanivanua to select the Tui Cakau. Mai Kavula, Mai Nanukurua, and Mai Nayala choose and install the Tui Cakau, they 'perform every act necessary'. [117] Another school of local thought asserts that the i Sokula make the choice themselves. The matanivanua were then responsible for the correct performance of the ceremonies associated with the installation. [118] Between these two schools lies a third. The matanivanua meet and discuss the succession, decide on a candidate and then put his name forward at a meeting, which they call, of the male adult i Sokula. The person selected at this meeting is installed as the Tui Cakau. [119] Historical evidence indicates, however, that the decision lay with the i Sokula. When a decision acceptable to all successful i Sokula was not reached, a settlement of the dispute was reached by more active means. Force was the final arbiter in any unresolved dispute.

Once an unsuccessful line had lost power, it became increasingly difficult for its members to challenge the line which held it. They became further and further removed from the centre of political life,

117. Ame Nasarowa (Mai Kavula), Solomone Regu (Mai Nanukurua), Pauliase Lutunauga (Mai Nayala) and others to Epele Ganilau, 21 September 1925 in FCSO C26/1925.
118. Glanvill Wellington Lala and Joni W. Lewenilovo to District Commissioner, 14 September 1925 in FCSO C32/1925.
119. Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna to Colonial Secretary, 27 October 1925 in FCSO C32/1925.

and their political status decreased correspondingly; exceptional abilities would be necessary to accumulate sufficient power to attempt a challenge. In the colonial context, an astute turaga could take advantage of a novel means of gaining political status. In 1925 when Golea's son Joni Antonio Rabici the tenth Tui Cakau died, Epeli Ganilau (grandson of Rakuro) was the Roko Tui Cakaudrove, the administrative head appointed by the government. He had accrued enough support and political status, which he hoped to convert into the authority of the title, to challenge Glanvill Wellington Lala, the nephew of Rabici and son of Josefa Lalabalavu, Rabici's elder brother who had held the title before him. Both Lala and Ganilau had themselves installed as Tui Cakau. Ganilau justified his claim on the grounds that the position of Tui Cakau was not hereditary: the most intelligent and capable member of the i Sokula family became the Tui Cakau. As he himself was one of the leading members of the i Sokula, and was more sensible and capable than Lala, he had the right to succeed.[120] Lala, however, pointed to the fact that Ganilau was the grandson of a murderer of Tuikilakila, their mutual great-grandfather; this branch had been defeated by Lala's line.[121] He did not point out, however, that Rakuro, Ganilau's grandfather, had redeemed himself by killing the Tongan Wainiqolo at the Wairiki battle in 1862. Though Ganilau did not manage to have himself recognized as the Tui Cakau, he successfully prevented Lala from being recognized until after his (Ganilau's) premature death.[122]

120. Ganilau to D.R. Stewart, 21 September 1925 in FCSO C26/1925.

121. Lala to R. Crompton, 16 November 1925 in FCSO C26/1925.

122. Governor's Commissioner to Colonial Secretary, 29 August 1932 in FCSO C26/1925.

Thus colonial rule did not prevent succession disputes. Only the more forceful means of obtaining power -- murder and military confrontations -- were restricted. Because a rival can no longer be disposed of, or decisively defeated, there is a tendency for succession disputes to become more prolonged.[123] Yet new means of removing competitors could be attempted. In 1901 Josefa Lalabalavu, the ninth Tui Cakau, had tried to remove his cousin and rival Peni Lepai by asking the colonial administration to deport him. Lepai, the son of Kuila who had unsuccessfully challenged Raivalita and Golea in 1862, was consistently working to undermine the allegiance of Cakaudrove peoples to the Tui Cakau. Lepai, too, had achieved political status when the colonial administration recognized him as worthy of appointment to the position of Buli Cakaudrove.[124]

Furthermore, an historical examination of the title possession undermines the ideology of chieftainship. First, achievement criteria were so important that title-holders were not exempt from challenges. The Tui Cakau and Mai Nakorovou were not too sacred to be opposed; Mai Nakorovou was not definitely predestined to be the next Tui Cakau. Possessors of both titles could be challenged at any time; installation was, in itself, a cause of dispute. Rivals for the title of Tui Cakau, for example, would recognize their right to succeed to the headship was being challenged if someone was installed as Mai Nakorovou. Mai Nakorovou's installation indicated he had already gained support for his prospective succession, while Mai Nakorovou

123. I am grateful to John Nation who first suggested this to me. There is also a greater emphasis on ascriptive criteria. Senior male sons, or junior brothers, who are legitimate are favoured.

124. Lepai was appointed Buli Cakaudrove by 1900; his deportation was requested in May 1901. See Lalabalavu to Governor, 4 and 7 May 1901 in FCSO 2135/1901. He may finally have been removed by being sent to Korocau, where he married a lady of Korocau. Their son, Manoa Rakai, was Tui Korocau in the late 1920s.

would be better situated to accumulate more power.

Moreover, the persons of the Tui Cakau and his heir apparent were not inviolate; they could be attacked, openly or treacherously, and killed. Tuikilakila was murdered, while his son Vakalolo was killed in battle. Any turaga who managed such a feat, and who also managed to defeat the surviving supporters, would demonstrate thereby his right to possess the title. His very success over his competitors indicated that he possessed the requisite sacred efficaciousness and support.

Secondly, two members of the i Sokula could hold the title of Tui Cakau at the same time. The gauna buliruarua (time of the double installation), when both Yavala and Naiqama were installed, indicates clearly that possession of a title need not signify an overwhelmingly successful turaga. The ultimate validation of Yavala's possession of the title, however, depended upon his survival; Yavala managed to overcome all his rivals.

Thirdly, loss of political power by an installed head, who still retained the title, indicates that a further re-evaluation of title possession is necessary. It was common for the political effectiveness of title-holders to decline, because of either advancing age or a growing inclination to abdicate from responsibilities. In 1859 Golea was the active leader because his brother Raivalita, the seventh Tui Cakau, was unwell. In 1839 Tuikilakila had taken over the reins of government from his father Yavala, the fourth Tui Cakau, who was growing old. Thus the growth in power of a junior relative could lead to the removal of effective power from the title-holder.[125]

125. Sahlins argues that the warrior functions of the ruling chief devolved as soon as possible upon a youthful heir. See his 'The stranger-king: Dumézil among the Fijians', JPH, XVI (1981), 122.

The power need not be removed completely, for the head still held the authority of the title. Yavala could still moderate Tuikilakila's behaviour; in late 1843, for instance, when Tuikilakila ordered two Butoni be killed and eaten as punishment for witchcraft practices, his father, who feared a backlash from Bau to whom the Butoni were subject, was able to interpose and save them.[126]

Fourthly, the possibility of a Tui Cakau -- who was physically unfit to hold the title and thus should have been debarred from the position -- being installed when there was no intention he should exercise power undermines the ideology further. Title possession might not even indicate that the holder could exercise a restraining influence; like Ralulu the fifth Tui Cakau, he might not have been installed to carry out any active role. Ralulu had been installed in 1845 to legitimize the actions of Tuikilakila, who found that his own installation would encourage a challenge from his rival Lewenilovo. To postpone such an awkward situation, Ralulu was installed instead of Tuikilakila. In this instance Tuikilakila had already been recognized, though not publicly installed, as the Tui Cakau. He relinquished the title though the priests had already announced he had been installed at Drakulu, the i cibaciba of dead i Sokula.[127] In effect, Tuikilakila dismissed himself; then he chose the new Tui Cakau. At the time when Ralulu was installed, Tuikilakila announced to the assembled people that he had come to install the Tui Cakau; he left them in no doubt that he was the actual leader of Cakaudrove.[128] Then, when he wanted the title for himself, he is

126. Lyth, Journal 1842-1844, 11-15 December 1853, 139.

127. Hazlewood, Day-book 1844-1846, 3 September 1845; Journal of Thomas Williams, II, 3 September 1845, 322.

128. Williams quoted in Wallis, Life in Feejee, or, five years among the cannibals (Reprint, New Jersey 1967), 279.

said to have dismissed Ralulu.

TRADITIONALLY, therefore, succession to the title of Tui Cakau did not follow any order of precedence predetermined by an ascribed rank. Genealogical rank certainly operated as a principal of exclusion in restricting low-ranking members from contesting the title, but within a restricted group succession was open. A candidate's personal qualities and ability to marshal support gave him the right to compete for the title or the effective leadership. Ascription criteria were outweighed by achievement criteria; power was the prerogative of the successful.

Effective leadership need not be held by the head. He could lose the ability to exercise power, or he could be installed with the knowledge that he would never be actual ruler. Possession of titles, too, was challengeable. A title-holder was not sacrosanct; he could be killed or peacefully removed. Thus possession of the title Tui Cakau did not necessarily guarantee possession of the sacredness ideally associated with it. Political efficaciousness proved the possession of sacred efficaciousness; loss of political effectiveness indicated loss of sacred effectiveness. The status of a Tui Cakau was never constant; the light in which he was viewed depended upon the success of his leadership at a particular point in time; and upon that success, or upon the degree of conflict within the i Sokula lineage, depended the territorial integrity of the matanitu.

CHAPTER SIX

CAKAUDROVE: ITS DEVELOPMENT

Changes in the balance of power within and between matanitu were an indigenous phenomenon: they did not result from contact with Western cultures but from rivalry which took place at all levels of the Fijian sociopolitical structure. The status quo in Fiji had never been static, and the rise of a new power such as Cakaudrove had no lack of precedents. The Fijians were not hidebound by traditional loyalties, although the ideology of power possession suggests so. Arguments that the i Sokula may have taken advantage of European weapons and expertise disparage the traditional Fijian polity. Political life was complex and dynamic, and these qualities are reflected in the difficulty of establishing the actual means by which, and sequence whereby, the i Sokula extended their power.

THE early missionary observers assumed, ethnocentrically, that the matanitu which they observed owed their existence to the paramounts' more than equal access to European weapons, and the skilled military assistance of the Europeans themselves. In 1840, John Hunt wrote that Bau, Rewa, and Cakaudrove had 'obtained their superiority over the rest of Feejee...by means of Englishmen.' Before the rise of these,

and other matanitu, Fiji had consisted of independent and relatively isolated chiefdoms.[1] The evidence given above for the existence of earlier power configurations disproves such a picture of the pre-contact polity. It does not appear, either, that any major change in the balance of power was effected by unequal access to Europeans and their weapons. It has been argued that chiefs who had already established themselves in positions of power attracted white men to support them and so consolidated their influence.'[2] The evidence from Cakaudrove supports this argument that contact with Europeans contributed little or nothing to the expansion of matanitu. The theory of consolidation, however, is not confirmed. While it may be true of Bau, Cakaudrove did not benefit politically from the early contact situation.

Hunt maintained that Cakaudrove owed its initial rise to the property which was obtained from the wreck of the American brig Fawn. [3] In August 1830 she ran aground on a reef in what was to become known as Fawn Harbour, located a few miles to the west of Vunisavisavi and Cakaudrove-i-wai, the original residence of the Tui Cakau. [4] Writing in 1840, Hunt misdated the wreck which he believed

1. Hunt, The History of Feejee, dated July 1840 in Lyth, Tongan & Feejeean Reminiscences, I, 42. Another copy is to be found in Williams, Miscellaneous notes chiefly concerning Feejee & Feejeeans, I, 40. Williams repeated Hunt's observations, using virtually the same wording, in his Fiji and the Fijians (London 1858), I, 18.
2. The charter of the land: custom and colonization in Fiji (Melbourne 1969), 22.
3. Hunt, The History of Feejee, 38-39.
4. W. Endicott, Wrecked among cannibals in the Fijis. A narrative of shipwreck and adventure in the South Seas (Salem 1923), 33; Salem Gazette, 19 April 1831 quoted in R.G. Ward (ed), American activities in the central Pacific (New Jersey 1967), VII, 417.

to have occurred around 1824 or 1825. As the missionaries never indicated that Cakaudrove appreciably expanded the territory under its control after their arrival in Fiji in 1835, it may be presumed Hunt believed the expansion of Cakaudrove was achieved in the ten or eleven years prior to 1835. This is more plausible than an expansion in only five years, a time period which Hunt would have had more difficulty in accepting had he known the correct date of the Fawn's wreck.

Furthermore, there is no reliable evidence to suggest that Cakaudrove benefited from the wreck. The information which Hunt may have received, and its significance, are suspect. The account of one survivor has been recorded independently. James (or Jim) Magoun remained in Fiji, and over thirty years later, in July 1866, he told the story of the wreck to a settler, Edwin Turpin.[5] The yarn he chose to spin gave him the role of a Charlie Savage -- a survivor of the Eliza popularly, but wrongly, credited with helping Bau become the foremost power in Fiji. Although Captain Briant and most of his crew left Fiji in the ship Clay for Manila, Magoun asserted he was the only crew member to escape a massacre by the Cakaudrove people. During an enforced stay of about thirteen months, he cleaned and repaired all the ship's firearms, boarding axes and other arms, made gunpowder into cartridges, and fashioned knives, spearheads, tomahawks, and similar weapons. The people were so appreciative of his skills that Magoun said he was given the name Kalou Vulavula, White God, and treated as if he were of high rank. Although he implied that great benefits were achieved through the possession of European weapons as well as his services, he gave no details of specific victories which were dependent on the firearms he serviced, and which he probably used on

5. Turpin, Programme of Anecdotes, Narratives & Legends of Fiji in Turpin, Diary and Narrative of Edwin James Turpin 1870-1894, 14-23.

Cakaudrove's behalf. Other claims by Magoun, almost certainly untruthful, make the validity of his account even less likely.[6] Tellingly, the Fawn is not remembered in the oral traditions.

In fact, European contact with Cakaudrove was so limited that it is most unlikely the European presence in Fiji helped the i Sokula even maintain their hegemony. Early European contact with, and involvement in, Cakaudrove was less active than at Bau and many other places in the Fiji group. Interested in commercial gain from their communication with the indigenous people, Europeans had few reasons to visit Cakaudrove during the first decades of the nineteenth century. Unlike its neighbour Bua in western Vanua Levu, it did not possess stands of sandalwood, the commodity which Europeans sought mainly between 1804 and 1816 -- although the trade continued desultorily for a few more years as the sandalwood became increasingly scarce. Moreover, Europeans did not visit the immediate Cakaudrove area for beche-de-mer, which was collected from about 1828. The most popular source was the north coast of Vanua Levu, the territories of Bua and Macuata.[7]

6. He maintains, for example, that the local turaga distributed the weapons only among his own principal warriors. This is unlikely, for even parts of the brig found their way to Somosomo. About four months after the Fawn's wreck, the captain of the Glide was able to procure four anchors, two chain cables and some rigging from the Tui Cakau at Somosomo. Endicott, Sea journal of the Glide, 19-22 December 1830; Endicott, Wrecked among cannibals, 33.
7. By the 1840s, however, some collecting was done in Cakaudrove. There is a record of the local trader William Valentine setting up a beche-de-mer station at Vuna Point in 1840. See J.M.R. Young, Frontier society in Fiji 1858-1873 (Ph.D., University of Adelaide 1968), 53. Beche-de-mer was also collected in Natewa Bay. Captain Wallis of the Zotoff is known to have collected it there in 1845 and 1847. See Wallis, Life in Feejee, or five years among cannibals (Reprint, New Jersey 1967), 129. Jazlewood, Journal 1846-1848, II, 11 January 1847, 17. Thomas Dunn, a resident trader, established a beche-de-mer station on Nukubati Island in Natewa Bay in 1846. See Young, Frontier society, 48.

There is no record of a vessel visiting the immediate Cakaudrove area during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, no record has survived of Europeans residing in either this or any other area in wider Cakaudrove, except for a short anecdote recorded by Williams, who did not arrive in Cakaudrove until August 1843. In what Williams thought must have been around 1824, several Europeans with firearms assisted the i Sokula in a skirmish on Vanua Levu. It would appear a surprise attack had been made on either a village or, more likely, a small party engaged in fishing or agriculture. Some of those attacked were killed, and several women were taken prisoner.[8]

The early reputation of the Cakaudrove people discouraged Europeans from visiting the matanitu. The i Sokula were said to be 'the worst cannibals in Feejee'.[9] Even other Fijians were said to be nervous of them. Before the missionaries arrived in Somosomo in 1839, Hunt wrote that the people of Rewa 'speak of their neighbours at Somosomo in nearly the same strain in which English people speak of the Feejeeans in general.'[10] Although the Wesleyan missionaries believed the people of Somosomo had never harmed Europeans,[11] there is evidence to suggest that some visitors had close escapes. In late 1831, one master had not thought it 'prudent' to go ashore for

8. Miscellaneous notes, I, 156-57. Williams wrote that the account was given to him by 'an influential chief who was an eye witness of most of what he related'. The entry is dated 17 October 1844, and the information was collected at Somosomo.
9. Lyth, A brief Sketch of Rev John Hunt's Missionary Career in his Biographical sketches, 16.
10. Hunt to General Secretaries, 29 June 1839 in WMS, Letters from Feejee, I.
11. Lyth, History of Feejee previous to the introduction of Christianity in his Note-book, 35-37. The missionaries knew of a captain who was saved by the Cakaudrove people when his vessel foundered. This may be a reference to the Rewa's wreck. They also knew of another captain who had been taken ashore and bound, then set at liberty after his vessel had been partly plundered.

the people were 'the most wild, and savage set we had seen since our first arrival at Ovalau.'[12] He had heard 'bad accounts' of the inhabitants from a subordinate who had visited Somosomo a few months previously. Captain Archer of the Glide had landed with his second officer and six armed men at Somosomo where they 'came very near to losing their lives, and being cooked to fill a Feejeeans stomach'.[13] By 1834 Rabici, a son of the Tui Cakau, possessed the reputation among Europeans of a 'great rogue'. He had plotted to cut off the Coral but had been prevented when she left Somosomo.[14]

Only two Europeans are known, with certainty, to have stayed at Somosomo before 1839. They had arrived in June 1832, with a few Hawaiian and Wallis Islanders, in a whale boat from Wallis Island where they had belonged to the crew of the brig Chinchilla. Six weeks later they were removed from Somosomo by the master of a beche-de-mer vessel.[15] Those Europeans who did call at Somosomo, in the 1830s, did so for two reasons. First, it was visited for subsidiary trade items. The most important was the shell of the turtle, and Somosomo was known as a 'great place' to obtain this.[16] Less importantly, the wealth of Somosomo also made it a place at which provisions could be procured. Occasionally the European trading vessels purchased food supplies such as yams.[17] Secondly Tanoa, the deposed Vunivalu of Bau who resided at Somosomo for a few years from August 1832, encouraged their visits. Known as a friend to Europeans, Tanoa used

12. Eagleston, Ups and downs through life, II, 1 November 1831.
13. Eagleston, Ups and downs through life, I, 15 August 1831.
14. Osborn, Journal of a voyage in the Emerald, 202.
15. Eagleston, Logbook of the Emerald, 27 July 1832.
16. Eagleston, Ups and downs, I, 14 August 1831.
17. Osborn, Journal of a voyage in the Emerald, 28 September 1834.

his influence to prevent attacks on them because he sought their assistance to regain his control of Bau. Yavala the Tui Cakau now appears to have embraced Tanoa's attitude to the European visitors; by 1835 he was thought to be a good friend, and would not allow his people to injure them.[18]

Even after the establishment of the Wesleyan mission station at Somosomo in 1839, European shipping still avoided the immediate Cakaudrove area. In 1844, Williams contemplated writing an essay on solitude. 'It would fall little short of the truth' he wrote, 'should any one write at the entrance of Somosomo; "The road to nowhere".' [19] So unaccustomed were the Cakaudrove people to European vessels that in June 1840, when two of the United States Exploring Expedition vessels and a local trader, the Currency Lass, were off Somosomo at the same time, they were 'much alarmed'. [20] Europeans were unfamiliar, too, because they had not chosen to live on Taveuni until the mission station was established. Within a few months an American called David was living with the Tui Cakau; [21] after this it was not uncommon for Europeans to become attached to leading members of the i Sokula. There is, therefore, no evidence to

18. European traders, who involved themselves in local politics for economic reasons, came to offer help. In early January 1835, for example, Eagleston visited Somosomo. He told Tanoa he had come with the intention of accompanying him to Bau, where his vessel would remain for one month during which time he would 'give him all the assistance in my power'. The price asked was the Aimable Josephine which had been cut off at Bau. Lack of preparations prevented Tanoa from accepting this offer. See Osborn, Journal of a voyage in the Emerald, 27 January 1835; Eagleston, Logbook of the Emerald, 24 January 1835. For Yavala's attitude, see Osborn, Journal of a voyage in the Emerald, 202.
19. Williams to his father, 10 July 1844 in ANMMS, Fiji letters 1855-1903.
20. Hunt, Private journal 1839-1841, I, 129.
21. Lyth, A brief Sketch of Rev John Hunt's Missionary Career, 17; Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 23 December 1839, 423.

suggest that Europeans played more than a minor role in Cakaudrove's political life in the early decades of the nineteenth century.

By then, when regular contact with Europeans began, Cakaudrove was already more than a minor chiefdom restricted to the area around Vunisavisavi on the south coast of Vanua Levu. By 1808, the whole of Vanua Levu had become known to the sandalwood traders as Cakaudrove. The name is easily recognizable in such renditions as Takaunove, Token Roba and Townroba.[22] Its usage for all Vanua Levu was continued in the 1820s and 1830s by Europeans, but began to decline among Fijians, perhaps because of the residence of the Tui Cakau on the adjacent island of Taveuni.[23] Hunt wrote in 1840 that it was 'called by the English Takanovi, by the natives Thakaundrovi, or more commonly a vanua levu, "the large land".'[24] This early usage suggests that, by the early years of the nineteenth century, Cakaudrove was well established as the power of greatest importance on Vanua Levu.

22. Lockerby, in Fiji in 1808, wrote both Token Roba and Townroba, see his Account of the different chiefs of the Feejee Islands with whom you have to do in procuring sandalwood, and his Sailing directions for the Feejee or Sandalwood Islands. The London Missionary Society missionaries, who stayed on the Macuatan coast of Vanua Levu for approximately seven weeks, spelt it Takaunove. See 'Journal of the Missionaries put ashore from the Hibernia on the islet in the Fiji Group in 1809' in Sir E. in Thurn and L.C. Wharton (eds), The journal of William Lockerby, sandalwood trader in the Fijian Islands during the years 1808-1809 (London 1925), 134, 141.
23. See for example W.R. Driver, Journal of the Clay, 13 September 1827; Endicott, Sea journal of the Glide, 17 and 18 October 1829; Endicott, Wrecked among cannibals, 37; T.N. Chapman, Journal of the Consul, 10, 18 and 19 August 1834; J.D. Winn, Journal of the Eliza, 4 March 1834.
24. Hunt to General Secretaries, 20 September 1840 in WMS, Letters from Feejee, II.

THE precise chronology and means by which Cakaudrove developed into a matanitu is uncertain. The process had begun by the mid-eighteenth century, by which time it would appear the i Sokula were in control of the immediate Cakaudrove chiefdom and its possessions. A comparative generation count between the i Sokula and the Vunivalu genealogy of Bau indicates the possibility that Ratavo, the son of Rokevu the first Tui Cakau to be installed, was the contemporary of Buinivuaka Nailatikau. Nailatikau, the first Bauan to combine the titles of Tui Kaba and Vunivalu, moved to the small island of Bau, together with the sacred and higher-ranked head the Roko Tui Bau, in approximately 1760.[25] The expansion of Bau and Cakaudrove, both at the expense of Verata, appears to have been roughly contemporaneous. It is even possible that Verata's preoccupation with the Bauan challenge, a local and thus more crucial threat, prevented Verata from giving adequate attention to maintaining effective control of Vanua Levu. The i Sokula, therefore, may have taken advantage of Verata's preoccupation with Bau, and extended their own power.

When the i Sokula deprived the Mataikoro of their leadership of Cakaudrove, they took over a power base which it was only necessary to maintain, and then to extend. This power base was the vanua of Cakaudrove -- the southern coast of Vanua Levu, from Vunilagi through to Buca Bay. It included the Korocau sub-chiefdom, comprising the Korocau, Mabuco and Nadaraga peoples. To the west it may also have included the Tacilevu people. The i Sokula's influence also extended into the Salt Lake area, and the coast adjoining Natewa Bay in the Navatu Island area. The Sinu people, especially, may have looked to the i Sokula for help: some of the latter were living in the area,

25. See, for example, Joseph Waterhouse, The king and people of Fiji: containing a life of Cakobau (London 1866), 19.

and the leadership of the Sinu (who became known as the Navadra) had been taken over by a turaga from Vunisavisavi. This Cakaudrove vanua, and possibly other allied lands, were used by the i Sokula as a power base from which to further their ambitions.

Unfortunately little information about the activities of Rokevu, the first Tui Cakau, has survived in the oral memory apart from the knowledge he had two sons whose descendants are the turaga of two different vanua (Cakaudrove and Tunuloa). It is possible that, under his own or his father's direction, the i Sokula had headed a conquest by Cakaudrove of surrounding lands. No evidence exists to support the hypothesis of an extension by the actual use of force; it is probable, therefore, that less direct methods were used.

During Rokevu's rule Tunuloa, the vanua divided from Cakaudrove by the vanua of Natewa, came under the influence of Cakaudrove, partly as result of that rivalry within the i Sokula lineage which was considered in the previous chapter. Rokevu's younger son Loaloa quarrelled with Ratavo, his elder and thus genealogically senior brother; he was challenging the political supremacy of Ratavo, and asserting his own right to succeed to the headship. In support of Ratavo, Rokevu is said to have forced Loaloa to leave Cakaudrove, whence he went to Tunuloa. Without the support of his father, Loaloa may have realized it would be more difficult to gain the right to succeed to the title of Tui Cakau; thus he concurred with his father's orders. If he could make himself the leader of another people, he could perhaps gain power comparable to that held by his father and the chosen successor. He would then be in a position to challenge their authority.

It is clear from oral traditions that Loaloo managed to gain an influential position in Tunuloo, where he established himself, presumably, with the aid of supporters who had accompanied him when he left Cakaudrove. At Tunuloo he married Adi Vadra, a marama of the Valeuku division, Naqaravutu. The Naqaravutu led the vanua of Tunuloo, and all groups acknowledged the leadership of its head, the Ratu, descendant of a Veratan. During the Ratu's lifetime, Loaloo increased his own power at the expense of the i taukei head. When the Ratu died, he was succeeded by Sigarara, Loaloo's son by Adi Vadra, who was installed Tui Tunuloo. He and his descendants then held the leadership of Tunuloo. But Tunuloo never achieved enough power to challenge Cakaudrove's influence in the area; there is no evidence, either, to suggest Loaloo or Sigarara did not accept their hegemony. On the contrary, Sigarara reasserted his link with the i Sokula in a positive manner when he married Di Mai Benau of Cakaudrove.[26]

Property and services from the peoples of Cakaudrove, and others who acknowledged the power supremacy of the i Sokula, were a power base. Another resource would have been the Tongans who are known to have been frequent visitors to Fiji during, and probably long before, this period. It is most probable they were in close contact with the i Sokula, for they would have passed by Cakaudrove on their way downwind. Mumui, one of Ratavo's sons, had a son called Sului. The first name, and perhaps the second are of Tongan origin.[27] If Ratavo had married a Tongan, Tongans would have been frequent visitors at Cakaudrove, and contributed to the fighting strength of the i

26. Di Mai Benau is not included in the i Sokula genealogies, but this does not disprove her membership. The rank of Sigarara indicates the likelihood of a high-ranking wife.
27. For a discussion of Cakaudrove's relationship with the Tongans, and of Mumui's maternal parentage, see below, 257-64.

Sokula. Their presence would have materially assisted in the increase of Cakaudrove's power, though there is no direct evidence to support such an involvement.

Links also existed with the people of Kioa Island, opposite Buca Bay on Vanua Levu. Adi Manabi, the mother of Ratavo's son Vakamino who was to succeed to the title of Tui Cakau, came from this island. Vakamino himself was to marry another marama of Kioa, the namesake of his mother. Rabe Island, off Kubulau Point, was taken over by members of the i Sokula who had migrated from Vuniasavisavi to Rabe where they were known as Sokula. As well as retaining the name, they also retained Mai Natavasara as their kalou vu.

On the larger island of Taveuni, close contact with the peoples of Welagi and Wainikeli is remembered. One of Rokevu's wives, probably his head wife, was Adi Busa of Welagi. Ratavo, who succeeded his father as Tui Cakau, was their son, and it is also possible that Loaloa was a child of this union. One source implies that Welagi was subject (qali) to Cakaudrove by the time of Ratavo.[28] The relationship with Wainikeli predates the emergence of the i Sokula in Cakaudrove. The people believe their settlement in Taveuni originated with the arrival of Rawaka, a Cakaudrove turaga who had left Vuniasavisavi before the i Sokula emerged.[29] Rawaka's arrival may record the inclusion of Wainikeli (and with it Welagi) within Cakaudrove's sphere of influence, and its allegiance would have been

28. Evidence of Ratu Manasa Doginivalu, 22 August 1902 in NLC, Notes & Minutes of a Meeting of the Chiefs and people of Cakaudrove held at Somosomo on this the 15th Day of August 1902, 80. The Welagi people believe they originated from Nawainovo, Namara in Tailevu.
29. For a discussion of Rawaka's contact with Wainikeli, see below, 212-13.

retained by the i Sokula. This would not have been difficult, for the Wainikeli and immediate Cakaudrove people consider they are vanua vata (lands together) and tauvu (a joking relationship which implies common ancestry, prior intermarriage).[30]

Taveuni was to figure prominently in the history of Cakaudrove. Consolidation of the i Sokula's hegemony over the island was to result from rivalry among members of this lineage. As already established, disputes over effective leadership, and the right to succeed to the headship were the cause of moves to Taveuni by members of the i Sokula. Ratavo, the second Tui Cakau and yasu to Welagi, had been the first member of the i Sokula to live on Taveuni when he moved to Welagi where he lived in retirement for the last years of his life. Then he had been followed by his son Samusamuvodre, and Samu's own son Ralulu, both of whom also established themselves at Welagi which was to become a centre of power. Ralulu himself was to dominate the Welagi and Wainikeli area.[31]

Ralulu's supporters at Welagi began to terrorize the Somosomo people, whom they would capture for their ovens at Welagi. Then the i Sokula at Welagi intensified their domination in the south. With his followers, Ralulu moved to Nawiriwiritola and Nasarata, settlements close to Vuniduva.[32] Situated on the promontory above the present day village of Somosomo (E Loma ni Koro), Vuniduva was the village of the Tui Somosomo. Ralulu is remembered to have taken all the coastal

30. Hocart, The northern states of Fiji (London 1952), 69.

31. Evidence of Ratu Manasa Boginivalu, 22 August 1902, 80.

32. Both Nawiriwiritola and Nasarata are within the confines of the present day village of Somosomo, which begins in the north at Lamini, the settlement of the Vione and Somosomo people. Nawiriwiritola and Nasarata are past Lamini.

land by force. He completely subjected the Vione people, the bati of the Tui Somosomo, and one source claims he had himself installed as Tui Somosomo in recognition of his possession of the Somosomo people.[33]

Ralulu did not succeed in controlling all the people of Somosomo, however, for oral traditions record some responded by leaving their homeland rather than accept his authority. Part of the leading mataqali of Valelevu, and the Vusamudu, fled to Bouma under the leadership of Verematanikutu. They went first to the inferior village of Lekutu, and thence to live with the Vunisa of Bouma when he sent for them. Riva, who led the remaining members of the mataqali Valelevu and their subordinates, held on at Somosomo.

The extension of Ralulu's hegemony southward may have been a direct response to the move of other members of the i Sokula to the southern end of Taveuni. Lele and Qerawaqa, the vasu levu to Vuna, had moved first. They were followed by their nephews Tuikilakila and Rabici when they, too, became dissatisfied with the leadership of Vakamino. The number of i Sokula had increased again soon after, when Tuikilakila's father Yavala chose to leave Vanua Levu rather than accept the authority of the Tui Cakau his father. It is unlikely that Yavala and his sons moved to Taveuni much before 1820. Before his move, Tuikilakila was old enough to have participated in a battle, in which he is said to have greatly distinguished himself, between rival i Sokula factions.[34] He was probably in his late teens at this time. In 1840 he was estimated to be about forty years of age.[35]

33. Evidence of Ratu Manasa Boginivalu, 22 August 1902, and Joani Lala (mataqali Vione), 20 August 1902, 80, 64. The Somosomo people claim to have originated from Nakauvadra.

34. Lyth, Somosomo Wars in his Notes on Islands, 65a.

From Vuna, Yavala and his sons were to move to Somosomo. Riva of Somosomo may have decided to exploit the rivalry between the factions in the north and south. Tradition has it that he informed Yavala and his sons of the great difficulties they were experiencing at Somosomo because of Ralulu's activities. Two Somosomo men, Qaqanicoco and Sunisiciwai, were sent to Vuna to see Uluqalala, head matanivanua of the Tui Cakau. He was the son of a Somosomo marama, and therefore vasu to Somosomo. No positive assistance can have been offered, for Riva then ordered Mualevu and Basuli to approach Uluqalala. They requested that Uluqalala ask the i Sokula at Vuna to shift to Somosomo. Their request was accepted and Yavala, together with his sons and followers, moved to Somosomo.[36]

Yavala's move was motivated by more than a desire to protect the Somosomo people, however; it was in his interests as well, for at Vuniduva he would be closer to his rival Ralulu. It is even plausible to suggest that Yavala had originally encouraged some of the Somosomo people to remain in their lands.[37] Vuniduva was a site well-protected by natural defences, and capable of being protected even more effectively by man-made defensive ditches. There he would be in a strong position to contest Ralulu's control of northwestern Taveuni. This he successfully did, and Ralulu eventually petitioned for an end to hostilities.[38] Ralulu's influence was then confined

35. Extract from the journal of John Waterhouse, WNN (London), May 1841, 507.
36. Evidence of Ratu Manasa Boginivalu, 22 August 1902, and Mauriceo Cavuilati (uninstalled Tui Somosomo), 20 August 1902, 81,55.
37. Yavala is said to have given Mualevu a lady named Manuavi, so that some Somosomo people would remain in the area. Evidence of Matorino Rauga (yavusa Somosomo), 19 August 1902 in NLG, Notes & Minutes, 42-43.
38. Lyth, Somosomo Wars, 65b.

to the territory of Welagi and Wainikeli. He lost control of the Vione people, who were now led by Rabici. Rabici and the Vione lived together at Drekeniwai, on the border with Welagi.[39] Ralulu was, therefore, effectively contained in the north of Taveuni.

With this victory over Ralulu, all the lands in Taveuni came under the sway of Yavala the Tui Cakau, for Vuna had been conquered before Yavala moved to Somosomo. Yavala's father, Vakamino, had been responsible for the death of a Tui Vuna already. Vakamino had married Adi Tuivaturogo, the daughter of Komaiwai, Tui Vuna. When Komaiwai was murdered by his relative Seru, the Vuna people remember his daughter had asked Vakamino to kill Seru, by then himself Tui Vuna. This he had done: Seru was killed at Mualevu, Vanua Balavu. When Yavala and his sons were resident at Vuna, they did not remain for long on friendly terms with Lele and Qerawaqa, Adi Tuivaturogo's sons who had been the first to move to Vuna. Eventually the vasu to Vuna were forced out because of the strength of Yavala's faction. The Tui Vuna, Raitau, showed his disapproval by building a warfence at Nabadraudrau. Here, according to the *i Sokula*, the Vuna people were defeated, and the Tui Vuna made an i soro to Yavala.[40] Another confrontation between Vuna and Cakaudrove then occurred at Nonone, from which the *i Sokula* again emerged victorious. This dispute was caused by jealousy over a woman: the Tui Vuna is said to have coveted the wife of another turaga, probably a member of the *i Sokula*. It may be presumed this jealousy was the immediate cause of the war. The underlying cause would have been the Tui Vuna's dissatisfaction at the

39. Evidence of Ratu Manasa Boginivalu, 22 August 1902, 82, 87.

40. Evidence of Ratu Inoke Seru (Tui Vuna), 21 August 1902 in NLC, Notes & Minutes, 75. Lyth recorded that Vuna was the first village which the *i Sokula* took. The inhabitants fled, leaving the Cakaudrove people in undisturbed possession. See Somosomo in his Notes on Islands, 3b.

loss of his independence.

The allegiance of the Tavuki people may also have been turned from the Tui Vuna to the i Sokula before Yavala moved to Somosomo. As the kai Tavuki were the bati balavu (distant border or warrior people) of the Tui Vuna, their land bordered with Somosomo. When Lele and Qerawaça lived at Vuna, they would often stay with the Tavuki people, and Lele came to be known as Mai Tavuki.[41] Their final turning to the i Sokula may have occurred in 1854, after the death of Tuikilakila the sixth Tui Cakau. The Tavuki people asked one of the i Sokula factions, which won the leadership dispute, to live with them at Wairiki, a Tavuki land. After that, the i Sokula installed the Tui Tavuki. Twentieth century explanations of the change in allegiance are anecdotal. Today it is claimed it occurred after the wife of an earlier Tui Vuna insulted the Tavuki people. They had come with their i sevu of gata (snakes), and she had rudely ordered them to go away for she did not want the snakes to be near her. An earlier explanation asserts the Vuna turaga had killed a Tavuki man and presented him as the i coi (food accompaniment, relish) of a magiti for the i Sokula. From that time the kai Tavuki went direct to the Tui Cakau. This, too, was the explanation known to the i Sokula.[42]

The islands to windward, which were subject to the Tui Vuna, seem to have come under the sway of the i Sokula at the same time as Vuna lost its independence and became subordinate to the i Sokula. There is no evidence to suggest these islands ever disputed the right of the

41. Evidence of the Tui Tavuki, 17 August 1902 in NLC, Notes & Minutes, 9.
42. Evidence of Ratu Inoke Seru, 21 August 1902, and Ratu Manasa Boginivalu, 22 August 1902, 75, 84.

Tui Cakau to control them. Thus the i Sokula took over a pre-existing relationship. The lands no longer went to Vuna, but to the Tui Cakau directly. The i Sokula may have tried to extend their hegemony further south, however. Apparently they once fought with Cicia Island.[43]

It would have been possible for these lands to continue to acknowledge allegiance to Vuna first, and then through Vuna to the Tui Cakau, but this path was not followed as was normally the case with smaller chiefdoms. First it would have been dangerous to allow Vuna to continue a prestigious relationship with its previously subordinate turaga, for it could continue to benefit from this position in the redistributive hierarchy. Secondly Vuna's location argued against a continued path through Vuna. The residence of the i Sokula at Somosomo would have made a path through Vuna, which was situated further to the west, an even longer journey. It would have been a breach of etiquette, too, for the people of northern Lau would have had to sail past Somosomo, the village of the paramount, without stopping. With Vuna's decline, the Tui Vuna could be easily by-passed to the greater benefit of the Tui Cakau. Thus the islands of northern Lau were a valuable acquisition since their inhabitants could be controlled directly.

Bouma, a less powerful land, never gave the i Sokula as much trouble as did Vuna. There is no direct evidence to suggest that Bouma was ever subject to Vuna, though there is a possibility it was once under the sway of Wainikali.[44] Yet, because Bouma and Vuna had always been friendly, Yavala feared Bouma would support Vuna if

43. A.B. Brewster, Notes on Cicia in the Brewster Papers.

44. Evidence of Ratu Manasa Doginivalu, 22 August 1902, 80.

the Tui Vuna chose to challenge the i Sokula's rights over his land. Those Somosomo people who had gone to live in Bouma when Ralulu was tyrannizing the area may actually have moved there at the request of Yavala. The Bouma and Somosomo people were interrelated, and apparently Yavala hoped the influence of the Somosomo people would assist in turning Bouma to his leadership. Such an allegiance was not accomplished by this particular strategy, however.[45] It was achieved later, and was said to have been secured with the presentation of Adi Qarikau, daughter of Qerawaqa by a marama of Nalele (Somosomo), to the Vunisa, head of Bouma.[46]

With the defeat of his rivals on Taveuni, Yavala (and his sons) were in clear possession of the island. The Cakaudrove vanua on the mainland was, after the murder of the rival Tui Cakau Naiqama, also loyal again. All opposition was now suppressed sufficiently to allow Yavala and his sons to reinforce prior relationships and to expand their power. Taveuni was an ideal base for their activities. It was an extremely productive island, renowned for its food crops. To take advantage of the agricultural conditions, many of the people from the vanua of Cakaudrove on Vanua Levu had been moved to Taveuni where they could exploit the natural resources, and be close to the Tui Cakau if he needed their services. In fact the majority of the immediate Cakaudrove people moved to Taveuni. So, too, did the Benau people who had followed Yavala to Vuna, and then to Somosomo where they were given the land Sala on the coast.[47] The Korocau, Mabuco and

45. Evidence of Matorino Rauga, and Mauriseo Cavuilati, 19 August 1902, 45, 33-34.
46. Evidence of Ratu Ropate Rakuro, 20 August 1902 in NLC, Notes & Minutes, 58. Nalele was a division of the Somosomo people whose lands adjoined those of the Tavuki people.
47. Evidence of Ratu Manasa Boginivalu, 22 August 1902, 83.

Nadaraga peoples also followed Yavala to Vuna, and then to Somosomo. For a time the Korocau people lived at Nakede, while the Mabuco and Nadaraga lived at Sala.[48]

Hunt maintained the *i Sokula* had been 'gradually rising' since the move to Taveuni. The rivalry among the lineage, with the inevitable competition for the support of the people who belonged to Cakaudrove, meant the ultimate subjection of these people to the victor Yavala. Subordinate relationships would have been strengthened; perhaps new groups, who had allied themselves with any of the factions, were to find themselves incorporated with their defeat. Once in control of the people and the rich resources of Taveuni, and relatively free from internal rivalry, Yavala and his sons could devote themselves to the further aggrandizement of the matanitu.

After Yavala's supremacy had been assured, the first known conflict was with Macuata, the matanitu in north Vanua Levu. Apparently Cakaudrove had begun to extend its territory in the direction of Macuata, a move which brought them into direct confrontation. Fighting took place on Udu Point, where Tuikilakila destroyed several villages. From this victory Tuikilakila is said to have received his name Lalabalavu, Widely Depopulated, a reference to the destruction and depopulation (lala) along the length (balavu) of Udu Point. Macuata acknowledged defeat, and sued for peace.[49] A matanitu in its own right, Macuata retained its independence from Cakaudrove although, no doubt, the victory meant a profitable if temporary increase in wealth for the *i Sokula*.

48. Sala was a Somosomo land, Nakede would be one, too.

49. Lyth, Somosomo Wars, 67b.

Then trouble developed with Natewa. The Tui Cakau asked the Natewans to contribute masi for a presentation to Bau, a request which the Natewans resented. Instead of taking the masi to Somosomo, they carried it only to Buca from where they told the Cakaudrove people to transport it to Cakaudrove themselves. Offended, Tuikilakila commenced war against the Natewans, a war which was concluded in favour of the i Sokula when the Natewans made an i soro, which was accepted by the Tui Cakau.[50] This war may have been the one referred to by the beachcomber Jackson, or Diaper. In the early 1840s he visited Natewa Matua (Old Natewa), a naturally defended rock prominence about five miles inland from Natewa village on the coast. On the top, there were about fifty large houses in good repair. They were surrounded by a high thick stone wall (a protection from European firearms) with loop-holes through which the Natewans could safely fire with the new weapons. Here the Natewans were said to have been besieged by 'nearly all the Feejees, and a great many Tongans' who were led by Tanoa of Bau.[51] If this information is correct, it is possible the i Sokula had received help from Bau in the prosecution of their war against Natewa.

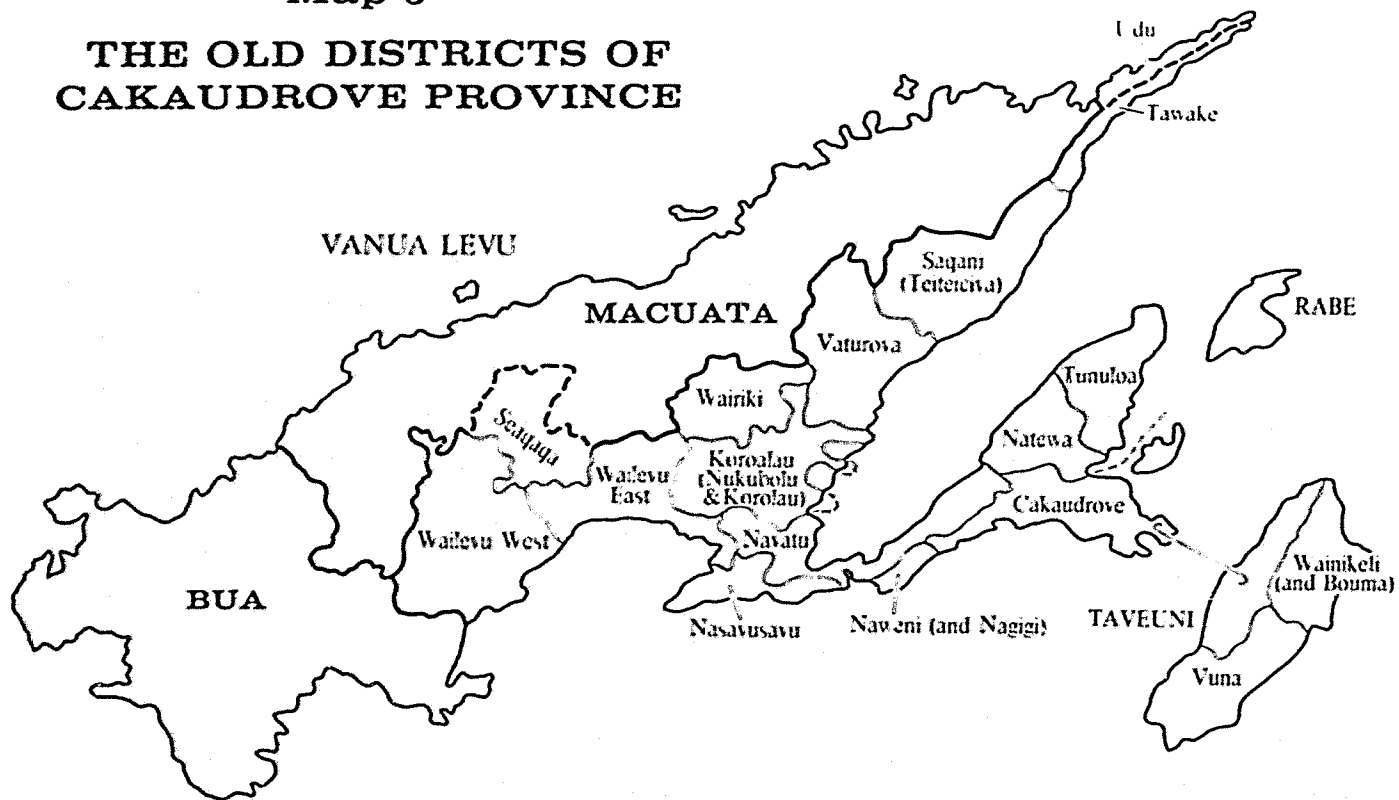
The i Sokula's relationship with Natewa has always been turbulent. Hocart called the relationship qali vakaveirabani: two sides (taba), one of which is 'less equal' than the other, participate in this association. Thus Natewa was inferior to Cakaudrove; it was its subordinate or qali. But Natewa was also able to stand alone. It could 'lawfully' dispute the authority of Cakaudrove, the superior

50. Lyth, Somosomo Wars, 67b.

51. 'Jackson's Narrative' in Erskine, Journal of a cruise among the islands of the western Pacific (Reprint, London 1967), 429. Diaper spelt his name Diapera when he wrote his Cannibal Jack: the true autobiography of a white man in the South Seas (London 1928). For a biography of Diaper see G. Legge, 'William Diaper: a biographical sketch', JPH, I (1966), 79-90.

Map 5

THE OLD DISTRICTS OF
CAKAUDROVE PROVINCE



power.[52] In effect, the term qali vakaveitabani refers to the continual resistance of Natewa to the hegemony of Cakaudrove. At one time this resistance saw the i Sokula on the defensive, but the Cakaudrove paramounts soon held the upper hand, even though the Natewans were never completely subdued. Despite the intermittent conflict, the Natewans often assisted the i Sokula. According to the i Sokula, their position was that of bati balavu (further warriors or border protectors), a position they held relative to Korocau, whose people were the bati leka (closer border warriors) of Cakaudrove.

Traditions record the Natewan heads were originally descendants of the i taukei leaders of Tunuloa, who were later replaced by descendants of the i Sokula. The first heads in Natewa were installed with the title Tu Natewa. About the time the i Sokula were establishing themselves in Cakaudrove, the leadership in Natewa was lost to the vasu of the Natewans, Dakuwaqa the son of Saurara from Bau. Dakuwaqa was installed with the new title of Vunivalu.[53] Conflict with Cakaudrove apparently began between the two new ruling groups. The Natewans may have felt especially threatened, for their land was situated between Cakaudrove and Tunuloa, the vanua dominated by Cakaudrove and led by descendants of Rokevu the first Tui Cakau. So close were the ties of Tunuloa with Cakaudrove that the traditional position of the Tunuloa people to the i Sokula is lewa ni kuro (kitchen people). When the Tunuloa people visit the paramount's village, they stay with the Tui Cakau himself, and they prepare the magiti which they present to the Tui Cakau.

52. Lau Islands, Fiji (Honolulu 1929), 23; Northern states, 83-84.

53. Natewa was so named because the people had moved (tewa) from Naqaravutu westwards.

Little is known about this early period, but it appears Natewan resistance to dominance from Cakaudrove became so successful that the i Sokula found themselves on the defensive; the Vunivalu of Natewa had been able to take advantage of the incessant power disputes among the i Sokula. With the move to Taveuni of Ralulu, Lele and Qerawaqa, and Yavala and his sons by the 1820s, only a relatively weak party remained at Vunisavisavi and Cakaudrove-i-wai. This weakness allowed the Natewans to make incursions into the vanua of Cakaudrove. It is said at Natewa, and verified by the Mataikoro, that the Natewans were able to land on Cakaudrove-i-wai at night, kill people in their houses, and then retire before the other inhabitants knew anything about the attack. Today, Natewans familiar with their traditions believe they were the cause of the i Sokula moving to Taveuni. There may be some truth in this assertion. It is possible that Vakamino's ineffectual military strategy in the conflict with Natewa had been one reason for the dissatisfaction of members of the i Sokula who had moved to Taveuni.

The war between Natewa and the i Sokula, when the Natewans refused to take masi to Somosomo, occurred before 1832. It is probable that, with their increase in power, the i Sokula felt themselves strong enough to demand food or property presentations from Natewa. An assertion of such rights by the i Sokula must have been resented by the Natewans, who would have felt the i Sokula had no such prerogatives in Natewa. The Natewans actions can be interpreted as a challenge to the i Sokula, who would realize that adequate control could only be achieved by the Natewans being forced to recognize their supremacy.

Also, the Natewans would have resented the increase of Cakaudrove's influence on the far side of Natewa Bay. The vanua of Tawake on Udu Point went to the i Sokula through Tunuloa, with whose people the kai Tawake were related.[54] Their head, the Vunivalu, was installed by the Tui Tunuloa.[55] The activities of Tuikilakila, in his border land with Macuata, must have given the i Sokula extra influence in the area, however. The customary boundary with Macuata was at Bekana Island on the north coast. The villages of Waiwai, Lagi and Gawaro were inhabited by the fisher people of the Vunivalu.[56]

To the west of Tawake, Natewan influence predominated. In Teiteiciva, from Naboutini to Natuvu, all inhabitants acknowledged the headship of the Tui Vanualevu. He resided at Vuniwai with his people who gave their name to the vanua. According to the kai Teiteiciva, a Tui Vanualevu's allegiance lay with Natewa whose head, for a time, installed the Tui Vanualevu. But Natewa was to lose this allegiance when the Tui Vanualevu turned to the i Sokula, probably after Natewa was defeated by the i Sokula in the 1850s. At one time the Saqani people, once included in Teiteiciva, also believe they went to Natewa, but their allegiance was to be turned to the Tui Cakau.

54. Hocart, Northern states, 120.
55. Evidence of D. Wilkinson, 17 September 1880 in LCC R916.
56. Evidence of Wilkinson, 17 September 1880 in LCC R916; Report on lands in the Cakaudrove District known as Udu, 2 November 1887 in FCSO 2997/1887 attached to 396/1890. Although V.A. Williamson, a commissioner of the LCC, decided that the northern side and round to Yasawa village was traditionally subject to Macuata, Blyth did not agree. See Williamson and Blyth to A.H. Gordon, 27 October 1880 in LCC R916. The official boundary between Macuata and Cakaudrove follows the dividing range on Udu Point; it is not related to the traditional boundary.

Natewan hegemony was not lost over the Dawato people, who inhabit the villages of Navetau, Malake, and Yasawa, however. They still acknowledge the supremacy of the Vunivalu of Natewa. Natewa did not control the vanua of Vaturova, between Vanuavou and Wavu, which was friendly with both Natewa and Cakaudrove. But Cakaudrove's superior strength meant their allegiance was with the i Sokula, who assisted the Tui Vaturova with his internal problems. In 1842, for instance, the i Sokula twice gave him military assistance.[57]

Natewa and Cakaudrove also competed for the allegiance of peoples at the bottom of Natewa Bay -- those today included in the tikina (district) of Navatu, an artificial grouping imposed by the colonial government. The Navatu people proper, once resident on Navatu Island and the adjacent coast but now living at Drekeniwai on the border with Natewa, came to be the kaiwai -- sea people who caught both fish and men -- of the Vunivalu of Natewa. They enjoyed a close relationship with the Natewans: they are said to have been vanua vata, 'a land at one with Natewa'. [58] Together with the Vusaratu, who came from Nakorotubu in Ra in the same migration as the Navatu people, they later moved to Koroniyasaca on the Drekeniwai River. This land belonged to the Loa people, whose allegiance originally lay with Cakaudrove, whence they believe they had migrated. By the 1840s, however, they had deserted the i Sokula, and preferred, with the Navatu people, to support Natewa. Koroniyasaca became a Natewan stronghold, and it was here that Tuikilakila and Cakobau besieged the Vunivalu of Natewa in July 1846.

57. Lyth, *Journal 1836-1842*, 5 January 1842, 692; Lyth, *Day-book 1842-1843*, 21 October 1842 39.

58. Hocart, Northern states, 120-21.

Conversely, the Navadra (Sinu) people, led by descendants of a Cakaudrove turaga, did not support Natewa. They, and the Navatu people, were the most powerful groups in the Navatu tikina, though the Tunisa of the kai Dewala who lived in the Nagigi area was also influential. Above Navatu Island, the Korolevu chiefdom favoured the i Sokula, too, yet their geographical position meant they were less involved with Cakaudrove than the Navadra chiefdom.

By the 1830s, the large vanua of Wailevu, once an important power centre which had represented Veratan dominion, came within the sphere of Cakaudrove's influence. Englishmen resident in the group considered it was subject to the i Sokula at Somosomo.[59] If this is correct, there is no evidence available to account for the subordination. It is probable, however, that the Tui Wailevu's subordination was only nominal by the early 1840s. Masibana, the Tui Wailevu, was said to be a powerful leader: the territory under his control was extensive. Magiti was brought to him from as far east as Ketei, located at the back of Wairuku in Nasavusavu.[60] Yet the superior strength of the Tui Cakau at this time would have made it politic for Wailevu to recognize the supremacy of the i Sokula. This acknowledgement does not appear to have obliged the Tui Wailevu to give military support to Cakaudrove. When Vuna was attacked by Cakaudrove in October 1840, Wailevu troops were not among the offensive forces.

59. Hunt, Private Journal, I, 30 June 1840, 152; Hunt to General Secretaries, 26 September 1840 in WMS, Letters from Feejee, II. Members of the Wilkes expedition, who received the same information as Hunt when he had accompanied them around Vanua Levu, commented that Wailevu was independent of Bau but gave no indication it was subject to Cakaudrove. See Wilkes, Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition 1838-1842 (Philadelphia 1844) III, 210-11.

60. LCC R257 and R550.

During the 1860s, Cakaudrove's influence over Wailevu increased. By now the position of Tui Wailevu had been taken over by a line of turaga from Seaqaqa. Cakaudrove's increase in influence was concurrent with the rise to power, in Wailevu, of Manoa Rokotovitovi, son of Masibana the previous Tui Wailevu. His mother was a marama of Cakaudrove who, after the death of Masibana in approximately 1850, took her son, then aged about eight, to live at Vunilagi, Kasavu (in the Cakaudrove vanua). There were fears for his safety; his uncle Peni Maibua was challenging the authority of Masibana's younger brother, Kinitioti.[61] Peni's mother was from Wailevu, while his father was from Natovatu, a chiefdom of Wailevu to the west. After Masibana's death, Wailevu's prestige declined because of the leadership dispute. The *i Sokula* may have taken advantage of the rivalry to assert their supremacy over the area. Kinitioti, the succeeding leader who was not installed with the title, lost control of much of his territory in the west to his rival Peni, who had established himself as leader of the Natovatu and Drakanwai peoples.[62] Kinitioti could defend neither the western nor the eastern border areas of Wailevu adequately. To the west, Wainunu made annual incursions into the Wailevu lands which were within Peni's sphere of influence. To the east, by the early 1860s, the border lands Nukuloa and Balaga had come under the control of Tamaimasiyasa, the younger brother and rival of the Tui Naqavusavu.[63]

Rokotovitovi demonstrated his loyalty to Cakaudrove when, in 1862, he assisted Raivalita the Tui Cakau, and his brother, Golea, against their rival Kula. Then Rokotovitovi returned to Wailevu,

61. LCC R257 and R550.

62. LCC R258 and R547.

63. LCC R262 and R237.

where he had Kinitioti installed as Tui Wailevu. Together Rokotovitovi and Kinitioti mounted an offensive against Peni, whom they defeated, and the Wailevu lands were reunited under the headship of the Tui Wailevu.[64] Rokotovitovi then strengthened his control to the west. By 1868 his territory had been extended to include both sides of the Yanawai River: his boundary with Wainunu was now between the Yanawai River and Kubulau.[65]

In 1868, he again assisted the Tui Cakau, who by this time was Golea. The i Sokula were fighting against the Nukubolu, Wairiki and Koroalau peoples whose allegiance lay, through Nukubolu, with Wailevu.[66] The result of the Wainukubolu war, however, was the loss of the Nukubolu people and its subordinate chiefdoms to the Tui Cakau. They no longer went to Wailevu but to Cakaudrove. Yet Wailevu still retained many of the inland Seaqaqa people, whose allegiance was shifting, since they lived in border lands. Sometimes they acknowledged the hegemony of Macuata, at other times the hegemony of Wailevu, and thus Cakaudrove. By 1868, Rokotovitovi's supremacy in Wailevu was incontrovertible. Kinitioti continued as head, while Rokotovitovi wielded effective power. Rokotovitovi did not succeed to the title until his uncle died in the measles epidemic of 1875.[67]

64. Blyth to Gordon, 19 July 1887 in LCC R228; Blyth to Gordon, 20 July 1887 in LCC R246 and R575.
65. Minute, Thurston to Colonial Secretary, 20 February 1890, and Rokotovitovi to Roko Tui Cakaudrove, 10 February 1890, enclosed in Lala to Governor, 10 February 1890 in FCSO 396/1890; LCC R264 and R265.
66. Blyth et al. to Acting Colonial Secretary, 2 November 1887 in FCSO 2997/1887 attached to 396/1890; see also Nakorokutari: enquiries as to boundaries, 17 November 1884 in FCSO 2887/1884.
67. Blyth to Gordon, 19 July 1887 in LCC R228; Blyth to Gordon, 20 July 1887 in LCC R248; LCC R257 and R550.

Despite Wailevu's inclusion in Cakaudrove, its former glory is still remembered. In the early twentieth century there was an attempt to obtain acknowledgement of its even earlier hegemony which reached to Udu Point, but the attempt was unsuccessful.[68] The contemporary explanation to account for Wailevu's inclusion in Cakaudrove is that the i Sokula tricked the Tui Wailevu. Before Golea went to sign the Deed of Cession, he arranged to collect the Tui Wailevu on his way. But he did not keep to the arrangement, and so Golea was able to sign on behalf of Wailevu, which then lost its independence.[69]

In 1840 Nasavusavu, too, was said by Englishmen to be subject to the i Sokula at Somosomo.[70] Recorded contact between Somosomo and Nasavusavu in the 1840s and 1850s, despite its seemingly sporadic nature, supports the argument of subordination to the i Sokula. The Tui Nasavusavu showed his loyalty by supporting the Tui Cakau in his wars, and by bringing presentations to ceremonies associated with the i Sokula. In return the i Sokula assisted the Tui Nasavusavu against his enemies.[71] At other times when members of the i Sokula visited Nasavusavu, they would return with gifts of pigs.[72] Yet their

68. Hocart, Northern states, 226-27. The Tui Wailevu sent a tabua along the sala of the volivoli i sawana. The tabua, and its loss, is still talked about today.
69. A similar anecdote, which accounts for Natewa's inclusion in Cakaudrove, is told by the kai Natewa.
70. Hunt, Private journal, I, 30 June 1840, 152.
71. One source contends the Tui Cakau had little or no influence in Savusavu Bay until 1868. See LCC R238. But this is incorrect for the vanua of Nasavusavu. Nasavusavu supported the i Sokula against Vuna in 1840 see Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 9 November 1840, 555. The kai Nasavusavu went to the burial of Yavala the fourth Tui Cakau, see Henderson, The journal of Thomas Williams, missionary in Fiji, 1840-1853 (Sydney 1931), II, 324; the i Sokula helped the Nasavusavu people against inlanders in 1843, see Lyth, Day-book 1842-1843, 30 December 1843, 163.
72. In late October, early November 1846, for instance, Takikilakila visited Nasavusavu whence he returned with a great number of pigs. Hazlewood, Day-book 1844-1846, 29 October and 13 November 1846.

allegiance was not unequivocal. For a short time in the mid-1840s, the i Sokula believed that the Tui Nasavusavu had joined Natewa against them.[73] By the 1860s, however, Bukacadre the Tui Nasavusavu was a trusted supporter of the i Sokula. He aided Raivalita and Golea against Kuila their rival, although peoples in Nasavusavu were conscripted by Kuila's Tongan supporters.

The fortunes of Nasavusavu appear to have varied widely. It is possible that, before the i Sokula emerged in Cakaudrove, the vanua acknowledged the power supremacy of prior leaders of Cakaudrove. They are said to have conquered Nasavusavu during their easterly migration to Cakaudrove.[74] This supremacy, if it ever existed, was apparently lost by the time the i Sokula took control of Cakaudrove, for Nasavusavu became a threat to Cakaudrove's immediate boundary. It was once powerful enough to control the area right up to the outskirts of the vanua of Cakaudrove. At one time the boundary of Nasavusavu was said to have been at Valica, perhaps located just before Tacilevu. But the Tui Nasavusavu gradually retired before the increasing power of Cakaudrove until his influence stopped at Nagigi.[75]

The Nagigi area had been settled by Dewala people at the instigation of Naboutuiloma Lailai; oral traditions recount a second migration of kai Dewala resulted in the residence of the Tuinisa, head of the Dewala, at Nagigi. The Dewala were from Ra -- a strong, fighting people whose tyrannical habits were not appreciated by

73. In October 1845 the Naidi people of Nasavusavu had charged the Tui Nasavusavu with supporting the Vunivalu of Natewa. The kai Naidi's plot failed, however, when the Tui Nasavusavu arrived, and denied the accusation. Journal of Thomas Williams, II, 324.

74. Hocart, Northern states, 84.

75. Blyth to Gordon, 4 July 1877 in LCC R200.

neighbours. The Kavula, with other Ra peoples, chased them away, and the Dewala eventually found refuge at Rukuruku on Ovalau Island, after attempting to settle in different lands. When Qio was Tunisa, the Dewala were forced to move again, and it was this migration which brought them to Cakaudrove to stay with their relatives. This second migration appears to have taken place during the headship at Bau of Banuve. The i Sokula could not depend on the support of the Tunisa; he maintained a certain independence. In the early 1860s the Dewala chose to support Kula against his cousin Raivalita the Tui Cakau, and later they supported the Ketei people against their overlord the Tui Nasavusavu, by now a loyal supporter of the Tui Cakau.[76]

The Naweni people, located between Nagigi and Tacilevu, did not have a close relationship with Cakaudrove in the first years of the i Sokula's leadership. Although they were led by descendants of a Mataikoro turaga, they lent towards Nasavusavu, enjoying a friendly relationship with the Wairuku people there. But with the settlement of more Dewala people in Nagigi which effectively separated Naweni from Nasavusavu, and with an increase in Cakaudrove's strength, the kai Naweni became firm adherents of the i Sokula. They remember that they joined Yavala at Somosomo, then moved from the Nawikacu settlement to Seitapa at Waica, the village of the Welitoa located towards vuna. Some time after 1840 they returned to Vanua Levu, from where they always supported the i Sokula in their wars, and became involved in the major succession disputes.

76. The conflict of the Ketei people with Tui Nasavusavu is known as the Vunisawana war. A Ketei man was accused of killing a man of Navatuma by draunikau (witchcraft). The Ketei man was killed, so the Ketei took Matanikavika, a village of the kai Navatuma. The Navatuma then asked the Tui Nasavusavu for help; in turn the Tui Nasavusavu petitioned the Tui Cakau who sent supporters to both sides in the confrontation in order to prevent unnecessary bloodshed. See Williamson and Blyth to Gordon, 7 October 1880 in LCC R904.

THE extension of the i Sokula's control over the lands which came to comprise Cakaudrove does not appear to have depended on initial subjugatory campaigns in which large-scale confrontations between opposing sides played a major role. Rather, the extension appears to have been a cumulative process. One increase in power led to another, a process alternatively checked and facilitated by succession disputes among the i Sokula, or by unwise political moves. In historical times, when force would seem to be necessary to maintain the subordination of people, battles did not always result. In 1840 when Vuna asserted its independence from Cakaudrove, for instance, a concerted offensive did not occur for some time. Instead, sporadic incursions were made into the territory of Vuna. Casualties were minimal, the presence of the warriors fleeting. When the combined Cakaudrove forces were massed and prepared to attack, the outnumbered Vunans chose to surrender rather than resist an assault. The missionaries resident at Somosomo, who had expected a general massacre to ensue, were most surprised when the lives of the Tui Vuna and his people were spared.[77] But, after all, the i Sokula knew that subject peoples were valuable possessions. Tuikilakila, especially, was 'unwilling to waste human life foolishly': a massacre of the Vuna people would not benefit Cakaudrove unless the Vunans were more trouble than their labour and tribute were worth.[78]

This is not to say that casualties were never high in any conflict within Cakaudrove. Although there are no records of large-scale battles to ensure the initial subjection of peoples, it is still possible they occurred. Conquered peoples may have chosen not to reveal the way in which their allegiance was secured, or continual

77. Hunt to General Secretaries, 6 January 1841 in WMSM, Letters from Feejee, II; Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 9 November 1840, 553, 562.

78. Williams to his father in WMSM, Fiji letters 1855-1903.

minimizing of the role played by force in their subjection may have led to its erosion from the traditions. Alternatively, the possibility of the use of force may have been an adequate incentive; subordinate lands may have been frightened into submission. A visit by members of the i Sokula, accompanied by their warrior supporters, would have elicited a submissive response from people who were caught unprepared.

Alternatively, a weaker group would see the wisdom of submitting to a superior power. Enforced subordination meant a less prestigious relationship with a head vanua. Tribute and service demands would be more exacting from a conquered qali, for it would be in the paramount's interest to requisition as many of the resources as possible. In this way, he would increase his own power while preventing the conquered qali from improving its position. A voluntary allegiance would make a paramount more circumspect in his demands, and he would retain an interest in pleasing the subordinate vanua. The need for defence was another excellent reason to accept the suzerainty of an outside power. A superior turaga could help protect a land from both internal and external enemies.

Though force might not have been used, the relationships were still those of dominance which depended on the Tui Cakau's possession of superior strength. This power dominance was often camouflaged, however. Just as yavusa, the local sociopolitical groupings, were defined in the idiom of descent and the power relationship disguised, so too was there a tendency to express more overt political domination in the idiom of social relationships. Thus, when a Tui Cakau is installed, he marries the land. After the new Tui Cakau has drunk the installation cup of yaqona, a member of the Matakoro ties the veva i

sole mana on his upper right arm. As it is being tied, the Mataikoro turaga calls out that he is marrying the Tui Cakau to the vanua Cakaudrove (vakamautaka kina na vanua kei na turaga na Tui Cakau). When a people gave themselves and their land to a paramount, it was said they married, or betrothed, him to their land (musuka vua na vanua).

In many cases, the i Sokula did marry the land -- literally. Rokevu, the first Tui Cakau, was the son of Naulumatua the i Sokula and his wife a marama of Mataikoro, a representative of the land. Marriages with i taukei women, as well as giving access to the wealth and services of the women's people, also encouraged their political subordination. So it was the policy of the i Sokula to marry women from their subordinate vanua. Sometimes children of these unions were installed as heads of the vanua. Tunuloa, a notable example, was discussed above.

Equally important was the i Sokula's assimilation into the sub-chiefdom of Korocau. According to Korocau traditions, when Caucau the Ratu of Korocau died, the i Sokula installed Mumui, the son of Ratavo the second Tui Cakau, as head of Korocau with the title Tei Korocau. Mumui married a marama of Korocau, and after his death he was succeeded by their son Sului, the vasu to Korocau. His descendants headed Korocau until the twentieth century, when the son of the i Sokula Peni Lepai by a marama of Korocau became the Tui Korocau. The Mabuco people, who served the Tui Korocau, were also bound closer to Korocau and the i Sokula when Vereivalu, a second son of Mumui by a Korocau lady, was sent to live with them. His son, Vatunitu, was installed Tui Mabuco after the death of the i taukei head.

As the Korocau material suggests, colonial rule did not halt this political strategy to encourage loyal subordination. When Tevita Selabuca, the Tui Nasavusavu, died, he was succeeded by Lele Cakobau who was installed about 1915. Lele was a son of Golea the eighth Tui Cakau and Adi Ciba, a daughter of Bukacadre who had been the Tui Nasavusavu before Selabuca.[79] Direct descendants of Lele still hold the title. The present Tui Nasavusavu could be considered a member of the i Sokula, although his relative distance from Somosomo has led to a certain isolation.

ALTHOUGH no firm chronological outline of Cakaudrove's development can be determined from the available evidence, it is clear, then, that Cakaudrove was a substantial power by the early nineteenth century. On Vanua Levu, Cakaudrove was dominant: the whole island was known by the name of this matanitu. It is uncertain, however, which lands were subordinate to the i Sokula, and which lands merely came within their sphere of influence. Thus Wailevu may not have been subject to Cakaudrove; its head may only have acknowledged Cakaudrove's power supremacy with wealth presentations. Vuna, too, may have retained some independence of action until the 1820s; while Natewa's constant rebellions make it uncertain whether this vanua can be included unequivocally.

One thing is certain -- the i Sokula increased Cakaudrove's power within half a century. The speed of this aggrandizement reinforces the impression of Fijian political life as a constant struggle for

79. Na Mata, Epereli 1923, 64.

survival. Dominant groups needed to pay continual attention to the people under their suzerainty: their subordination or allegiance was lost easily. Since paramounts could neither control the people in their dominions completely, nor control any valuable resource on which their subordinates depended, it was impossible to maintain the status quo.

By the time the Wesleyan missionaries established their station at Somosomo in 1839, control of the territories of Cakaudrove had been achieved; there was to be no appreciable increase in the people under their hegemony. Rather, the i Sokula were to find their territorial possessions and political alliances threatened by the activities of two men, Cakobau of Bau and Ma'afu a Tongan chief who settled in windward Fiji. The i Sokula withstood the pressure from Bau, but Ma'afu was to deprive the i Sokula of their territory of northern Lau.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CAKAUDROVE: ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH BAU

Up until 1854, the only Fijian power which seriously threatened the i Sokula's independence and territory was Bau. The families who lead the matanitu have always contended with each other for political pre-eminence and, inevitably, have become involved in each other's internal affairs. The leaders intrigued to turn the allegiance of each other's subordinate turaga, and competed for the support of other vanua and matanitu. The two leading families of Cakaudrove and Bau were related by marriage and hence kinship ties. Consequently, when assistance was needed, these were paths by which they could call on the other for help. These connexions also meant they became involved in the other's leadership disputes; they would support one of the rival factions against the other.

The following events illustrate well the nature of Fijian political activity. A Fijian leader had to be politically effective to maintain or extend his land's power and influence. Both Bau and Cakaudrove were relatively new powers. Bau had achieved a greater pre-eminence, but by 1840 its influence in Vanua Levu and further to windward was being challenged by Cakaudrove. For the next fifteen years, Cakobau of Bau was to work at undermining the i Sokula's power and prestige, and then to maintain his pre-eminent position.

AS in the temporal world, Bau outmatched Cakaudrove in the spiritual realm. Cakaudrove is considered spiritually subordinate to Bau, because of actions attributable to kalou (gods). The early missionaries recorded the mythical tradition as follows:

Qurai, one of the kalou associated with the inhabitants of Vunisavisavi, wished to visit Bau. So he entered the body of a rat and, taking his club, set out on his journey. He was helped by Vatumudre, a kalou of the kai Korocau, who supplied Qurai with a bamboo to help him travel by sea. Then, from the top of a hill in his own land, Vatumudre directed Qurai past Koro, Wakaya and Ovalau, even though Qurai wished to rest at these islands. By the time he reached Bau, which Vatumudre informed him was the correct island, Qurai was so exhausted that he lost hold of the bamboo, and was eventually washed ashore to a place where he was found by a woman of Bau who had gone to draw water. She felt pity for the rat and took him into the house of the turaga, placing him beside the hearth where the cooks sat. Here he remained, cold and hungry, for four days. When he returned to Cakaudrove, still cold and hungry, he was much chagrined at the poor reception he had received in contrast to that given a kalou from Vuna who had visited at the same time as he had.[1]

The tradition is also recorded by Hocart in an abbreviated version which nonetheless contains the added information that Qurai was found on the shore by an old woman of the Masau.[2] The Masau people, the matanivanua group of the Roko Tui Bau who was then the supreme head of Bau, have their own accounts of the tradition. They claim the visit of Qurai took place when the people of Bau inhabited Kubuna on the mainland. Qurai landed on the beach near Savai Point, and lay there exhausted until found by one of the Masau women who felt pity for the rat. She took him to her own house where she cared for

1. Lyth, Ridiculous acct of Qurai a Thakaudrove God, dated 19 February 1844 in his Tongan and Feejeean Reminiscences, I, 155-56; Ridiculous account of Qurai a Thakaudrovi god, dated 3 June 1844 in Williams, Miscellaneous notes chiefly concerning Feejee & Feejeans, I, 141-42; Williams, Fiji and the Fijians (London 1858), I, 21. A further version is to be found in Joseph Waterhouse, The king and people of Fiji: containing a life of Cakobau (London 1866), 16-19.
2. The northern states of Fiji (London 1952), 63.

him, building up the fire so that he could become warm. While she was preparing food for Qurai, a woman named Rokowiri of the Vusaradave group gave him a roast yam. By the time the Masau woman had finished preparing the food, Qurai had recovered completely. Today the Masau debate whether Qurai came on a bamboo raft (i bilibili) or a raft made of vesi wood. On the beach at Savai Point is some wood, long buried under the sand, which is said by some to be the remains of the vesi raft.[3]

This tradition, with its differing versions, accounts for the customary behaviour of Cakaudrove people when they visited Bau. As they approached the island, the kai Cakaudrove lowered the sails of their canoes while still at a considerable distance from the anchorage. All Cakaudrove people on board remained in a seated or stooped position as they sculled and poled their vessels closer. If a man were to stand upright, he could expect to lose his life. It was also necessary for the Cakaudrove men to cut off the long locks of hair, prized adornments, which took many years to grow. As the canoes approached closer, the occupants called out oooa, a tama of respect. Then, when they landed at Bau, the Cakaudrove people had to sleep out of doors for four nights and, while awake, had to simulate the distress of Qurai by walking in a creeping manner and uttering the tama with a trembling voice, as if shivering from cold. After the first four nights they could straighten their posture somewhat, walking half-double with their hands folded in front of their breasts. They could also dress in a more chiefly manner, and wear longer trains to their masi dress. Then the Cakaudrove and Bau turaga could have

3. Toganivalu, History of Bau. Waterhouse wrote that Qurai used two bamboos which took root at Savai and gave rise to a sacred forest, destroyed by fire while he lived in Fiji. See his King and people of Fiji, 17, 19.

formal contact, which was initiated when some of the visitors cut firewood which was carried to the head of Bau. Now, when a Bauan met a kai Cakaudrove he would say 'Vekaveka, sa sa ko Qurai?' (Aha, is Qurai at liberty to go about?) to which the Cakaudrove person would reply 'Io, va'aca (saka), sa sa o Qurai' (Yes sir, Qurai is allowed to go about).[4]

The i Sokula would try to circumvent these humiliating customs. Outsiders would be employed to scull the boat, for example, because they might stand upright. European vessels were also used to take the Cakaudrove people to Bau, for their sails could not be lowered as far away as Viwa, as was required for the traditional canoes. An instance occurred in August 1853 when William Owen, master of the Packet, agreed to transport Tukilakila, followers, and a large quantity of sasi to Bau in return for Kioa Island. [5] The behaviour on land has now been relaxed. The i Sokula and other Cakaudrove people today are expected only to walk about with their hands clasped in front. But the seriousness with which the customary behaviour was enforced would have been affected by the relative strength positions of Bau and Cakaudrove at a particular time.

Because of their association with the Masau, the Cakaudrove people stay with them when they visit Bau. The Masau thus act as if they are the mataki Cakaudrove, although this position does not

4. Lyth, Tongan and Feejeean Reminiscences, I, 157-58; Williams, Fiji and the Fijians, I, 22; Cross, Diary 1837-1842, 4 April 1842; 'Jackson's Narrative' in Erskine, Journal of a cruise among the islands of the western Pacific (Reprint, London 1967), 454; 'Extract from Lieutenant Pollard's Journal of his visit to the Feejee Islands in Her Majesty's schooner Bramble in 1850' in Erskine, Journal of a cruise, 292-94; Hocart, Northern states, 62.
5. Lyth, Journal 1852-1853, 26 July, 21 November 1853, 110, 151; Toganivalu, History of Bau.

officially exist. They also assert they receive the same tama as the Tui Cakau, while all Cakaudrove people vakarokorokotaka (respect) them, and address them with the honorifics of Adi and Ratu. The Masau have direct access to the Tui Cakau and take precedence over him in the yagona circle. If a member of the Masau at Bau wishes wood to be cut, he or she may ask any Cakaudrove person, even the Tui Cakau, to do so.[6]

The people in Cakaudrove consider the above events were performed by actual people. Ancestors became kalou and so it would have been easy for events to gain a marvellous character in the repeated narrating of a tradition. The supernatural associations would also have made the tradition more notable, and thus more memorable.[7] Vatumudre is said by the Korocau people to have been the eldest son of their founding ancestor, Mai Vuniwi, who came from Verata. The kai Korocau had installed Vatumudre as their leader with the title Ratu. At the time of the journey to Bau, the Korocau people acknowledged the more immediate leadership of the Cakaudrove people at Vunisavisavi. When their gardens were ready for harvest, they asked the Tinanivale division at Vunisavisavi for a boat in which to transport their magiti. As there was no boat available at Vunisavisavi, Qurai and Rawaka were sent to Verata to obtain one. They did not reach this land, however, but they did reach Bau. Consequently this event is said to have initiated the contact between Bau and Cakaudrove.

The people of Taveuni also associate the events with actual people. They have a tradition which accounts for the introduction of vudi (plantains) to Cakaudrove. Qurai and Rawaka are said to have

6. Waterhouse, King and people of Fiji, 19.

7. This aspect of traditions has been discussed in the introduction.

reached Bau from where they returned, in the company of the Masau, with yudi shoots. Qurai and Rawaka then took the yudi and planted them at Naselesale, Wainikeli. This migration thus accounts for the establishment of the Wainikeli yavusa by Rawaka of Vunisavisavi, as well as the introduction of yudi to the area. When the yudi were ripe they were taken to Vunisavisavi, and then the Masau returned to Bau. Later the Cakaudrove people journeyed to Bau where they presented magiti of taro and pigs, the quantity of which was said to have astounded the Bauans.[8]

The tradition apparently records the commencement of Cakaudrove's political relationship with Bau, and may even record the loss of Verata's influence over Cakaudrove. Bau was beginning to challenge Verata's supremacy on Viti Levu, and it was now politic to recognize Bau's rise in status. At this time Cakaudrove was not a substantial power; the *i* Sokula had not yet taken control of Vunisavisavi. Hocart asserts the purpose of Qurai's visit to Bau was to ask for help in war.[9] If so, the later presentation of magiti to Bau may have been a thank-offering for the Bauan assistance. Though the *i* Sokula were not involved in the events of the tradition, they were affected by its legacy, perhaps because Bau was stronger than Cakaudrove at the time the *i* Sokula became its leaders. The Bauans used the established customs as a political weapon with which to humiliate the *i* Sokula. The Bauans also may have claimed the tradition proscribed their pre-eminence. This claim they certainly argued to European observers.

8. A version of the tradition recorded by Hocart claims the bananas were a variety called buluta, see Northern states, 102. Qurai's return with magiti is also recorded by Waterhouse. The place where Qurai anchored his canoe off Savai was pointed out to him. The sea bottom is hard and impenetrable except for one soft spot which is said to have been made by Qurai's anchor. See his King and people of Fiji, 18.
9. Northern states, 102. In this reference, Qurai is associated with the Kavula division of Cakaudrove.

When discussing the tradition, Joseph Waterhouse wrote, for example, that 'the gods [had] appointed Bau to take the lead among the numerous "kingdoms" of Fiji'. [10]

THE earliest reference to the relationship of Cakaudrove with Bau, which incontrovertibly involves actual people, is associated with the rivalry between the two Bau turaga, Banuve the vasu levu to Nairai and his elder brother Savou the vasu levu to Cakaudrove. [11] When the two brothers grew up, it is said they both had many wives and children; Savou had as many as thirty sons. On the death of their father Nailatikau, civil war broke out over the succession to the leadership position of Vunivalu. [12] It is said that the Roko Tui Bau joined forces with Savou but Banuve was successfully installed Vunivalu, having gained the support of the leader of Viwa. [13] Supporters of Savou are said to have been at Taveuni, which was in the area of i Sokula influence, although they still resided on Vanua Levu. So it would seem Cakaudrove became involved in the leadership struggle on the side of its vasu levu. [14]

10. King and people of Fiji, 16.

11. I have not been able to identify the mother of Savou or to establish Savou's exact relationship to Banuve. Savou may have been a classificatory brother, not a half-brother.

12. Savou probably justified his opposition to his brother Banuve through doubts about his parentage. Banuve was born after his mother Adi Davila of Nairai, had had an affair with Niunataiwalu of Lakeba. Niunataiwalu was eventually killed at the instigation of Bau. He gained the name Baleiono, Died at Ono, for this was where he met his death.

13. Cross, Some account of the principal kings of Feejee, Wars, &c. dated 1842 in Williams, Miscellaneous notes, i, 115-16; Lyth, Notes on Islands, 41b.

In turn, while Banuve was Vunivalu, the Bauans twice involved themselves in leadership disputes among the i Sokula. When the division had first developed at Vunisavisavi between Lele and Qerawaqa (the vasu to Vuna) and their half-brother Yavala, Lele had requested assistance. An army of Lovoni people from Ovalau Island was sent to help, and the combined forces unsuccessfully attacked Yavala and his son Tuikilakila, a vasu to Bau, off Cakaudrove-i-wai. The vasu to Vuna made a second attempt to defeat Yavala, who had retreated to Bouma, northeastern Taveuni. Bauans also helped in this attack, but the combined forces failed, again, to defeat Yavala.

In contrast, the Bauans may have chosen to support the other side in a later dispute over leadership among the i Sokula. The dispute was still between Yavala, by now installed as the fourth Tui Cakau, and his half-brothers the vasu to Vuna; it flared up again while both parties were resident at Vuna, southern Taveuni. Yavala and his sons, Tuikilakila and Rabici (both vasu to Bau) are said to have visited Bau where they asked the Vunivalu for help in the conflict. There is, however, no recollection of any assistance.[15]

While Banuve held the position of Vunivalu, Bau also became involved in a dispute which affected the Cakaudrove peoples who inhabited the bottom of Natewa Bay and the peninsula which bordered the Koro Sea to the south. The Dewala people, settled in the area of

14. Lyth, Notes on Islands, 49b. Camavutu, a Nakorotubu turaga, quarrelled with Savou's party. His wife, a lady of Bau whose father had attached himself to the cause of Banuve, was taken to Somosomo where she was cut up alive. At this time the i Sokula still had their headquarters at Vanua Levu, and so it is unlikely they were involved in the murder unless the informant confused the location of the incident.
15. This was the leadership dispute when Lele was attempting to replace Yavala as Tui Cakau with Samuamvodre, younger brother of Yavala's father.

Nagigi (their village today), had arrived in the migration from leeward which had followed the rebellion of Matawalu, the Navatu turaga who disputed both the right of Malodali to lead the Navatu people, and the hegemony of Verata. It is probable Matawalu and his supporters took advantage of Verata's decline, caused by Bauan aggrandizement. The Dewala, whose authority was being challenged in this new dispute, played a leading role in this area of Vanua Levu. Hopeful perhaps to take over this section of Verata's political network, Bau became involved in the dissension.

Oral traditions record that Nadurucoko, Tunisa of the Dewala people whose chief village was Vureyagi, began to act tyrannically. Those i Sokula turaga established as leaders of the Navadra yavusa at Nasinu saw that many of the other people under Nadurucoko's sway objected to his conduct, so they discussed his behaviour at Nasinu. There it was decided that Nadurucoko should not be allowed to live, and the people at Vureyagi were told to kill him. Nadurucoko was survived by two children, Ratu Damudamu and Adi Tuinasakeya, who fled with the loyal Dewala people from Vureyagi, Nakaya and Caucunu to the Nukuloa and Nababa peoples at Vasoqe.

When the Vusaratu at Kavula heard of the murder, Bolatagitagi informed the Vunivalu Banuve[16] who ordered his son Naulivou, and Namosimalua the Viwa turaga, to go to Vureyagi and make enquiries. They took Vureyagi at night, gaining entry by using the mast of their canoe as a ladder, and when they demanded the murderer he was given up to them. Then the people at Vureyagi fled to the kai Navadra at Nasinu, which may also have been taken by Naulivou. The murderer was

16. By now the Vusaratu of Kavula must have either acknowledged the supremacy of Bau, or realized Bau held the most effective strength and was in a better position to support them on Vanua Levu.

taken to Vuya (Bua), the land to which Nadurucoko had been vasu, and there he was put to death.

There is no evidence to suggest that the i Sokula who remained with the Cakaudrove yavusa helped defend Vureyagi or Nasinu, though they did give the people associated with the murder some protection. The Vureyagi and Nasinu peoples fled to Vunilagi and Kasavu, both villages of the yavusa Cakaudrove, and to Naniu, a village of the Loa people below Drekeniwai, situated on Natewa Bay. Other supporters of the murder also fled. The Navatu people divided; some went to Naniu, and some to Saqani on the other side of Natewa Bay. The Korolevu people went to Kasavu and then to Vunilagi, while the Vusaratu fled to Naniu. Because of leadership disputes, the i Sokula may not have been in a position to resolve the conflict in their own interests, or to object when a Bauan expedition became involved on behalf of the Tunisa's supporters.

The Dewala now depended on the Bauans to maintain their settlement on Vanua Levu, and the Bauan connexion affected residence patterns in Cakaudrove. While they were resident at Nasoqo, it is said, Banuve visited them often. He would leave his canoes at Nagigi and walk with his party to Nasoqo. When the kai Dewala realized the location of their village was inconvenient, they shifted back to Vureyagi. But their move upset the Bauans because they had not been given a solevu as their qusi ni loaia (i.e. a feast with which to thank the Bauans for their support after the murder at Vureyagi). So the Dewala people shifted to Nakaya, and possibly Caucunu. The qusi ni loaia was presented later.

ALTHOUGH the i Sokula could not keep Bau from involving itself in the internal affairs of their territory, they continued to support the Bauan faction defeated by Banuve. The leadership struggle continued into the next generation; Naulivou had succeeded his father Banuve, and was now faced with opposition from Savou's children and the succeeding Roko Tui Bau, Raiwalui.[17] Raiwalui had married a Cakaudrove marama, Adi Salauca, who, as we have seen, again involved Bau in the internal affairs of Cakaudrove. When some i Sokula arrived on a visit to Bau, her sons and the Roko Tui Bau plotted, at her instigation, to kill the i Sokula responsible for the death of her brother Baleikanavu. The Vanivalu Naulivou heard about this, warned the i Sokula threatened with attack, and also prevented the plot. The affair had implications for Bau, too -- it helped further the rift between the two Bauan factions.

The quarrel at Bau accelerated; Naulivou forced Raiwalui the Roko Tui Bau, and the sons of Savou to leave Bau, whence they fled to Verata. Raiwalui continued to fight them from Verata, but the Roko Tui Bau was chased away eventually.[18] Another interpretation argues the Roko Tui Bau left Verata to gather property which he could use to turn people to his cause.[19] Raiwalui went first to Cakaudrove where he stopped at Vuna. Here Adi Suguvana, a marama of Vuna, was betrothed to a member of the Roko Tui Bau's family.[20] Then Raiwalui departed for northern Lau; his Namara supporters remained. Off either Vanua Balavu or Mago, Tanoa the brother of Naulivou engaged Raiwalui in a sea battle. Raiwalui, and between one

17. Cross, Some account of the principal kings of Feejee, Wars, &c., 117.
18. Cross, Some account of the principal kings of Feejee, Wars, &c., 117.
19. Toganivalu, History of Bau.
20. Also known as Usuvana and Di Lewa.

and two hundred people were said to have been killed. Those who escaped took refuge with the Namara people at Vuna; one account claims they established themselves on the mountain of Uluqalau. Tanoa followed them, and accounts of the subsequent events vary. Some say Tanoa contented himself with burning the enemy's canoes, by which deed he gained the name Visawaqa (Burned the Boats). Another account asserts the fight against Vuna lasted for two months, with not less than 1,000 being killed, many dying daily. One fortified hill, Coloci, was taken. The people presented an i soro, which included Adi Suguvanua, who was taken to Bau to be the wife of the Vunivalu. It is probable this was a later expedition, the Dri, which was joined by Qerawaqa, the vasu to Vuna, who was trying to reassert his control over his mother's land. The Vuna people remember the Bauan army numbered 2,000, that of Vuna 1,900. When the inhabitants of the fortress Coloci saw the army approaching, they fled to Mataniwai, situated close by. There the two sides fought; Mataniwai was taken, and many Vuna people were killed.[21]

Qerawaqa is said to have asked the Vunivalu of Bau to undertake this war, but this is implausible. More likely, Qerawaqa attached himself to the attacking force in the hope of increasing his own power over Vuna. His involvement did not benefit him, however, only the Vunivalu who punished Vuna for assisting his rivals and demonstrated that his strength was superior to the Tui Cakau's. By this time Yavala, the fourth Tui Cakau, was firmly established at Somosomo. Yavala does not seem to have become involved in the warfare; he did not support the Vuna people against their vasu, his rivals. It was

21. Cross, Some account of the principal kings of Feejee, Wars, &c., 119; Lyth, Reminiscences 1851-1853, 9; Toganivalu, History of Bau. Lyth reckoned that a Fijian thousand meant a large number, perhaps one to two hundred people, see his Tongan and Feejeean Reminiscences, I, 124.

detrimental to his relationship with Vuna, however, for the influence of the vasu to Vuna would increase with the victory, as would that of the Vunivalu. Because the i Sokula could not defend Vuna from the Bauans, there is probably some truth in the assertion that during the leadership of Naulivou, the i Sokula supplied 'canoes, native cloth, cynnet, & whales teeth' to Bau, now headed by the Vunivalu.[22] But it cannot be said they were subject to Bau. They could not defend their territory against Bau effectively, however, and thus were forced to recognize the power supremacy of Bau with presentations of property.

THE relationship between the i Sokula and the victorious Bau turaga was normalized after the eclipse of the Roko Tui Bau's party. Intermarriage and the subsequent kinship connexions made this reconciliation easier, though it had also led to the involvement in each other's affairs. Adi Talatoka, daughter of Yavala by Adi Levulevu of Bau, was married to Tanoa who had succeeded his brother Naulivou in 1827 or 1828 perhaps.[23] Before that she had been

22. Lyth, Notes on Islands, 118b.

23. He was visited by a trader in October 1827. At that time Tanoa had left Bau with about one quarter of its population, and had declared he would never return. Naulivou had not approved of Tanoa's cannibalistic tendencies and so Tanoa had left, and was thought to be at Lakoba. Naulivou was on the point of sending a large party to induce Tanoa to return. See W.R. Driver, Journal of the Clay, 5 and 6 October 1827. Commodore Wilkes gives 1829, see his Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition 1838-1842 (Philadelphia 1844), III, 65. By 20 October 1829, Tanoa was said to be leader of Bau. See H. Fowler, Various Documents written by him during the cruise of the Glide among the Fiji Islands and elsewhere 1829-1831, 20 October 1829.

married to Naulivou. Marama from Cakaudrove had married other Bauans of the same generation. Vuniwaqa had married Caucau, Tanoa's half-brother; Celua, Tanoa's classificatory brother, had married another (see Fig. 4).

Cakaudrove, however, continued to be subordinate. The traders who visited Somosomo in the early 1830s considered Cakaudrove was tributary to Bau.[24] Bauans of the highest rank appear to have been constant visitors.[25] In reality, Cakaudrove acknowledged Bau's superior strength with property presentations, which were appropriated as much by right of vasu as they were by right of might. A measure of Bau's strength, however, had been its ability to acquire more high-ranking women from Cakaudrove as wives, than the i Sokula had acquired from Bau. At the same time Bau was able to resist depredations by their own vasu from Cakaudrove.[26] When Tuikilakila visited Bau, for example, there are never reports of appropriations, on either a small or a large scale.

The i Sokula possessed less influence than Bau over Bua and Macuata, another indication that they were weaker than Bau. In 1808 the Tui Bua had begun to resist Bauan demands for tribute, and his territory subsequently became subject to attacks from Bau which received help from Bua's local opponents.[27] Disputes among the

24. Eagleston, Ups and downs through life, II, 27 July 1832.
25. Eagleston, Ups and downs, II, 27 September 1831 and 27 July 1832.
26. Searr, 'Cakobau and Ma'afu: contenders for pre-eminence in Fiji' in Davidson and Searr (eds), Pacific Islands portraits (Canberra 1970), 96.
27. For two unsuccessful attacks in 1808 and 1813, see in Thurn and Wharton (eds), The Journal of William Lockerby, sandalwood trader in the Fijian Islands during the years 1808-1809 (London 1925), 27-51; Davidson, Peter Dillon of Vanikoro: Chevalier of the South Seas (Melbourne 1975), 32-41; Eagleston, Ups and downs through life, I, 17 August 1831. For a general statement on attacks by Bau see Eagleston, Ups and downs, I, 16 August 1831.

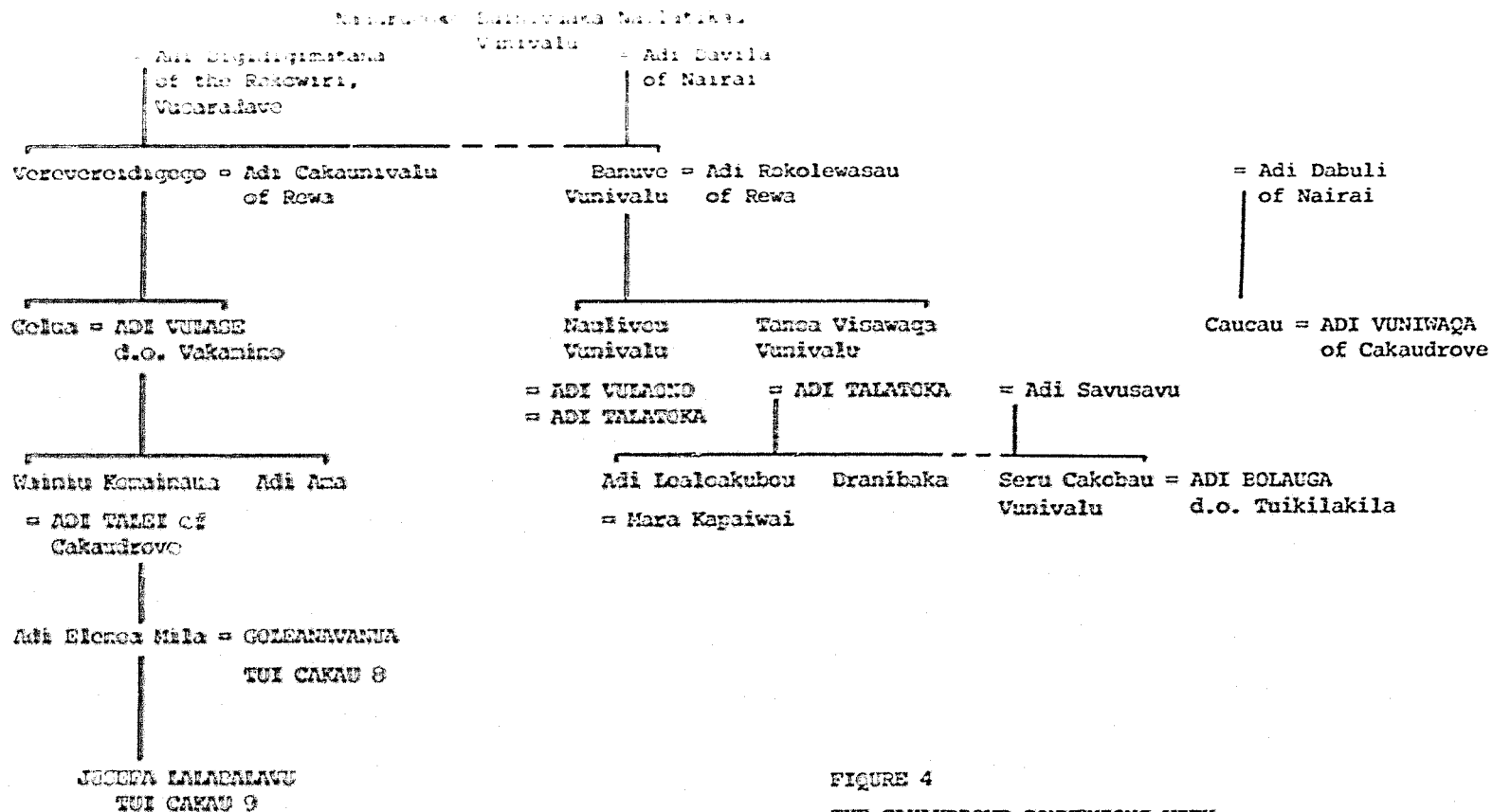


FIGURE 4
THE CAKAUDROVE CONNEXIONS WITH
MEMBERS OF THE LINEAGE OF THE VUNIVALU

leading family of Macuata helped Bau gain influence in this matanitu. Bau and Macuata had often combined against common adversaries in Bua to their mutual advantage.[28] By the early 1830s, Bauan influence was considerable in both Bua and Macuata, though only the latter was said to be tributary to Bau.[29] It is doubtful, however, if Macuata was ever subject to Bau. It recognized Bau's strength, and so prevented unpleasantness by making regular wealth presentations to the Bauan turaga, whose visits they had to tolerate. Cakaudrove did not compete with Bau for influence in Bua, but they did compete over Macuata. This competition had already begun. Once Yavala was undeniably head of Cakaudrove, he had prosecuted a war against Macuata; during this conflict several villages at Udu Point were destroyed.[30]

By the 1830s, the i Sokula were securely in control of their territory. Their strong position made Somosomo the ideal refuge when, in early August 1832, Tanoa could no longer reside at Bau. Deposed in a leadership dispute, he took advantage of his marital and political relationship with the i Sokula, and fled to them for protection. Namomalua, the Viwan who had the task of killing Tanoa, followed him to Somosomo. Komainabaubau, a vasu to Cakaudrove whose position gave

28. Wallis, Life in Feejee, or five years among cannibals (Reprint, New Jersey 1967), 112; Eagleston, Logbook of the Emerald, 13 December 1834.
29. Eagleston, Ups and downs, II, 16 July 1832; Endicott, Wrecked among cannibals in the Fijis. A narrative of shipwreck and adventure in the South Seas (Salem 1923), 41.
30. Lyth, Somosomo Wars, 67b.

him protection while he was at Somosomo, was sent to ask Tanoa to return to Bau, where he would be allowed to rule as before. Neither Tanoa nor the i Sokula believed the message, and so Tanoa refused to return. Rabici, the son of the Tui Cakau, is said to have gone down to the beach and called out to the enemy to return home, for the i Sokula would protect Tanoa. Rabici's brother, Tuikilakila, is also reported to have said the enemy would have to kill him before they could kill Tanoa.[31]

The i Sokula actively supported Tanoa's efforts to regain control of Bau. By December 1832 many preparations were in hand for his campaign. At Somosomo Tongans were employed in building six large double canoes. There were also Tongans gathered together by the two high-ranking chiefs from Vava'u, the brothers Tupou Toutai and William Lajike, who had moved to Somosomo to help Tanoa when they heard of his misfortune. They were still at Somosomo in September 1834, although one source maintains they did not remain sufficiently long on this occasion to see the rival party finally subdued.[32] Fighting men were recruited from Cakaudrove, and from other places with Cakaudrove's assistance. The i Sokula provided Tanoa with a large force which accompanied him to the islands to windward, where he added to his strength by collecting supporters, and probably wealth

11. Eagleston, Ups and downs, II, 13 December 1832; Wilkes, Narrative, III, 67. Toganivalu, History of Bau; D. Cargill, Memoirs of Mrs Margaret Cargill, wife of the Rev David Cargill (London 1855), 189; extract 25, September 1838 in Cross, Extracts from letters and diary 1839-1842, 27. There is another unconfirmed version of the event. William Lajike, a Tongan who assisted Tanoa, said Namosimalua arrived with 100 men and tried to murder Tanoa during the night. As he was creeping to Tanoa's quarters, one of his men stole away and warned Tanoa, who escaped from the house in which he was sleeping. See Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 24 August 1839, 376-77.
12. Eagleston, Ups and downs, II, 4 September 1832; Eagleston, Logbook of the Emerald, 18 September 1834; Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 24 August 1839, 376-77; Cargill, Memoirs, 113.

presentations as well. By the time the expedition reached Lakeba, it is said to have comprised twenty-one well-manned canoes. At Lakeba it was further strengthened, and here Tanoa was installed with the title Tui Levuka by the Levuka people, once resident on Bau but now living on Lakeba.[33]

Tanoa remained at Somosomo for two to three years before he left to establish his headquarters at Rewa.[34] During this time preparations continued to be made at Somosomo, but the departure date was often postponed. In December 1832 Tanoa optimistically thought his expedition, to be the most powerful one ever seen in Fiji, would be ready to leave for Rewa in a few months.[35] His optimism was unjustified, however. Twenty-one months later he was still at Somosomo, although the enemy was expecting his arrival daily; he had not finally gathered his fleet, which it was thought would amount to sixty large double canoes. A further one to two hundred were expected to join him by the time he had established his headquarters at Rewa. He explained it would probably be another two months before his fleet was finally ready. Forty large double canoes were manned already but the i Sokula would not allow him to leave until all the canoes had arrived.[36]

33. Eagleston, Ups and downs, II, 4 December 1832; J. Twynning, Shipwreck and adventures of John Twynning among the South Sea Islanders (London 1850), 87-89.
34. Wilkes, Narrative, III, 67; extract 25, September 1838 in Cross, Extracts 1839-1842, 28.
35. Eagleston, Ups and downs, II, 4 December 1832.
36. Osborn, Journal of a voyage in the Emerald, 16, 18, 25 and 27 May 1834, 27 January 1835; Eagleston, Logbook of the Emerald, 18 September 1834, 22 and 24 January 1835; Erskine, Journal of a cruise, 298.

In 1835, perhaps, Tanoa moved from Somosomo to Rewa. For some time few men lived at Somosomo as the i Sokula stayed at Rewa with Tanoa to protect him, although the Cakaudrove people did little or no fighting.[37] While Yavala the Tui Cakau was absent a son was born to him, and since only women were present at his birth he was named Tikovakayalewa, Women Remaining.[38] It was not until the beginning of March 1837 that Tanoa regained control of Bau. Though the i Sokula had returned home before the rivals were subdued, they attended the celebration feast at Bau, together with the other allies who had been invited.[39]

CAKAUDROVE'S support of Tanoa contributed to its emancipation from the domination of Bau, since neither Tanoa nor his rivals who temporarily controlled Bau were in a position to assert a power supremacy. During the time Tanoa was dependent on his allies at Somosomo, the i Sokula were in a position to influence his decisions. Once they refused to allow him to proceed to Rewa without all his reinforcements; another time his departure was refused because the kalou of the i Sokula said the time was unfavourable.[40] During Tanoa's exile, the i Sokula would no longer have felt obliged to offer tribute to him, as it would

37. Lyth, Somosomo Wars, 67b.
38. Toganivalu, History of Bau.
39. G.N. Cheever, Journal of the Mermaid, 3 May 1837; Eagleston, Logbook of the Mermaid, attached to Cheever, Journal of the Mermaid, 3 May 1837; extract 26, An Account of a Meeting held at Bow, Feejee for the confirmation of peace in Cross, Extracts 1839-1842, 30; Wallis, Life in Feejee, 52; Toganivalu, History of Bau.
40. Toganivalu, History of Bau.

have been Tanoa who was eager to maintain good relations with the i Sokula. The events of this period also affected the subsequent relationship of the two matanitu; the i Sokula's assistance had placed Bau under an obligation to Cakaudrove.

Because of Tanoa's temporary dependence on Cakaudrove, Bau had lost some of its prestige both in Vanua Levu and to windward. Cakaudrove's influence now approximated Bau's; both matanitu were powers with which it was advisable to maintain friendly relations. Henceforth Bau, led by Cakobau the politically energetic son of Tanoa, was to become increasingly sensitive to the independence and power of Cakaudrove.[41] Cakobau felt especially threatened by his cousin Tuikilakila (their mothers were sisters), effective leader of Cakaudrove. No doubt Cakobau was annoyed, for instance, when he heard Rabici (also his cousin) had been at Totoya in the Yasayasa Moala, islands within Bau's sphere of influence. While at Totoya, Rabici had acted oppressively. He had killed nine people -- men, women, and children -- as punishment for the behaviour of a Totoyan who, five years previously, had run away with one of his wives.[42] Cakobau was also to dislike Cakaudrove's increased influence in southern Lau, the windward islands centred on Lakeba. As a thank-offering for support by the i Sokula during his exile, it is said Tanoa gave the Tui Cakau right of tribute from southern Lau.[43] But, because of Cakaudrove's increase in power and its increased influence over Lakeba, the allegiance of the Tui Nayau (head of Lakeba) to Bau became 'very precarious'.[44]

41. Cakobau, rather than his father Tanoa, was resentful of the i Moala. See Cross, *Diary 1837-1842*, 14 and 24 October 1840.

42. *Journal 1836-1842*, 23 August 1839, 375.

43. Wilkes, *Narrative*, III, 67, 183; H. Hales, *United States Exploring Expedition...Ethnography and Philology* (Philadelphia 1846), 59.

The first and only recorded visit of Yavala, the Tui Cakau, to Lakeba was in January 1837, when he visited with his two sons Rabici and Tuikilakila.[45] The visit may have been to take Adi Gativi, the daughter of Tuikilakila, to Lakeba where she was betrothed to the Tui Nayau,[46] or it may have been to assert their right of tribute said to have been granted to Cakaudrove by Tanoa.[47] No record exists of the magnitude of the customary ceremonies which inevitably accompanied such a visit, but the confidence of the i Sokula at Lakeba drew comment. They were accompanied by 'several hundreds' of their people and 'spoke as if determined to be obeyed'. They did not necessarily require these supporters to enforce their wishes, however, for the i Sokula considered the Vuanirewa turaga less powerful than themselves and the family of the Vunivalu of Bau.[48]

The next recorded visit by a member of the i Sokula to southern Lau was that undertaken by Rabici. When the Wesleyan missionaries first arrived in Somosomo towards the end of July 1839, they were told Rabici was absent on a voyage to Lakeba.[49] While at Nayau Island, subject to Lakeba, he had ordered two men to be beaten as they had questioned the reason for his companions taking fish from some women, and later at Lakeba he had threatened the people. Rabici's actions

44. Hales, Ethnography and Philology, 59.

45. A.J. Schutz (ed), The diaries and correspondence of David Cargill 1832-1843 (Canberra 1977), 31 January 1837, 92, 95; Cargill, Memoirs, 131-32.

46. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 23 August 1839, 372.

47. Tanoa was not to regain his leadership of Bau for another month, but his party had become the stronger and his victory was expected. See Osborn, Journal of a voyage in the Emerald, 179, 227-28.

48. Cargill, Memoirs, 131.

49. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 28 July 1839, 355; Hunt, Private journal 1839-1841, I, 29 July 1839, 181-82.

support the claim that the i Sokula felt they had some control over the people subject to the Tui Nayau of Lakeba, as does the response of the Tui Nayau. Lakeban people were sent to Somosomo to try to avert the wrath of Rabici. The ostensible reason for the expedition was the Tui Nayau's wish that Adi Gativi, his betrothed wife, return to her own land where she could be tattooed prior to their marriage. This continued desire for marriage would, he hoped, influence the Tui Cakau to act more leniently towards Lakeba. Much property, for presentation to the Tui Cakau, was also sent with Adi Gativi.[50]

THE first open rift between Cakaudrove and Bau followed the death of Rabici. In 1839, while Rabici was returning home from southern Lau, his canoe had been caught in a storm. He and some seventy to eighty companions had reached the island of Gau safely, but subsequently they had been killed. The i Sokula were said to be 'incensed' against Bau to which Gau was subject, and intended to avenge the murder.[51]

Some turaga of Bau were present at Somosomo when the report was confirmed. When the presentation made to the visitors was

50. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 23 August 1839, 372-76; Hunt, Private Journal, I, 26 August 1839, 88; Calvert, Journal, I, 14 August 1839.
51. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 12 September 1839, 384. A few years later a report by a Tongan, who had been living at Gau at the time, claimed the survivors were killed by order of Nalelo, head of the Lasakau people at Bau to whom that part of Gau was subject. Nalelo was at Gau at the time of their arrival, and sent a canoe to Cakobau to ascertain his wish concerning Rabici and his people. Because Nalelo did not wish them to live, he claimed the canoe had returned in the night with the message the Cakaudrove people were to be killed. See Calvert to Brethren, 31 January 1842 in Calvert, Twenty-one letters from J. Calvert to other ministers in Fiji 1841-1855.

deliberately small, they were left in no doubt as to their hosts' attitude and left hastily.[52]

The actual clash with Bau occurred when a dispute broke out between the i Sokula and Vuna, the vanua in southern Taveuni which was subject to the Tui Cakau. Vuna showed an inclination to turn its allegiance to Bau, and Cakobau seized the opportunity to interfere in the internal politics of the Cakaudrove matanitu. The immediate cause of the dispute between the i Sokula and Vuna was Vuna's wish to present a solevu to Bau. The Vuna people had been returning from a solevu at Naqamai, Koro Island, when a storm blew up and the canoe of the Tui Vuna was blown to Nairai.

From Nairai the mataki Bau informed Cakobau, who said the kai Nairai were to return the Vuna people to their own land unharmed.[53] In 1840 the Vuna turaga prepared a solevu for Cakobau to thank him for his kindness.[54] When the Tui Cakau and Tuikilakila heard, they ordered the Tui Vuna not to make the solevu. They argued it was incorrect for the turaga of Bau to go to Vuna, a politically inferior land. The visitors should go first to Sonosomo, the residence of the head of Cakaudrove, and then they could visit the subject Vuna. Furthermore, the i Sokula argued, if the Vuna people had enough food and property to make a solevu to Bau, Vuna must pay them more tribute.[55] Finally, when it seemed the solevu would be held regardless, the i Sokula threatened to destroy Vuna.[56] Yet

52. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 12 and 14 September 1839, 384.

53. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 28 July 1840, 490.

54. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 28 July 1840, 490.

55. Wilkes, Narrative, III, 314.

56. Extract 24, 16 March 1841 in Cross, Extracts 1839-1842, 64.

Vuna still disregarded the wishes of the i Sokula, and in July 1840 went ahead with the solevu to which Cakobau arrived with a strong force. During the ceremonies the Tui Vuna presented Cakobau with a tabua, allying his land with Bau against Cakaudrove. Cakobau, of course, accepted an alliance with Vuna, and announced his own opposition to the i Sokula.[57]

While the dispute escalated, the i Sokula sought the support of turaga at Bau, and also attempted to turn Rewa's allegiance from Bau.[58] They succeeded in gaining the support of a few Bauans of rank, but not in turning Rewa. In mid-August, a Bauan was resident at Somosomo. He was described as a 'chief of some rank living here with his retinue', after he had been forced to leave Bau to avoid being killed by Tanoa.[59] This turaga may be identified with that vasu levu to Somosomo, Wainiu, who was married to Adi Talei an i Sokula marama. Wainiu had a history of opposition to Tanoa: he had supported the opposing party during the 1832 to 1837 uprising.[60] In September a second turaga also left Bau to join the Somosomo party.[61]

Cakobau, himself, had also been actively seeking to turn lands subject to the i Sokula to Bau. At his instigation, Bouma temporarily defied the i Sokula. As soon as Tuikilakila heard Vuna had declared itself for Bau, he sent Seruiraturaga to Bouma. Seruiraturaga

57. F.D. Stuart, Journal aboard the Peacock, 26 July 1840; Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 28 July 1840, 490-91.
58. Extract 54, 16 March 1841 in Cross, Extracts 1839-1842, 65.
59. Holmes, Journal, II, 16-17 August 1840, 88.
60. Wallis, Life in Feejee, 38-39; Osborn, Journal of a voyage in the Emerald, 25 May 1834, 48.
61. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 21 September 1840, 527; Wallis, Life in Feejee, 39.

reported back that Bouma was in a state of defence, fortified and prepared for war.[62] Cakobau had been visiting Bouma, probably requesting the leaders, with presentations and promises, to rebel against the i Sokula and support Vuna and Bau. From Bouma, Cakobau was forced out to sea in circumstances which endangered his life.[63] It is probable his flight was in response to the arrival of Seruiraturaga from Somosomo.

Bouma soon took the easier step of returning to its allegiance with the i Sokula; the Bauan support was distant, while the i Sokula lived within easy striking distance. Lewenilovo, vau to Bouma, sent by Tuikilakila as a messenger to the Vunisa at Bouma, attempted to regain their allegiance.[64] He returned before the end of July with news that the Bouma turaga had agreed to rejoin the i Sokula. But before the report of Bouma's submission was sent to Somosomo, the Vunisa had asked permission to send a message to the Tui Vuna. He tried to persuade the Tui Vuna to ask forgiveness, and offered to interpose on his behalf. But the Tui Vuna refused; it was his intention to fight.[65]

Bouma had made the wiser decision, for before the Vuna people were faced with the combined Cakaudrove forces, they received only two minor visits from Bau. Cakobau's first attempt to take warriors to Vuna failed. He, himself, had sailed in the canoe but it could not leave Ovalau because of contrary winds.[66] Then, at the beginning

62. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 28 July 1840, 491.

63. Extract 54, 16 March 1841 in Cross, Extracts 1839-1842, 64-65.

64. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 28 July 1840, 492.

65. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 4 August 1840, 512.

66. Cross, Diary 1837-1842, 4 October 1840.

of August, five canoes from Bau reached Vuna but the relief force does not appear to have remained. Later, in September, a single canoe arrived from Bau but this, too, stayed only a few days.[67] Cakobau may well have been on board, for it was reported at Rewa that he and some of his men had been to Vuna and returned, determined to support Vuna against the *i Sokula* as soon as convenient.[68] Unfortunately for Vuna, most of Cakobau's military resources were devoted to Bau's more immediate war with Verata. Vuna had reason to fear the promised assistance from Bau would not arrive in time. The Tui Vuna sent to Bau before the end of August to hasten the help, and the brief visit from Cakobau must have been in response to this call.[69]

Other places subject to, and allied with, Cakaudrove do not seem to have wished to turn to Bau, and in early October the forces at Cakaudrove were enlarged by the arrival of warriors from Macuata. After the arrival of the Natewa, Korocau and Mabuco peoples, Cakaudrove's fighting force was increased again.[70] Vuna now realized the promised support from Bau would not arrive in time to assist them against an attack by the Cakaudrove forces. On 16 October the Vunisa of Bouma arrived at Somosomo with an *i soru* from the Tui Vuna, who now wished to make peace. Malubo, one of the sons of the Tui Vuna, had been sent with a tabua and a marapa to Bouma so that Vuna could request pardon through Bouma. The *i Sokula* refused to accept the *i soru*, however, and ordered the young Vunan turaga, together with two of his companions, to be killed.[71] At the end of

67. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 4 August and 21 September 1840, 512, 527.

68. Cross, Diary 1837-1842, 14 October 1840.

69. Hunt, Private Journal, I, 26 August 1840, 184.

70. Hunt, Private Journal, I, 4 and 29 October 1840, 195-97, 205; Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 29 September, 5, 13 and 19 October 1840, 532-34, 546, 548-49.

October, when the Cakaudrove forces were massed to attack, the Tui Vuna made an i soro which was accepted, and so the i Sokula re-established control over southern Taveuni.[72]

THE promised Bauan assistance arrived at Taveuni too late to be of any help to Vuna. No confrontation with the Bauan force took place, and the army returned to Bau after a brief stay at Vuna where it had built a protective fence.[73] Cakobau was determined, however, to weaken the power of the i Sokula. But before this could be achieved, Cakobau had to establish peaceful relations close to his own immediate territory. It would be difficult to conduct a war on Viti Levu as well as one to windward. There was also a likelihood that the separate adversaries might combine their strengths against Bau, and thus encourage even more lands to defect to Bau's enemies. With these considerations in mind Cakobau made peace with Verata, which he was finding difficult to defeat, at the same time obtaining their support against the i Sokula. He also sought the support of others; he approached the Tongans, for example, as well as Rewa and Lakoba.[74] Cakobau also practised the usual policy of attempting to gain the

71. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 19 October 1840, 548; Hunt, Private Journal, I, 29 October 1840, 209.
72. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 19 October and 9 November 1840, 550, 555; Hunt, Private Journal, I, 29 October 1840, 205-14.
73. Cross, Diary 1837-1842, 28 October, 2 and 11 November 1840; Hunt, Private Journal, I, 29 October 1840, 214-15; Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 16 November 1840, 564.
74. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 15 December 1840, 578; Cross, Diary 1837-1842, 15, 16, 22 and 30 November, 4 December 1840.

co-operation and support of lands subject to the enemy. Thus he approached Welagi, Wainikeli and Bouma on Taveuni, and the vanua of Natewa (the head of which was descended from a Bauan) on Vanua Levu.[75]

The Bauans left on an actual war expedition on 20 January 1841. But, contrary to the general expectation at Somosomo, the fleet of about eighty canoes did not choose to attack the *i Sokula* but the other matanitu on Vanua Levu whose support the Cakaudrove turaga had gained. Bua had expected an attack by Bau as early as the beginning of December 1840, but it was left relatively untouched by this expedition which merely attacked and killed a Buan man and his wife who were fishing.[76]

From Bua the expedition proceeded to Macuata, which also supported the *i Sokula*. When the dispute with Bau had first arisen, the *i Sokula* were invited to a golovu given by the Tui Macuata. Instead, his son Bete had returned with a request that Macuata support Cakaudrove against Bau. Bete was favourable towards the *i Sokula* but his father wished to remain neutral in the dispute, and offered to mediate. The Tui Macuata feared Cakobau and Tanoa, whose displeasure he had already incurred when he had refused to send a young betrothed parama to Tanoa.[77] Eventually the *i Sokula* won his support, probably when the *i Sokula* presented him with canoes which normally would have been given to Bau. The people of Macuata now withheld

75. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 9 December 1840, 574; Hunt, Private Journal, I, 29 October 1840, 217.
76. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 14 December 1840 and 1 February 1841, 575-76, 597; Hunt, Private Journal, I, 11 January 1841, 221.
77. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 14 September 1839, 384; Hunt, Private Journal, I, 2 September 1839, 91; Wilkes, Narrative, III, 157, 314; Stuart, Journal aboard the Peacock, 23 June and 26 July 1840; Wallis, Life in Feejee, 363.

tribute which they would usually have presented to Eau, presenting it to the i Sokula instead.[78] In October 1840 the turaga of Macuata visited Somosomo. They brought the property which was to have been given to the i Sokula at the earlier solevu at Macuata; this the i Sokula had not attended because of the dispute with Vuna and Bau. While at Somosomo the Macuatan warriors had helped in military engagements against Vuna, but did not remain to participate in the final offensive.[79]

The defection of Macuata from Bau, and its alliance with the i Sokula, was said to infuriate Cakobau, who considered Macuata owed allegiance to Bau. The property being presented to the i Sokula was rightfully his. Feelings ran high; it was even rumoured at Bau that Tukilakila had given the Tui Macuata a club with which to have Cakobau murdered as soon as possible.[80] Cakobau decided to defeat the Tui Macuata, reassert his authority over the matanitu, and end its alliance with Cakaudrove. He took advantage of a leadership dispute in Macuata. Bete, the son of the Tui Macuata, had murdered his cousin Qiqi, the brother of Ritova. Though Ritova's father came from Wainikeli, he had a claim to the headship of Macuata through his mother, sister of the Tui Macuata. Succession had a matrilineal bias in Macuata, and consequently Ritova had as much right to the title as Bete, perhaps even more since Bete's mother was of low rank.[81]

78. Extract 54, 16 March 1841 in Cross, Extracts 1839-1842, 65; Cross, Diary 1837-1842, 24 October 1840.
79. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 5 October 1840, 532-33; Hunt, Private Journal, I, 4 October 1840, 192.
80. Cross, Diary 1837-1842, 24 October 1840; extract 52, 20 January 1841 and extract 54, 16 March 1841 in Cross, Extracts 1839-1842, 60-61, 64-65.
81. Evidence of Donavidego in Report of the commission appointed to inquire into the conduct of H.M. Consul at Fiji (Sydney 1862) in FO38/103.

Cakobau's forces joined with those of Ritova, who had requested Bau's assistance against the present leaders.[82]

When the attacking fleet failed to reach the small island before daylight, the initial assault on the village of Macuata-i-wai lost its element of surprise. The village was destroyed but loss of life was minimal; most of the people escaped to the bush on the mainland. Then the attackers proceeded along the coast, and destroyed more than ten other villages by the time they reached Udu Point. Sixty miles of coastline were said to be affected. The report which reached Somosomo that 'Macuata and the king is utterly destroyed' was a gross exaggeration, but Macuata had suffered badly. The Tui Macuata and his supporters were forced to retreat to Mouta, an inland village.[83]

The main achievements of the attack on Macuata were to weaken the leadership and to discourage any effective Macuatan opposition to Bau. The Tui Macuata had been forced to recognize the supremacy of Bau and pay it tribute.[84] He now had little surplus manpower or wealth to offer the i Sokula. The task of the Macuatan people was to rebuild their villages and re-establish their plantations, a programme which was to be hampered by the civil war which Cakobau had encouraged with his attack.

82. The Macuatan leadership dispute originated in the murder of the father of Ritova and Qiqi by Roko Mamaca, the Tui Macuata, in an earlier leadership fight. The Tui Macuata and Bete had by now lost much of their power because of the influence of Ritova and Qiqi who controlled nearly all the trade with the Europeans. Hunt, Private Journal, I, 29 October 1840 and 11 January 1841, 215-17, 219-21; Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 7 December 1840 and 11 January 1841, 572, 589, Wallis, Life in Feejee, 110-12, 117-22.
83. Cross, Diary 1837-1842, 13 February 1841; Cross to Jaggar, 5 March 1841 in Thomas Jaggar Collection; Jaggar, Journal, 8 February 1841; Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 3 February 1841, 598; Hunt, Private Journal, I, 11 January 1841, 222; Wallis, Life in Feejee, 112-13.
84. Wallis, Life in Feejee, 112-13.

The i Sokula continued to support the Tui Macuata against Ritova, despite the latter's connexion with Taveuni, because they valued their alliance with the Tui Macuata against Bau. In June 1841 Bete visited Somosomo, where he asked for help against Ritova. In early July 1841, Tuikilakila sent some Cakaudrove people, Tongans, and Wallis Islanders to help the Tui Macuata at Mouta subdue his enemy's fortress on the island of Mali. Rabe and Natewa assisted, and it is probable other lands subject to the i Sokula also participated.[85] In October 1841 the Tui Macuata, who had fled to Namuka for protection, again requested help against Ritova, but there is no record of any assistance being given.[86] The resources of the i Sokula may have been stretched because of the continuing war with Bau.

After the Bauan expedition against Macuata, the i Sokula did not remain idle but harassed the Bauans in their own territory. Warriors who supported the i Sokula were active in the vicinity of Bau. In January 1841 several people were killed, and four of the bakola were taken to Somosomo to be eaten. Another party ventured to Koro, an island gali to Bau, where they captured a Bauan canoe; all on board were killed.[87]

The i Sokula also continued to encourage political unrest against Bau. An attempt was made to use a Rewan cutter which had gone to Somosomo with letters from the missionaries to their colleagues. Tuikilakila attempted to send, by the cutter, a Somosomo man with a present to the leader of Rewa 'to induce him not to join Bau'. but the

85. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 21 June 1841, 627; the account of Mrs Tucker, 6 July 1841 in John Waterhouse, Journal, II, entry under 3 August 1841, 79; 'Jackson's Narrative', 422, 423-25.

86. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 18 October 1841, 671; 'Jackson's Narrative', 436.

87. Cross, Diary 1837-1842, 30 January and 15 February 1841.

master refused. So, too, did the missionaries, who would not allow a modified request that one of their servants, a Rewan, be the messenger.[88] Tabua and other property were also sent to some peoples in the Bau district to try to turn them to the cause of Cakaudrove. One of the messengers was the Bauan Wainiu, who was unsuccessful when he approached Rewa. But other lands, the principal of which were Namena and the small island of Telau, were turned. Former allies of Bau, who had joined Cakaudrove, helped boost the 'considerable party' which now opposed Bau.[89]

Two Bauan canoes were taken by Namena before the turaga at Bau heard of the defection. After this Bau made an unsuccessful attack on Namena, but failed to turn it back. Namena's change of allegiance greatly concerned Cakobau, especially when he received reports that other peoples belonging to Bau had joined Namena. Cakobau retaliated by burning three villages near Namena, but Namena itself was not attacked.[90] At the island of Telau, six men and a turaga from Bau, messengers from Cakobau, were killed by order of the Telau leader. The body of the turaga was sent to Somosomo, where it was eaten. In revenge, Cakobau attacked the Telau people. But Bau suffered more than Telau -- only two Telau people were killed while Cakobau lost ten of his warriors. Telau continued to support the i Sokula against Bau. During a visit to Somosomo in April 1841, the leader of the Telau people received a large present of masi to assure his continued loyalty.[91]

88. Hunt, Private Journal, I, 18 March 1841, 223-24.

89. Cross, Diary 1837-1842, 20 January 1841; Hunt, Private Journal, I, 7 June 1841, 235; extract 54, 16 March 1841 in Cross, Extracts 1839-1842, 65; Wallis, Life in Feejee, 38-39.

90. John Waterhouse, Journal, II, 16 June 1841, 55; extract 54, 16 and 30 March 1841 in Cross, Extracts 1839-1842, 66.

So successful were the activities of the i Sokula that the people of Bau believed an erroneous report that an army from Somosomo had arrived at a settlement not far from Bau.[92] Then weeks later, when part of the settlement on the island of Bau was destroyed by fire, it was rumoured that the destruction had been instigated by the Tui Cakau's daughter, head wife of Tanoa.[93] The i Sokula, for their part, believed Bau was preparing to attack Cakaudrove; they had heard Cakobau's preparations were 'formidable'.[94]

Together Cakobau and Verani, the nephew of Namosimalua the Roko Tui Viwa, plotted to inflict a defeat on Namena, whose opposition was a more immediate concern.[95] Rumours were circulated that Bau intended to attack Viwa, and that tabua had been sent to various turaga to induce them to join Bau, whose people had already prepared the yams to eat with the bakola. Namosimalua was persuaded to erect a fence against Bau after it was reported that one of his wives had committed adultery with a young turaga of Bau, and that preparations for war at Bau were continuing. Namosimalua, together with his subordinates, expected an attack daily. A canoe was sent to Somosomo for help; the Namena people were asked for assistance. A turaga of Namena also visited Somosomo with news of the conflict between Bau and

91. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 15 March, 15 and 28 April 1841, 606, 612-13.
92. Cross, Diary 1837-1842, 19 February 1841.
93. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 28 April 1841, 613. It must have been very difficult for a lady of rank to appear indifferent to the welfare of her own family when they were at war with the group into which she had married.
94. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 15 March 1841, 606.
95. Viwa was closely allied with, and subject to, the Vunivalu at Bau, acting as its warriors. Earlier in the year they, too, had been expecting an attack by the i Sokula, believing it would be successful. See extract 54, 16 March 1841 in Cross, Extracts 1839-1842, 64.

Viwa, for the kai Namena kept the i Sokula informed of the state of affairs to leeward.[96]

On 17 June 1841 two canoes, with property from Somosomo, arrived at Viwa from Namena. The Namenans offered assistance against Bau, and asked the Viwans to join the i Sokula in a proposed attack on Bau. Namosimalua and his nephew assented. When twelve more canoes with supporters of Namena arrived to assist Viwa, Verani secretly informed Cakobau. Tanoa, who was unaware of the plot devised by Cakobau and Verani, asked that Viwa be destroyed immediately. Cakobau requested his father wait until the cause of the revolt could be ascertained. He himself went to Viwa, from where he returned with the report that Viwa was now allied with the i Sokula. When the Bauan forces arrived to attack Viwa, Verani and his supporters treacherously let them into the village, and the unsuspecting Namena people were massacred.[97]

THE war between Cakaurove and Bau continued, but no other attack was undertaken by either side. By the end of 1841, however, an independent problem threatened the internal peace and security of the Cakaurove matanitu. Tuikilakila had approved the murder of the Tui Tenuloa, head of a vanua subject to the i Sokula, after he had absconded with one of Tuikilakila's wives, Di Korodua. His death

96. Hunt, Private Journal, I, 7 June 1841, 234-35; Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 14 and 21 June 1841, 625, 628.

97. Hunt, Private Journal, I, 7 June 1841, 234-45; John Waterhouse, Journal, II, 16 June 1841, 52-55; Cross, Diary 1837-1842, 16 May to 30 May 1841; Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 14 and 30 June 1841, 625, 632; Wallis, Life in Feejee, 38-42.

resulted in the opposition of some of the Tunuloa people, who received the support of Natewa to which the Tui Tunuloa had been vasu. When the i Sokula apologized to the Natewan turaga for the death of their vasu, peaceful relations were re-established; but the dispute with some of the Tunuloa people continued, because the i Sokula had appointed the murderer as Tui Tunuloa.[98] The i Sokula could not afford to have problems with any of their subject peoples. Their resources would be more heavily taxed if they had to fight two wars at the same time, while there was also the possibility Bau might combine with Tunuloa. More Cakaudrove peoples would then be expected to turn to Bau. Tuikilakila decided, therefore, to attempt a reconciliation with Bau. By the end of December 1841, the possibility of peace was being discussed by the i Sokula, and in early January 1842 Mai Kavula, the matanivanua of the Tui Cakau, went with the Butoni people to Bau.[99] The peace offerings were accepted; the war between the Bau and Cakaudrove turaga ended.[100]

Tanoa was pleased with the return to a friendly relationship, although Cakobau would have preferred to have continued the conflict. Normalization was achieved by the usual exchange of visits and solevu to which the i Sokula contributed the larger share of property.[101] The two most prestigious presentations were the Tui Cakau's daughter, who was given to Tanoa, and the Ramarama, which had been built in

98. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 8 November and 21 December 1841, 674, 689; Hunt to Williams, 31 December 1841 in Williams, Letters to the Rev T. Williams, I. Descendants of the murderer are still installed as the Tui Tunuloa by the Tui Cakau.

99. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 8 November 1841 and 5 January 1842, 674, 692.

100. Cross, Diary 1837-1842, 9 January 1842.

101. Toganivalu, History of Bau; Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 1 January 1842, 699; Hunt, Private Journal 1842-1848, II, 31 January 1842, 55.

memory of Yavala's head wife, Adi Levulevu a Bauan who was mother of Tuikilakila and sister to Cakobau's mother.[102] After peace arrangements had been made, the Bau turaga thought the Cakaudrove people were 'abject slaves', obliged to construct canoes as tribute.[103] This was certainly not the opinion of the i Sokula. They did not consider Cakaudrove was subject to Bau; they merely acknowledged the power supremacy of Bau through the presentation of canoes and other property.

The conclusion of hostilities in Bau's favour did mean a decrease in Cakaudrove's influence, however. The faction at Macuata which had supported the i Sokula had already suffered a defeat from Bau, a fate which southern Lau had managed to avoid by proclaiming its neutrality when both Bau and Cakaudrove had approached it for support. The Tui Nayau had said his subjects would supply food and property when requested by either side, and when the war was over he would consider himself tributary to the victor.[104] At one time, during 1841, it had been thought the i Sokula intended to attack Lakeba. Defensive preparations were begun but they were never required.[105] The conclusion of peace in the favour of Bau meant Lakeba had less to fear from Cakaudrove, but even then they did not escape completely. Because of the lack of co-operation which both Bau and Cakaudrove had encountered, the two matanitu considered fighting Lakeba; to the Tui

102. 'Jackson's Narrative', 451-55. The daughter of the Tui Cakau may be identified as Dabakola, described as one of Tanoa's wives and a sister of Tuikilakila. She visited Somosomo in June 1842. See Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 7 June 1842, 725.

103. 'Jackson's Narrative', 451.

104. Lyth, Diary 1836-1842, 28 April and 10 May 1841, 613, 615.

105. Lyth, Diary 1836-1842, 24 June 1841, 629; John Waterhouse, Journal, II, 12-15 July, 3 August 1841, 69, 78; Calvert, Journal, I, 4 October 1841.

Nayau's relief, this did not occur.[106]

TUKILAKILA'S failure to resolve the Tunuloan problem, however, eventually led to a further decrease in Cakaudrove's prestige relative to that of Bau. Despite the earlier reconciliation of the *i* Sokula with Natewa, the *i* Sokula were soon to become involved in a long war with that vanua. After the death of the Tui Tunuloa, the Tunuloa people had divided into two factions. One received the support of the *i* Sokula who had given the position of Tui Tunuloa to the murderer, the other received the support of Natewa. Although the Natewans had accepted the *i* Sokula's apology for the death of their vasu, they soon supported the *i* Sokula's enemies again. Many of those loyal to the family of the former Tui Tunuloa moved to Buca, the village of the kai Kama who were bati to the head of Natewa.[107] The war had escalated dramatically when a vare (plot) arranged by Natewa against the *i* Sokula was successful. The Tunuloa and Kama peoples at Buca claimed they wished to turn back to Cakaudrove, and requested support against Natewa. But it was a trap, and the concealed Natewan warriors killed a number of Cakaudrove people, among whom were two *i* Sokula taraga. [108]

106. Lyth, Day-book 1842-1843, 30 August 1842, 25.

107. Lyth, Day-book 1842-1843, 22 and 29 October 1842, 39-40, 41; Lyth, Journal 1842-1844, 22 October 1842, 17.

108. Lyth, Day-book 1842-1843, 20, 21 and 22 November 1842, 49, 50; Lyth, Journal 1842-1844, 22 November 1842, 28-31; Mrs Mary Lyth, Diary 1838-1842, 22 November 1842. The *i* Sokula killed were Kubuabela, a younger brother of the Tui Cakau, and Vakaruru, a son of Loganimaci, a younger brother of Tui Cakau.

So strongly did the *i Sokula* wish to take revenge for the treacherous massacre by Natewa, that they requested help from Bau.[109] This desire for an explicit alliance with Bau against Natewa was probably prompted by the renewed military intervention of Bau at Macuata. Cakobau had sent Viwans to Macuata in order to increase his control of this matanitu. The Viwans would have interfered in the leadership dispute; his goal was to weaken the Tui Macuata and to boost the power of Ritova. In the second half of October 1842, the leading village of Macuata was surrounded for eight days by the warriors of Viwa, after which the Macuata people made an i soro to Namosimalua. Towards the end of October Namosimalua went to Bau where Taroa accepted the atonement, though Cakobau disapproved of the peaceful conclusion to the campaign.[110] By this display of his power on Vanua Levu, Cakobau again proved his ability to maintain the dominance of Bau against encroachments by the *i Sokula*. Cakobau might now choose to support Natewa against the *i Sokula*; consequently it was sensible for the *i Sokula* to involve Bau on their behalf. Tuikilakila himself went to Bau, where he made the request for help against Natewa in his role as vapu levu. [111]

Another incentive to request help from Bau was the opposition to the *i Sokula* developing within the Cakaudrove matanitu. By July 1843 Cakaudrove was divided into two 'formidable' parties.[112] The

109. The Somosomo Report for 1843 in Lyth, Journal 1842-1844, 95-96; Lyth, Journal 1842-1844, 25 December 1842, 40.
110. Cross, Diary 1837-1842, 24 and 26 October 1842.
111. Lyth, Journal 1842-1844, 25 December 1842, 41; Hunt to Lyth, 7 January 1843 in Lyth, Letters to and from Rev Dr Lyth 1836-1854.
112. The Somosomo Report for 1843 in Lyth, Journal 1842-1844, 95; Lyth, Journal 1842-1844, 16 December 1842, 38. In this last reference Lyth wrote 'his [Tuikilakila's] kingdom is beginning to totter'.

Natewan people had fled to Koroniyasaca, a village belonging to the vanua of Navatu which usually supported Natewa.[113] Even more ominous was the defection of some of the Korocau people, the bati leka of the i Sokula.[114] Part of Macuata, still involved in civil war, also supported Natewa. The i Sokula's alliance with the Tui Macuata may have been adequate encouragement for Ritova, but Ritova's support may also have been encouraged by Cakobau.[115] For Cakobau, while officially supporting the i Sokula against Natewa, actively worked to harm his allies. Another tactic he used was to delay his promised support for several years. It was Cakobau's intention to weaken the power of the i Sokula as much as possible; he had no intention of doing the same to Bau by ignoring the problems it faced on Viti Levu, while he fought a war for his rivals. Thus Cakobau delayed assistance until Rewa was safely subjugated.[116]

But by May 1844, events may have favoured the i Sokula, because the Tunuloan rebels had returned to their customary allegiance to Cakaudrove. Now the exiled Tunuloans were able to return home from

113. Lyth, Journal 1842-1844, 10 June 1843, 16 and 30 July 1844, 81-82, 218-19. Koroniyasaca was located on the border of Natewa, a short distance up the Drekeniwai River.
114. Lyth, Journal 1842-1844, 26 May 1843, 2 February 1844, 76-77, 152-53.
115. Lyth, Day-book 1842-1843, 24 April 1843, 93; Lyth, Journal 1842-1844, 21 February 1844, 163; Hazlewood, Day-book 1844-1846, 14 January 1845. By January 1845, Ritova was in control of most of Macuata, and he had driven the Tui Macuata from the coast to Mouta, where he lived in exile. By the end of August 1845, the Tui Macuata had been murdered. Ritova seems to have had second thoughts about his alliance with Bau. When he was asked to help Bau take Natewa in August 1845, Ritova was suspicious of the request, and he suspected it was a plot by Cakobau to kill him. See Hunt to Lyth and Calvert, [25 November 1844], entry under 3 January 1845 in Letters to and from Lyth; Wallis, Life in Feejee, 78-79, 94, 103-11, 114, 140, 146.
116. Lyth, Journal 1842-1844, 21 March 1844, 180; Hunt to Lyth and Calvert, 14 September 1844, and Hunt to Lyth, 28 March 1845 in Letters to and from Lyth.

Naqele, near Vaturova, situated on the western shores of the Natewa gulf.[117] Perhaps because of Cakaudrove's resurgence, Cakobau plotted against the i Sokula. In March 1845 Ritova of Macuata, though a supporter of the Natewans, warned Tuikilakila of a plot by Bau to kill him and other members of the i Sokula. In fact, Cakobau was encouraging the pretensions of Lewenilovo who wished to compete for effective leadership with his half-brother Tuikilakila.[118] Lewenilovo escaped punishment when he retired to Bouma, to which he was vaou, while a Bouma man, a vasu to Vuna, was killed and eaten on the orders of Tuikilakila.[119]

Actually Cakobau did not intend to destroy Natewa, an action which could only favour the i Sokula. During the war with Cakaudrove, the Natewan people were on good terms with Bau, and the i Sokula could only retain the promise of assistance from Bau by continual property presentations.[120] It was said by the missionaries to be well-known that the Natewans were waiting for Cakobau to arrive so they could make an i soru to him, and not to the i Sokula.[121] After the i Sokula gained ground with the return of the Tunuloan dissidents to Cakaudrove, the Natewans attempted to make an i soru to Bau, but Cakobau decided they must wait for the arrival at Bau of Tuikilakila.

117. Lyth, Journal 1842-1844, 27 and 31 May, 2 July 1844, 203-04, 212.
118. Lyth, Journal 1845-1848, 13 March 1845, 102; Hazlewood, Day-book 1844-1846, 13 March 1845.
119. Hazlewood, Day-book 1844-1846, 29 June 1845; Lyth to his sister Mary, 19 September 1845 in Letters to and from Lyth; Williams to General Secretaries, 6 May 1846, entry under 29 June 1845 in WMSM, Letters from Feejee, V; Henderson (ed), The Journal of Thomas Williams, missionary in Fiji, 1840-1853 (Sydney 1931), II, 23 and 31 July 1845, 307.
120. Journal of Thomas Williams, I, 16 November 1843, 208.
121. Hunt to Williams, 18 January 1845 in Williams, Letters to the Rev T. Williams, II.

Tuikilakila refused to accept it, however, an error of judgement which the i Sokula would later regret.[122] By now Cakobau had finally defeated Rewa, and he must have decided it would be more advantageous for Bau to allow the dispute between Natewa and Cakaudrove to continue. He could easily have accepted the i soro without waiting for the arrival of Tuikilakila. Instead he wished to continue to lessen the prestige of the i Sokula as much as possible.

This Cakobau also managed to do when he finally arrived in Cakaudrove to assist the i Sokula against Natewa. In July 1846 when the combined armies besieged the Natewans at Koroniyasaca, the i soro was made to Cakobau and not to Tuikilakila, 'much to the latter's humiliation'. [123] Though he had received much property during the five years the i Sokula sought his help, Cakobau also exacted everything possible from his hosts while he was in Cakaudrove. At Taveuni he took all the portable property and available food; the Bauans, who resided permanently at Somosomo (including the wives of Somosomo men), were ordered back to Bau. [124]

The missionaries, from the beginning of the alliance against Natewa, had predicted such an outcome. They had realized there was as much to fear from Cakobau's help as from his open enmity; they recognized he would use the dispute with Natewa to avenge himself on

122. Haslewood, Day-book 1844-1846, 24 December 1845 and 14 February 1846; Lyth, Journal 1845-1848, 4 March 1846, 197; Williams, Somosomo Quarterly Letters, Letter 2 (4 December 1845).

123. Haslewood, Day-book 1844-1846, 1 and 2 July 1846; Lyth to his mother, 21 July 1846 in Letters to and from Lyth; Journal of Thomas Williams, II, 5 August 1846, 355.

124. Lyth to his mother, 21 July 1846 in Letters to and from Lyth; Journal of Thomas Williams, II, 5 August 1846, 355-56; Williams, The Natewa War in his Miscellaneous notes chiefly concerning Feejee & Feejeeans, II, 50-61.

the i Sokula and make them more subordinate to Bau.[125] In reality no assistance had been given. Instead Natewa was now considered tributary to Bau and not Cakaudrove, a position which may have existed before the i Sokula had extended their power considerably.[126] The i Sokula had hoped Natewa would be weakened sufficiently to prevent further rebellion in the near future. But Cakobau allowed Natewa to retain its strength which, with his tacit approval, could still be used against the i Sokula. For Cakobau wished to see the power of the i Sokula contained: a simple way to achieve this was to keep them preoccupied with internal problems.[127]

It was not until February 1851, after continual skirmishes, that the i Sokula managed to defeat Natewa decisively.[128] While the i Sokula attempted to subjugate the vanua, Cakobau actively thwarted their efforts. Bau and Natewa considered themselves allies. In January 1847, when the Natewans were assisting Captain Wallis to collect

125. Lyth, Journal 1842-1844, 2 February 1843, 51; Hunt to General Secretaries, 26 February 1845 in WMN (London), February 1846, 18.
126. A few generations before, the lineage of the Tu Natewa had been replaced by that of the Vunivalu as heads of Natewa. The new leading family were descendants of a Bauan who had married an i taukei lady. The title Vunivalu may have been derived from the same title as Bau.
127. Williams to General Secretaries, 17 August 1846 in WMS, Letters from Feejee, V; Lyth to his mother, 21 July 1846 in Letters to and from Lyth.
128. Hazlewood, Journal 1846-1848, II, 8 January, 27 April and 8 June 1847, 14, 46, 58; Williams to General Secretaries, 28 August 1847, under entries for 2 June and 3 July 1847 in WMS, Letters from Feejee, V; Journal of Thomas Williams, II, 8 June and 3 July 1847, 399-400.

beche-de-mer, Cakobau sent word to Tuikilakila he was not to attack the Natewa people.[129] Ten months later, Natewa and Bau combined with the Dewala people at Nagigi to defeat the kai Naweni at Watakala. Some years before, the Naweni people had divided when they had become too numerous for their village of Solove. Half of the people had moved to Watakala, where the inhabitants soon showed a desire for independence from the leading village of Solove. Some of the people associated with the kai Dewala planted at Werckanunu, a Naweni land, and apparently the Tu Naweni asked the Tunisa of Nagigi to help him subdue the rebels. The Dewala people must have approached Cakobau, for they carried a tabua, with a request for assistance, from Cakobau to Natewa. The Bauans and Natewans joined together at Natewa in late September or early October 1847, and from there proceeded to Watakala, which they captured. There was some resistance, during which Cakobau was wounded by a spear.[130]

Though the Naweni people were considered subjects of the Tui Cakau, their head, the Tu Naweni, chose to receive help from Bau. Naweni may have considered the i Sokula were not in a sufficiently strong position to help, because of their involvement with Natewa. Alternatively Cakobau may have eagerly seized an opportunity to humiliate the i Sokula further by leading an army, supported by the enemy of the i Sokula, into their territory. Outwardly the i Sokula still continued to welcome the friendship with Bau. Tuikilakila met Cakobau before the Bauan returned to leeward.[131] This meeting,

129. Hazlewood, Journal 1846-1848, 11 January 1847, 17.

130. Lyth, Journal 1845-1848, 24 September and 2 November 1847, 17, 30; 'Al Tukutuku kei Ratu Cakobau na Vunivalu mai Bau' in Na Nata, August 1912, 144.

131. Lyth, Journal 1845-1848, 5 November 1847, 31.

however, may have been an opportunity for Cakobau to express disapproval, because while the Natewans were fighting with Cakobau the i Sokula had attacked Natewa, and killed unprotected old men, women, and children. But Bau had been antagonistic towards the i Sokula before their expedition to Vanua Levu; in early September 1847 two Bauan turaga had boasted that, once a war with Rewa was over, they would subjugate Somosomo.[132]

By 1849 Cakaudrove's relationship with Bau had deteriorated even further. The Vuna people had killed their turaga, a Bauan who had been appointed Tui Vuna by Cakobau. Thus Vuna was now disposed to favour the i Sokula rather than Cakobau, who had lost an ally within Cakaudrove. Also, there was so much dissatisfaction, with the result of the Bauan assistance against Natewa, at Somosomo that Cakobau considered fighting the i Sokula. But his father Tanoa refused to allow it, reminding Cakobau of the support he had received from the i Sokula during his time of exile in the 1830s.[133]

Cakaudrove's relationship with Bau had also deteriorated because the i Sokula had turned the allegiance of Ritova, the Macuatan turaga, from Bau. Ritova had chosen to support Tuikilakila against Cakobau and his protege the Vunivalu of Natewa, perhaps after Tuikilakila had, in 1847, presented Ritova with a considerable amount of property and asked for help in his continuing war with Natewa.[134] Ritova had kinship links with Cakaudrove, and one of his wives was a Cakaudrove warana, so these connexions would have helped to ease the rapprochement between Ritova and the i Sokula.[135] By the latter

132. Lyth, Journal 1845-1848, 13 September 1847, 287.

133. Lyth, Journal 1848-1850, 27 February 1849, 39; Lyth, Day-book 1849-1850, 11 June 1849, 8.

134. Erskine, Journal of a Cruise, 237; 'Jackson's Narrative', 428, 431.

half of 1849 Cakobau, jealous of Ritova's increased power in Macuata and annoyed at his alliance with the *i* Sokula against Natewa, had allied himself with Bonaveidogo, 'son' of a former Tui Macuata and a previous supporter of Ritova. The Bauan leader favoured Bonaveidogo because of his Natewan connexion; he lived mostly at Natewa where he was married to the eldest daughter of the Natewan head.[136]

By 1849, Lakeba, too, favoured Cakaudrove. The Tui Nayau no longer wished to acknowledge Bau, but to assert his independence. Lakeba's relationship with Bau had deteriorated by late 1845, when the Tui Nayau thought Bau intended to attack Lakeba.[137] The threat still continued into 1846, but it was removed after the Tui Nayau sent a Tongan chief with an *i soro* to apologize for building defences against Bau.[138] In 1849 Lakeba's relations with Bau deteriorated again. In October a reconciliation was reached, but the threat from Bau was not averted until Cakobau sent a peaceful message to the Tui Nayau.[139] Lakeba's uncertain relations with Bau thus made an association with Cakaudrove sensible.

Cakaudrove's successes against Natewa also strained the relationship of the *i* Sokula with Bau. By the first half of 1850, Natewa had suffered a major defeat and, in order to placate Cakobau

135. Williams, Somosomo Quarterly Letters, Letter I:9 (25 September 1847)
136. Wallis, Life in Feejee, 365.
137. Williams to his father, 20 January 1844 in ANMMS, Fiji letters 1855-1903.
138. Lyth, Day-book 1845-1847, 8, 10, 11 and 31 December 1845, 29 and 31 January 1846, 19, 20, 26, 33-41; Lyth, Journal 1845-1848, 8, 26 and 31 January 1846, 169, 185-86, 189; Hazlewood, Day-book 1844-1846, 2 February 1846; Lyth, The Lakeba Note, March 1846, 8
139. Lyth, Journal 1845-1848, 12 June 1846, 228; Lyth, Day-book 1845-1847, 9 June 1846, 18 March 1847, 72, 154.

and assure him of their loyalty, the i Sokula took property to Bau.[140] In the last quarter of 1850, i Sokula successes against Natewa continued. The war was finally concluded in February 1851, when Natewa presented an i soro to the i Sokula.[141] Thus Cakaudrove asserted its supremacy over Natewa, a supremacy which meant a loss of ascendancy over the vanua for Cakobau. The victory showed, once again, that the i Sokula were capable of maintaining their own territory without having to resort to help from Bau. Even more significantly, it showed the i Sokula could act in the face of opposition from Bau, which could not prevent attacks on lands over which they would have liked to continue to assert influence.

Inevitably, Cakaudrove's victory over Natewa also meant a loss of Bauan influence to windward. The Tui Nayau now presented 'considerable property' to the Tui Cakau, property which might have gone to Cakobau before. Naturally Cakobau was displeased and, in June 1851, he took the opportunity to visit Lakeba in the company of the missionary James Calvert.[142] After Cakaudrove's victory, Macuata, too, was less anxious to keep Bau's goodwill. By July, Cakobau was having trouble with Macuata again. A few months before, Ritova had been asked to make 300 piculs of beche-de-mer as his share of the payment for Cakobau's new schooner. When he refused, the Bauans began to assemble a large army with which to force Ritova to fish for the required beche-de-mer. The expedition left Bau before the end of January 1852.[143] Ritova still refused, and so there were skirmishes

140. Lyth, Day-book 1849-1850, 15, 26 and 27 October 1849, 70-72; Lyth to Williams, 22 November 1849 in Williams, Letters to the Rev T. Williams, III; Erskine, Journal of a cruise, 171.

141. Lyth, Day-book 1849-1850, 29 October, 2, 5 and 6 November 1849, 73-74, 76.

142. The Vewa Record, 5 May 1851 in WMS, Manuscript periodicals; Lyth, Day-book and journal 1850-1851, 23 June 1851, 113.

between the two sides while Cakobau supervised the fishing himself.[144] By 13 March 1852 Cakobau had returned to Bau. Despite the request of Tuikilaila's son Vakalolo, who went with the invitation to Cakobau at Vanua Levu, he had refused to visit Somosomo on his return voyage. Cakobau had shown his goodwill to the i Sokula, however, when he presented Vakalolo with the Viwan canoe Moko ni Viti. [145]

While the i Sokula appeared firmly in control of their own territory, Cakobau's empire was beginning to show signs of disintegration. His visit to Macuata in early 1852 had not succeeded in retaining their allegiance, and by November it was rumoured that Macuata had joined Rewa, which was still at war with Bau.[146] By March 1852 Mara Kapawai, Cakobau's rival, had joined Rewa against him. The Tui Nayau responded with an assurance to Cakobau that their vasu levu would not turn Lakeba from Bau, despite Mara's expeditions to appropriate wealth in Lakeba's territory.[147] Though Bau was in no position to curb Cakaudrove's power, the i Sokula continued to present property to Bau and support Cakobau, overtly acknowledging Bau's power supremacy. In June 1852 Tuikilakila visited Bau with three of his sons -- Vakalolo, Seru and Raivalita.[148] When

143. Lyth, Day-book and Journal 1850-1851, 25 April, 16 July, 29 September and 8 December 1851, 85, 122, 169, 191; Lyth, Journal 1852, 27 January 1852, 3.

144. Lyth, Journal 1852, 5 March and 14 April 1852, 25.

145. The Vewa Record, 29 March 1852 in WMS, Manuscript periodicals.

146. Lyth, Journal 1852-1853, 25 November 1852, 42.

147. Lyth, Journal 1852, 22 and 25 March 1852, 17-18, 20.

148. Lyth, Voyaging Journal 1852, IV, 30 June 1852, 34, 36; Lyth to his father and mother, 27 July 1852 in his Copy-book of letters 1850-1853, 83-84.

Tuikilakila announced he wished to attack Lakeba,[149] Cakobau was not amenable to the proposed confrontation for it might result in aggrandizement for Cakaudrove. He may also have hoped the i Sokula would lose control of the rich resource of northern Lau, where the Tui Nayau and the Tongans were gaining influence as a result of the spread of Christianity from southern Lau. So to discourage Tuikilakila, Cakobau refused to allow the Butoni people to assist the i Sokula in a war against Lakeba.[150]

Internal problems in Cakaudrove -- the rivalry which had emerged by the end of 1852 between Tuikilakila's sons Vakalolo and Mai Tavuki -- were soon to decrease its strength; Tuikilakila was obliged to defer to Cakobau again. In the last six months of 1853, despite the succession dispute among his children, Tuikilakila (by now installed as Tui Cakau) appears to have been constantly at Bau. In July he was there for the inauguration of Cakobau as Vunivalu, and while at Bau the Cakaudrove people probably participated in attacks on Kaba and other rebellious villages, thus showing their support for Cakobau's leadership.[151] In November 1853 the Cakaudrove people were at Bau again, this time to present a solevu as thanks for the help given by Bau in the 1846 campaign against Natewa.[152] The Tui Cakau was still there in the middle of December, when a Wesleyan missionary had an interview with him. Tuikilakila claimed he could not refuse bakola presented to him for 'they were deeply subject to Bau, and in great fear'. This statement cannot be taken at face value, however, for it was an excuse to practise cannibalism at Bau.[153]

149. For the background to the altercation, see below, 270-74.

150. Lyth, Voyage Reminiscences 25 May-14 July 1852 in his *Voyaging Journal*, IV, 8.

151. Lyth, *Journal 1852-1853*, 26 July and 2 August 1853, 110-11.

152. Lyth, *Journal 1852-1853*, 21 and 24 November 1853, 151, 153.

The sibling rivalry among the i Sokula came to the fore when Mai Tavuki's faction murdered Tuikilakila in February 1854. Though Calvert thought the Vunivalu was upset at the murder of his cousin, the i Sokula believed, and still do, that the Tui Cakau was killed at the instigation of the Bauan who saw in the succession dispute a change to rid himself of an old rival. During the last visit of the i Sokula to Bau, they claim the Vunivalu gave his club Uvinisiga to Mai Tavuki, who was also known as Cakobau and thus may have been his namesake. A source contemporary with the events, however, claims the Vunivalu gave it to Seruiraturaga, another of Tuikilakila's sons.[154] Though Tuikilakila was to become known as Baleinamatau, He Who Died By the Axe, it was still Uvinisiga which was used to kill him. Cakobau had used the bowai or pole club as a haft for an axe; one contemporary source called it a club hatchet.[155] The Vunivalu may have been prompted to seek the Tui Cakau's death for he thought Tuikilakila was supporting Mara Kapaiwai, who was challenging him for control of Bau. The Vunivalu was also said to be angry with Tuikilakila, who had taken property to Macuata.[156] The presentation to Macuata may have been to gain their support for himself and his favourite son Vakalolo, a support which they also gained from Natewa.[157] Both Natewa and Tunuloa, to which latter vanua Vakalolo

153. R. Young, The southern world. Journal of a deputation from the Wesleyan Conference to Australia and Polynesia (London 1855), 303, 342.

154. Calvert to General Secretaries, 20 May 1854 in WMS, Letters from Feejee, VII; Lyth, Journal 1853-1860, 9 March 1854, 60.

155. Tippet, Fijian material culture: a study of cultural context, function, and change (Honolulu 1968), 69-71; Lyth, Journal 1853-1860, 9 March 1854, 60. It was the weapon with which the Vunivalu had killed the Roko Tui Dreketi; by then it already had the axe attached to it. See Joseph Waterhouse, King and people of Fiji, 126.

156. Lyth, Journal 1853-1860, 9 March 1854, 60.

was vasu, were known to be in contact with Mara,[158] and so the Vunivalu had grounds to surmise some collaboration between Mara and Tuikilakila. As Mara was married to Loaloakubou, the daughter of Tanoa Visawaqa by Adi Talatoka (Tuikilakila's full sister), Cakobau had even more grounds to suspect an alliance. For Mara, through his marriage to Tuikilakila's niece, could have approached Tuikilakila easily.

AFTER Tuikilakila's murder, the competition for political precedence developed into civil war, but the i Sokula faction which was not allied with Cakobau of Bau retained control of Cakaudrove. There is no evidence to suggest that Bau participated in the civil war that followed; Cakobau was too preoccupied with his own internal problems. Henceforth the main threat to Cakaudrove was to come from the Tongans, who were threatening Cakaudrove's territory to windward.[159]

157. Lyth, Journal 1853-1860, 9 March 1854, 64.

158. Lyth, Journal 1853-1860, 16 December 1853, 5.

159. This thesis covers the relationship of Cakaudrove with the Tongans up until 1869, see the following chapter. For the later period leading up to Cession, Deryck Scarr has detailed the relationship of the Tongan leader with both Cakobau and Golea. See his 'Cakobau and Ma'afu', and The majesty of colour: a life of Sir John Bates Thurston, I, I, the very bayonet (Canberra 1973).

CHAPTER EIGHT

CAKAUDROVE: ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE TONGANS

Cakaudrove, like the rest of eastern coastal Fiji, had long been in contact with Tongans, a related people who had settled the group to windward about the same time as Fiji was settled. The two island groups did not remain isolated after the initial settlement. Despite the paucity of exchange articles in the archaeological record, archaeologists have inferred that there was regular communication and interchange of ideas; two-way voyaging still occurred at least 3,000 years ago. Linguistic data suggests continued contact, too.[1] Sailing conditions were especially favourable from Tonga to Fiji; the prevailing winds were often the cause of Tongan canoes making landfall unwillingly in eastern Fiji.[2]

From the time of their emergence the i Sokula, especially, were the focus of Tongan attention in Cakaudrove. In the 1860s, Golea the Tui Cakau was able to understand Tongan and converse easily.[3] No

1. Janet Davidson, 'Western Polynesia and Fiji: prehistoric contact, diffusion and differentiation in adjacent archipelagoes', World Archaeology, IX (1977), 83-88; Janet Davidson, 'Western Polynesia and Fiji: the archaeological evidence', Mankind, XI (1978), 383-90; Green, 'Location of the Polynesian homeland: a continuing problem' in Hollyman and Pawley (eds), Studies in Pacific languages and cultures in honour of Bruce Biggs (Auckland 1981), 143, 145-46.
2. See, for example, Hazlewood, Day-book 1844-1846, 30 July 1846.
3. Calvert, Journal, IX, 20 January 1863.

doubt i Sokula of earlier generations could do so, too. The Welitoa people, many who served the Tui Cakau directly, provide more evidence for Tongan contact with the i Sokula, as well as Cakaudrove at large. The Welitoa are said to have reached Vunisavisavi during the rule of Ratavo, the second Tui Cakau. They came from Tonga, led by Heimoana, Lost in the Ocean.[4] Hocart was told they drifted from Tonga.[5] It would seem, therefore, that they arrived in Cakaudrove by chance. They became the tunidau or fisher people of the Tui Cakau; their special task was to catch turtle. Another group of the Welitoa, led by Taunima, settled at Wainikeli under the headship of the Tui, while others took up residence with the Mabuco people.[6]

The i Sokula's contact with Tongans was sustained enough to give credence to suggestions that the i Sokula were, in fact, descendants of Tongan migrants. They are, supposedly, descendants of Tongans who arrived at Taveuni in a canoe of the Tu'i Tonga.[7] The tradition is suspect because the i Sokula rose to a position of power in southern Vanua Levu, not in the island on the other side of the Somosomo Strait. Josefa Lala, the ninth Tui Cakau who died in 1903, once related a family tradition that the i Sokula were descended from survivors of a Tongan canoe. They had reached safety on the back of a turtle.[8] Again Taveuni is given as the place of arrival, so this

4. The translation of the name is to be found in E.W. Gifford, Tongan society (Honolulu 1929), 247.
5. The northern states of Fiji (London 1952), 89. They came ashore at Kubulau, and went to serve the i Sokula when they heard about them.
6. Place names associated with the Welitoa are Savanivonu (Temple of the Turtles) and Pagai. Thus Pagai in the land of the kai Mabuco is associated with a division of the Welitoa who are under the Tui Mabuco.
7. Thomson, The Fijians: a study of the decay of custom (London 1902), 22.

tradition is equally suspect. The leading family had moved to Taveuni in the early nineteenth century, however, so it is possible the European raconteurs presumed Taveuni was the island meant by the informants.

Lala also knew of another, more recent, Tongan connexion of the i Sokula with the line of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. A lady of this Tongan family, who had reached safety by clinging to the deck-house of the canoe, had been the sole survivor of a sea disaster.[9] As it is difficult to decide to whom this tradition really refers, it is possible the incident inspired the traditions of Tongan origins. Different versions may have been mistaken for origin traditions by Europeans.

The survivor referred to may be a Tongan lady, the wife of Ratavo, the Tui Cakau who headed Cakaudrove in the latter half of the eighteenth century. One of Ratavo's sons was Mumui, a name also held by members of the Tu'i Kanokupolu family.[10] It may be presumed Mumui had a Tongan mother. Alternatively there is a possibility the shipwrecked lady may be identified with Tupou, wife of Naiqama who was installed Tui Cakau at the same time as Yavala.[11] She was, perhaps, Tupoumoheofo, the daughter of Tupoulahi a Tu'i Kanokupolu, who had first married Paulaho, the last effective Tu'i Tonga. After

8. B.G. Corney to im Thurn, 15 February 1921, MS 221 in im Thurn Miscellaneous Papers. Corney was apparently a good friend of Lala. Lala's son, Glanvill Wellington Lalabalavu, the eleventh Tui Cakau, received his name Glanvill from Corney, who was his guardian.
9. Thomson, The Fijians, 16. Thomson heard the tradition from both Tuku'aho, the Premier of Tonga, and Lala when they were visiting Auckland, New Zealand at the same time. The Tongan and Fijian traditions were 'substantially identical'.
10. One of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, named Mumui, died in 1797. Mumui of Cakaudrove was sent to be the leader of the Korocau people. His son was installed as the first Tui Korocau.

Mulikiha'amea relinquished the title of Tu'i Kanokupolu, Tupoumohefo installed herself as Tu'i Kanokupolu, though her uncle Mumui also had a claim. Tuku'aho, Mumui's son, challenged her and, in the late 1780s perhaps, Tuku'aho drove Tupoumohefo and her husband to Vava'u. After this Tupoumohefo does not figure in the Tongan records.[12] Since Tongan chiefs involved in political strife often escaped to Fiji when their continued presence in Tonga became awkward, it is conceivable Tupoumohefo spent some time in Fiji. Even if the identification is incorrect, the available evidence still indicates that it was not uncommon for Tongan ladies to marry members of the i Sokula, though the women concerned may not have been of comparable rank to Tupoumohefo.

The suggestion that the i Sokula derive from Tonga is, on the face of it, plausible. A descent from high-ranking Tongans is supported by the statement made in 1844 by Tuikilakila, who told Lyth that Mai Natavasara was a god from Tonga.[13] The two areas also appear to have had some substantial cultural links. According to Hocart, for example, the yaqona ceremony of the i Sokula follows the same rules as the Tongan ceremony.[14] When Williams described it,

11. A second Tongan chiefess, with the name Tupoumohefo, also married another Tui Cakau. She was the daughter of Lavinia Velongo and Inoke Fotu. Lavinia was a Tu'i Tonga's daughter and great-great-grand-daughter of Pau, the earlier Tupoumohefo's husband. Pers. comm. Niel Gunson. The Tui Cakau was probably Golea the eighth title-holder, and their daughter was Salote Fisi who had a child by Tupou II of Tonga. See Elizabeth Spillius, Discussions of Tongan Custom 1958-1959, H.M. Queen Salote Tupou and the Hon. Ve'ehala, 251.
12. H.G. Cummins, 'Tongan Society at the time of European contact' in N. Rutherford (ed), Friendly Islands: a history of Tonga (Melbourne 1977), 66-67; W.N. Gunson, 'The coming of foreigners' in Rutherford (ed), Friendly Islands, 96; Gunson, 'The hau concept of leadership in western Polynesia', JPH, XIV (1979), 41.
13. Lyth, Somosome in his Notes on Islands, 2b.
14. Northern states, 3-4.

he referred his readers to William Mariner's description of the mixing and straining of the beverage in Tonga.[15] Yet the constant and longstanding communication between Tonga and Cakaudrove is a more feasible explanation of the similarity of the kava ceremonies than an origin of the i Sokula in Tonga. Other evidence available makes the alternative Ra provenance for the i Sokula even more likely.

Historically, the Tongan presence in eastern Fiji is documented well. One of the main incentives for the Tongans to visit Fiji was the presence of suitable building materials for the construction of the large double canoes. Tonga did not possess adequate supplies of the hardwood trees, but eastern Fiji did. Here the trees, especially the vesi, grew in abundance. Cakaudrove possessed suitable timber; Lyth wrote that this area, as well as the windward islands, possessed 'the best wood' which was 'as durable as the English oak'.[16] Because it took six or seven years to complete a vessel,[17] the prolonged presence of the Tongan carpenters led to intermarriage and settlement in Fijian communities, as well as the establishment of semi-permanent colonies of Tongans engaged in building canoes for their chiefs in Tonga.

A group of carpenters (matai), who became known as the Mataitoga, settled in Cakaudrove. They think of themselves as Tongans as the name implies but, in fact, they are Samoans who migrated through Tonga to southern Lau, where they are known as the Lemaki.[18] Their oral

15. Fiji and the Fijians (London 1858), I, 142.
16. Tongan and Feejeean Reminiscences, I, 189.
17. Erskine, Journal of a cruise among the islands of the western Pacific (Reprint, London 1967), 265; Wilkes, Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition..1838-1842 (Philadelphia 1844), III, 57; Lyth, Day-book 1849-1850, 14 June 1850, 148.

traditions assert a Tui Cakau requested a Tui Nayau to give him some of the Lemaki. So a division, led by Nabuka Lausiki (supposedly the great-great-grandfather of a middle-aged informant), migrated to Cakaudrove. The land which the Mataitoga use on Vanua Levu is the land on which they built canoes for the i Sokula; it was part of the reward for their services. In this way they claimed Nalovo, land to the east of the Cakaudrove River which was later given by the i Sokula to the father of Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna. Nalovo (The Oven) was said to have been the building site of the Ramarama. The construction, which was completed by the end of 1841, was said to have been undertaken by a Tongan named Nanasi (Mean, Greedy), but his descendants' claim to Nalovo was unsuccessful.[19] Another division of the Mataitoga resides with the Tui Nadaraga who acknowledges the immediate overlordship of the Tui Mabuco.

The erroneous Tongan identification of the Mataitoga may be a result of the incorporation of descendants of Tongan carpenters within the group; the i Sokula employed other Tongans in the building of their canoes as well. In 1839 there was a settlement of Tongans on the small island of Rabe where they were building canoes; one was being built there for Tuikilakila in 1844, for instance.[20] A small community, comprising ten Fijian and five Tongan men with their families, was also established on the island of Kioa, perhaps for the

18. Hocart states the Lemaki came from Samoa, see his Lau Islands, Fiji (Honolulu 1929), 10, 55. So, too, does Reid in his 'The fruit of the Rewa: oral traditions and the growth of the pre-Christian Lakeba state', JPH, XII (1977), 17.
19. LCC R878 in P211; Pacific Islands Monthly, April 1941, 17. The translation of the name Nanasi comes from Gifford, Tongan society, 261.
20. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 4 November 1839, 402; Wilkes, Narrative, III, 269; Lyth to Hunt, 23 March 1844 in Hunt, Eighteen letters to John and Hannah Hunt 1844-1868.

same purpose.[21] The i Sokula are also known to have had canoes built in the vicinity of Buca, Natewa. At one time Cakaudrove had control of this border area, where the Tui Cakau then had canoes built by Tongans, some of whose descendants are still said to live there.[22]

Smaller groups of Tongans, or individuals, also became attached by choice either temporarily or, more rarely, permanently to members of the i Sokula. Tongan numbers at Somosomo increased in December 1840, for example, with the arrival of twenty-three shipwrecked Tongans at Taveuni. They had first reached Welagi where they had been shared among the turaga of the village as servants. Tuikilakila had ordered them removed to Somosomo, where they were 'kept in comparative slavery' again -- a refusal to serve meant death.[23] Tongans, like Europeans, were not susceptible to the mana of the Fijian turaga. Thus they made ideal household servants for leading members of the i Sokula. Another high-risk task they came to perform was burials. When Yavala the Tui Cakau was buried (still alive) in 1845, for instance, Tongans were called on to place him, together with the strangled women, into the grave at Welagi.[24]

But the Tongan presence in Cakaudrove was not as entrenched as that in Lakeba, the Fijian power centre closest to Tonga and the Tongans' favourite residence. At Somosomo the Tongans, the small

21. Holmes, Journal, II, 12 July 1844, 44.
22. The canoes were built at Navolau (volau, the carpenter's workplace); the sails (laca) were sewn (cula) at Culaganalaca.
23. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 9 December 1840, 574; account of Mrs Tucker, 6 July 1841 in John Waterhouse, Journal, II, under entry for 4 August 1841, 79.
24. Henderson (ed), The journal of Thomas Williams, missionary in Fiji, 1840-1853 (Sydney 1931), II, 316.

group of permanent residents apart, came and went with regularity. They traded for the small red breast feathers of the kula, a parakeet which abounded in the Taveuni bush, for example. They would also visit Somosomo to request canoes, or canoe spars, in exchange for property or their services; the island of Rabe was an excellent and renowned source of canoe spars, because the makita tree grew there in abundance. While on such expeditions, or while visiting on their way to leeward, the Tongans would be approached with presentations or promises, or both, of property and women to help in the i Sokula's current concerns whether militant or peaceful.[25] The early i Sokula would have used the Tongans' military services, just as their descendants used them in the nineteenth century.

The earliest record of Tongan forces living at Somosomo was between August 1832 and 1835, perhaps. A community of Tongans was living there under the two brothers Tupou Toutai and William Lajike, high-ranking chiefs from Vava'u. They had arrived at the Cakaudrove capital after Tanoa had been granted asylum there.[26] Though Tanoa did not have the right, it is claimed he rewarded the Tongans by giving them permission to settle, under his protection, anywhere in Fiji.[27]

25. Seemann, Viti: an account of a government mission to the Vition or Fiji Islands 1860-1861 (Reprint, London 1973), 19; Lyth, Journal 1842-1844, 14 June 1844, 207; Lyth, Day-book 1849-1850, 24 January 1850, 103; Lyth, Day-book and journal 1850-1851, 5 December 1850 and 18 March 1851, 32, 63; Lyth, Tongan and Feejeean Reminiscences, I, 191; Hazlewood, Day-book 1844-1846, 11 January 1845.
26. The Tongan support of Tanoa has already been discussed in the previous chapter.
27. 'Jackson's Narrative' in Erskine, Journal of a cruise, 457.

Unlike less powerful Fijian turaga, the Tongan chiefs of high rank had never been afraid of the i Sokula. In 1839 when the people at Lakeba were nervous about a visit to Somosomo, fearing they might be punished, Lajike offered, with his Tongan followers, to accompany them.[28] Yet the Tongan chiefs were anxious not to offend the i Sokula unnecessarily. When the war broke out between Cakaudrove and Bau in 1840, Tupou Toutai and Lajike supported Cakobau.[29] But not all the Tongans supported Bau. Fatafehi, a young Tongan chief, went with his companions to the siege of Vuna in November 1840, and in the following year continued to support the i Sokula as the war with Bau progressed.[30]

Benevolent treatment of Tongans by the i Sokula was dependent upon the presence of high-ranking and powerful Tongan chiefs, however. Lajike left Somosomo in 1839, for example, so he was unable to offer his compatriots protection. The i Sokula could intimidate the Tongans who were shipwrecked in December 1840, as well as the Tongan teachers (associated with the Wesleyan missionaries), who at one time were forced by Tuikilakila to spend two days plaiting sinnet without recompense.[31] Fatafehi was at Somosomo then, but he was less powerful than Lajike. In early 1841, for example, the Tui Cakau went to a solevu at Korocau and took the Tongans with him, though this was 'much against their minds'.[32] In March 1842, Fatafehi left

28. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 23 August 1839, 372, 375-76; Hunt, Private Journal 1839-1841, I, 26 August 1839, 88.
29. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 4 August 1840, 513; Cross, Diary 1837-1842, 24 October, 2 and 30 November, 15 December 1840.
30. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 9 November 1840, 10 May 1841, 553, 615-16.
31. One of the Tongan teachers also lost a piece of cloth, which Tuikilakila demanded. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 5 December 1839, 418.

Somosomo. He had obtained permission from Tuikilakila for the shipwrecked Tongans to return home, and he and his supporters left at the same time.[33] In February 1847 the Tongans who assisted the i Sokula in the war against Natewa fared no better than Fatafehi; they were underfed.[34]

PRIOR to the 1850s, the Tongans confined their activities in Cakaudrove to exchange -- either of goods, or of goods for their services. From the early 1850s onwards, however, the i Sokula had to defend their territory against Tongan aggrandizement. In the 1850s and 1860s, the i Sokula were to contend for control of their territory of northern Lau, a possession they were to lose definitely to Ma'afu, a Tongan chief, in 1869. Ma'afu, or more correctly Ma'afu'o'tu'itonga, had genealogical connexions with Fijians. The most prestigious was his descent, on his father's side, from his great-great-grandfather Baleisasa, brother to a Tui Nayau, who had migrated to Tongatapu.[35] But he had no links with Cakaudrove.

32. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 8 November 1841, 673.
33. Lyth, Journal 1836-1842, 7 and 18 March 1842, 706-07, 709; Hunt, Private journal 1842-1848, II, 23 February and 17 March 1842, 84, 101.
34. Williams to General Secretaries, 18 February 1847 in WMS, Eight letters from Fiji 1840-1847.
35. The Fijian connexion had occurred when his great-grandfather, his namesake and a Tu'i Kanokupolu, had married Kavakipopua (or Popua'uli'uli), the daughter of Baleisasa by Toafilimoe'unga, herself a member of the Tu'i Kanokupolu family. See Elizabeth Spillius, Discussions of Tongan Custom, 62-64, 100; Reid, 'Crusaders: the religious and relationship background to Lakeban expansion in the 1850s', *JPH*, XVI (1981), 61n.

Both oral tradition and the written sources record that members of the i Sokula first met Ma'afu in 1849. In this year Tuikilakila voyaged to windward in the hope of acquiring a new double canoe. The Tui Nayau had none he could present but the Falike, more fully the Hike moi Falike, which belonged to Ma'afu was lying on the beach. Ma'afu acceded to Tuikilakila's request for the canoe, and together they travelled to Lomaloma in Vanua Balavu, where the Tongan claimed he was granted the island of Vanua Balavu from which to 'levy pigs and sinnet'. When they reached Laucala, he claimed the same rights were granted to include all the islands up to this one.[36] At another time Ma'afu pushed his claims even harder. He asserted that Tuikilakila had given him control of all the islands between Lakeba and Taveuni, not merely the right to levy produce.[37] Despite Ma'afu's claims, it is apparent Tuikilakila had given Ma'afu the right to levy tribute only, and not all the i Sokula's rights over northern Lau. A plausible explanation, already put forward, is that Tuikilakila intended only a 'generous, hospitable gesture' for he was aware of food shortages which often occurred at Lakeba.[38] Samate, a matanivanua of Tuikilakila's son Golea, also interpreted Tuikilakila's 'gift' as a title to produce, not the land which remained with the i Sokula.[39]

36. Evidence of Ma'afu in LCC R930; Statement of Ma'afu regarding the Tongan claim to Vanua Balavu and adjacent islands, November 1864 in CP F4/12/1-2.
37. Petitioner's Plea by Ma'afu in Report of Proceedings of the enquiry into the ownership of Vanua Balavu, Ma'afu v. Henry, 1 and 2 February 1865 in CP F4/Temp 1/1-381.
38. Scarr, 'Cakobau and Ma'afu: contenders for pre-eminence in Fiji' in Davidson and Scarr (eds), Pacific Islands portraits (Canberra 1970), 107.
39. LCC R930.

Another version of the acquisition of the Falike, and the subsequent 'gift' to Ma'afu, is plausible. Tuikilakila may already have met Ma'afu in 1847, the year the Tongan arrived in Fiji. At the very least Tuikilakila was aware of his presence, for he already coveted Ma'afu's canoe. When the Tui Laucala's daughter bore Tuikilakila a female child, he named her Adi Falike, for at the time he wanted to own the 'famous' Tongan canoe. It 'appeared to be the supreme object of his desire'.[40] Thus the specific purpose of Tuikilakila's voyage was to acquire Ma'afu's Falike, not one of the Tui Nayau's canoes. Consequently, Ma'afu would have been able to drive a hard bargain with Tuikilakila. This explains the granting of the right to levy tribute over such a large area. But even with the Falike as the exchange object, it is most unlikely that Tuikilakila would have granted the sovereignty of such valuable territory to Ma'afu.

In order to add further credence to his claim, Ma'afu was also to contend that he had lived at Vanua Balavu for a year and a half after Tuikilakila's 'gift'.[41] There is no contemporary evidence to suggest such a residence, yet there is almost no record of his movements during this period. Ma'afu was at Lakeba by the end of the following year. In the first five months of 1851, he was apparently based at this island from where he made at least one voyage to Oneata (south of Lakeba). In June he sailed to Kabara to begin construction of a new canoe. Ma'afu was at Vanua Balavu and Tuvuca in November 1850, however, when he touched at these islands with the Tongan chiefs Tu'ipelehake and Banuve, as they voyaged together from Fomosomo to

40. Williams, Tuikilakila's love for Ande Falike, dated January 1850 in his Miscellaneous notes chiefly concerning Feejee & Feejeeans, II, 172.

41. Petitioner's Plea by Ma'afu; Statement of Ma'afu.

Lakeba. Ma'afu and Tuikilakila were still on friendly terms. While at Somosomo in late 1850, the Tongans had helped convey the Cakaudrove people to a fight.[42] It is unlikely, therefore, that Ma'afu was residing on Vanua Balavu. If he was Tuikilakila would have felt the Tongan was threatening the sovereignty of Cakaudrove, and his relationship with Ma'afu would have been strained.

After Ma'afu's supposed residence of eighteen months, he also claimed he used to go to Vanua Balavu to collect produce. Again, there is no documentary evidence to support this.[43] The only reference to Ma'afu in northern Lau is in February 1852. He went to Cicia, an island under the Tui Nayau and not the Tui Cakau, to help transport some visitors home.[44] It is probable he did make some visits, however, for a turaga of Lomaloma later gave evidence that tribute was given to both Ma'afu and the Tui Cakau whenever they visited.[45] Ma'afu himself was to say that, until 1854 (when the situation changed), he never showed the people he owned them but allowed them to please themselves to whom they presented property.[46]

It is apparent the i Sokula retained their rights over northern Lau, despite Ma'afu's claim that, after Tuikilakila's 'gift', the i Sokula never resumed sovereignty of the islands of northern Lau.[47]

42. Lyth, Day-book and journal 1850-1851, 25 November, 4 and 5 December 1850, 29 January, 31 May and 12 June 1851, 30, 32-33, 50, 104, 108.
43. Petitioner's Plea by Ma'afu.
44. Lyth, Journal 1852, 2 February 1852, 5.
45. Evidence of David of Lomaloma in Report of Proceedings, February 1865.
46. Evidence of Ma'afu in Report of Proceedings, February 1865.
47. Evidence of Ma'afu in LCC R930.

Subsequent events support the argument that the *i Sokula's* hegemony continued, for they did not cease to visit northern Lau and assert their authority. In late December 1849, Tuikilakila's son Vakalolo visited Mago Island where he plundered some people at the request of a Lomaloma turaga. [48] About a year later Kuila and Cikaitamana, two members of the *i Sokula*, visited the island. Here the Tongan mission teachers countermanded their order for food to be prepared on the Sabbath. They then offended the *i Sokula* again. While some Laucala people were at Mago, a Mago man spread a false rumour that the Tongan teachers had wanted Kuila to be beaten. An i soro to the Laucalans restored goodwill, but then the Tongan teacher and another man refused to present a newly-caught turtle to the Laucalan visitors. Afraid the *i Sokula* would come to punish them, the Tongan teachers fled in February 1851. In April the *i Sokula*, Lalonayau and Tawake, arrived. With their men they plundered the house of Paula Cama, a Tongan teacher, and gave back his wife only when the Mago people repudiated Christianity. At Susui Island they plundered and burnt the dwellings of the Christians who then fled to Tuvuca. [49] Fearful of similar reprisals against Christians, some people of Mualevu (which with Lomaloma comprised the two vanua in Vanua Balavu) moved to Oneata Island (southern Lau), while the Mago Christians moved to Lomaloma. [50]

48. Lyth, Day-book 1849-1850, 9 January 1850, 100. Two Mago men had committed adultery with two women belonging to the village of Dakuilomaloma.
49. Lyth, Day-book and journal 1850-1851, 23 November 1850, 23 and 24 April 1851, 27, 81-82, 84; Lyth, Reports from the Stations of the Lakemba Circuit in his Feejee District Returns 1850-1853, II, 38b; Lyth to Williams, 7 May 1851 in Williams, Letters to the Rev T. Williams, IV.
50. Lyth, Day-book and journal 1850-1851, 23 and 24 April 1851, 82, 84.

When Calvert went to Somosomo to ask Tuikilakila to stop the persecution, Tuikilakila replied 'he had done all he intended to do at the present, that he wished to go thus far in order to remind them of their duty to him.' The i Sokula saw northern Lau as a valuable source of wealth; the new religion threatened this supply, as it encouraged their subjects to question the authority of the turaga at Somosomo.[51] Wealth presentations to the i Sokula had apparently declined, for Calvert had countered, in extenuation, that the people also had to present property to the Bau turaga such as Naulivou and Mara.[52] No mention was made of demands by Tongans; the drain of wealth to them was probably assumed.

Despite Tuikilakila's assurances, the persecution did not cease. When Sefanaia (Ravunisa of Lomaloma) visited Somosomo, Tuikilakila made him and his supporters renounce Christianity. He also ordered Tongan teachers to leave his territory, and threatened that anyone who continued to profess Christianity would be killed.[53] To maintain his control over the people of northern Lau, Tuikilakila sent his son Mara, a vasu to Laucala, to reside at Lomaloma. Mara's task was twofold: to discourage Christianity, and to protect northern Lau from the encroachments of both Bauans and Tongans. Sefanaia was encouraged to persecute the Christians, while one Sabbath Mara himself intimidated them.[54]

51. Persecution in northern Lau had begun in 1849 when Tuikilakila had stopped there on his way to, and return from, Lakeba. The missionaries thought Ma'afu had assisted in the persecution during the return journey. See J. Watsford to Williams, 19 June 1849 in Williams, Letters to the Rev T. Williams, III; Lyth, Voyaging journal 1849, II, 17 December 1849, 90-91, 93; Calvert, Fiji and the Fijians (London 1858), II, 95-104.
52. Lyth, Day-book and journal 1850-1851, 3 July 1851, 116.
53. Lyth, Journal 1852, 19 January and 11 February 1852, 2, 8; Lyth to Williams, 29 January 1852 in Letters to Williams, IV.

At the same time, the i Sokula were also persecuting the Christians at Cicia. Four canoe loads of Cakaudrove warriors went to turn the people back from Christianity. On hearing the news of the persecutions at Cicia and Vanua Balavu, William Vuetasau (son of the former Tui Nayau)[55] and Ma'afu went with four canoes to Vanua Balavu by way of Cicia. The expedition, under the leadership of Vuetasau, was sent by the Tui Nayau with instructions to ask the i Sokula to withdraw from Cicia and confine their persecution to the Cakaudrove territory. At Vanua Balavu the expedition was not to antagonize the i Sokula, merely to remove the teachers.[56] The fleet from Lakeba remained only one night at Lomaloma where a Tongan teacher had an interview with Mara.[57] Despite the Lakeban attempt to stop the persecution, it continued; the i Sokula were firmly in control of northern Lau. Either Mara or Raivalita, his more senior half-brother, damaged the chapels at Lomaloma and Munia Island. At Lomaloma a man was punished by the removal of his wife.[58]

The i Sokula resented the involvement of the Tui Nayau and his Tongan supporters in northern Lau, which they wished to remain non-Christian. The people should continue to serve them alone, and

54. Lyth, Journal 1852, 11 February 1852, 8. Mara and his companions made a disturbance in the chapel and later, during family worship, pelted the Christian homes with stones.
55. Vuetasau was the son of Malani, half-brother of Taliai Tupou who had succeeded Malani as Tui Nayau. Vuetasau's connexions with Tongans were strong: he had been adopted by 'Ulukalala, a Tongan chief from Vava'u. See W. Lawry, A second missionary visit to the Friendly and Feejee Islands in the year 1850 (London 1851), 179.
56. Lyth, Journal 1852, 2 and 4 February 1852, 2, 6.
57. Lyth, Journal 1852, 11 February 1852, 9.
58. Lyth, Journal 1852, 18 March 1852, 16. The missionaries appear to have believed a report that the people ordered the tyrannical turaga to leave, but this is unlikely for such an offence would have been responded to by further oppressive measures.

not have obligations to a new religion. The infiltration of Christianity also represented the infiltration of Lakeban and Tongan influence, and the i Sokula considered this involvement a threat to their hegemony. In March 1852 a 'large' force sailed for Lomaloma, from where the people at Lakeba thought it intended to attack Cicia and Lakeba. Ma'afu, absent at the time in the islands to the south, was recalled; the villages of Tubou and Levuka were fenced.[59] Before Vuetasau could reach Cicia, two Cakaudrove canoes under the command of Vakalolo arrived. The small defensive force, left by the previous expedition from Lakeba, refused to let the Cakaudrove people land, so the canoes had to remain off the reef overnight. When a musket was thoughtlessly fired on shore, the Cakaudrove people erroneously presumed the shot was meant for them and returned the fire. The defensive force reciprocated, and one minor casualty led to the withdrawal of the Cakaudrove canoes.[60] An attack on Cicia or Lakeba, if it had ever been intended, never eventuated. By the end of May the i Sokula were back at Somosomo; Sefanaia and others in Lomaloma had reverted to Christianity.[61]

The Lakeba turaga still feared a confrontation with Cakaudrove, however. In June 1852, while Lyth was at Bau, he had an interview with Tuikilakila who asserted he did not intend to fight, and gave permission for the teachers to return to northern Lau.[62] Tuikilakila's denial that he intended war was belied by two reports which reached Lakeba afterwards. A local trader who had visited

59. Lyth, Journal 1852, 31 March and 1 April 1852, 22-23.

60. Lyth, Journal 1852, 7 and 10 April, 20 May 1852, 24-25, 28. The later reported reason for the visit was to acquire human bodies with which to consecrate the two canoes which were newly launched.

61. Lyth, Journal 1852, 20 May 1852, 28; Lyth to his father and mother, 27 July 1852 in his Copy-book of letters 1852-1855, 87.

not have obligations to a new religion. The infiltration of Christianity also represented the infiltration of Lakeban and Tongan influence, and the i Sokula considered this involvement a threat to their hegemony. In March 1852 a 'large' force sailed for Lomaloma, from where the people at Lakeba thought it intended to attack Cicia and Lakeba. Ma'afu, absent at the time in the islands to the south, was recalled; the villages of Tubou and Levuka were fenced.[59] Before Vuetasau could reach Cicia, two Cakaudrove canoes under the command of Vakalolo arrived. The small defensive force, left by the previous expedition from Lakeba, refused to let the Cakaudrove people land, so the canoes had to remain off the reef overnight. When a musket was thoughtlessly fired on shore, the Cakaudrove people erroneously presumed the shot was meant for them and returned the fire. The defensive force reciprocated, and one minor casualty led to the withdrawal of the Cakaudrove canoes.[60] An attack on Cicia or Lakeba, if it had ever been intended, never eventuated. By the end of May the i Sokula were back at Somosomo; Sefanaia and others in Lomaloma had reverted to Christianity.[61]

The Lakeba turaga still feared a confrontation with Cakaudrove, however. In June 1852, while Lyth was at Bau, he had an interview with Tuikilakila who asserted he did not intend to fight, and gave permission for the teachers to return to northern Lau.[62] Tuikilakila's denial that he intended war was belied by two reports which reached Lakeba afterwards. A local trader who had visited

59. Lyth, Journal 1852, 31 March and 1 April 1852, 22-23.

60. Lyth, Journal 1852, 7 and 10 April, 20 May 1852, 24-25, 28. The later reported reason for the visit was to acquire human bodies with which to consecrate the two canoes which were newly launched.

61. Lyth, Journal 1852, 20 May 1852, 28; Lyth to his father and mother, 27 July 1852 in his Copy-book of letters 1852-1855, 87.

Somosomo had heard talk of a war which was to commence after the next yam season; Tuikilakila felt obliged to take some action because of the behaviour of Ma'afu in the territory of Cakaudrove. Cakobau had also sent a messenger to warn the Tui Nayau to be on his guard against Cakaudrove which was intending to attack.[63] But the clash with Cakaudrove never occurred; the attention of the i Sokula was to be distracted by internal problems. By late 1852 it was common knowledge that Tuikilakila's two sons, Vakalolo and Mai Tavuki, were contending for political precedence. The rivalry was to absorb their attention until 1855.

Sefanaia of Lomaloma took the opportunity to make peace with the Tui Nayau in December 1852.[64] Ma'afu and Vuetasau now realized the time was favourable to increase their influence at Vanua Balavu. Independently of the wishes of the Tui Nayau and the missionaries, they headed a fleet of about eight large canoes which left in early March 1853, but they were driven back by contrary winds.[65] When war broke out, supposedly between the Christians and non-Christians at Lomaloma in April 1854,[66] Ma'afu was to become involved to his own advantage. After Sefanaia and sixteen other Christians were killed at Lomaloma, the remaining Christians fled to Susui Island from where the

62. Lyth to his father and mother, 27 July 1852, 83-84; Lyth, *Voyaging Journal 1852*, IV, 30 June 1852, 34, 36; Lyth, *Journal 1852*, 15 July 1852, 32. Tuikilakila's conciliatory attitude may have been encouraged by Cakobau's refusal to allow the Butoni to assist him against Lakeba. See Lyth, *Voyage Reminiscences* 25 May-14 July 1852 in his *Voyaging Journal*, IV, 8.
63. Lyth, *Journal 1852*, 11 August 1852, 37; Lyth, *Journal 1852-1853*, 25 November 1852, 50.
64. Lyth, *Journal 1852-1853*, 7 December 1852, 54; Lyth *Day-book 1852-1854*, 7 December 1852, 12-13.
65. Lyth, *Journal 1852-1853*, 8 and 12 February, 4 March 1853, 76-77, 79, 82; Lyth, *The Vanuabalavu Doings in his Day-book 1852-1854*, 84, 87-88, 94-95.
66. For an account of the cause, see Reid, 'Crusaders', 67.

teachers applied to the missionaries at Lakeba for protection. In turn the missionaries asked Ma'afu to relieve the Christians at Susui.[67] Nearly four years later Ma'afu tried to legitimize his involvement by asserting an i taukei, Mafoa the ambassador (mataki?) of Lomaloma, had asked him for his help. He contended he had only complied because the Tui Nayau had already refused assistance.[68] When Ma'afu reached Susui he returned the refugees to Lomaloma village, around which he began to build a fence. Before it was completed, Ma'afu asserted one of the Tongans and some of the Christians were killed while they were going to bathe. The next day Ma'afu sailed to Mualevu, where the enemy had gathered, and demanded the murderers be given up. When his request was refused, he attacked and defeated them.[69] Again Ma'afu's evidence is suspect. The enemy may not have initiated hostilities, but such an attack would justify Ma'afu's actions as a response to aggression by the other side.

Domestic problems among the i Sokula and the conflict among the people of Vanua Balavu had given Ma'afu his chance to gain more power in northern Lau. Ma'afu later asserted he held Vanua Balavu as a Tongan possession from 1854. He argued that the presentation of i soro, consisting of tabua and qele (earth), by the people of both Mualevu and Lomaloma had given him their leadership.[70] Meanings of i soro were open to interpretation, however; an i soro could have different implications for the various parties concerned. Ma'afu chose to regard these particular i soro as gifts of both land and

67. Calvert, Fiji and the Fijians, II, 105.

68. Statement of Ma'afu.

69. Statement of Ma'afu.

70. Petitioner's Plea by Ma'afu in Report of Proceedings, February 1865.

people, whereas it is doubtful the presenters saw the i soro in such a light. As two i taukei explained in 1865, they had 'wished to save [their] lives', or it had been done 'through friendship'. [71] Ma'afu possessed the strength, however, to enforce his wishes. He sent Samate and Tavaki (or Vatanitawake) to Somosomo to inform Raivalita, now the Tui Cakau, that he had conquered both vanua of Mualevu and Lomaloma, whose people had given their land and themselves to him. Raivalita is said to have responded that he was pleased with the arrangement, though there had been no need to inform him because his father Tuikilakila had given the lands to Ma'afu already. [72] If Raivalita did make such a statement, he may have had little choice. For Ma'afu presented Raivalita with a fait accompli which he could not hope to dispute effectively. Raivalita was in no position to defend northern Lau from the encroachment of Ma'afu as the i Sokula were still engaged in civil war. [73]

After Ma'afu subjugated northern Lau in 1854, it has been said he stayed at Lomaloma in order to establish his government, returning to Lakeba about a year later when King George of Tonga arrived in 1855. While there Ma'afu is said to have assumed direct control of Vanua Balavu and the adjacent islands. He had houses built for himself and his followers at Lomaloma, and appointed Tongan magistrates, other officials, and adequate supporters to maintain his government, supervise the building project and protect the missionary establishment. [74] There does not appear to be any contemporary source which describes or even mentions the settlement of Tongans and

71. Evidence of Mafua and the Tui Mavana in Report of Proceedings, February 1865.
72. Petitioner's Plea by Ma'afu, and evidence of Samate in Report of Proceedings, February 1865.
73. Evidence of Samate in Report of Proceedings, February 1865. Samate remembered that Raivalita replied he was at war with Vanua Levu.

the establishment of the town. In 1864 Calvert did not consider the Tongans had a fixed settlement where they could plant, build more permanent houses, a church and schools, or have suitable laws. Furthermore, he did not consider Vanua Balavu was subject to the Tongans at this time; although 'protected' by the Tongans, the inhabitants were still 'in abject subjection' to Cakaudrove.[75] The permanence of the settlement of Lomaloma would appear to be exaggerated, therefore.

THE i Sokula were to lose the island of Rabe, located off Tunuloa, to the Tongans in 1855, the year following Ma'afu's successful involvement in Vanua Balavu. Led by descendants of the i Sokula who had established their own separate lineage, the people of Rabe were said to be disputing the authority of the i Sokula at Wairiki and Somosomo.[76] Tradition has it that, during the unrest which followed Tuikilakila's murder, the kai Rabe were deceived into killing two members of the i Sokula. The victims were Mara (half-brother and supporter of Raivalita) and Leve. Their canoe had capsized near Rabe and Mai Namasirua, obviously a supporter of the faction which was against Raivalita, had refused to pick them up. Instead he informed

74. G.V. Maxwell to Colonial Secretary, 11 August 1913 in NLC, Report of the Chairman, 9; A.P. and P.J. Lessin, Village of the conquerors. Sawana: a Tongan village in Fiji (Department of Anthropology, University of Oregon 1970), 15.
75. Extract from a letter by Calvert, 26 January 1864 in WMN (Sydney), April 1864, 428; Calvert, second note-book labelled Missions, 5 November 1864.
76. Seemann, Viti, 245.

the Tui Rabe that the two turaga had been on their way to ask the Tui Macuata to help them attack Rabe. If they reached land, they should be killed.

After the combined Fijian and Tongan forces defeated Cakobau's enemies at Kaba in April 1855, King George helped the i Sokula attack Rabe. As there had been a report that the Rabe people had killed and eaten some Tongans whose canoe had been blown to the island while on a voyage from Lakeba to Tonga, George may have been disposed to punish Rabe anyway.[77] A force comprising Tongans, warriors from Cakaudrove and from Bau (under Cakobau) went to the island where the Rabe people, who were supported by the Tunuloans, killed and then ate some members of the expedition who had gone on shore to make enquiries. The dead included two Tongan chiefs and Seruiraturaga, a prominent member of the i Sokula. When the expedition returned to Somosomo, Raivalita presented the island to George with the request that he destroy the people. The combined forces attacked. In the hostilities many were taken prisoner, 280 or more were killed, while 300 escaped by swimming to Vanua Levu. Sixty drowned while trying to swim to safety. Koroivonu, the capital of Tunuloa, may also have been attacked. The prisoners were given by George to the Tui Cakau, but he refused them on the grounds they would only be eaten at Somosomo.[78]

Some seven years later, the missionary Jesse Carey was to claim that this victory over Rabe was of great importance in the history of Cakaudrove. He asserted that Raivalita had 'been established' as

77. Calvert, Journal, VII, 22 September 1855; P. Michel to his parents, 28 February 1856 in Annals of the Propagation of the Faith (English edition), XVIII (1857), 132.

78. Calvert, Journal, VII, 22 September 1855; Calvert to E. Hoole, 20 October 1855 in WMS, Letters from Feejee, VII.

paramount of Cakaudrove by the Tongan king.[79] There may be some truth in this. Rabe had become involved in the succession dispute of the i Sokula when they had killed the two turaga. Presumably Raivalita was too weak to punish the kai Rabe himself; the civil war had depleted his power resources. So he took advantage of the Tongan presence and the Tongan desire to punish Rabe for the massacre of the Tongans. The victory over Rabe may have contributed to Raivalita's power position. But the involvement of Tunuloa argues against such a narrow interpretation of the events. The Tunuloa people were supporters of Raivalita, their vasu; they were not his enemies. They may have gone to Rabe as part of a plot, perhaps concocted by Cakobau, to kill the Tongan king. If such a conspiracy did exist, there is no evidence to suggest the Tui Cakau was a party to it.[80]

After Rabe was taken, the expedition returned to Taveuni where George was entertained by the i Sokula before he and Ma'afu proceeded to windward.[81] At Vanua Balavu, Ma'afu formally presented his king with the Fijian islands he had acquired. In 1853 George had appointed him, together with another Tongan chief, the governors of the Tongans

79. Evidence of Carey in Report of the commission appointed to inquire into the conduct of H.M. Consul at Fiji (Sydney 1862) in F058/108.

80. While George was first at Rabe, Calvert understood that a man from Tunuloa had gone on board the Cakobau carrying a club with which he intended to kill George, but he lost his nerve. When this plan failed then Koroi Rakai, a leading Tunuloa turaga, ordered the deaths on shore. Thomas West, a Wesleyan missionary in Tonga, also believed this version. See West to General Secretaries, 1 November 1855 in WMSMS, Letters from Feejee, VII. The Catholic missionaries believed the attempt on George's life to be a plot of Cakobau, who had become nervous of the increasing influence of the Tongans. Cakobau went to Tunuloa and Narewa, ostensibly to gather a force to help in the attack on Rabe. Instead, to prevent the Tongans adding Rabe to their possessions, he requested them to go and protect the people of Rabe. See E. Witte (ed), Na Ekelesia Katolika mai Viti: a kenai tukutuku (Lyon and Paris 1936), 63-64.

81. Maxwell to Colonial Secretary, 11 August 1913, 9.

who resided in Fiji. As the younger chief, Ma'afu had taken the active role. George now added to his responsibilities by entrusting him with the supervision of these conquered islands.[82] As well as Vanua Balavu and the smaller islands which belonged to the vanua of Lomaloma and Mualevu, they also included the Yasayasa Moala. The island group of Moala, Matuku and Totoya, not strictly subject to any other land though it acknowledged the power superiority of Bau, had been acquired by 1853. At Moala and Matuku, Ma'afu had interfered in leadership disputes which had come to be seen as disputes between Christians and non-Christians, while Totoya had not resisted Ma'afu's aggrandizement which was undertaken in the name of Christianity.[83]

CLEARLY the i Sokula had reason to worry about Ma'afu's aggrandizement. But they had not lost their control of northern Lau. They still received tribute although, at a later date, Ma'afu was to try to make as little of this as possible. He argued that, between 1855 and 1862, Golea visited Vanua Balavu only once, when he begged a canoe from him.[84] Without doubt Ma'afu, a frequent visitor perhaps, benefited from the wealth he could levy from northern Lau. Presumably the i Sokula and Ma'afu vied with each other for the wealth which northern Lau produced, yet no open conflict occurred. Despite Ma'afu's strong position in northern Lau, and the possible competition

82. Statement of Ma'afu. George's words were translated to have been 'Take care of them for the Tongan Government'.
83. For an account of Ma'afu's activities, see Reid, 'Crusaders', 59-64.
84. Evidence of David of Lomaloma and the Tui Mavana in Report of Proceedings, February 1865; Statement of Ma'afu.

for its resources, the relationship between the i Sokula and the Tongan continued cordial. It is probable the i Sokula thought an alliance with Ma'afu was preferable to one with Cakobau, who had been involved in the murder of Tuikilakila.

In 1859 the i Sokula still favoured Ma'afu over Cakobau. In this year they combined to besiege Solevu, located between the territories of Bua and Cakaudrove. Solevu, a vanua which acknowledged Bauan supremacy, had been fighting Nadi in Bua for several years. In 1857, Cakobau had twice assisted Tui Bua and Nadi against the Solevu people who were being encouraged by Cakobau's enemies led by his classificatory brother at Bau.[85] When the half-Tongan Tui Bua asked Cakobau for assistance, Cakobau was too preoccupied with his own problems to be able to oblige. Ma'afu, with Cakobau's acquiescence, assisted instead, but he undertook much more than the Bauan leader had anticipated.

First Ma'afu interfered in the Macuatan leadership dispute. The Tui Bua had become involved when he had allied himself with Bete against Ritova. With Bete and the Tui Bua, Ma'afu's forces devastated the coast of Macuata as far east as Udu Point, even journeying to Cikobia Island in the north. Only when Ritova fled to Solevu did Ma'afu turn his attention to the area where Cakobau had approved his involvement. Many villages were destroyed; Solevu, where Ritova, the Wainunu and Solevu peoples had gathered, was besieged for three months before its occupants surrendered. Ma'afu then gave Ritova into the

85. J.S. Royce, Diary 1855-1862, 24 August 1856, 14 May, 20 June, 17 and 22 July, 17 August 1857, 17 and 21 February, 19 and 30 April, 8 May 1858, 38-39, 63, 66-68, 97-98, 104, 106; J. Binner to Eggleston, 20 April 1857 in AWMIS, Fiji letters 1855-1903; extract from a letter by J. Crawford, 15 July 1857 in WMN (Sydney), April 1858, 56.

custody of Raivalita the Tui Cakau, who had participated in this latter part of Ma'afu's campaign. Raivalita gave Ritova asylum at Matei, a land of Wainikeli in northern Taveuni, where he stayed with his father's people.[86]

As a result of his co-operation, the Tui Cakau was appointed to the newly-created though nominal position of Tui Vanua Levu; his sphere of influence was supposed to include Vanua Levu, and the windward islands of northern and southern Lau. In this manner Ma'afu allayed the fears of the Tui Cakau, but he made no attempt to placate Cakobau. Bau lost its hegemony over Solevu, which was given to the Tui Bua, while much of Bau's influence in Macuata was destroyed by Ma'afu's interference. Cakobau had supported Ritova who was now dispossessed of his lands, while Bete was installed as the Tui Macuata. Bete received one half of Macuata to rule while Bonaveidogo, a relative and former supporter of Ritova, received the other.[87]

The Tui Cakau continued to support Ma'afu, who acquired more lands which owed ultimate allegiance to Bau. Beqa Island and Rakiraki (northern Viti Levu), immediately subject to Rewa and Viwa respectively, were surprised into submission. It was postulated that Ma'afu would cause unrest in both these lands, and so be able to fight Bau when it became involved.[88] At Kadavu Island, divided between

86. Evidence of Marie Lorraine Favre, Tui Bua and Tabu Lovoni (Buli Wainunu) in LCC R586; Royce, *Diary 1855-1862*, 25 May and 10 August 1859, 144-45, 152; W. Wilson to Eggleston, 12 June 1859 in AWMNS, *Fiji letters 1855-1903*; Pritchard, *Polynesian reminiscences; or life in the south Pacific Islands* (London 1886), 225-30; Seemann, *Viti*, 246-49.
87. Joseph Waterhouse to Williams, 4 October 1859 in *Letters to Williams*, IV; Pritchard, *Polynesian reminiscences*, 230; Seemann, *Viti*, 249. A title Tui Vanualevu was already held by the head of the Teiteiciva people, within the *matanitu* of Cakaudrove. The Teiteiciva live on the western side of Natewa Bay.

Bau and Rewa, the people of two vanua 'gave' themselves to him; Ma'afu forced everyone to accept Christianity and he interfered with the leadership positions. In late 1859 William Pritchard, the British consul, claimed Cakobau asked him to restrain Ma'afu. Recently returned from Britain whence he had taken an offer of cession, Pritchard determined, until the British government made a decision, to retain the balance of power as it had been when the offer was made by Cakobau in 1858.[89]

In the events that followed, Raivalita the Tui Cakau still clung to Ma'afu. In December 1859, Pritchard visited Raivalita at Wairiki to persuade him to ratify the Deed of Cession. Raivalita replied his territory was too insignificant to give to England; he wanted to remain independent, and so did the other members of the i Sokula. But Pritchard maintained England was going to take Fiji anyway, and that Raivalita's abstention would be construed, at a later date, to mean he was unfriendly to England. Pritchard then sent for the turaga of Bua, Macuata and Lakeba, and he insisted they go, with Raivalita, to Levuka where they would ratify the Cession.[90]

At Ovalau, Raivalita and the other turaga were still reluctant to sign. One observer recalled that Pritchard said to the Tui Cakau 'Take the pen, and write that you give the land to the Queen'. When Raivalita refused, Pritchard responded 'If you will not take the pen and make your mark, that you will give your land to the Queen, I will put you out of power, that you may not continue to be Tui Cakau.' Even

88. Pritchard, Polynesian reminiscences, 231; Seemann, Viti, 249-50.
89. In 1858 Cakobau's main concern had been the payment of an American compensation claim.
90. Evidence of Joseph Waterhouse in Report of the commission.

though Pritchard threatened him three times, Raivalita still refused, as did the Tui Bua. Eventually Ma'afu, understanding that they had little choice, requested them to sign.[91] The British warship Elk was anchored off Ovalau; its presence also persuaded Ma'afu to sign a document in which he rejected the lands which had been offered to him, and renounced all Tongan claims in Fiji.[92] Apparently Pritchard had also threatened he would have King George remove Ma'afu from Fiji.[93]

Within ten months, however, the Tui Cakau had ceased to support Ma'afu. The reasons for the change are unclear, but the i Sokula decided to back Ritova's candidacy for the headship of Macuata. Pritchard maintained he had been approached by Ritova who asserted that some paramounts, including Cakobau and the Tui Cakau, wished to help him regain his position through the use of force. The Tui Cakau certainly did. In October 1860 a meeting was held at Waikava, a Cakaudrove village on Vanua Levu, where it was decided Ritova should be allowed to return to Macuata and be repossessed of his family lands. His rival Bete would continue to hold the title of Tui Macuata, but he was to have nothing to do with the Tongans. The Tui Cakau gave Ritova the use of his largest canoe; Golea accompanied him home.[94]

91. Evidence of Joeli Bulu in Report of the commission.
92. Pritchard, Polynesian Reminiscences, 233-34; Seemann, Viti, 250.
93. Evidence of E. Martin in Report of the commission.
94. Pritchard, Polynesian reminiscences, 339-41; Seemann, Viti 234, 257, 259-64; evidence of Wainiqolo in Report of the commission.

After the murder of Bete civil war broke out again in Macuata, and Ma'afu interfered on behalf of Katonivere, Bete's son. He also turned his attention to the Yasawas (western Fiji) and the area around Bau, as well as pressing Cakobau to pay \$60,000 or £12,000 in compensation for the Tongan assistance in 1855. When Ma'afu began to talk of fighting Bau, the Wesleyan missionaries and the official American representative urged Pritchard to visit King George. Pritchard claimed that Tonga wished to subjugate Fiji. Before his return to Fiji, the British consul extracted a promise from George that Tongans would not fight until the question of cession had been decided.[95]

BUT a major confrontation involving Tongans and Fijians did occur -- in Cakaudrove. In July 1862, while Ma'afu was in Tonga attending a meeting of the Parliament, Wainiqolo (Ma'afu's deputy) attacked Taveuni where he captured Raivalita, the Tui Cakau. A second attack on the forces of Golea, his younger brother and effective leader, at Wairiki was unsuccessful. Wainiqolo was killed, his army defeated.

The Wesleyan missionaries believed the immediate cause of the confrontation was the involvement of Cakaudrove in Macuatan affairs.[96] Raivalita and Golea had continued to ally themselves with Ritova, the rival of the Tongan protege Katonivere. Yet they

95. Pritchard, Polynesian reminiscences, 282-90, 335-39; Seemann, Viti, 268-69; extracts from the despatches of Commodore Seymour in Seemann, Viti, 270-73; Binner to Eggleston, 31 December 1860 and J. Fordham to Eggleston, 2 February 1861 in AWMMS, Fiji letters 1855-1903; Calvert to Eggleston, 2 and 18 October 1861 in AWMMS, Correspondence of the Revs J.E. Moulton, J.B. Watkin and J. Calvert, 1855-1863, 1872-1879.

still hesitated to oppose Tongan interests in Macuata actively. When Ritova's son Yaya, vasu levu to Cakaudrove, appealed for help, the request had to be made five times before the Tui Cakau assented.[97] The reality is different; the Tongans had, in fact, allied themselves with Kuila, a member of the i Sokula who wished to control Cakaudrove himself. Together, through intrigue and open force, the Tongans and Kuila tried to destroy the power of Raivalita and Golea.

The Tongans under Ma'afu had made a habit of interfering in leadership disputes by supporting the contender who professed Wesleyanism. In this dispute, Wainiqolo remained true to form. The Wesleyan missionaries themselves saw it as a war of Wesleyanism versus heathenism; they did not recognize it as a leadership dispute. Kuila was the 'Chief who is taking part with the Christians', while Golea was characterized as a 'thorough heathen' whose goal was the extermination of Christianity.[98] Inexplicably, the missionaries chose to ignore Raivalita's long-standing profession of Wesleyanism; he was firmly Christian in 1859. But, to their annoyance, Raivalita had refused to follow them across the Somosomo Strait to Waikava where they shifted in September 1860, despite an earlier promise that he would do so.[99] Golea, too, had never subverted the missionaries' activities. He was later characterized as a friend who had helped the mission in many ways, although he had decided not to convert.[100]

96. Calvert to Eggleston, 24 July 1862 in AWMMS, Correspondence of Moulton, Watkin and Calvert; extract from a letter by Carey, 24 October 1862 in WMN (Sydney), April 1863, 363; Calvert, Journal, XIa, 8 December 1863.
97. [L. Fison], Joel Bulu: the autobiography of a native minister (London 1871), 60.
98. T. Baker, Diary 1860-1866, 13, 15, 18, 28 and 29 July 1862, 136, 138, 142, 143.
99. Joseph Waterhouse to Williams, 4 October 1859; letter from Carey, 30 November 1860 in WMN (Sydney), April 1861, 256.

Moreover, the missionaries were not thoughtless enough to assume Kuila's Cakaudrove supporters joined him to defend the new faith. Instead they recognized, correctly, that his supporters wished to back the faction likely to win.[101] Yet they still persisted in characterizing the war as one between the old and the new religions.

Ma'afu was always to deny any prior knowledge of the Tongan involvement. The United States Commercial Agent, Dr. Isaac Mills Brower who was an unreliable witness, contended that Wainiqolo had told the settler J.B. Macomber he had Ma'afu's full consent to attack the Tui Cakau. Brower himself thought it inconceivable that Wainiqolo would attack without Ma'afu's permission.[102] Pritchard, a biased opponent of the Tongans, also believed in Ma'afu's complicity. He asserted that Kuila sent a letter to Ma'afu in Tonga. Written by Joeli Bulu, the Tongan teacher resident at Waikava where Kuila gathered his forces, it requested Tongan help in the name of the missionary Carey.[103]

The evidence available points to an early collaboration between Kuila and Wainiqolo. First Kuila deliberately set about undermining the allegiance of subordinate Cakaudrove peoples to Raivalita and Golea by encouraging them to refuse to assist the Tui Cakau in the war he intended to become involved in at Macuata. Kuila exploited the change in the Tui Cakau's policy, for Raivalita was now supporting the

100. [Fison], Joel Bulu, 59.

101. Baker, Diary 1860-1866, 17 July 1862, 138.

102. Evidence of Brower in LCC R930. Thurston disagreed with other information given by Brower, and this, too, may have been false. See his memorandum dated 4 December 1880 in the same source.

103. Polynesian reminiscences, 344-45. Later it was denied that Bulu had ever requested help from his countryman. See [Fison], Joel Bulu, 61.

faction which Cakaudrove had helped Ma'afu defeat in 1859.[104] Wainiqolo proceeded to Cakaudrove long before Kuila made his 'official' request for assistance on 13 July 1862. A report, received on that day, asserted Golea was returning from Raviravi in Macuata to attack Waikava, Kuila's stronghold.[105] As it is unlikely Golea had left for Cakaudrove at this time, credibility is given to Pritchard's claim that Kuila fabricated the report to gain more support for his challenge.[106] If so, the subterfuge had the desired effect; the following day people began to arrive at Waikava in search of security inside the defences.[107]

The request for help went, not to the Tongan settlement in Lomaloma, but to Laucala Island where Wainiqolo had arrived already. Wainiqolo's preparations were formidable. He brought with him people from the islands of northern Lau. Only the Yacatans, secure in their virtually impenetrable fortress, successfully refused to join him against their paramount the Tui Cakau. The rest came unwillingly: Wainiqolo had given them no choice.[108] Obviously the Tongan came intending to fight Raivalita and Golea. But he waited for Kuila's request for assistance, a request which Kuila made to appear a response to provocation. A later Wesleyan account explained Wainiqolo's prior arrival at Laucala resulted from threats which Golea had made before he left for Macuata. He would punish, on his return, those who refused to co-operate. Frightened, the Laucalans sent for the Tongans. Wainiqolo, too, claimed the Tui Laucala and two other

104. Extract from a letter by Carey, 24 October 1862, 363.

105. Baker, Diary 1860-1866, 13 July 1862, 136.

106. Polynesian reminiscences, 344. Wainiqolo made his attack on Taveuni before Golea even reached Natewa.

107. Baker, Diary 1860-1866, 14 July 1862, 137.

108. Evidence of Swanston in LCC R930.

turaga had written asking him for protection.[109] But, today the kai Laucala deny such an involvement. Even without the threats, however, the defiant peoples would have had grounds to believe they could expect punishment. Their refusals to participate in the Macuatan campaign would have been interpreted accurately by Raivalita and Golea -- as challenges to the authority of the Tui Cakau.

On receiving the message from Kuila, Wainiqolo acted promptly. The loyal villages on Taveuni, vulnerable while the warriors were absent, were taken on the following day. There was no resistance; no lives were lost. Wairiki and Somosomo were among the villages which capitulated, and the inhabitants were settled in three large towns.[110] The Tui Cakau, already seriously ill with leprosy, was captured at Somosomo, where he had been left with only old men, women and children, and taken as a prisoner to Laucala. Here he was said to have been subjected to ill treatment and mockery.[111] A few months later, Wainiqolo remembered Raivalita had enquired why he had been captured. Wainiqolo had replied 'it was right to do so since our Chief [George of Tonga] had appointed him the Christian Chief, and he had not acted properly'.[112] That is, he had thwarted Tongan interests by supporting their enemy in Macuata. To assert that George, during his visit in 1855, had appointed Raivalita as the Christian head is erroneous. No doubt George had enjoined Wesleyanism on Raivalita, but he had not appointed him head of Cakaudrove. Not

109. [Fison], Joel Bulu, 61; evidence of Wainiqolo in Report of the commission.
110. Baker, Diary 1860-1866, 15 and 25 July 1862, 137, 141; Calvert to Eggleston, 24 July 1862; Anon, History of the Catholic Mission, Wairiki, 2.
111. F. Terrien, History of the Catholic Mission at Wairiki Around the first fifty years, 2.
112. Evidence of Wainiqolo in Report of the Commission.

content with raiding the northern half of Taveuni, Wainiqolo also surprised the vanua of Nasavusavu. The leading villages of Nukubalavu and Savusavu were burnt, the wife and family of the Tui Nasavusavu (who had been left under the protection of the Tunisa of Nagigi) were taken prisoner. All men, who had not accompanied the Tui Nasavusavu to Raviravi, were pressed into the army of Wainiqolo.

Golea first heard about Wainiqolo's arrival at Laucala, so traditions remember, while on his way back to Taveuni. He decided then to go to Natewa where, if necessary, he would defend himself. At Natewa he was informed of the devastation at Taveuni and Nasavusavu but, when his opponents made no further move, Golea was able to shift closer to his enemies. His destination was Koroivonu in Tunuloa, but he was forced to venture even closer to his enemies when the Koroivonu people would not allow him to use their village as a fortress. He had little alternative but to push on. Golea chose to go to Korodogo in Naqaiqai Bay, and from there he moved to Vanaira Bay, both lands belonging to the loyal Mabuco people.[113] Here the local people still loyal to the Tui Cakau were to gather before moving to Wairiki, Taveuni. Colea's stay at Vanaira Bay was only temporary for, two days after his arrival, Wainiqolo arrived at Waikava. Rather than meet the combined army of his opponents on Vanua Levu, Golea crossed the strait to Wairiki where he began to build defences at several sites. On 29 July Golea sent a message to Waikava, demanding Kuila, Wainiqolo, and the Tongan teacher Joeli Bulu all go to Wairiki. Inevitably, they refused. They replied that if Golea himself did not go to Waikava,

113. Baker, Diary 1860-1866, 25 July 1862, 141. At Vanaira Bay a defended site was located fifty yards from the beach and fifty yards from the creek. It was a ring ditch fort, 150 feet in diameter with a moat which was forty feet wide. One large yavu was within the moat and a couple outside. Another large fortress was situated on a high hill farther back. Information from FM, Archaeological files, site Val 14/1.

then they would consider it a declaration of war.[114]

The Wesleyan missionaries considered Golea had made an 'unjust' declaration of war. His message implied that the party at Waikava was the aggressor, a viewpoint with which they did not agree. They chose, for example, to ignore the implications of a military review which had taken place the previous day. 'This is not merely a review, but an actual preparation for war in a day or two' thought the missionary Thomas Baker at the time.[115] Twelve days earlier Kuila's faction had sacked Yalavi, a small village located in Fawn Harbour which belonged to supporters of Raivalita and Golea.[116] And, of course, the Tongans had opened hostilities when they attacked Taveuni and Nasavusavu. Golea's only inflammatory action, apart from possible threats made before he departed to Macuata, had been supposedly to send a message, another fabrication perhaps, which reached Waikava on 19 July. It informed the enemy, implausibly since he was then some distance away, that he intended to attack the next day.[117] Even if Golea had sent such a message, it could not be considered to have provoked the war as the Tongans had already been asked, officially, to assist.

In late August the combined army of Kuila and Wainiqolo assembled at Somosomo to attack Wairiki. Much the stronger force, they numbered about 1500 warriors, while Golea's supporters were said to number only about 250.[118] Faced with such unfavourable odds, tradition records

114. Baker, Diary 1860-1866, 25 and 29 July 1862, 141, 143.

115. Baker, Diary 1860-1866, 28 July 1862, 142. An attack did result. On the last day of July, four to five hundred warriors went to attack the enemy near Viani. When the approaching force was sighted, the opposition fled. See Baker, Diary 1860-1866, 31 July and 1 August 1862, 144.

116. Baker, Diary 1860-1866, 16 July 1862, 138.

117. Baker, Diary 1860-1866, 19 July 1862, 139.

the party at Wairiki decided to make an i soro. This Wainiqolo received, but still refused to give up the attack. To the surprise of observers and participants alike, the assault was unsuccessful. As the Tongans usually forced the press-ganged Fijians to lead assaults,[119] their unwillingness to attack their paramount's supporters was likely to have affected the outcome. About sixty of the attackers, eleven of whom were Tongan, died. Kuila escaped back to Waikava; Wainiqolo was killed, tradition recalls, by Rakuro, Golea's half-brother; Golea himself was wounded twice. One wound incapacitated his right arm for the rest of his life, and this injury gave him his names Tabaramusu and Ligaramusu, The (Upper) Arm Which is Broken in Two. Golea's victorious force then proceeded to Laucala where they liberated the Tui Cakau.[120]

The success of Golea's party meant the return of many people who had supported his cousin Kuila. It had been wiser to support Kuila when it appeared he had more chance of winning; now it was politic to side with Golea. Triumphant, Golea demanded Kuila be given up. But his rival was not surrendered. Like the missionaries, Kuila and his remaining supporters waited for Ma'afu to arrive. The missionaries hoped Ma'afu would be able to 'cause quietness'. [121] No doubt Kuila expected Ma'afu would spare him from the usual punishment for an unsuccessful challenge -- death. Faced with such a stalemate, and

118. Calvert to Eggleston, 24 July 1862.

119. Pritchard, Polynesian reminiscences, 291.

120. Calvert to Eggleston, 24 July 1862; Calvert to Eggleston, 4 September 1862 in AWMSIS, Correspondence of Moulton, Watkin and Calvert; W. Collis to Fordham, 3 December 1862 in AWMSIS, FIJI letters 1855-1903. Golea's wounds were serious. At one time Joeli Bulu did not know if he would recover. See Collis to Fordham, 3 December 1862.

121. Calvert to Eggleston, 24 July 1862.

unwilling to attack Waikava, Raivalita and Golea had little option but to wait for Ma'afu's return as well.[122] Support for Raivalita and Golea increased steadily. By mid-October Calvert reported 'most parts of Vanua Levu' felt 'embittered' against the Tongans and were 'disposed to unite against them'.[123]

Yet, the Wesleyan missionaries still saw the Tongans as the saviours of Wesleyanism, and did not recognize the leadership struggle which was taking place among the i Sokula. They considered the war was between religions, and saw no inconsistency when their opposition changed. Instead of working the iniquity of heathenism, Golea was now representing Catholicism, which was equally objectionable. Before Golea crossed to Taveuni, he had met Father Lorenzo Favre who had given Golea, and several other turaga, crosses which were to assure them success. Golea is said to have promised to become Catholic if he won the war. After the victory at Wairiki, Golea kept his word and announced he had embraced Catholicism.[124] He had every reason to change -- the Wesleyan missionaries and the Wesleyan Tongans continued to support his rival Kula. The priest took up residence at Wairiki, where Golea ordered his brothers and a number of other people to become Catholic.[125] Raivalita and Golea, both Catholic, were now

122. Calvert to Eggleston, 29 August 1862 in WMS, Official correspondence relating to Fiji 1856-1871.
123. Calvert to Eggleston, 13 October 1862 in WMS, Correspondence of Moulton, Watkin and Calvert.
124. Terrien, History of the Catholic Mission at Wairiki, 18. People in Cakaudrove still tell the story of the luck given by the cross, and the promise which Golea made. It was included in the Catholic history which was published in Fijian -- Vitte (ed), Na Ekelesia Katolika mai Viti -- and this is probably the source of the anecdote.
125. Calvert to G.S. Rowe, 3 March 1863 in WMS, Fifty-six letters and four fragments, apparently to G.S. Rowe 1861-1866.

said to have 'united' to destroy those connected with Wesleyanism, so that the alternative Christian religion would triumph.[126]

THE Wesleyan missionaries expected trouble from Raivalita and Golea; the Roman Catholic priest was supposedly encouraging them to hope for protection from the French.[127] But Raivalita soon ceased to be a problem. By early December he was dead of 'leprosy and a complication of diseases which [had] made him repulsively obnoxious to everyone who found it necessary to approach him.'[128] Thus he gained his name Baleinakovi, He Who Died of Leprosy. Shortly afterwards Ma'afu reached Waikava with a fleet consisting of King George's schooner and four canoes. All the people on Taveuni joined together ready to resist the Tongans, should they attack. The Wesleyan missionaries believed, correctly as it turned out, that Ma'afu came with strict orders from George not to fight.[129] But George did not intend to lose the lands Ma'afu claimed. Ma'afu was thought to have brought a document, which would confirm possession, to be signed by both the Tui Cakau and Ma'afu.[130]

126. Calvert to Eggleston, 13 October 1862. Pritchard was incorrect when he wrote Raivalita was Catholic before the disturbances. See his Polynesian reminiscences, 343.

127. Calvert to Eggleston, 29 August 1862; Calvert to Eggleston, 13 October 1862.

128. Extract from a letter by Carey, 24 October 1862, 363.

129. Calvert, Journal, IX, 14 January 1863.

130. Calvert to Eggleston, 20 December 1862 in WMSM, Official correspondence relating to Fiji 1856-1871.

Golea, now the Tui Cakau, and Ma'afu tentatively communicated with each other across the Somosomo Strait. Before the end of December, Ma'afu unsuccessfully requested Golea, three times, to meet him at Waikava. Ma'afu himself would not go to Wairiki, though he demonstrated his friendship by sending Golea a present of about 300 fathoms of sail mats. Frustrated at the impasse, Ma'afu sent the schooner Elenoa to George with a request for help. In Fiji it was believed George intended to arrive with a large army, and settle the affair if Ma'afu could not.[131] Both Golea and Ma'afu told Calvert they wanted peace, yet both prepared for war. Golea sent for more warriors to defend Wairiki;[132] Ma'afu did not prevent Tongan reinforcements from coming. To thwart Tongan designs in northern Lau, and to acquire ammunition in case of conflict, Golea sold Vanua Balavu and the islands within its reef to G.M. Henry on 19 January 1863.[133] Golea considered Wainiqolo's defeat gave him this right; any rights Ma'afu had achieved when he received i soro from Lomaloma and Mualevu had now been cancelled.[134] Another island singled out was Laucala, from where the Tongans had attacked Taveuni, and where his elder brother had been held captive. It was sold first, on 1 January 1863, to W. Beddoes and J.E. Macomber.[135] Rabe, too, was supposed to have been sold; Qamea Island, next to Laucala, was also

131. In preparation, George was said to have purchased 100 kegs of powder at Ha'apai. See Calvert, Journal, IX, 30 December 1862.
132. Calvert, Journal, IX, 4 January 1863; Calvert to Eggleston, 28 January 1863 in AWMIS, Correspondence of Moulton, Watkin and Calvert; Calvert to Rowe, 3 March 1863; letter from Carey, 9 February 1863 in WMN (Sydney), October 1863, 393-94.
133. Calvert to Eggleston, 28 January 1863; LCC R926.
134. Evidence of Samate in LCC R930; Calvert to Eggleston, 28 January 1863.
135. LCC R5 and R45.

for sale.[136]

The impasse prompted Cakobau to accede to the missionaries' request that he help them bring about peace. Since the offer of cession had been rejected, he wanted to prevent more Tongan gains.[137] In early February he and Calvert went to Wairiki, from where he decided to go to Waikava, despite the opposition of the *i Sokula* and his own Lasakau followers. When Ma'afu and Kuila finally agreed to accompany Cakobau back to Wairiki, Cakobau sent messengers to inform Golea. Golea replied he was eager for peace and, if necessary, he would make the journey to Waikava himself. His offer was accepted, but Golea's advisors prevented him from going. Ma'afu then made the journey to Wairiki with Cakobau and Calvert, arriving on 21 February.[138] Golea and Ma'afu agreed to peace on that same day, and two days later Kuila and Golea negotiated a truce. Calvert drew up a draft agreement in which they agreed to cease fighting, and to meet at Bau to form a government which would make laws common to all Fiji.[139] This was Calvert's attempt to bring about a union between

136. Calvert, Journal, IX, 21 January 1863. In 1860, Seemann claimed the Tui Cakau was able to pay the Tongans for their assistance in 1855, when Rabe had been 'given' to King George, and thus regained its possession. See his Viti, 245. There is no other corroborative evidence for this claim.
137. Calvert, Journal, IX, 1 January 1863.
138. Calvert to Rowe, 3 March 1863. In 1880 the land speculator G.M. Henry was to claim he was responsible for Ma'afu's conciliatory attitude. He had been appointed to carry letters from Pritchard, Calvert, and one from Europeans who had held a meeting at Levuka and decided to support the Tui Cakau. At Waikava, Henry told Ma'afu that the Europeans would combine with Cakaudrove and drive the Tongans out. Ma'afu decided to meet Golea and make peace, but first Henry went and made an i soro to Golea on Ma'afu's behalf. For his services, Golea agreed to sell Henry Navurevure. See LCC R923.
139. Calvert to Rowe, 3 March 1863. Calvert had first introduced the idea of a common government at a meeting of turaga held at Bau on 1 January 1863. See Calvert, Journal, IX, 1 January 1863.

the Fijians and Tongans. He felt the Tongan presence in Fiji would have to be accepted by the antagonistic Fijian paramounts such as Golea and Cakobau.[140]

But Ma'afu did not intend to give up his claims to land in Fiji. He immediately laid claim to Taveuni and Rabe, northern Lau, Lakeba and its dependencies, the Yasayasa Moala, Bua and the Yasawas, Macuata, Nadroga, Nukutubu (Rewa), Beqa, and Gasele, Bukelevu and Yawa at Kadavu.[141] His claims were extravagant; he obviously considered that any influence or involvement in local affairs gave him the right of suzerainty. His only claim to Taveuni could be the attack of Wainiqolo, yet Wainiqolo's forces had been defeated and Wainiqolo, himself, had been killed. To give added force to his claims, Ma'afu wrote to George who arranged for 1,000 Tongans to accompany him on a 'peaceful' expedition at the beginning of April. Europeans resident in Tonga were encouraging George to defeat Fiji, but when the official representatives of Britain and America in Fiji quickly informed the Tongan king that Europeans there were opposed to further warfare, George cancelled his expedition. Instead, he sent a governor and three judges to investigate.[142] George and Ma'afu could only protest, by letter, at Golea's sale of Vanua Balavu and its adjacent islands. George informed the British consul that the purchasers would hold the land at their own risk, while Ma'afu asked the consul not to record Vanua Balavu's sale.[143] In early May, Ma'afu wrote to the

140. The 'great object' in Calvert's life was to see the Tongans settled securely in Fiji, when he was sure they 'would be greatly influential for good'. See his second note-book labelled Missions, 5 November 1864.

141. Calvert, Journal, X, 23 February 1863. Nukutubu and Gasele belonged to Paula Vea, another Tongan chief who was a Wesleyan teacher.

142. Calvert to Rowe, 1 April 1863 in WMSMS, Fifty-six letters; Calvert to Eggleston, 28 March 1863 in Correspondence of Moulton, Watkin and Calvert.

consul again to inform him of the lands he claimed. They included northern and southern Lau, Macuata, Bua and the Yasawas, Nukutubu (Rewa), Beqa, and Kadavu. Taveuni was no longer on the list.[144]

In mid-August Golea, desperate to keep Ma'afu out of northern Lau which he would rather see in the hands of Europeans than Tongans, sold the islands of Mago and Kanacea to William Hennings and Charles Rebman respectively. Katafaga Island was also sold at this time to Hennings.[145] Both Golea and Cakobau united against the common threat of the Tongans. Cakobau, at the urging of a British settler, wrote and asked for French protection. Then he officially acknowledged Vanua Balavu and the islands within its reef were held by the Tui Cakau; the Cakaudrove paramount had the right to sell to G.M. Henry, and he approved of the sale.[146] A few weeks later, on 3 December 1863, three turaga from Vanua Balavu signed a declaration that Vanua Balavu was subject to the Tui Cakau who could dispose of it and its adjacent islands as he wished.[147]

GOLEA and Cakobau, supported by the British consul, were united against Ma'afu who could see the possibility of northern Lau being

143. George to W. Owen, 22 April 1863 and Ma'afu to Owen, 30 April 1863 in CP F4/Temp 1/I-357, 358.

144. Ma'afu to Owen, 4 May 1863 in CP F4/Temp 1/I-359.

145. All three were sold on 19 August 1863. See LCC R4 and R6; Young, Frontier society in Fiji 1858-1873 (Ph.D., University of Adelaide 1968), 87, 95n.

146. Calvert to Rowe, 23 September 1863; F. Langham to Eggleston, 26 August 1863 in AWMNS, Fiji letters 1855-1903; Cakobau's acknowledgement dated 11 November 1863 is in CP F4/Temp 1/I-257.

147. The declaration is to be found in CP F4/Temp 1/I-343.

lost to him; only the Wesleyan missionaries were sympathetic to his viewpoint. Calvert did his best to bring about a reconciliation between Golea and the Tongan, and doubtless Ma'afu could see the wisdom of breaking up the alliance of Cakobau and Golea. Calvert brought the Cakaudrove and Tongan leaders together at Kioa Island where Golea requested Ma'afu visit him at Wairiki to show they were no longer enemies. When Ma'afu's supporters objected, Ma'afu acted independently because he knew he needed Golea's friendship to retain northern Lau. On the night of 7 December, perhaps after informing Mai Kavula (the head matanivanua of Golea) that he would make the journey in secret, Ma'afu crossed the Somosomo Strait in a small paddling canoe.[148]

Peace was now confirmed. There is no record of the discussions, but it is known that Golea now changed his Macuatan policy and allied himself with Ma'afu against Ritova. Calvert explained, unconvincingly, that the Tui Cakau had realized Ritova and his son were the cause of all his troubles: Golea's alliance with Ritova had brought on the Tongan attack in the first place. More likely, however, Golea was enraged by Ritova's eldest son, Yaya, who had recently been making incursions into Udu Point, territory which Golea considered to be under his own sway. Yaya was attempting to expand his father's territory at the expense of Cakaudrove, an expansion which necessarily brought Ritova and Golea into conflict with each other.[149]

148. Calvert, Journal, XIa, 8 December 1863.

149. Calvert, Journal, XIa, 8 December 1863.

There was obviously an uneasy truce over northern Lau. In early January 1864 Golea visited Vanua Balavu with a 'great number' of his people. While there he took twelve or more canoes and stripped the land of food. Calvert considered more predatory visits were likely.[150] Towards the end of the year pressure from Ma'afu, for his control of Vanua Balavu to be recognized, increased. George had appointed Ma'afu the Tongan governor in Fiji. His instructions were to take possession of those lands claimed by conquest -- Vanua Balavu and the Yasayasa Moala; all Tongans were to assemble on Tongan land; taxes were to be levied. If Ma'afu experienced any difficulties in establishing Tongan rights, George would force them to be accepted.[151]

The new British consul, Captain H.M. Jones, put pressure on Cakobau and Ma'afu to reach some agreement. Cakobau finally agreed Ma'afu could take possession of Vanua Balavu and the Yasayasa Moala, and Jones told the Tongan to go and see about it.[152] In early December 1864, turaga of Vanua Balavu signed their lands away to the Tongan government. They stated that all the lands north of, and including Tuvuca, had belonged to the Tongan government for a long time and that Ma'afu, the representative of Tonga, was the only person with the right to sell their land.[153]

150. Extract from a letter by Calvert, 26 January 1864, 428. Ma'afu was to claim that Golea had asked his permission to levy tribute in Vanua Balavu. See evidence of Ma'afu in Report of Proceedings, February 1865.

151. Calvert to Rowe, 1 November 1864 in WMS, Fifty-six letters.

152. Calvert, second note-book labelled Missions, 23 November 1864; Calvert to Rowe, 29 November 1864 in WMS, Fifty-six letters.

153. The declaration was signed by the Vanua Balavu turaga on 9 December 1864. See CP F4/Temp 1/1-380.

But consul Jones disputed the validity of the document: he considered it had been signed both unwillingly and by inferior turaga. Messengers had been sent to the Tui Cakau with a request for protection from the Tongans. The Tongans could settle Moala since only Fijians were concerned, but Vanua Balavu was claimed by Henry who had purchased it from the Tui Cakau. Until he had investigated Henry's rights, the Tongans could not take possession of these islands.[154]

Within weeks the investigation was over, and Jones had decided in Ma'afu's favour. Raivalita had granted Vanua Balavu and the lands within the reef to Ma'afu; Golea had had no right to sell the islands to Henry.[155] At the proceedings, Golea had made no attempt to deny Ma'afu's possession of Vanua Balavu. He admitted Tuikilakila had given Vanua Balavu to the Tongan, that Raivalita had known about the 'gift', and that Ma'afu's rights derived from his involvement in 1854 were valid.[156] Apparently, Golea did not intend to upset Ma'afu whose friendship, rather than enmity, he now valued. According to the evidence of Samate, a matanivanua of Golea, Ma'afu had asked Golea to 'be goodnatured' and give him Vanua Balavu on which to live. Otherwise he would have to go to Uvea or Rotuma, because he could not return to Tonga. Ma'afu promised that his son would not inherit the islands, which would revert to Cakaudrove after his own death.[157]

154. Jones to Tupou Ha'apai (David Jabson Moss), 9 January 1865 in LCC R930.

155. Report of Proceedings, February 1865.

156. Evidence of Golea in Report of Proceedings, February 1865.

157. LCC R930. Samate claimed this conversation took place after the enquiry. As the enquiry favoured Ma'afu, and given Golea's generous attitude, it is more probable the conversation took place before the enquiry began, or at least before Golea gave evidence.

Such a request might have swayed Golea; his attitude during the investigation certainly suggests this. Obviously Golea had become agreeable to Ma'afu's control of Vanua Balavu, and the consul can have seen no problems in their personal relations for he authorized Golea and Ma'afu 'to restore peace and order' to Macuata. They could take any measures they considered necessary.[158]

AS the Tui Cakau remained friendly with Ma'afu, Cakobau felt threatened. He agreed to a meeting of the principal turaga, who gathered in May 1865, and it was decided to form the 'Confederation of Chiefs' which Calvert had first suggested in January 1863.[159] Laws were adopted, and Cakobau was unanimously chosen as the first president. 'The meeting was most harmonious -- far beyond the most sanguine expectations.' But, if Cakobau had hoped to be rid of the Tongans, he was mistaken. The meeting confirmed Ma'afu, absent although he had been invited by the consul, in his possession of Vanua Balivu and the Yasayasa Moala.[160] Obviously the Tui Cakau, along with the Tui Bua and Tui Nayau, had supported Ma'afu's claims; these turaga were three of the six paramounts who represented Fiji in the confederation.[161] Under these circumstances, Ma'afu valued his

158. The proclamation by Jones, dated 2 March 1865 is in CP F4/Temp 1/1-382.

159. Calvert, Journal, IX, 1 January 1863; Calvert to Rowe, 6 January 1863 in WMS, Fifty-six letters.

160. Calvert to S. Rabone, 9 August 1865 in WMN (Sydney), October 1865, 517-18.

161. The other three were the Vunivalu of Bau, the Roko Tui Droketi of Rewa and the Tui Macuata. See Calvert to Rabone, 9 August 1865.

friendship with Golea so much that he did not object when Golea sold the island of Naitauba to Charles Macfarland in October 1865.[162] Naitauba lay outside the reef enclosing Vanua Balavu, but Ma'afu had a claim to it based on Tukilakila's 'gift' of 1849.

Neither Cakaudrove nor Bua found their membership in the confederation advantageous, however. By the end of February 1867, both had withdrawn from the Tovata because of the oppressive attitude of the Bauans.[163] Ma'afu was to claim Cakaudrove and Bua were the originators of a new Tovata -- the Tovata i Lau (also known as the Tovata ko na Tokalau kei Viti) -- which included Cakaudrove, Bua, and northern and southern Lau. But Ma'afu had been involved in their decision to leave Cakobau's confederation. Before making the break, the Tui Cakau and the Tui Bua had consulted with Ma'afu and decided to form the new Tovata. It was Ma'afu's European secretary who informed the British consul of the decisions.[164]

Within months, however, the Tovata i Lau had collapsed. Its failure was precipitated by the Tui Nayau who withdrew his support in late May 1867, apparently afraid the alliance with Ma'afu would interfere with his relationship with King George.[165] Then the Tui Cakau's support began to waver, perhaps because Ma'afu could not act effectively without the backing of the Tui Nayau. Although Ma'afu tried to hold the Tovata i Lau together, he found he was opposed by many of the Europeans who considered him 'the root of all evil in

162. LCC R9.

163. Fiji Gazette, 30 August 1873, 2; Thurston to J.D. Lang, 23 October 1870 in Papers of the Rev J.D. Lang, IX.

164. R.S. Swanston to Consul, 26 February 1867 in CP F4/12/1-3.

165. Swanston to Consul, 25 September 1867 enclosing Tui Nayau, Lote Loganice and Lote Weele to Ma'afu, 28 May 1867 in CP F4/12/1-5.

Fiji'. So he abandoned his attempt to form an independent confederation, and informed the British consul that he would no longer become involved in any matter to leeward of Vanua Balavu.[166]

Though the Tovata i Lau had collapsed the Tui Cakau, as well as the Tui Bua, wished to retain Ma'afu's friendship. They both tried to involve Ma'afu in the internal affairs of their respective matanitu. But although they attempted to consult with the Tongan, he refused.[167]

THE Tui Cakau was to show further proof of his friendship for Ma'afu in late 1868. In the middle of this year, the chiefs of Tonga had decided their country should sever all connexions with Fiji: Ma'afu should live in Tonga and all Tongan possessions in Fiji should be sold. Their decision did not please either the Tui Bua or the Lakebans, Loganimoce and Jone Wesele, who had accompanied Ma'afu to Tonga. The Fijians protested, and requested Ma'afu be allowed to remain in Fiji. The assembled Tongan chiefs then ruled that, if Ma'afu could obtain proof his presence would be welcomed in Fiji, the government would hand over the Tongan possessions to him.[168]

166. Carey to Williams, 25 June 1867 in Carey, Letter-book 1867-1874, Ma'afu to Consul, 15 September 1867 in CP F4/12/1-4.

167. Swanston to K. Pritchette, 13 April 1868 in CP F4/12/1-6.

168. Swanston to Thurston, 8 August 1868 with enclosures in CP F4/12/1-7.

Golea the Tui Cakau does not appear to have objected to Ma'afu's gaining personal possession of Vanua Balavu. He, as well as the heads of Lakeba, Bua, and Macuata, signed documents which expressed a strong desire for Ma'afu to remain in Fiji.[169] When Ma'afu re-entered Fiji, he did so as an independent chief. On 3 February 1869, George had ceded all Tongan rights in Fiji, except the possession of Rabe which was for sale, to Ma'afu.[170]

The Tui Cakau's support of Ma'afu's presence in Fiji was to result in the permanent loss of northern Lau. When Ma'afu returned to Fiji, he set about reconstituting the Tovata i Lau. By the end of February southern Lau and Vanua Balavu were united, henceforth to be known as Lau. Ma'afu, himself, was publicly and formally installed with the title Tui Lau. All of the Tui Nayau's lands of southern Lau now acknowledged Ma'afu, while the Yasayasa Moala and Vanua Balavu were to go to him directly.[171] Then, in May, the Tui Cakau and other members of the previous Tovata i Lau accepted Ma'afu as a Fijian turaga. Ma'afu was recognized by the Fijians to hold the title of Tui Lau, and they also elected him head of the confederation.[172] The Tui Cakau had now lost Vanua Balavu and the islands within the reef, as well as the rest of northern Lau. Perhaps Golea still thought Cakaudrove would receive the islands back on the death of Ma'afu, but this did not happen. The possession of northern Lau never descended to Ma'afu's son, however; the islands remained with southern Lau under the headship of the Tui Nayau.

169. Swanston to Thurston, 5 June 1869 in CP F4/12/1-9.

170. Tupou Ha'apai to Thurston, 4 February 1869 in CP F4/12/1-9. Rabe was up for sale in Australia.

171. Swanston to Thurston, 25 February 1869 and Swanston to Thurston, 5 June 1869 in CP F4/12/1-9; agreement signed by the turaga of Lau, 15 February 1869 in LCC R952.

172. Swanston to Thurston, 5 June 1869.

THUS the i Sokula were deprived of northern Lau, a useful source of wealth and manpower. Their access to its power resources had been restricted from 1854, after which Ma'afu progressively tightened his hold on the territory. Ma'afu's influence over the Tui Nayau of Keiba had also restricted the wealth demands which Cakaudrove, and for a longer time Bau, had once been able to press in southern Lau. The loss of northern Lau illustrates well the constantly changing balance of power in Fiji. A leader such as Ma'afu, who was possessed of both political acumen and sufficient power resources, could achieve territory at the expense of established rulers, whose rights were subject to constant pressure.

CONCLUSION

Very few events of sociopolitical importance in Fiji took place in isolation. Networks of kinship and political relationships interconnected the political groupings; internal events inevitably involved outsiders since external assistance was invariably sought, and often willingly given. The aid of outsiders need not have been requested, however, because external turaga wished to increase their own access to power resources by expanding their influence and control over other peoples. Thus it was impossible to undertake an historical study of the matanitu of Cakaudrove without taking account of the other major power centres in Fiji, and the presence of the Tongans.

The history of Cakaudrove, indeed all Fiji, involves competition over power resources. All turaga were constantly engaged in defending, maintaining, and increasing their own resource base against the aggrandizement of other turaga, from their own group or outside. They showed great skill in dealing with matters of political importance. Fijian political activity conforms to F.G. Bailey's definition of political activity -- a competition using pragmatic rules which allow tactics whose recommending factor is that they are the most effective means to a political end.[1] Such competition took place between and within all sociopolitical levels, from the household upwards. It reached its apogee in the paramount families of the matanitu. The i Sokula competed with the other leading lineages, and competed among themselves for the headship and effective leadership, contests which were ever-present and which would flare into open

1. Stratagems and spoils: a social anthropology of politics (Oxford 1969), 1-6, 15-17.

conflict.

Rebellions against the authority of other turaga were commonplace, once turaga had amassed enough power resources and support. The constantly changing balance of power indicates the success with which many turaga pursued the acquisition of power. Such a dynamic picture of the sociopolitical hierarchies and power configurations does not reflect the ideology, which implies a static status quo. A turaga of high rank, especially, is a genealogically senior descendant of ancestor-gods whose mana he shares and benefits from. Ideally, subordinates worshipped their turaga as a living god, whose sacred efficaciousness ensured their well-being. As Hocart realized, 'the true religion of the Fijians is the service of the chief.'^[2] But it was a service which was actually based on the power supremacy of the turaga -- his exercise of temporal power maintained his suzerainty, not his supernatural power.

Obviously the sacredness of turaga was achieved, just as they achieved their temporal power. What Goldman considered to be the pursuit of mana^[3] was, in fact, the pursuit of power. Political status meant the possession of supernatural powers because, according to the ideology, the two went together. Without mana one could not be temporally successful; the two depended upon each other. A decrease in temporal prestige meant a decrease in supernatural efficaciousness, although the aura of sacredness might remain for some time after the loss of power.

2. The northern states of Fiji (London 1952), 26.

3. Ancient Polynesian society (Chicago and London 1970), 12-13.

The ideology does not take account of changes in power. Rather, it disguises the reality of power possession which is transient and requires a succession of politically astute turaga to retain it. This applies to all levels of political organization, from yavusa and villages to the larger political groupings of vanua and matanitu. Descent relationships are used to express and validate the power ranking of the yavusa, while descent is also used to express and validate the authority of the paramount families. The ideology serves the political function of helping to maintain the power balance by discouraging challenges to the existing balance. But the changes indicate that it was not always successful.

The structure itself was never overthrown, however. The sociopolitical system was retained as particular ruling lineages rose and fell. Matanitu did not exist forever, but declined as the power of their leading families declined and new power configurations rose to take their place. Thus the i Sokula could deprive the leading group of the immediate Cakaudrove area of their control, and then use such a power base to expand their own influence and control until, at the time of European contact, the matanitu of Cakaudrove had been achieved.

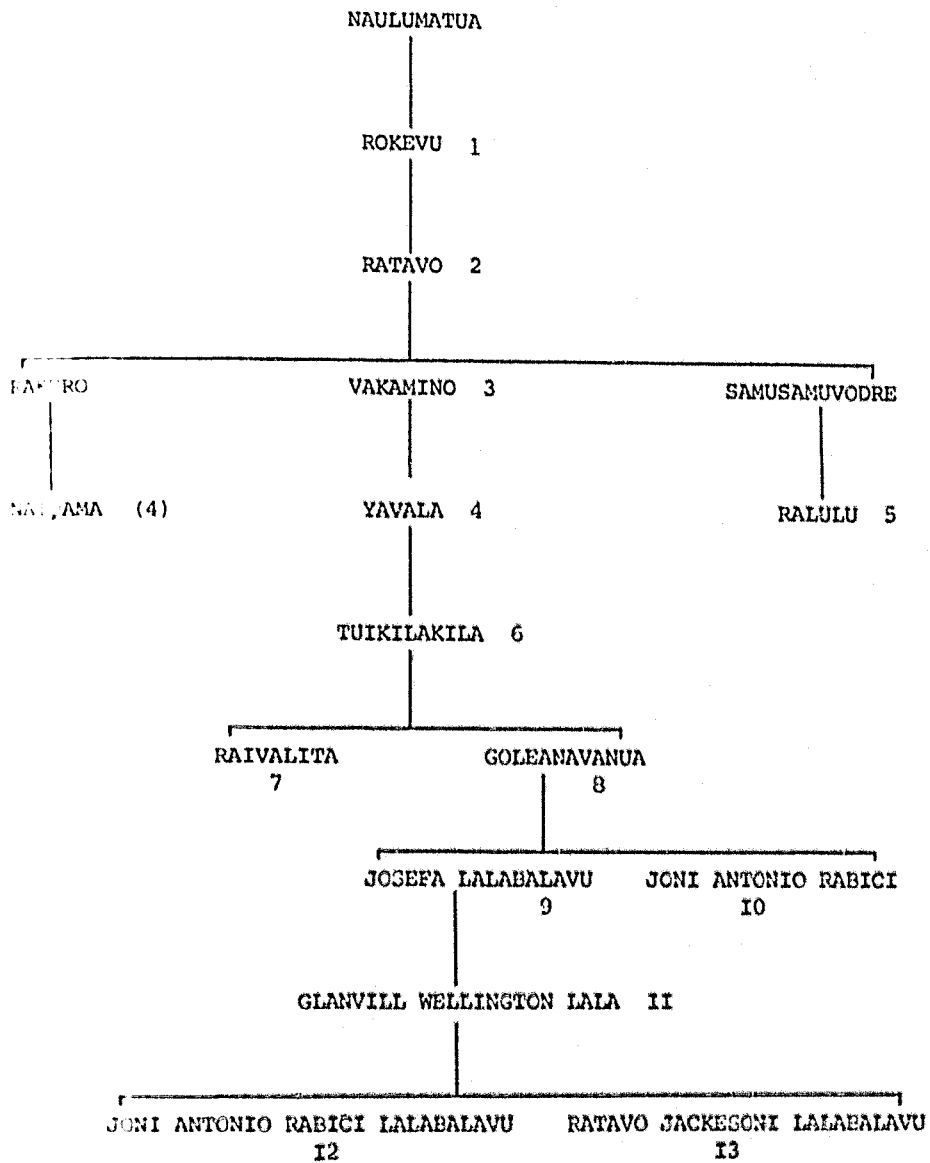
APPENDIX

List of the Tui Cakau	311
Genealogy of the i Sokula	312

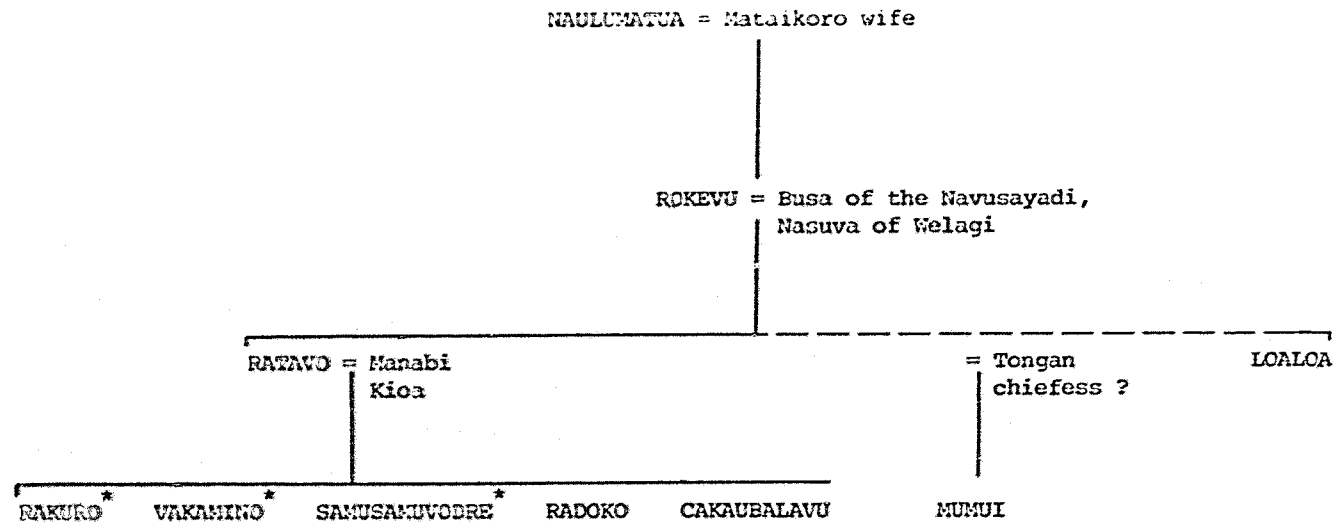
CAPITALS Names of all descendants known to be male are
 in capitals

----- Indicates the siblings are known to have had
 different mothers

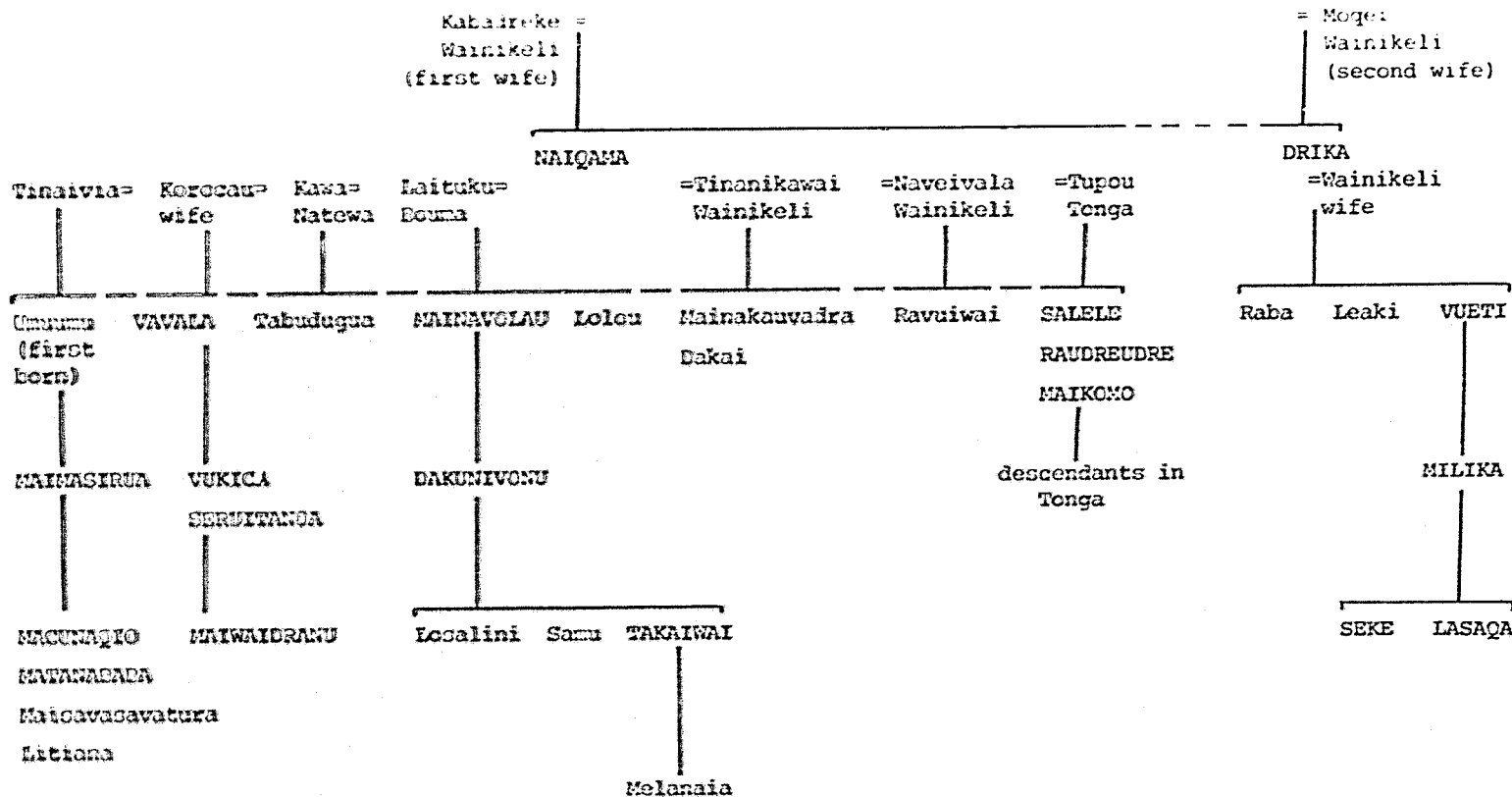
* Indicates the descendants are listed on a
 following page



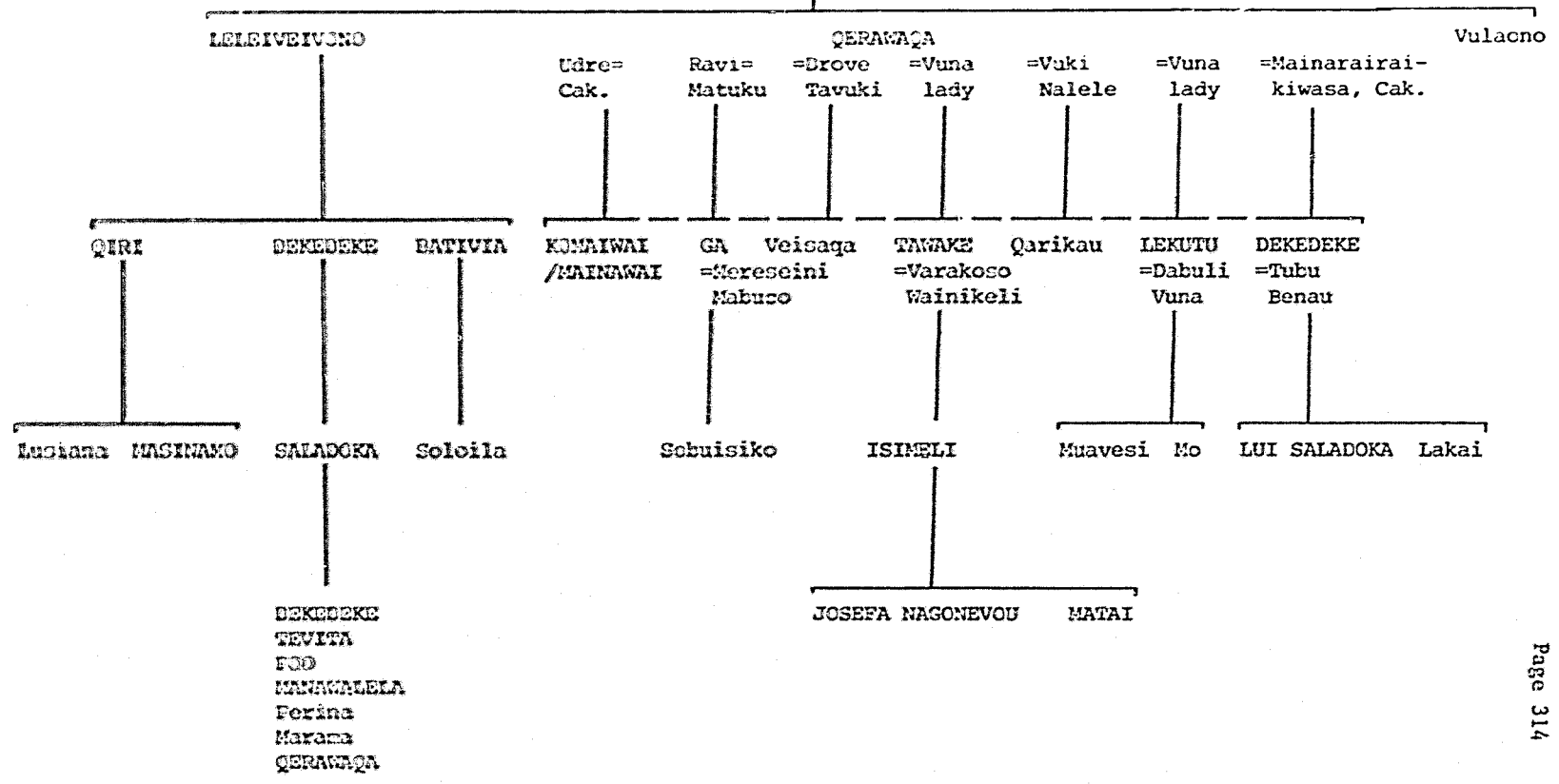
THE TUI CARAU

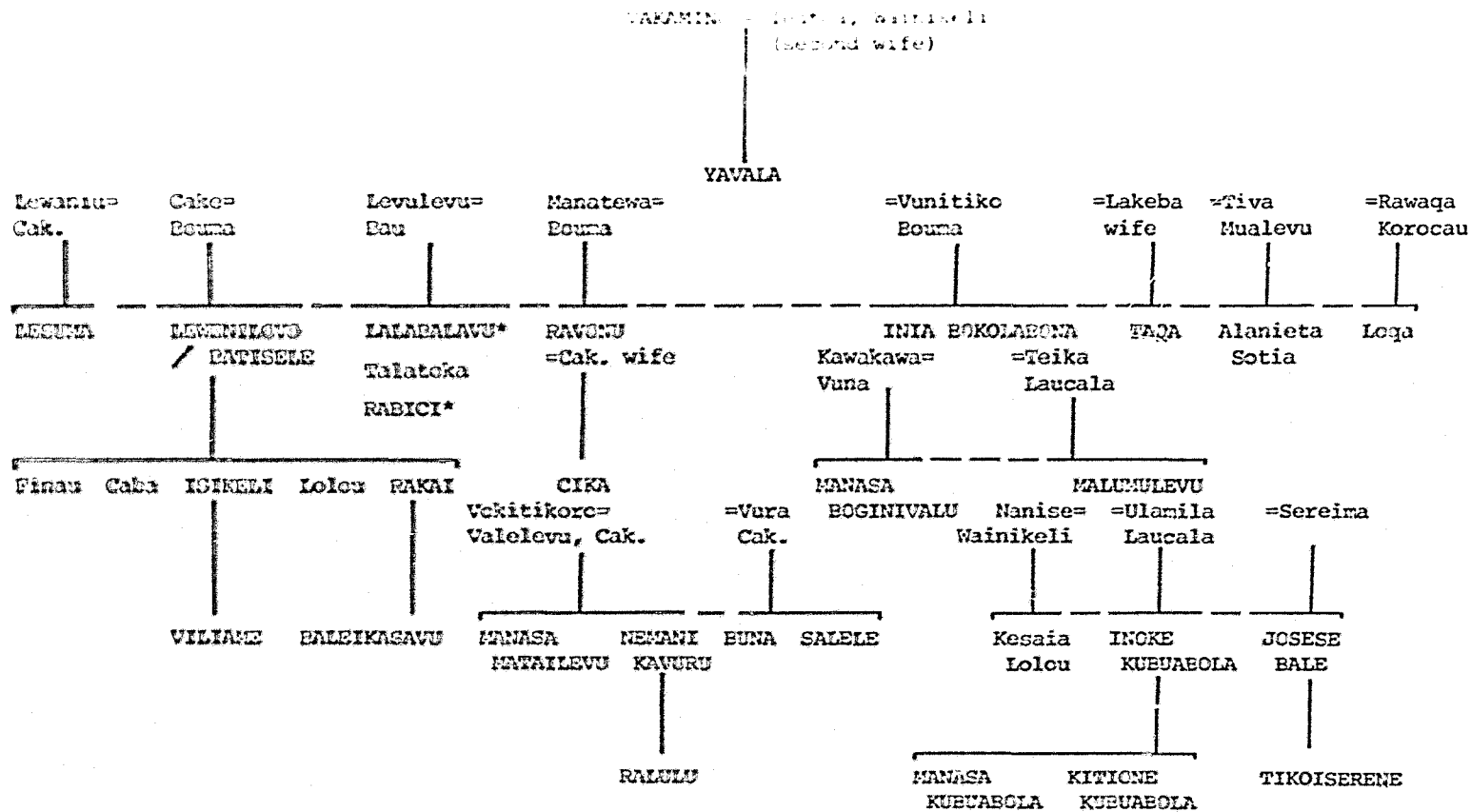


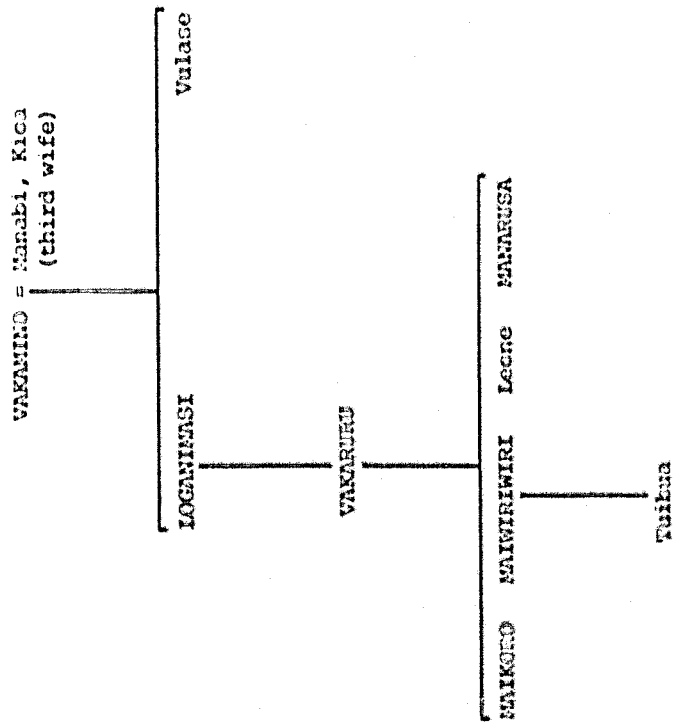
MAKURO

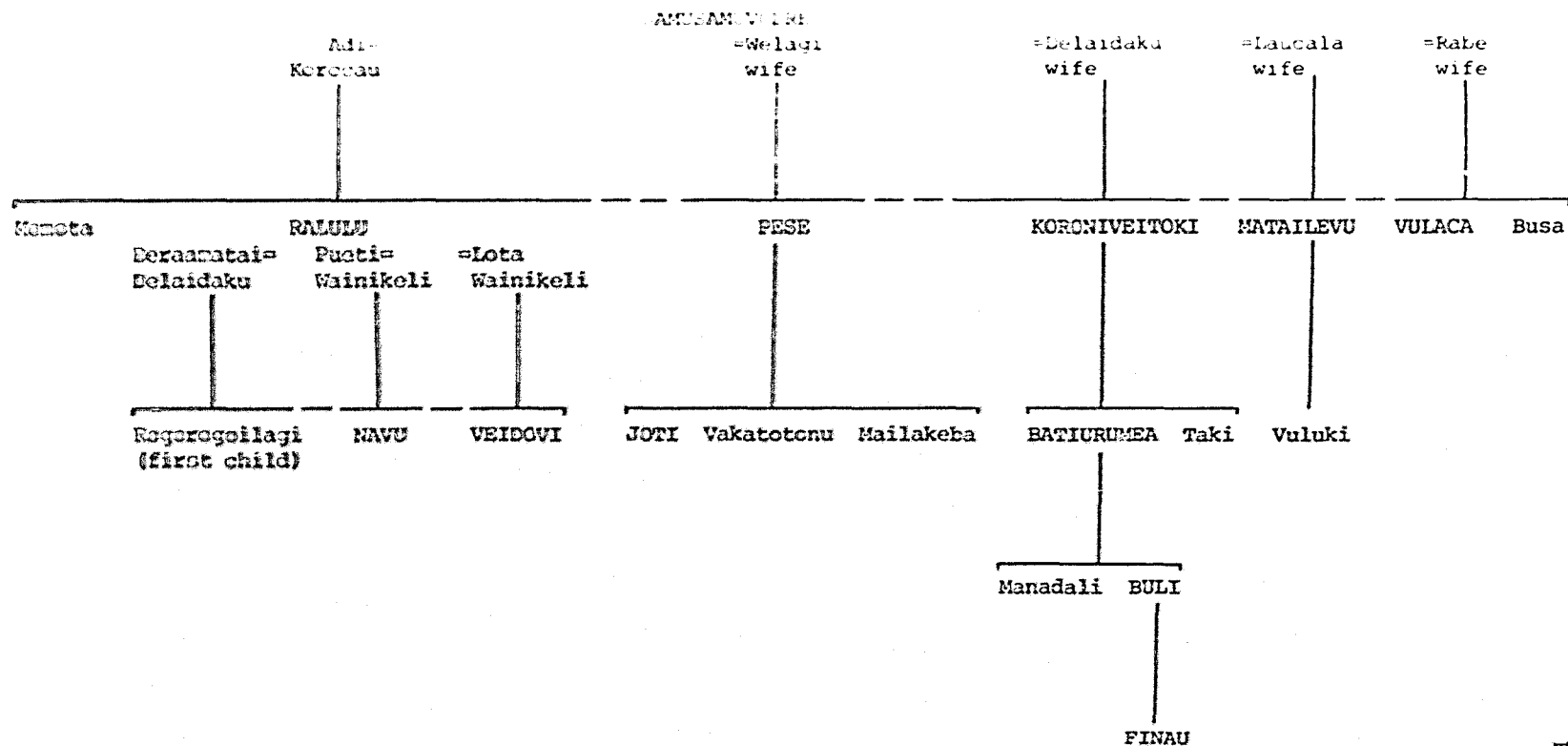


VAKAVI
 (continued)









Lalau
Wolitea

LALABALAU [TUPUAKILA]
= Rogoroqoilagi
Valelevu

=Nabiri
Caginitoba
Tunuloa

=Laucala
wife

=Lutu
Benau

Bolauga
Qativi
BARAKORO

CAKOBAN
/LELEIVEIVONO
/TAI TAVUKI

RAKURO
Caucauniqoli= Sivo= =Valu =Vulase =Volivoli
Wainikeli Natewa Cak. Laucala Wainikeli

Tuivaturogo

VAKALOLO
RAIVALITA
GOLEA*
Raravuya

MARA

WAISELE
TIKOVAKA-
YALEWA

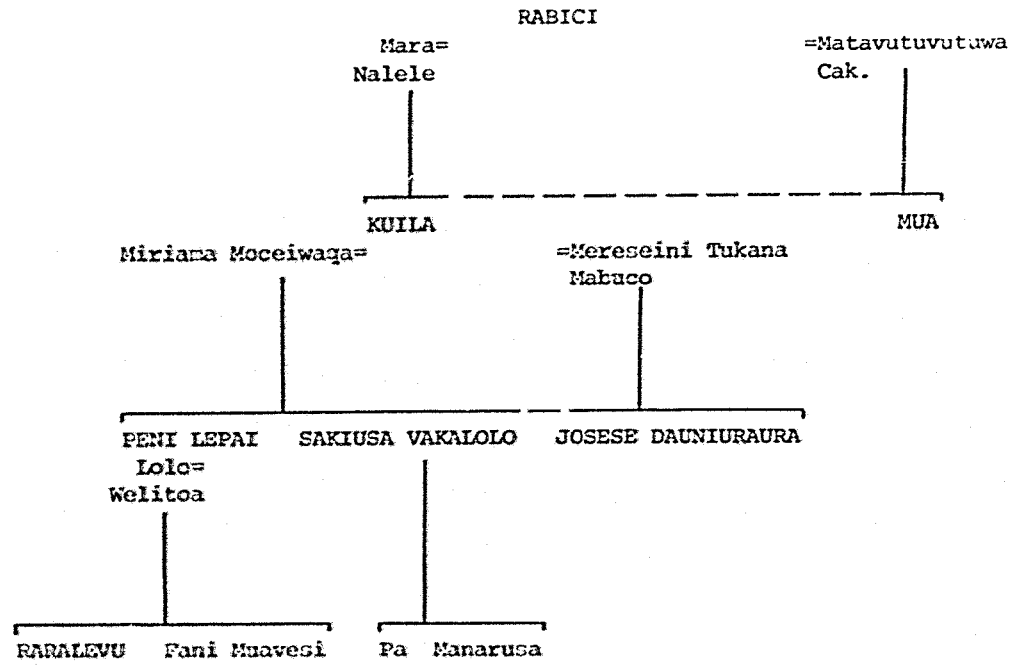
Takele
BALEIKASAVU
Litia
YAVALA
QAQADAMU
EPELI

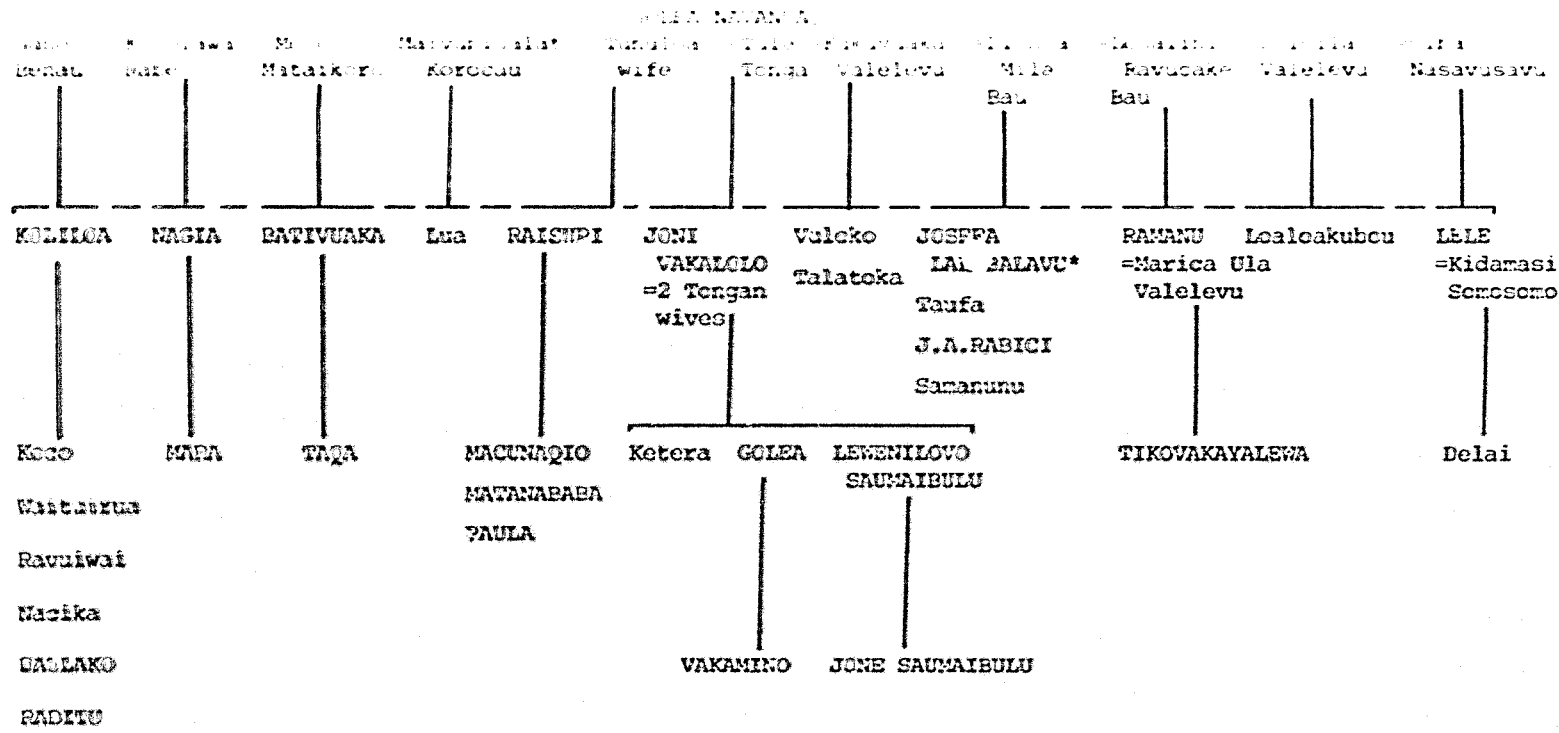
ISCA GAVIDI YAYA Togaca KANAIMAWI Valeqele
=Vasemaca
Valalau
EPELI

Torika EPELI JOSEFA R.
Kainona ANILAU CAKOBAN

VEIDCVI Lisi AVOROSA

PENAI A GANILAU





JOSEFA LALABALAVU
=Fino
Lakeba, Tonga

GLAVIELL WELLINGTON LALA MO

JONI ANTONIO BABICI LALABALAVU RATIVO JACKESONI LALABALAVU

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- I. Manuscripts
- II. Published Works by Observers and Participants
- III. Newspapers and Periodicals
- IV. General Books, Articles and Theses

I. MANUSCRIPTS

AUSTRALASIAN WESLEYAN METHODIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY

Correspondence of the Revs J.E. Moulton, J.B. Watkin and J. Calvert, 1855-1863, 1872-1879, MOM 99

Fiji letters 1855-1903, MOM 165

ANON History of the Catholic Mission, Wairiki, RCAF 12/1/2

BAKER, T. Diary 1860-1866, MOM 128

BREWSTER, A.B. Papers, copy held by FM

BRITISH CONSUL

Consular Papers, Records of the British Consul for Fiji and Tonga 1858-1876, Archives Set 12: Miscellaneous Papers 1862-1874, Archives Temp 1: Register of Deeds September 1858-October 1874, NAF

CALVERT, J. Anecdotes, MMS Box 2c

_____ Journals, 12 vols, MMS

_____ Missions, 2 note-books, MMS Box 2d

_____ Twenty-one letters from J. Calvert to other ministers in Fiji 1841-1855, MMS Box 3c

CAREY, L. Letter-book 1867-1874, ML B440

CHAPMAN, T.N. Journal of the Consul, PMB 206

CHEEVER, G.N. Journal of the Mermaid, PMB 207

COLONIAL SECRETARY'S OFFICE, FIJI

Records, Inwards Correspondence, NAF

CROSS, W. Diary 1837-1842, NOM 336

____ Extracts from letters and diary 1839-1842, ML CYB686

DRIVER, W.R. Journal of the Clay, PMB 216

EAGLESTON, J.H. Logbook of the Emerald, PMB 223

____ Logbook of the Mermaid, attached to G.N. Cheever, Journal of the Mermaid, PMB 207

____ Ups and downs through life, 2 vols, PMB 207 and PMB 214

ENDICOTT, W. Sea journal of the Glide, PMB 218

FIJI MUSEUM

Archaeological files

FOREIGN OFFICE, GREAT BRITAIN, CORRESPONDENCE

FO58: Consular and Associated Correspondence, Pacific Islands

FOWLER, H. Various Documents written by him during the cruise of the Glide among the Fiji Islands and elsewhere, PMB 225

HALLEWOOD, D. Day-book 1844-1846, ML B571

____ Journals, 3 vols, ML B568-570

HOCART, A.M. Papers, TL; Pac.Hist. M260a-h

HOLMES, S. Journal, II, PMB 773

HUNT, J. Eighteen letters to John and Hannah Hunt 1844-1868, MMS Box 5f

____ Private journals, 2 vols, ML A3349-3350

IM THURN, Sir E. Miscellaneous Papers, NAF MS 2

JAGGAR, T.J. Journal and correspondence in Thomas Jaggar Collection, MF M/1/B and M/2

KIDD, Setariki Ko Viti, typescript, copy in possession of D.A. Carr, Pac.Hist.

LAND CLAIMS COMMISSION

Reports, NAF

LANG, J.D. Papers of the Rev. J.D. Lang, IX, Personal and Miscellaneous, ML A2229

LOCKERBIE, Account of the different chiefs of the Feejee Islands with what you have to do in procuring sandalwood, PMB 225

____ Sailing directions for the Feejee or Sandalwood Islands, PMB 225

LYTH, Mrs Mary Diary 1838-1842, ML MSS 3642, item 1

LYTH, R.B. Biographical sketches, ML CYB553

_____ Copy-books of letters, 1840-1841, 1850-1853, 1852-1855, MMS Box
6a

_____ Day-book 1842-1843, ML CYB544

_____ Day-book 1845-1847, ML CYB561

_____ Day-book 1849-1850, ML CYB538

_____ Day-book and journal 1850-1851, ML CYB539

_____ Day-book 1852-1854, ML CYB545

_____ Day-book 1854-1855, ML CYB546

_____ Feejee District Returns 1850-1853, II, CYB555

_____ Gods of Somosomo, ML Uncat. MSS, set 91

_____ Journal 1836-1842, ML CYB533

_____ Journal 1842-1844, ML CYB534

_____ Journal 1845-1848, ML CYB535

_____ Journal 1848-1850, ML CYB536

_____ Journal 1852, ML CYB540

_____ Journal 1852-1853, ML CYB541

_____ Journal 1853-1860, ML CYB542

_____ The Lakeba Note, March 1846 in MMS 6b

_____ Letters to and from Rev Dr Lyth 1836-1854, ML A836

_____ Letters home from R.B. and Mary Ann Lyth 1829-1856, compiled by
Catharine Lyth Crawford, Keith Early Crawford and Hugh Vanner
Crawford, 1981, duplicated typescript, copy in possession of Laurel
Heath, School of General Studies, ANU

_____ Letters to his family 1829-1856, MMS Box 6b

_____ Note-book, ML CYB552

_____ Notes on Islands, attached to his Day-book and journal
1849-1851, ML CYB539

_____ Reminiscences 1851-1853, ML CYB548

_____ Reminiscences and Customs, ML CYB551

_____ Tongan and Feejeean Reminiscences, 2 vols, ML CYB549

____ Voyaging journal, 4 vols, ML CYB537

NATIVE LANDS COMMISSION

Notes & Minutes of a Meeting of the Chiefs and people of Cakaurovi held at Somosomo on this 15th day of August 1902, NAF

OSBORN, J.W. Journal of a voyage in the Emerald, PMB 223

ROYCE, J.S. Diary 1855-1862, MOM 135

SHAW HINDS, Elizabeth Prehistoric sites of Taveuni: a preliminary survey, typescript, copy held by FM

SPILLIUS, Elizabeth Discussions of Tongan Custom 1958-1959, H.M. Queen Salote Tupou and the Hon. Ve'ehala, typescript, copy in possession of Niel Gunson, Pac.Hist.

STUART, F.D. Journal aboard the Pencock in Records of the United States Exploring Expedition under the command of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, 1838-1842, National Archives and Records Office, Washington D.C.; Pac.Hist. M21

TERRIEN, F. History of the Catholic Mission at Wairiki Around the first fifty years, RCAF 5/4/30/18

TOGANIVALU, Deve History of Bau, NAF CF 62/247

TURPIN, E.J. Diary and Narrative of Edwin James Turpin 1870-1874, NAF MS 1; Pac.Hist. M263

WATERHOUSE, John Journal, 2 vols, ML A2870-2871

WESLEYAN METHODIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY

Eight letters from Fiji 1840-1847, MMS Folder 5

Fifty-six letters and four fragments, apparently to G.S. Rowe 1861-1866, MMS Box 3g

Letters from Feejee, 1835-1857, 8 vols, ML A2809-2815

Manuscript periodicals, MMS Box 2p

Official correspondence relating to Fiji 1856-1871, Folder 7 in TL MS Papers 66, Miscellaneous correspondence and papers

WILLIAMS, T. Miscellaneous notes chiefly concerning Feejee & Feejeeans, 3 vols, ML B496-498

____ Annotated copy of Fiji and the Fijians, I, ML B457

____ Letters to the Rev T. Williams 1835-1859, 4 vols, ML A852-855

____ Somosomo Quarterly Letters, ML C342

WINN, J.D. Journal of the Eliza, PMB 206

II. PUBLISHED WORKS BY OBSERVERS AND PARTICIPANTS

- CALVERT, J. Events in Fejee, narrated in recent letters from several Wesleyan missionaries, London, 1855
- Fiji and the Fijians, II, Mission History, London, 1858
- CAREY, J. The kings of the reefs: a poem, Melbourne, 1891
- CARGILL, D. Memoirs of Mrs Margaret Cargill, wife of the Rev David Cargill, London, 1855
- DIAPEA, W. Cannibal Jack: the true autobiography of a white man in the South Seas, London, 1928
- ENDICOTT, W. Wrecked among cannibals in the Fijis. A narrative of shipwreck and adventure in the South Seas, Salem, 1923
- ERSKINE, J.E. 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, Reprint, London, 1967
- [FISON, L.] Joel Bulu: the autobiography of a native minister, London, 1871
- FISON, L. 'Land tenure in Fiji', JRAI, X (1881), 332-52
- FISON, L. Tales from old Fiji, London, 1907
- FORBES, L. Two years in Fiji, London, 1875
- HALL, H. United States Exploring Expedition...Ethnography and Philology, Philadelphia, 1846
- HAZLEWOOD, D. A Fijian and English and an English and Fijian Dictionary...and a grammar of the language, with examples of native Idioms, London, 1872
- HENDERSON, G.C. The journal of Thomas Williams, missionary in Fiji, 1840-1853, 2 vols, Sydney, 1931
- HUNT, J. Memoir of the Rev. William Cross, Wesleyan missionary to the Friendly and Feejee Islands; with a short notice of the early history of the missions, London, 1846
- IM THURN, Sir E. and WHARTON, L.C. (eds) The journal of William Lockerby, sandalwood trader in the Fijian Islands during the years 1808-1809, Hakluyt Society, London, 1925
- LARRY, W. Friendly and Feejee Islands: a missionary visit to various stations in the South Seas, in the year 1847, London, 1850
- A second missionary visit to the Friendly and Feejee Islands in the year 1850, London, 1851
- PLATCHARD, W.T. Polynesian reminiscences; or life in the south

- Pacific Islands, London, 1886
- SCHUTZ, A.J. (ed) The diaries and correspondence of David Cargill 1832-1843, Canberra, 1977
- SEEMANN, B. Viti: an account of a government mission to the Vitian or Fiji Islands 1860-1861, Reprint, London, 1973
- SMYTHE, Mrs S.M. Ten months in the Fiji Islands, Oxford, 1864
- TWYNING, J. Shipwreck and adventures of John Twynning among the South Sea Islanders, London, 1850
- WALLIS, Mary D. Life in Feejee. or five years among the cannibals, Reprint, New Jersey, 1967
- WATERHOUSE, Joseph The king and people of Fiji: containing a life of Thakombau; with notices of the Fijians, their manners, customs, and superstitions, previous to the great religious reformation of 1854, London, 1866
- WILKES, C. Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition...1838-1842, 5 vols, Philadelphia, 1844
- WILLIAMS, T. Fiji and the Fijians, I, The islands and their inhabitants, London, 1858
- YOUNG, R. The southern world. Journal of a deputation from the Wesleyan Conference to Australia and Polynesia, London, 1855

III. NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

Annals of the Propagation of the Faith (English edition)

Fiji Gazette

Fiji Times

Vai Lalakai

Va Mata

Transactions of the Fijian Society

Transactions and Proceedings of the Fiji Society

Wesleyan Missionary Notices (London)

Wesleyan Missionary Notices (Sydney)

IV. GENERAL BOOKS, ARTICLES AND THESES

- ADAMS, R.N. Energy and structure: a theory of social power, Austin and London, 1975
- ARNO, A. 'Ritual reconciliation and village conflict management in Fiji', Oceania, XLVII (1967), 49-65
- _____. 'Conflict, ritual, and social structure on Yanuyan Island, Fiji', Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde CXXXV (1979), 1-17
- BAILEY, F.G. Stratagems and spoils: a social anthropology of politics, Oxford, 1969
- BAINGARTNER, T. and BUCKLEY, W. (eds) Power and control: social structures and their transformation, California, 1976
- BELSHAW, C. Under the ivi tree: society and economic growth in rural Fiji, London, 1964
- BEST, S. 'Oral traditions and archaeology in Fiji and the Lau group: a preliminary survey', paper presented at the ANZAAS conference 1981
- BLEIST, R. 'Early Austronesian social organization: the evidence of language', Current Anthropology, XXI (1980), 205-47
- BREWSTER, A.B. King of the cannibal isles: a tale of early life and adventure in the Fiji Islands, London, 1937
- BROOKFIELD, H.C. et al. Taveuni: land, population and production, UNESCO/UNFPA Fiji Island Report 3, Canberra, 1978
- BURLING, R. The passage of power: studies in political succession, New York, 1974
- CAPELL, A. and LESTER, R.H. 'Local divisions and movements in Fiji' Oceania, XI (1941), 313-41, XII (1941), 21-48
- _____. 'Kinship in Fiji', Oceania, XV (1945), 171-200, XVI (1946), 299-313, 234-53, 297-318
- CHAPPELLE, T. 'Customary land tenure in Fiji: old truths and old-fashioned myths', JPS, LXXXVII (1978), 71-88
- CLUNIS, F. Fijian weapons and warfare, Suva, 1977
- COHEN, A. 'Political anthropology: the analysis of the symbolism of power relations', Man (N.S.), IV (1969), 215-35
- _____. 'Political symbolism', Ann. Rev. Anthropol., VIII (1979), 87-113
- CORNLEY, B.G., STEWART, J. and THOMSON, B.H. Report of the commission to enquire into the decrease of the native population of Fiji: 1893, Suva, 1896
- DE WAAL MALEFIJIT, Annemarie Religion and culture: an introduction

- to anthropology of religion, New York, 1968
- DAVIDSON, Janet D. 'Western Polynesia and Fiji: prehistoric contact, diffusion and differentiation in adjacent archipelagoes', World Archaeology, IX (1977), 82-94
- _____. 'Western Polynesia and Fiji: the archaeological evidence', Mankind, XI (1978), 383-90
- DAVIDSON, J.W. Peter Dillon of Vanikoro: Chevalier of the South Seas, Melbourne, 1975
- DAVIDSON, J.W. and SCARR, D.A. Pacific Islands portraits, Canberra, 1970
- DOUGLAS, B. 'Rank, power, authority: a reassessment of traditional leadership in south Pacific societies', JPH, XIV (1979), 2-27
- EARLE, T.K. 'A reappraisal of redistribution: complex Hawaiian chiefdoms' in T.K. Earle and J.E. Ericson (eds), Exchange systems in prehistory, New York, 1977, 213-29
- _____. Economic and social organization: the Halelea district, Kauai, Hawaii, Michigan, 1978
- FORTES, M. (ed) Marriage in tribal societies, Cambridge, 1972
- FRANCE, P. 'The Kaunitoni migration: notes on the genesis of a Fijian tradition', JPH, I (1966), 107-13
- _____. The charter of the land: custom and colonization in Fiji, Melbourne, 1969
- FRIST, E.L. Archaeological excavations of fortified sites on Taveuni, Fiji, Honolulu, 1974
- GEDDES, W.R. 'Fijian social structure in a period of transition' in J.D. Freemann and W.R. Geddes (eds), Anthropology in the South Seas, New Zealand, 1959
- GIFFORD, E.W. Tongan society, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 61, Honolulu, 1929
- HEGEMAN, M. Order and rebellion in tribal Africa: collected essays with an autobiographical introduction, London, 1963
- HEGEMAN, I. 'Status rivalry and evolution in Polynesia', Am. Anthrop., LVII (1955), 680-97
- _____. Ancient Polynesian society, Chicago and London, 1970
- GODDY, J. Succession to high office, Cambridge, 1966
- GROVES, M. 'The nature of Fijian society' (review of Sahlins' Māhala), JPH, LXXII (1963), 272-91
- HEGEMAN, S. 'Anthropological economics: the question of distribution', Ann. Roy. Anthropol., VII (1978), 347-77

- GUNSON, W.N. 'The hau concept of leadership in western Polynesia', JPH, XIV (1979), 28-49
- HENIGE, D.P. The chronology of oral tradition: quest for a chimera, Oxford, 1974
- HOCART, A.M. 'A Tongan cure and Fijian etiquette', Man, X (1910), 102
- _____ 'On the meaning of kalou and the origin of Fijian temples', JRAI, XLII (1912), 437-49
- _____ 'The Fijian custom of tauvu', JRAI, XLIII (1913), 101-08
- _____ 'Fijian heralds and envoys', JRAI, XLIII (1913), 109-18
- _____ 'On the meaning of the Fijian word turanga', Man, XLIII (1913), 140-43
- _____ 'More about tauvu', Man, XIV (1914), 193-94
- _____ 'Note on the dual organisation in Fiji', Man, XIV (1914), 2-3
- _____ 'Chieftainship and the sister's son in the Pacific', Am. Anthropol., XVII (1915), 631-46
- _____ 'Ethnographical sketch of Fiji', Man, XV (1915), 73-77
- _____ 'Early Fijians', JRAI, XLIX (1919), 42-51
- _____ 'The uterine nephew', Man, XXIII (1923), 11-13
- _____ 'Limitations of the sister's son's rights in Fiji', Man, XXVI (1926), 205-06
- _____ Lau Islands, Fiji, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 62, Honolulu, 1929
- _____ Kings and councillors: an essay in the comparative anatomy of human society, Cairo, 1936
- _____ 'The estates of the realm in Thakaundrove, Fiji', School of Oriental Studies Bulletin (University of London), IX (1938), 407-23
- _____ The northern states of Fiji, London, 1952
- HOLLYMAN, J. and PAWLEY, A. (eds) Studies in Pacific languages and cultures in honour of Bruce Biggs, Auckland, 1981
- HOOPER, J.J. 'Message and medium: some recent developments in oral tradition', Social Analysis, IV (1980), 13-27
- IRWIN, G.J. 'The prehistory of Oceania: colonization and cultural change' in A. Sherratt (ed), The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Archaeology, Cambridge, 1980, 324-32
- JENNINGS, J.D. The prehistory of Polynesia, Canberra, 1979
- KAPPLER, A.L. 'Exchange patterns in goods and spouses: Fiji, Tonga and Samoa', Mankind, XI (1978), 246-52

KNAPMAN, B. and WALTER, M.A.H.B. 'The way of the land and the path of money: the generation of economic inequality in eastern Fiji', The Journal of Developing Areas, XIV (1980), 201-22

KOOLIJMAN, S. 'Ceremonial exchange and art on Moce Island (Fiji)', Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde, CXXXVI (1980), 41-51

LANDY, D. Culture, disease, and healing: studies in medical anthropology, New York, 1977

LARSSON, K.E. Fijian studies, Ethnologiska Studier 25, Goteborg, Sweden, 1960

LEACH, E. Levi-Strauss, London, 1970

Culture and communication: the logic by which symbols are connected: an introduction to the use of structuralist analysis in social anthropology, Cambridge, 1976

LEGG, C. 'William Diaper: a biographical sketch', JPH, I (1966), 29-90

LEVIN, A.P. and P.J. Village of the conquerors. Sawana: a Tongan village in Fiji, Department of Anthropology, University of Oregon, 1970

LESTER, R.H. 'Kava drinking in Viti Levu', III, Oceania XII (1941), 115-21

MACNAUGHT, T.J. Mainstream to Millpond? The Fijian political experience 1897-1940, Ph.D., ANU, 1975

The Fijian colonial experience: a study of the nontraditional order under British colonial rule prior to World War II, Canberra and Miami, 1982

MILLER, J.C. The dynamics of oral tradition in Africa, draft of article published in B. Bernardi, C. Poni and A. Triulzi (eds), Fonti Orali, Milano, 1978

The African past speaks: essays on oral tradition and history, Folkestone, Kent and Hamden, Conn., 1980

MILLER, J. Customs of respect: the traditional basis of Fijian national politics, Canberra, 1978

NATIVE LANDS COMMISSION

Final Report for 1927, Fiji Legislative Council Paper 4552 of 1927

Report of the Chairman, Fiji Legislative Council Paper 27 of 1914

MURRAY-ALLEN, R.R. 'The Fijian system of kinship and marriage', JPS, XLIV (1955), 44-55, LXVI (1957), 44-59

The bifurcation and amalgamation of Fijian lineages over a period of fifty years, Transactions and Proceedings of the Fiji Society 1960 and 1961, VIII, 122-33

- 'Fiji: manipulating the system' in R. Crocombe (ed), Land Tenure in the Pacific, Melbourne, 1971, 206-26
- Leadership in Fiji, Melbourne, 1975
- Tradition and change in the Fijian village, Suva, 1978
- QUAIN, B.H. The flight of the chiefs: epic poetry of Fiji, New York, 1942
- Fijian village, Chicago, 1948
- RATHJE, W.L. 'Melanesian and Australian exchange systems: a view from Mesoamerica', Mankind, XI (1978), 165-74
- REID, A.C. 'The fruit of the Rewa: oral traditions and the growth of the pre-Christian Lakeba state', JPH, XII (1977), 2-24
- 'The view from Vatuwaqa: the role of Lakeba's leading lineage in the introduction and establishment of Christianity', JPH, XIV (1979), 154-67
- 'Crusaders: the religious and relationship background to Lakeba expansion in the 1850s', JPH, XVI (1981), 58-69
- REWLAND, M.J. and BEST, S. 'Survey and excavation on the Kedekede Hillfort, Lakeba Island, Lau group, Fiji', Arch. & Phys. Anthrop. in Oceania, XV (1980), 29-50
- RUTHERFORD, N. (ed) Friendly Islanders: a history of Tonga, Melbourne, 1977
- RUTZ, H.J. 'Ceremonial exchange and economic development in Fiji', Economic Development and Cultural Change, XXVI (1978), 777-805
- SARLINS, M.D. Social stratification in Polynesia, Seattle, 1958
- Noala: culture and nature on a Fijian island, Ann Arbor, 1962
- 'Poor man, rich man, big man, chief: political types in Melanesia and Polynesia', Comparative Studies in Society and History, V (1963), 285-300
- Stone age economics, Chicago, 1972
- Culture and practical reason, Chicago, 1976
- 'The stranger-king or Dumézil among the Fijians', JPH, XVI (1981), 107-32
- SARR, D.A. The majesty of colour: a life of Sir John Bates Thurston, I, I, the very bayonet, Canberra, 1973
- Katu Sukuna: soldier, statesman, man of two worlds, London and Basingstoke, 1980
- SCHWETTER, P. (ed) Power and control: social structures and their transformation, California, 1976

- SPENCER, Dorothy M. Disease, religion and society in the Fiji Islands, Philadelphia, 1941
- THOMPSON, Laura M. Fijian frontier, New York, 1940
- _____. Southern Lau, Fiji: an ethnography, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 162, Honolulu, 1940
- THOMPSON, B.H. The Fijians: a study of the decay of custom, London, 1908
- THORNTON, A.R. Fijian material culture: a study of cultural context, function, and change, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 232, Honolulu, 1968
- VITTE, E. (ed) Na Ekelesia Katolika mai Viti: a kenai tukutuku, Lyon and Paris, 1936
- WALL, C. 'Dakuwaqa', Transactions of the Fijian Society for 1917, 1916
- WALKER, M.A.H.B. Changing principles of social organisation in the Exploring Islands of Northern Lau, Fiji, Ph.D., ANU, 1971
- _____. 'Succession in east Fiji: institutional disjunction as a source of political dynamism in an ascription-oriented society', Oceania, XLIV (1974), 301-22
- _____. 'Kinship and marriage in Mualevu: a Dravidian variant in Fiji?', Ethnology, XIV (1975), 181-96
- _____. 'Analysis of Fijian traditional social organization: the definition of local and descent grouping', Ethnology, XVII (1978), 111-66
- _____. 'The conflict of the traditional and the traditionalised: an analysis of Fijian land tenure', JPS, LXXXVII (1978), 89-108
- _____. 'An examination of hierarchical notions in Fijian society: a test case for the applicability of the term "chief"', Oceania, XLIX (1978), 1-19
- _____. 'The mother's brother and the sister's son in east Fiji: a descent perspective', Ethnology, XVIII (1979), 365-78
- WALKER, M.A.H.B. Land use and population in Fiji, London, 1965
- _____. (ed) American activities in the central Pacific, VII, New Jersey, 1967
- WALKER, R.F. Koro: economic development and social change in Fiji, Koro!, 1969
- WALKER, R. 'The literalist fallacy and the problem of oral tradition', Social Analysis, IV (1980), 28-37
- WALKER, H.T. 'Recent research on the origin of the state', Ann. Rev. Anthropol., VI (1977), 379-97

YOUNG, J.M.R. *Frontier society in Fiji 1858-1873*, Ph.D., University
of Adelaide, 1968