

The Diaries and
Correspondence of
David Cargill,
1832-1843

Albert J. Schütz/*Editor*



Pacific History Series No. 10

The diaries and correspondence of David Cargill, Wesleyan missionary in the Pacific, reveal the story of a tragic life.

His greatest success came early in his life in the 1830s, when he achieved a mass conversion of thousands of Tongans. His story in Tonga was a happy one, for there he found satisfaction in the fellowship of his colleagues and his achievements as the only trained linguist at the mission.

In 1835 he was transferred to Fiji as the first Wesleyan missionary. Here he found life increasingly bitter; four years of work on translations were wasted because the dialect he used was not appropriate as a lingua franca. He quarrelled with his colleagues. He was nauseated by horrifying scenes of widow-strangling, cannibalism and warfare. His beloved wife and one of his children died.

Cargill returned to England, remarried, and went back to Tonga and to disappointment: many of his converts had reverted to their old ways. Now known by his colleagues as an alcoholic, sick, and depressed as the aftermath of dengue fever, he committed suicide.

Cargill's diaries and letters show in graphic detail the impact of two alien cultures on a sensitive man unable to come to grips with these two cultures, a man of high ideals who died a tragic failure.

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**The Diaries and Correspondence of
David Cargill, 1832-1843**



The Reverend David Cargill. The original is in the possession of the Wesleyan Mission Society, London

General Editor: H. E. Maude

Pacific History Series No. 10

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David Cargill,
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Edited, with an Introduction and annotations by

Albert J. Schütz

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For
H. E. Maude

Pacific History Series

The Pacific History Series of books provides an outlet for the publication of original manuscripts important to historians and others interested in the Pacific Islands.

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Foreword

It would be true to say that by and large our main documentary source for the eighteenth century Pacific consists of the accounts of voyagers on exploring vessels; while for the nineteenth century, in bulk at least, it comes from the prolix pens of missionaries.

If nothing written by either of these important expatriate groups has as yet appeared in the Pacific History Series it is because most of the narratives of the discoverers and their fellow travellers are already available in published form, together with a good part of contemporary missionary writings.

Some missionaries, however, appear to have been compulsive diarists, and many were required by the rules of the societies which sent them into the field to submit reports which could be published in whole or part for the delectation of their supporters back home, who somewhat naturally liked to feel that they were getting their money's worth.

In any case, whatever their motivation, they wrote too much for immediate use and there is still a wealth of data of value to anthropologists and historians to be found in their manuscript

journals and letters, and particularly in those of the earlier missionaries, who lived among the Pacific Islanders at a time when local cultures were still functioning virtually unchanged.

The diaries and correspondence of David Cargill have long been recognised as among the most valuable of this still unpublished material, since Cargill was not only the first university educated Methodist to be assigned to the islands but also, with William Cross, the first European missionary to live in Fiji.

One may conjecture that Cargill would have been, long before now, the subject of a eulogistic mission-sponsored biography were it not for his unfortunate inability to get on with his less-erudite colleagues, and his alleged suicide, which made him, in effect, a non-person to the orthodox.

For Cargill has a unique claim to fame in that he devised the Fijian orthography, which has confounded generations of visitors, and moved many a senior expatriate official to decide on its immediate 'reform', only to find that the Fijians themselves regarded it as simple and logical and in no need of tinkering with by outsiders, many of whom could not even speak the language.

Cargill's seemingly inconsequential request to John Hobbs, the mission printer, to 'cast me some Greek thetas' must surely rank among the more pregnant remarks in Fijian history, leading as it did to the adoption of the spare letter C to represent the Fijian Th, and indirectly to other devices for symbolising invariable local consonant successions. So now we write Cakobau and Beqa but say Thakombau and Mbengga, to the alleged detriment of the tourist industry.

Furthermore, as a scholar Cargill is able to record Fijian cultural traits, for example the customary procedures on the death of a chief, with a detail often missing in other accounts. In reading his narrative, however, one has to keep

in mind that he is apt like Lowry, the first Methodist to serve in the islands, to see the unevangelised as 'earthly, sensual, devilish' whose 'whole lives are a scene of corruption'. There are indeed few missionaries to whose evidence on the heathen one should not accord the same careful checking and corroboration that one would give to a hostile witness in court.

As to the mode of Cargill's death the accounts given by those present are here set down in full. Personally I had regarded the case for deliberate suicide as 'not proven', since it seemed to me improbable that anyone imbued with the theological views on suicide current in Cargill's time and circles would knowingly take an overdose of laudanum, follow it with an emetic and then return to his interrupted writing on the religious state of the Tongan people.

The thesis advanced in the epilogue, however, provides for the first time what appears to be a convincing rationale for Cargill's seemingly incomprehensible act: that he was suffering from extreme post-dengue psychotic depression and was not, in fact, responsible for his actions at the time of his death. The correct verdict for those who accept this view must therefore be 'suicide while temporarily of unsound mind'. Perhaps it does not matter much today when even premeditated suicide is regarded as cause for pity rather than as a crime; and in any event it should not be allowed to colour our estimate of his life and achievements.

The Pacific History Series has been fortunate from the outset in securing editors who have established its reputation through the quality of their introductions, annotations, and references; and I am confident that the present book will be found to have maintained the high standard of earlier issues.

Dr Albert J. Schütz, a Professor in the

Department of Linguistics at the University of Hawaii, is well-known both as a pioneer in the field of the history of Pacific linguistics and as a specialist in Fijian. He obtained his doctorate at Cornell University in 1962 for a thesis entitled 'A dialect survey of Viti Levu', the historical introduction to which eventually led to *The Languages of Fiji*.¹ He is now working on a monolingual Fijian dictionary, the first for any Pacific language.

Dr Schütz's fieldwork led to the development of a special interest in the manuscript documentation dealing with the history of Fijian language studies: and thus to Cargill. To quote from his earlier study:

One of these documents was particularly moving: Cargill's first journal, covering the years from 1832 until 1840, showed his progress with linguistic analysis while simultaneously revealing the deterioration of the man, caused by the rigours of life in the Fiji of that period, seemingly insurmountable odds against Christianizing the inhabitants, the death of his wife, and his bouts of alcoholism. Other manuscripts may have proved more valuable for this study, but none showed so vividly the sacrifices these first linguists made.²

From this interest there grew a conviction that Cargill's work had not received proper recognition — and hence this volume.

Canberra, 1975

H.E. Maude

1 Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1972.

2 *The Languages of Fiji*, p. vii.

Acknowledgments

I should like to express my appreciation to those connected with the following institutions for granting permission to publish material in their collections or publications: the Mitchell Library, Sydney, for Cargill's first two diaries and related correspondence between those missionaries in Fiji, Tonga, and Australia and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Headquarters in London; the Society for additional manuscripts in its collection; the Fiji Museum, Suva, for Cargill's final diary; the Auckland Institute and Museum for John Hobbs's diary; the Methodist Archives Research Centre, London, for the Cargill letter in its possession; and the Epworth Press, London, for material quoted from Burton and Deane, *A Hundred Years in Fiji*.

Granting agencies that helped support research for this project are the National Science Foundation, the Hawaiian Electric Company, the American Council of Learned Societies, and the University of Hawaii Research Council.

Besides those direct contributors of journals and letters named above, the following

collections have provided much valuable information: the University of Hawaii's Hawaiian and Pacific Collection; the Bishop Museum Library, Honolulu; the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington; the Hocken Library, Dunedin; the National Library of Australia, Canberra; and the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. I am especially indebted to Janet E. Bell, Emeritus Curator of the Hawaiian and Pacific Collection at the University of Hawaii, to Renee Heyum, now the Pacific Curator, and to their able staff, who have kept alert for Cargill material for over ten years.

A number of people have helped this project by sharing their own special knowledge or by finding ways to track down elusive details of a life that ended 130 years ago, and I should like to thank each of them: T.F. Ashton-Martin, Jacqueline Tanny Fa'anunu, Peter France, W. Niel Gunson, G.B. Milner, Tevita Nawadra, Tupou Pulu, Stanley Starosta, and Lindsay Verrier.

Friends who were patient enough to read through early drafts and make valuable stylistic suggestions are: Janet E. Bell, O.A. Bushnell, Samuel H. Elbert, George H. Kerr, Alfons Korn, and Robert Tonkinson.

Finally, I should like to acknowledge a debt of gratitude to a scholar who has encouraged this work in every way possible, who has with gentleness and patience tolerated this unorthodox history from a linguist's viewpoint, and who as General Editor of this series, as well as through his own scholarly works, has made a lasting contribution to Pacific studies. It gives me great pleasure to dedicate this book to H.E. Maude.

A.J.S.

Honolulu, 1975

Abbreviations

- ML Mitchell Library, Sydney.
UH University of Hawaii.
WMS Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. Originally held in London, the Fiji (inward) correspondence was turned over to the Mitchell Library. The Tonga correspondence is still held in London, but there are microfilm copies in the University of Hawaii Library and the Mitchell Library.

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Introduction

In the 1830s, David Cargill, a brilliant young missionary from Scotland, devised for the Fijian language an alphabet embodying linguistic principles nearly a century ahead of their time. To this day, the Fijian orthography has pleased linguists with its sophistication, has spared Fijians needless spelling rules by its simplicity and regularity, and has confounded tourists and travel writers because of its unfamiliar use of familiar letters. But when Cargill's name is spoken in Fiji, it is usually in connection with the arrival of the first two European missionaries and ironically linked with that of his co-worker, William Cross, implying a David-and-Jonathan comradeship between two men who barely tolerated each other.

Histories from both sacred and secular points of view have taken firm note of the missionaries' arrival in 1835, for the occasion marked the beginning of the Wesleyan Church in Fiji. But after the first mention of Cargill, later references are few, and he becomes a character with an entrance but no exit. R.A. Derrick, in his *History of Fiji*, placed him mainly in the role of an observer — an occasional commentator on events and the activities of important Fijian personalities of the period.¹

But it was as a linguist, not as an observer of customs, that Cargill was trained. And as the only trained linguist in the area — indeed, in the Pacific islands — he wrote the first grammar and dictionary for a Fijian language, works that served as a basis for all the language

1. There are twelve references to Cargill in the index (Derrick 1957b). Eight of these are Cargill's reports of incidents; the others refer to such matters as his ability to speak Tongan, two of his trips, and his academic background — the last, by the way, incorrectly identifying his university as Oxford.

studies that followed. As 'Chairman of the Feejee District', he supervised the translation of parts of the Bible into Fijian, and from his practical work with this language and with Tongan, began to form theories about the relationships among Austronesian languages. But his work reached few scholars abroad, and his colleagues and fellow churchmen mentioned him mainly in the preface of the Fijian grammar, and then merely as one of the framers of the orthography. In 1941, when both the grammar and the dictionary were revised (still from within the church family), the compilers of those works made no mention of his name at all.

In some ways, Cargill was a victim of his own professional superiority, for his present obscurity is due in part to a shortage of qualified missionaries and the resultant spreading of his talents over too large an area. He had scarcely made a beginning on his Tongan studies when he was assigned (at a District Meeting the brethren voted his transferral in his absence) to Fiji. There he made remarkable progress on the language of Lakeba Island, and his journal entries and letters show ambitious plans for a dictionary, a grammar, and a comparative work on all the languages of Fiji. 'I may in a short time and with comparatively little labour become master of all the dialects in the groupe', he wrote. But, in the pattern of his previous reassignment, he was forced to move to the hostile area of Rewa, where his duties, magnified by the resistance of the people there to conversion, kept him from making much more than a start on a new and different dialect. After the death of his wife necessitated a period of leave in the British Isles, it was not to Fiji that he was reappointed (as he requested), but to Tonga. Thus, his earlier contributions to Fijian Bible translations and the manuscript dictionary and grammar were first assimilated by the other missionaries and then discarded and virtually forgotten when the language of Bau was chosen as the *lingua franca*.

The official church biographies, rarely other than conventional, sketched with rapid strokes the whole of Cargill's professional life:

While pursuing his studies at the University of Aberdeen, he was brought to the saving knowledge of God, under the Wesleyan ministry. In the year 1832, he was appointed as a Missionary to the Friendly Islands; where it pleased the great Head of the church to crown his endeavours with eminent success. He laboured faithfully, and suffered much privation and hardship in the formation of the Feejee Mission, until personal and family affliction rendered his removal necessary. Having visited England, he was re-

appointed to the Mission in the Friendly Islands, with the special view that his talents and learning might be rendered subservient to a correct translation of the sacred Scriptures into the native language. The expectations which were entertained in consequence of this arrangement were, however, painfully cut off by his sudden and unexpected death, which took place at Vavau, on the 25th of April, 1843.²

A later sketch inched closer to the truth about the nearly-tabu topic of Cargill's disagreements with his colleagues:

His piety was strict and deeply serious, with a touch of the old Covenanting austerity about it, and with something of the scholar's preciseness, which his Junior English colleagues did not always relish. In these qualities he would doubtless have mellowed with advancing years. He was called away in early middle life, while his work was immature.³

But by 1914, the passage of time and a desire for amelioration had dulled, even mutilated the edge of accuracy:

His training and erudition were invaluable to the mission in its early stages, and his enthusiasm never waned. Though compelled to leave Fiji, he could not content himself away from missionary work, and in less than two years' time we find him again in Tonga, his first field of service. For a short twelve months he was spared, and died at Vavau on September 25, 1843, less than a year after his comrade Cross.⁴

It is unlikely that the biographer knew that when Cargill left Fiji, his 'comrade Cross' wrote the following to the Wesleyan headquarters in London:

... Mr. Cargill and I were never happy as fellow laborers ... but Mr. C. is gone from this field, and I would that the *very many* things of a *painful* nature which occurred between us were gone from my mind. When we were together, I strove hard to live in peace, but could not succeed: Mr. C. was sometimes kind and affectionate, but at other times we were exceedingly unhappy.⁵

2. Obituary from the *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* for the year 1844. Vol. xxiii of the Third Series, p. 774.

3. Findlay and Holdsworth 1921, III: 400.

4. Bennett 1914: 455-6.

5. Cross to WMS, 11 January 1841.

Cargill's actual state of mind, at least on his return to Tonga, was clearly the antithesis of the biographer's assertion of 'never-waning enthusiasm'. His last letter to the Wesleyan headquarters in London expressed the utmost depression about the state of the Tonga Mission. A colleague reported that 'frequently would he weep most profusely without any apparent cause'.⁶

As one progresses through the journals and letters, one can observe the accumulation of Cargill's problems and his lessening ability to cope with them. Thus, his death does not seem as 'unexpected and sudden' as it did to the church historian. After witnessing scenes of cannibalism and widow-strangling, suffering the death of his wife and two children, alienating most of his fellow missionaries, and realising the shallowness of the Tongans' once-exuberant piety, Cargill was pushed over the limit of his endurance by the depressive aftermath of a tropical illness. Apparently while drunk, and within full view of his second wife, he killed himself by taking an overdose of laudanum.

David Cargill was born in Brechin, Forfar, Scotland — about midway between Perth and Aberdeen — on 20 June 1809, the son of James Cargill, a banker, and Grace Mary Cameron Cargill. On the title page of the first volume of his diary, he identified himself as a Master of Arts from King's College, University of Aberdeen. He had entered the university at seventeen years of age, in 1826, the same year that he met Margaret Smith, who later became his fiancée. Cargill described at length Margaret Smith's conversion from Presbyterianism to Methodism, and one can assume that Cargill himself was influential in the change, for he had also been of Presbyterian background.⁷

On 11 April 1832, the Preachers of the London Districts held a meeting, and on examining Cargill's credentials, found that he 'has a matrimonial engagement — is free from debt — enjoys good health — willing to go wherever the Conference and Committee may appoint . . . Accepted if his preaching be approved'.⁸

Cargill elaborated on his willingness to go where appointed. 'In offering himself to his fathers in the ministry, he did not feel at liberty to choose for himself any part of the great field the world in preference to another' (emulating John Wesley, who considered the

6. Turner to WMS, Nuku'alofa, 20 June 1843.

7. W.N. Gunson, personal communication, 1974.

8. Minutes of a Meeting of the Preachers of the London Districts, held 11 April 1832.

world his parish?). He was enlisted for Fiji, but was to spend time in Tonga to prepare for the Fiji Mission.

Inspired perhaps by Cook's warm epithet the Friendly Islands and the evangelistic fervour of the eighteenth century, the London Missionary Society (LMS) had chosen Tonga as the site of one of its first projects. Little realising the irony in Cook's misnomer (the Tongans had plotted to kill him), in 1797 the LMS landed a party of ten on Tongatapu. Alternately hindered and helped by the small group of European residents on the island, the mission survived three troubled years: one member deserted the group for a Tongan woman, three were killed in an uprising, and finally the rest escaped on an English ship to Sydney, thus ending the first mission to the 'Friendly Islands'.⁹

But the pleasant overtones of the name remained. Some years after the failure of the LMS, Walter Lawry, the second Methodist missionary to work in Australia, took an interest in Tonga. He wrote optimistically to the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMS) in London:

15 July 1819

I have in Several of My Letters spoken to you of Tongataboo (one of the Friendly Islands) as the fairest & best opening for a Wesleyan Missionary Station in these Seas, the inhabitants of the Friendly [Islands] visit from time to time those of the Society Islands, & appear extremely hospitable & friendly. I have conversed with several who have been ashore at Tongataboo & whose report is very friendly to the establishment of a Mission there. The Rev^d Sam^l Marsden has long marked it out for us & written to you to that effect, but his letters were never acknowledged. I do long for a Mission in the Friendly Islands and unto none is the opening so fair as unto us. In New South Wales we are a little England removed to the South Side of the sun. . . .¹⁰

12 October 1821

The method which appears to me most likely to promote the

9. Findlay and Holdsworth 1921, III: 266-7. These missionaries were not ordained ministers, but instead were sent 'to pave the way for the Gospel by the introduction of secular arts and the material benefits of Christianity'. Their emphasis on the secular and their subsequent failure may have influenced the Wesleyans later to tip the scales too heavily in favour of the sacred.

George Vason, the deserter, later gave an account of that early mission effort in his narrative (Vason 1810). He eventually regretted his actions, calling that time 'a period of my life, in which I little regarded the pure heavenly design on which I set out, and disgraced my character as a christian' (p. 91).

10. Lawry to WMS, Mitchell Library, Bonwick Transc.

Tonga Mission is this; not less than *three* Missionaries should be appointed, all to set out from Port Jackson together, one an Agriculturist, one a Mechanic, and one a Surgeon — With these a few pious Mechanics might go, to assist erecting the Mission House & for instance, a blacksmith, a carpenter, a bricklayer & perhaps a pair of Sawyers — all these might, without any difficulty, be procured here. . . . With my present convictions, I could not go without them, if I maintained them at my own expense. And these are not my opinions only, they are the opinions of all our judicious friends & of all the brethren. . . .¹¹

Eventually, Lawry arrived at Tongatapu with his family and a few tradesmen,¹² and for a time made some progress. Hampered particularly by his inability to communicate in Tongan, and also by the failure of the Tongans to understand his Marquesan assistant, Lawry finally cried, 'Oh, what a curse is the confusion of tongues!'¹³ Frustrated by these matters, and perhaps conspired against by the keepers of the indigenous religion, who saw him as a threat,¹⁴ he reversed his earlier opinions of the Friendly Islanders:

The navigators who first visited these islands, and the castaway mariners who have resided among them for several years have attempted to wash these Ethiopians white. The fact is, however, they follow their natural inclinations, and are earthly, sensual, devilish. It is not considered a disgrace to lie or steal unless detection follows; and then it is very rarely punished. Treachery is the peculiar characteristic of the islanders; and as to chastity, it is little regarded. Their whole lives are a scene of corruption.¹⁵
Within the next year, Lawry had to leave Tonga because of his

11. Ibid. The need for carpenters and mechanics was a recurring theme throughout Cargill's stay.

12. They arrived on 16 August 1822. The tradesmen were a carpenter, a blacksmith, and an agriculturist of sorts (Findlay and Holdsworth 1921, III: 269). By this time, Lawry's previous enthusiasm seems to have waned. Hames (1967: 12-19) suggested that Lawry's eventual assignment to Tonga was a move to remove him from controversy and an unfriendly superior in New South Wales. 'He was there [Tonga] only because the Missionary Committee had sent him, against his will. . . .'

13. Findlay and Holdsworth 1921, III: 271. A mistake repeated since Cook's time has been to refer to the languages of this area as the Polynesian 'dialects' and to expect speakers of such diverse languages as Tongan and Marquesan to understand each other.

14. Thomson (1894: 200-3) was of the opinion that the resistance to the spread of Christianity came not from the priests, but from the chiefs, who observed that the new religion would take away some of their privileges (Gifford 1929: 347).

15. Findlay and Holdsworth 1921, III: 273.

wife's health. Although he had made no converts, his departure was considerably more peaceful than that of his LMS predecessors. Lawry never returned to Tonga, but in 1826 a third, and this time successful, start was made at the mission by John Thomas and a colleague, John Hutchinson, with their wives. Eventually depressed and ready to leave, they were cheered by the arrival of Nathaniel Turner, who had acted without the sanction of the Mission House in his decision to save the Tonga Mission.¹⁶ The concentrated labours of these men, with several other missionaries, effected a number of dramatic conversions, and by 7 October 1829, encouraged by the 'will of God' and more demonstrable evidence in the form of reports from Thomas, Turner, and others, the Wesleyan Methodist Mission Society decided that it was time to send additional missionaries to Tonga.

During the first years of this now successfully established mission, it was staffed with earnest but relatively uneducated workers. For instance, Thomas, described as 'the real father of the Church of God in Tonga', was painted in dull colours by historians ('His upbringing was rustic, his education of the slenderest. . . He had no brilliant natural gifts, nor charm of person or address, to make up for his lack of training')¹⁷ and even less attractively by himself ('What a raw, weak, uncultivated wretch was I when I left old England!')¹⁸

Cargill, then, with his degree and especially his training in classical languages, represented a departure from the previous series of converted blacksmiths and farmers. An assignment to Tonga met with his approval and that of his fiancée. On 6 September 1832 they were married in Old Machar Parish, Aberdeen, and a little over a month later, left London for the South Pacific.

Cargill began his diary with this voyage and continued it, in two volumes, throughout his brief stays in Australia and New Zealand, and the longer periods in Tonga and Fiji, until just after his wife's death, when he and his children set sail from Hobart for London. Almost exactly a century later, Miss A. Douglas Brown gave the diaries to the Mitchell Library, Sydney, where they are now part of the manuscript collection.

Except for a brief note about the writing he did on that trip, his year's leave in the British Isles is largely unaccounted for. The Methodist Archives Research Centre at Epworth House in London has no record of his having served a parish. But it was during this

16. *Ibid.*, 277-86.

17. *Ibid.*, 278.

18. *Ibid.*, 282.

time that he saw a book through the press and wrote a lengthy defence of the Tongan Mission against a published 'slandorous attack' by Chevalier Dillon, an outspoken critic of the Wesleyans.¹⁹

Although the title of the book Cargill completed in England — *The Memoirs of Mrs. Margaret Cargill*²⁰ — would seem to indicate an edition of her journals and letters, it consists more of Cargill's own, supplemented by some of her letters to her own family and her husband's repeated eulogies to her character. Therefore, the *Memoirs* contain much of what Cargill wrote in his diary from 1832-40.

It would be satisfying to be able to say that Cargill was considerably more candid in his diary than in his published works. But in general, such is not the case. Everything he wrote was with the knowledge that it might be preserved and read later, for not only was his century one of Memoirs and Lives, but also his superiors demanded a publishable record:

It is *peremptorily required* of every Missionary in our Connexion to keep a Journal, and to send home frequently such copious abstracts of it as may give a full and particular account of his labours, success, and prospects. He is also required to give such details of a religious kind as may be generally interesting to the friends of Missions at home; particularly, accounts of conversions. Only, we recommend to you, not to allow yourselves, under the influence of religious joy, to give any *high colouring* of facts; but always write such accounts as you would not object to see return in print to the place where the facts reported may have occurred.²¹

Even his frequently expressed self-doubts seemed designed to be read, for most of them were modestly concerned with his spiritual limitations. It remained for his colleagues to point out his weaknesses of the flesh. But occasionally, he allowed a view beyond the façade of his self control. The description of his wife's death, grotesque and yet moving in its attention to detail, is even more vivid in the original

19. Cargill 1842. Henderson (1931a, 224n.) explained that Dillon's 'attack' was made in the form of a letter, printed in R.P. Mangeret's book on Monseigneur Bataillon. In December 1837, Dillon wrote to John Thomas, head of the Tonga Mission, accusing him of murdering men, women and children in order to propagate the Gospel. Margaret considered the letter a 'document irrefutable'. But, Henderson noted: 'David Cargill had no difficulty in refuting it on his visit to England to the satisfaction of the British public'.

20. Cargill 1841.

21. R.B. Lyth certificate, 29 September 1836, showing the composition of the Committee and the rules of the Society.

manuscript, for there the shaky scrawl contrasts markedly with the gracefully ornate handwriting on the title page, written just eight years before.

As Cargill set out for his return to the mission field, he began the final volume of his diary. This manuscript remained in the possession of his descendants until 1935, when his granddaughters — Mrs Marshall, Mrs Pitman, and Miss N. Cargill — presented it to the Fiji Government to commemorate the centenary of the arrival of the first Wesleyan missionaries in Fiji. It is now housed in the Fiji Museum, Suva.

To supplement these somewhat constrained writings, I have tried to provide an outside view of events and the man who described them by drawing from some of his colleagues' letters and from the writings of such contemporaries as Charles Wilkes of the United States Exploring Expedition.

Naturally, these different sources, especially the unpublished ones, reflect their authors' individual styles. In the presentation of manuscript material, as much as possible of the original spelling, punctuation, and abbreviations has been retained. The content of certain entries, however, presented a problem, the solution to which may be unsatisfactory to some readers. A number of entries have been partially or entirely deleted, especially those of two kinds. First, Cargill himself mentioned the 'comparative ennui of a sea-voyage', and at times transferred this mood to his diary. Thus I have deleted many entries consisting mainly of compass readings and weather reports.

The second kind of deletion was a more delicate problem. Although Cargill's personal prayers and subject and textual references for sermons add somewhat to an understanding of his personality, their repetition becomes tiresome to one not directly concerned with such matters. I finally decided to retain only such entries as had a bearing on the events being described — such as the conversion of some Tongans and the resistance of others. Those specialists interested in theology, or in the weather, or in how far a ship could sail in one day may refer to the original manuscripts.

1 The First Voyage and the Colonies

22 October 1832-19 March 1833

Monday

22 October 1832

Parted with our friends in London and sailing down the Thames by the Steamer, went on board the Caroline within a few miles of Gravesend. Our feelings were a good deal excited when parting with our friends and leaving our native land. — the Caroline is a well-built vessel. Our Cabin is small but convenient. The Captain [Treadwell] seems very agreeable and anxious to make us comfortable. Our party consists of seven persons — Mr & Mrs Whiteley from New Zealand, Miss Green — to be married to her friend Mr Manton at New South Wales — And Mr and Mrs Tucker who are appointed to accompany My Dear Wife and myself to Tonga.¹ — While on the trackless ocean may Jonah's God be our God! And if spared to reach the place of our destination, may we be blessed ourselves, and made a blessing to others.

Because of becalmed weather, it was two weeks before the passengers on the Caroline lost sight of Cornwall. When the wind finally changed in their favour, they had the first taste of seasickness that was to plague them throughout the voyage. Cargill was too ill in the first three weeks of November to write in his journal, and his wife's sufferings were even worse.²

1. John Whiteley, who eventually served thirty-six years in New Zealand (Findlay and Holdsworth 1921, III: 206); John Allen Manton, who was serving his missionary apprenticeship (*ibid.*, 50, 69); Charles Tucker, who later became Superintendent of the Tongatapu Circuit (*ibid.*, 316).

2. Throughout the voyage, Cargill made fairly regular entries. This portion of the journal has been condensed considerably.

Wednesday
28 November 1832

... On the 11th Mrs. C from the continuance of the seasickness, and excessive costiveness induced by it, was reduced to such a state of weakness and apparent insensibility, that her recovery was despaired of. During the interval of the paroxysms of her pain, I enquired into the state of her mind. And although her body was severely afflicted, yet her thoughts were composed, and her prospects bright and happy. She expressed a willingness to live or die, and an assurance that her hope was fixed on the atonement of her Savior. But the Lord was pleased to bless the means employed for her relief, & to spare the desire of my eyes. For this great mercy, may I render to him a constant tribute of unfeigned gratitude!

With the rough weather came an apparent change in the personality of the captain. The earlier references to 'the kindness of the captain' were considerably revised:

The Captain has disappointed our hopes. Our opinion of him was prematurely formed. His professions of respect for us, and promises to attend to our comfort have had I fear more sound than meaning! He is selfish, vulgar — fickle — & easily prejudiced. A few days ago, he promised to let M^{rs} C have any thing she wished for; and yesterday refused. In some of our own party there is not that openness of heart, nor unity of affection, nor congeniality of spirit which is desirable and necessary for our mutual comfort and happiness. May I with grace check and destroy every unhallowed passion.

Events of the voyage continued with a certain regularity: three services on Sundays, stretches of rough weather, and a persisting conflict with the captain. In March, the Caroline drew near its destination.

Wednesday
6 March 1833

During the last month, we have had to pass through a variety of scenes. Our faith and patience have been tried by storms without and storms within. We have seen wars in the elements of nature, & have been the unwilling witnesses of tumults in the breasts of sinners. We have generally had strong & favorable breezes; & have twice been exposed to very heavy gales of wind. On Sunday 24th Feb^{ry} we were under close-reefed topsails. The waves literally resembled a ridge of mountains rising one above another, in sublime but terrific grandeur. The gale continued about 36 hours: but by the never-failing mercy of God, the vessel weathered the storm, & not a hair of

our heads was injured. On Thursday we had another storm, which began about 12 O.C. the preceding night, and increased in violence till about 2 in the morning, when we were obliged to lie to, & allow the vessel to be drifted by the wind and waves. We continued in this condition till 4 P.M.

We have abundant cause to thank & praise the Giver of every good & perfect gift for that power & mercy by wh. we have been preserved in safety. May our hearts be filled with gratitude & love fill our hearts & flow from our lips!

But even when we are not tossed about by raging seas, our minds are kept in agitation, by day, & our rest is frequently disturbed by night, by the fury of the Captain breaking out in abusive & threatening language to the passengers, & in charges of mutinous intention to the crew. When he sleeps, he is surrounded by cutlasses & loaded pistols, & often acts like a lunatic, rather than a rational being. But it is a cheering thought, that we have the prospect of soon terminating our voyage. May God grant us a speedy & happy landing!

Thursday

14 March 1833

This evening we discovered Mount Dromedary — a high mountain on the east coast of New Holland [Australia]. This afforded us a very cheering sight, as we have not seen any land since we took our departure from Land's end in Cornwall.

Monday

18 March 1833

This evening about twilight we passed the five islands [Illawarra], a group consisting of 5 small islands and inhabited by English immigrants about 40 miles south of Port Jackson [Sydney]. The coast of New Holland appears bold and rocky. In many places it seems to rival the grandest of nature's works. Mount Perpendicular — the name given to the point of land on the north of Jervis' Bay is marked on the chart as being 620 ft high. About Midnight we saw the revolving light on the south Head of Port Jackson.

Tuesday

19 March 1833

This morning we set our feet on Australian land, and were kindly and affectionately received by M^r & M^{rs} Orton.³ Our voyage was

3. Joseph Orton, who had been appointed Superintendent of the Mission by the Conference in 1831. He had spent his missionary probation in Jamaica (Findlay and Holdsworth 1921, III: 49).

exactly 21 weeks from the day we weighed anchor at Gravesend. We all felt as being delivered from the hands & persecutions of wicked men. We greatly rejoiced to have an opportunity of meeting with the people of God in his courts. O that we may never forget the obligations under which we are placed to our Heavenly Father!

The landing gave Cargill an opportunity to write to London on the effects of the voyage, particularly on the conduct of the captain:

But I must not shock you by entering into the particulars of his awful expressions & wicked conduct. His conversation at table was vulgar in the extreme, & often obscene. He selected the *best* of the things which were put on board by M^r Brookes for the use of the passengers in general, & in a clandestine way feasted on them in his own cabin, & lavished them on a lady passenger . . .

He has threatened to run the ship to the nearest land & get clear of all the passengers. He has attacked us personally & threatened to kill us. Although he never spoke against M^{rs} C. yet she felt so keenly while he was abusing others, that on one occasion she sustained serious injury. . . .⁴

His sailing companion, Tucker, independently concurred with Cargill, but in his letter there is a hint of at least one reason behind the captain's behaviour:

I am sorry to inform you that the Captⁿ did not meet our expectations, he sometimes made our way rough and thorny and hindered in almost every possible way our being useful to the sailors. I hope you will never send out any more Missionaries in any ship which he may command.⁵

Evidently, the zeal of the neophyte missionaries had led them to ply their trade, unsolicited, on the crew.

Both men complained of the food during the latter part of the voyage: 'salt provision' . . . and brown biscuits that were 'hard, fousty, and full of inhabitants'.

But it was the constant seasickness that took the greatest toll. Tucker reported that the women in the party were 'poorly more or less during the voyage'. Mrs Cargill was, in fact, pregnant, and even after almost two months in Sydney was so ill that Orton had 'serious apprehensions concerning her recovery'.⁶ During this difficult time, the missionaries in their letters at least remained coyly silent about the nature of her affliction. Later Cargill wrote: '. . . and we shall be able to prosecute our voyage in a short time: or rather when a change

4. Cargill to WMS, Sydney, 27 March 1833.

5. Tucker to WMS, Sydney, 23 March 1833.

6. Orton to WMS, Sydney, 4 May 1833.

which is daily expected, & concerning which I shall be more explicit in my next communication shall have taken place'.⁷

In the meantime, he settled into his new work:

Wednesday

27 March 1833

It is probable that we shall have to remain 3 or 4 months in Sydney. M^{rs}Cargill is much weakened by the voyage. There have been many hinderances in the way of improvement in Sydney, so that religion seems to be at a low ebb. There is however the appearance of a little cloud in the heavens. The congregations though small are very attentive to the word. O Lord, I beseech Thee, send now prosperity. I feel determined through divine grace to be entirely devoted to the work in which I am engaged. May the Lord qualify me for usefulness.

During his stay in Australia, Cargill met his future co-worker for Fiji, William Cross. Twelve years older than Cargill, Cross was relatively speaking a veteran in the mission field, having been in Tonga since 1828. In 1832, his wife was washed off a canoe in a storm, and Cross, clinging to her body, saved himself by catching hold of some boards. Just before Cargill's arrival in New South Wales, he returned there, 'the object of his visit . . . that of recruiting [?] his health — and also of obtaining a Wife . . .'.⁸

With Cross's four years' experience in Tonga, it seems odd that he was not proposed as a tutor for Cargill, but the latter wrote:

It is not likely that we shall meet with anyone in this place qualified to teach us the Tonga language. M^r Orton has furnished us with a few translations: they will perhaps assist me in [] myself master of a small vocabulary; till I shall [have] better facilities for acquiring the language.⁹

During the voyage we made but little progress in the acquisition of Greek. M^r Whiteley, I think, advanced as far as the end of the first conjugation. What he has acquired, he seems to understand. M^r Tucker could translate the first 12 verses of the 1st ch. of John.

In September Orton wrote that the latter part of Cross's objective had already been accomplished, and that his health was greatly improved.

The journal continues:

7. Cargill to WMS (Beecham), Sydney, 14 September 1833.

8. Orton to WMS, Sydney, 3 September 1833.

9. Cargill to WMS, Sydney, 27 March 1833.

Thursday

20 June 1833

This day I have lived twenty-four years. My life has been hitherto a life of many mercies. I feel condemned for my ingratitude, & the small progress I have made in divine things. I have indeed been a cumberer of the ground. O Lord, revive thy work in my heart! Enable me to make an unreserved dedication of the members of my body & the faculties of my soul to thy service.

Most of the inhabitants of this Colony are sunk very low in the mire of iniquity. And even the piety of professing Christians is very superficial. The profligacy of the wicked, & the lukewarmness of professors, call loudly for divine vengeance. There are but few encouragements for the labourer in this part of the vineyard. To use the expression of the venerable & respected M^r McAllum, preaching to the Majority of the inhabitants, is like 'plowing among rocks.' But although the society do not appear to consider one another to provoke one another to love and good works, it is nevertheless to be expected that some of the seeds of grace are sown in good ground. There are a few who possess a leaven of piety & love. But their ardour is so damped by the prevailing lukewarmness, that they are entirely thrown into the background. May the happy day soon dawn when the inhabitants of this Colony shall have been raised from their moral degradation!

I am engaged in attending to M^r Orton's appointments during his absence: And have frequently to preach 5 or 6 times in Sydney during the week. The Lord has been pleased so far to honour me as to make my services useful in the conviction & conversion of two or three persons who it is hoped, will be living stones in the temple of God. My time is chiefly occupied in preparing for the pulpit, & visiting the people, so that I have had but little time to improve my stock of general knowledge. . . .

Monday

1 July 1833

Parted with my dear wife, who, for the sake of change of air has gone to spend a few weeks with M^{rs} Simpson @ Windsor.¹⁰ Received an affectionate letter from M^r Orton informing me of his safe arrival in New Zealand, & of his inability to return so soon as was expected.

10. Wife of William Simpson, who had accompanied Orton to the Australian mission field (Findlay and Holdsworth 1921, III: 50).

Thursday
4 July 1833

Finished reading D^r Raffles' lectures in two volumes. A short time ago read ~ 'The Lives of Longden & Spencer.' ~ I feel discouraged on account of the indifference & apathy of professing Xians. And although the congregation is nearly double what it was some months ago, yet the members of society seem to be content with their present attainments, & to make no progress in divine things. There are a few *flowers*, but little *fruit*. May the seed sown be like bread cast upon the water!

Monday
29 July 1833

Preached yesterday evening from the 107 Ps ~ 23 & 24 verses They that go down to the sea and ships &c to improve the loss of the Hibernia & make a collection in behalf of the survivors. The 'Hibernia' was bound for Port Jackson, & had on board upward of 200 immigrants. In south lat: 5 & long: a bucket of spirits was ignited by a spark wh. accidentally fell from a candle. Strenuous efforts were made to arrest the progress of the flames, but without effect. Having no hope of saving the vessel, the commander ordered the boats to be lowered, & as many as could crowded into them. The sufferings of the passengers both in the ships and boats were indescribable. Three young ladies sisters remained on deck till the flames were seizing them, & preferring drowning to burning, twined their arms round each others necks & plunged into the sea. Mothers saw their children enveloped in flames — husbands their wives & wives their husbands. In the boats their sufferings were extreme, till they were providentially taken up by the 'Lotus' & carried to Rio de Janeiro, where they were kindly received & humanely treated. 16 of the survivors have arrived in Sydney the rest have settled @ Hobart Town. In both Colonies liberal contributions have been made for them.

Friday
5 August 1833

Preached yesterday in the Windsor Circuit, & rode 26 miles through the bush. The most of the inhabitants seem to have no regard for religion. The services are thinly attended. There cannot possibly be a more discouraging field of missionary enterprise; in a place where the people call themselves Xians & do not carry on open hostilities against the few who attend to the one thing needful.

Sunday

4 September 1833

Rode about 26 miles through 'the bush' in company with Mr. Orton to visit the people residing in the vicinity of Botany Bay. Some of them are in a deplorable and wretched condition; We fell in with a small village on the beach, inhabited by fishermen, who not only neglect and violate the Christian Sabbath by pursuing their usual employment, but seem destitute of even the form of godliness, & we have reason to suspect, are living in concubinage with aboriginal women. One of the women, however, expressed a desire to learn to read: & there was an air of cleanliness about the huts wh. ill accorded with their heathenish depravity. Does not the condition of such pitiable beings prove, that man without the Gospel is foolish, & is prone to say, 'There is no God'? ~ Returned home about ½ past 5 P.M. and @ 7 — preached in Macquarie St. Chapel from — 'behold I stand @ the door and knock' &c.¹¹

Thursday

12 September 1833

Rode yesterday to Liverpool, and preached in a dirty school room in an upper story. And though I did not observe an Eutychus present, yet the congregation did not consist of above 9 adults and a few children. It was rather disheartening, after riding 21 miles on a road infested with bush-rangers.

Friday

13 September 1833

Accompanied M^r Orton on a journey to South Head, to apprise the inhabitants that divine service was to be re-commenced, & continued every alternate Sabbath. This also is by no means an encouraging place. The local preachers have frequently had a congregation of only two or three. The people on whom we called however received us with kindness, and expressed their pleasure on being informed that the place was still to be kept on the circuit. They all pledged themselves to be regular in their attendance.

Our ride afforded us much pleasure and satisfaction. The prospect at every winding of the road was new & interesting. Occasionally we

11. The Macquarie Street Chapel (Lachlan Macquarie was governor of the British Colonies in Australia from 1809 to 1821) was the site of the first Wesleyan missionary meeting in the Southern Hemisphere on 1 October 1821. In a later financial scandal (1826), it was found that the missionaries had borrowed £1000 on the credit of the Mission Society for its construction (Findlay and Holdsworth 1921, III: 31, 32). The London Committee blamed Lawry for the financial difficulties (Hames 1967: 20).

halted to admire the mountains in the interior appearing like a dark blue line on the horizon. At other times our attention was turned to the small islands that stud Sydney Cove, & add variety & beauty to the scenery.

Saturday

19 October 1833

This afternoon (Saturday) my dear Maggie presented me with a fine little girl, after a very severe illness upwards of twelve hours. But by the blessing of a kind Providence, the child was brought into the world about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 P.M. Until nearly a quarter of a hour after the birth of the child, the medical attendant did not know whether it was dead or alive. But when she was presented to me, she appeared in a healthy thriving condition. ~ I now feel myself placed in a very responsible situation, having an immortal being committed to my care. May I have grace to train her up for heaven.

Sunday

20 October 1833

Mrs. C. exhibited symptoms of inflammation wh. induced Dr. Bland to draw a considerable quantity of blood from her; The disagreeable symptoms were removed, & she experienced great relief. Baby is doing well.

Sunday

10 November 1833

This morning @ the end of three weeks, Mrs. C. was enabled to attend the house of God. She felt very weak; but by the kindness of her heavenly father suffered no injury. May her gratitude be evidenced by a walk & conversation becoming the Gospel of X!

Sunday

17 November 1833

This morning our lovely infant was baptized in Marquarie St Ch. by the Revd W. Simpson. May the Lord spare her life and grant her grace to be a comfort & blessing to us. She is named Jane Smith out of respect to her grandmother.

The birth of the Cargills' child freed them at last for their long-delayed voyage to Tonga. The day after the baptism, Orton who by that time had had eight months' professional and personal contact with Cargill, saw fit to prepare the Tonga Mission for the arrival of its newest member. He wrote to John Thomas, Chairman of the Tonga District:

With some degree of diffidence I give my opinion as to the

character of Bro Cargill, this I do not from any disposition to dwell upon the imperfections of a Bro^r but from a sense of duty which I owe to you as an official person in the district where he is destined to labour and what I state is in confidence.

Mr. C is a young man of talent particularly [?] that of a fine imagination — his disposition is also good: But he has had no experience of men & things — particularly as to Methodism.

His talent has acquired for him inconsistent flatterers whose fulsomeness rather than having excited [?] his disgust, has fed his vanity. If I may distinguish between disposition & temper I should say that the former is good, but the latter is far from being so. I am sorry to give my judgement that he has acted most imprudently during his sojourning here. Not by any means in any act of immorality, but by an unjudicious proceeding with his friends. You must be aware, that upon my coming here I have had to contend with many unpleasant occurrences. I had succeeded to a considerable extent in allaying a party spirit which circumstances had given rise to. Unhappily for me and the Cause here that spirit has revived of late, which I principally attribute to the imprudence of Mr C not I hope designedly, but he has imprudently allowed himself to become a tool in the hands of the disaffected. He has caused me sleepless nights, & great anxiety and almost discourages me as to future efforts.

I hope he will conduct himself with more propriety amongst you, he will have no such opportunities of doing harm as he has had here. His great faults are *vain notions* & total inexperience. It grieves me exceedingly to have occasion to speak unfavourably, it is quite in opposition to my disposition. I love my Bⁿ I desire to promote their happiness — & w^d be silent as to their failings, but in this case I cannot have been perfectly silent, in justice to you under whose charge Bro^r C will be.

My advice is that you study well & decide positively what is your Methodistic line of duty, & with affecⁿ unflinchingly abide thereby: not swerving except when the peculiarity of the case, may justify some nonessential deviation from rule. I advise you thus because I am persuaded you will require firmness in this matter.

I most sincerely hope that by your judicious management he will become a devoted & useful missionary but I am sure it will never be but by the due exercise of discipline.¹²

In late November 1833 Cargill reported to the WMS in London on his progress thus far:

12. Orton to John Thomas, Sydney, 18 November 1833.

It affords me pleasure to have to inform you that Bro^r Cross and myself are on the eve of our departure for Tonga: we expect to sail on the 2nd of next month. The vessel is small, but our accommodation very comfortable. She will touch @ the Bay of Islands — New Zealand. It would have been desirable to obtain a vessel, to take us direct to the place of our destination; but that was impossible, without incurring much additional expense. Bro^r Orton has spared no exertion to secure our convenience & comfort during our voyage. May we have grace to throw ourselves on the protection of God, & the prayers of his people!

I forwarded you a letter by the Elizabeth, the last vessel which left this for England. Since that time we have got a daughter — born on the 19th Ult. M^{rs} C. was very ill: — but by the blessing of God on the kind attention of her medical attendant and the affectionate assistance of a friend or two, she has had a speedy recovery. Within the last fortnight, she has enjoyed better health than she has done, since we left our native land. The baby is thriving well. Our anxiety is excited at the prospect of a sea-voyage with such a young baby, especially as from our experience, M^{rs} C & myself expect to be very sick and helpless. But we place our reliance on the kindness of the God of Providence.

I cannot inform you of the abundant prosperity of the work of the Lord in this corner of his vineyard. A worldly spirit seems to engross the attention, & prompt the actions of the majority of the people. Nevertheless the Gospel now & then wins a triumph over the propensities of nature, & the labourers, we believe, are encouraged by seeing here & there a few blossoms, which bid fair to bring forth the fruits of righteousness and eternal glory. The more I hear of Tonga — & the more I compare it with other fields of Missionary enterprise, the more I am delighted with my appointment. The pleasure of being sent on this embassy of love, more than compensates for the privation of many comforts. The sense of my own weakness constrains me to acknowledge my insufficiency for the important work in which I am engaged. But I pray to be strengthened with God's grace, instructed by his spirit, & encouraged with evident tokens of his presence. Next to the promises of God, the prayers & intercessions of believing thousands on behalf of Missionaries, are to me a source of unspeakable comfort. May we be allowed to repeat to you & our friends in England & Scotland, — that appeal which has often been made — 'brethren, pray for us'! . . .

When Mrs Cargill was strong enough, the family took passage on the Columbine for New Zealand. After twenty-six days, they landed

at the Bay of Islands, North Island. Cargill made no daily entries in his journal, but described his New Zealand stay in a longer narrative:

On Thursday afternoon [3 January 1834] we cast anchor in the beautiful & commodious Bay of Islands, & were soon boarded by a great number of natives, whose great volubility of speech was to us an unintelligible jargon. Their extreme filthiness & uncouth appearance made us feel perhaps for the first time that we were away from home.

M^r Cross & I visited the Church mission station @ Paihea, and met with a polite & kind reception from the friends of that establishment. At their pressing invitation we made that our rendezvous while we remained in the bay. On the 7th Jan^{ry} we left Paihea to proceed on a tour to Hokianga @ the other side of the island.¹³ The first day we proceeded no farther than Waimate,¹⁴ where we spent the night. Waimate is situated in the interior of the country and is already an interesting settlement. It is gratifying to see — instead of fern & weeds — fields of wheat & barley. Waimate in the fertility of the soil, & the general aspect of the place, has the appearance of an increasing English village.

Early the following morning, we mounted our horses, & proceeded on our journey, through vast fields of fern, & forests of pine trees, along a road exceedingly rough & fatiguing. We arrived @ Mangungu about 2 P.M. On the Thursday we sailed up a branch of the river Hokianga, and passed numerous parties of natives, who were felling trees of an immense height, & 6, 7, or 8 feet in diameter.

The prospects of the brethren @ Mangungu are very cheering. The cloud which threw a dreariness over the Mission, & damped the spirit of the missionaries, is now being dispersed: a door of usefulness seems open before them, and a spirit of enquiry is awakened among the natives. Many of them have procured an allotment of ground near the mission establishment where they have erected temporary huts, in which they reside from Saturday till Monday, that they may not have to travel on the Lord's Day.

The missionaries have been encouraged with several instances of outward reformation, if not real conversion. In particular, a chief of great influence, who was formerly a celebrated warrior & notorious cannibal, has @ length surrendered to the power of the Gospel. He has in consequence put away all his wives, with the exception of one

13. The Hokianga Bay Mission became known as the 'root' of the New Zealand mission movement (Findlay and Holdsworth 1921, III: 212).

14. Waimate eventually became the site of the boarding school for the children of missionaries (Findlay and Holdsworth 1921, III: 212).

to whom he has been lawfully married according to the laws and usages of Christian nations. He has procured a parcel of ground and built a hut in the immediate vicinity of the mission settlement, where he resides with his family and retinue, and is regular in his attendance on the means of grace. As this is a person of influence and reputation, it is hoped that many others both of the chiefs and their dependants, will imitate his example, & enlist themselves in the service of the only living & true God.

That part of New Zealand which I had an opportunity of visiting, was in general hilly & covered with fern. — In some places the land was fertile, & bore a crop of fern 8 or 9 ft in height. In the interior of the country, we saw many stones wh. bore evident marks of having once been in a state of fusion; but we could not discover any traces of a volcano then or lately in action. Farther to the south, Volcanoes have been seen in a state of magnificent operation.

The inhabitants are an independent, daring race. The women are by no means prepossessing in their appearance. The heavy burdens are imposed on them, and many of them are bent with excessive labour. The men are in general about the common size; but many of them are tall and handsome. Most of both sexes have their faces covered and disfigured with tattooing.

Many traditions are current among them, which like the traditions of other untutored savages, contain gross and palpable absurdities.

In describing the origin of their country they say that Mauitaha, the youngest son of one Hina quarrelled with his two elder brothers, & having conceived the idea of, & formed a canoe from a 'Kauri' (the tree from wh. the New Zealanders make their canoes) went to sea to catch fish — that his hook was formed from the breast-bone of a young female, & baited with her entrails, — that he felt something of enormous strength & dimensions pulling his line; — that as he drew it to the surface, the sea was agitated as in a storm; — that undaunted @ the expectation of seeing the gigantic monster wh. had produced such confusion in the water, he pulled a little longer & drew up the whole of New Zealand!!!¹⁵

Another notion entertained by them is that the stars are the left eyes of their great Chiefs. This is a prominent feature of their religious creed, & may be looked upon as a disfigured & rude vestige of the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. Their system of religion is wretched and degrading. They seem to have no idea of being under

15. The Maui legend is widespread throughout Polynesia. Compared with Luomala's version (1949), Cargill's account of Mauitaha is extremely abbreviated and altered in what detail there is.

the dominion of a benevolent Governor: but stand in perpetual dread of evil spirits. These they believe to be the souls of departed men, who visit the earth only for malicious purposes. They have a certain kind of priesthood among them, and through this channel, they convey presents & peace-offerings to the incensed spirit.

They perform a certain ceremony when they give names to their children. The children are plunged in water, and the priests use incantations of a horrible nature.¹⁶

They are naturally indolent & extremely filthy. But from the few opportunities wh I had of witnessing their behavior, I thought them useful and faithful servants, and as capable of moral instruction as any other nation on the face of the earth.

16. This is the first of many instances in which Cargill was unable to see the obvious similarity between a 'heathen' practice and a Christian one.

2 Tonga I

24 January 1834-7 October 1835

Tonga is a collection of over 200 islands clustered in three groups. Vava'u, the main island of the northernmost group, is high and mountainous, Ha'apai and Tongatapu are low-lying coral formations. Tongatapu, at the south, is the largest island of the whole group, with an area just under 100 square miles.

Even though the Wesleyan Mission was still meeting with some resistance on Tongatapu, the religious climate that greeted Cargill on his arrival was one of expectancy — a populace on the verge of a dramatic conversion. Cargill, caught up in this mood, and busy in the 'place of his appointed labours', made no journal entries until he settled down at Vava'u. Then he recorded his first impressions of a South Sea island:

Arrival at Tonga

On Monday 13th Jan^y 1834 we sailed from the Bay of Islands, & after a very rough passage arrived in safety @ the Mission settlement @ Nukualofa, Tongataboo [Nuku'alofa, Tongatapu]-on Friday 24th.¹

1. Cargill's first spelling omits the glottal stop in Nuku'alofa, still referred to by well-intentioned amateurs as a 'dropped *k*', or a 'lost consonant', and seldom represented in the writing systems of other languages except in dictionaries or pedagogical materials. In Tonga, the importance of representing this sound was realised later, and now the official orthography includes it.

The spelling of *taboo* for *tapu* 'sacred' reflects two practices then current. First, the OED lists a use of 'taboo' by Cook in an English sentence in 1777. His spelling has held even to the present, when it seems to be preferred over its alternate, 'tabu'. The second

At break of day, the lofty cliffs of Eooa ['Eua²], an island about 30 miles from Tonga, [tapu], were seen from the deck of our vessel, and as we approached & passed the western coast of the island, the most interesting and imposing spectacles were seen. The sea was in most parts bounded by perpendicular rocks wh. were hollowed out in the centre, & formed reservoirs of water. The outlet from these basins into the sea was by numerous and beautiful cascades. Beyond these the country was in general covered with immense numbers of tall cocoanut trees.³ In several places we saw fields of grass, spread out and adorned by the hand of nature with luxuriance & beauty.

About noon we approached the coral reefs with wh. Tongataboo is girded; & took a native on board to pilot us through them. About 3 p.m. we cast anchor opposite Nukualofa, & saw several Europeans on the beach, whom we supposed to be our Missionary brethren. We fired several guns to acquaint them that friends were on board. In a few minutes we were boarded by Messrs Thomas & Hobbs,⁴ & after making a few arrangements, we accompanied them on shore. On the beach we were met, & affectionately received by M^{rs} Thomas & M^{rs} Hobbs. We were surrounded by a crowd of natives, who followed us to the Mission house: Most of whom expressed their satisfaction @ our arrival by repeating their customary salutation of *jioto ofa*- [*sioto 'ofa*]⁵ my love to you. The eagerness of the natives to arrest our

practice was the representation of *p*, *t*, and *k* (but especially *p*) as their voiced counterparts, *b*, *d*, and *g*, since those sounds are not pronounced with the accompanying puff of air that speakers of English are accustomed to hearing. So persistent is this mishearing that *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* cites the source of 'taboo' as Tongan *tabu*, rather than the correct spelling, *tapu*.

Throughout his first Tonga journal, Cargill alternated between the spellings of *oo* and *u* for [u], and he continued this practice into his Fiji stay.

Originally, the missionaries wrote [ŋ] (as in English 'singer') as *g*, thereby adhering more closely to a feature of the language that does not allow consonants to occur in succession. But in 1943, the Tongan Government standardised system that required *ng*, perhaps to avoid being known to the outside world as [toga] rather than as [toŋa] (*Pacific Islands: Western Pacific, Tonga to the Solomon Islands*, pp. 54-5).

2. 'Eua lies to the southeast of Tongatapu, and is the second largest island of the group, with an area of almost thirty-four square miles.

3. The older (and historically correct) *coconut* was the established spelling until, in the printing of Johnson's dictionary, the articles *Coco* and *Cocoa* were accidentally run together, giving rise to the notion that the two names were related.

4. John Thomas, the head of the Tonga Mission (described in the Introduction), and John Hobbs, both former blacksmiths by trade (Findlay and Holdsworth 1921, III: 181, 277-8).

5. What Mariner in the early years of the century and the missionaries as late as the 1840s wrote as *j* was more likely pronounced voiceless, like the *ch* in 'church', but, as with some of the other sounds, with less accompanying air. Occurring only before

attention & assure us of their love to us; and their respectful behaviour, produced in our minds a prepossession in their favour, wh. it is hoped we shall never have occasion to regret.

We were informed by the brethren that Mr. Woon⁶ — the Printer had resigned his situation, & abandoned the Mission. The printing, however, is still carried on with ability & credit, by M^r Hobbs, who on his arrival in Tonga, being made acquainted with M^r Woon's intention; & at the request of his brethren, applied himself to the work of the press, & is now able to take upon himself its entire management.

On Saturday morning we were waited on by a message from Tubou the King,⁷ with a present of a pig & 2 baskets of yams. In the afternoon we visited his Majesty, & spent a few minutes in his presence. He treated us with bananas & cocoanuts. He is a tall & stoutly-built man; but his countenance is not strikingly expressive of either intellect or benignity. His brother (Abraham) would be immediately pronounced a man of a clearer head & a warmer heart. In the forenoon, the brethren met together, & I received my appointment for Vavau [Vava'su] — agreeably to the resolution of the Special District Meeting wh. was held on the arrival of M Tucker in Tonga.

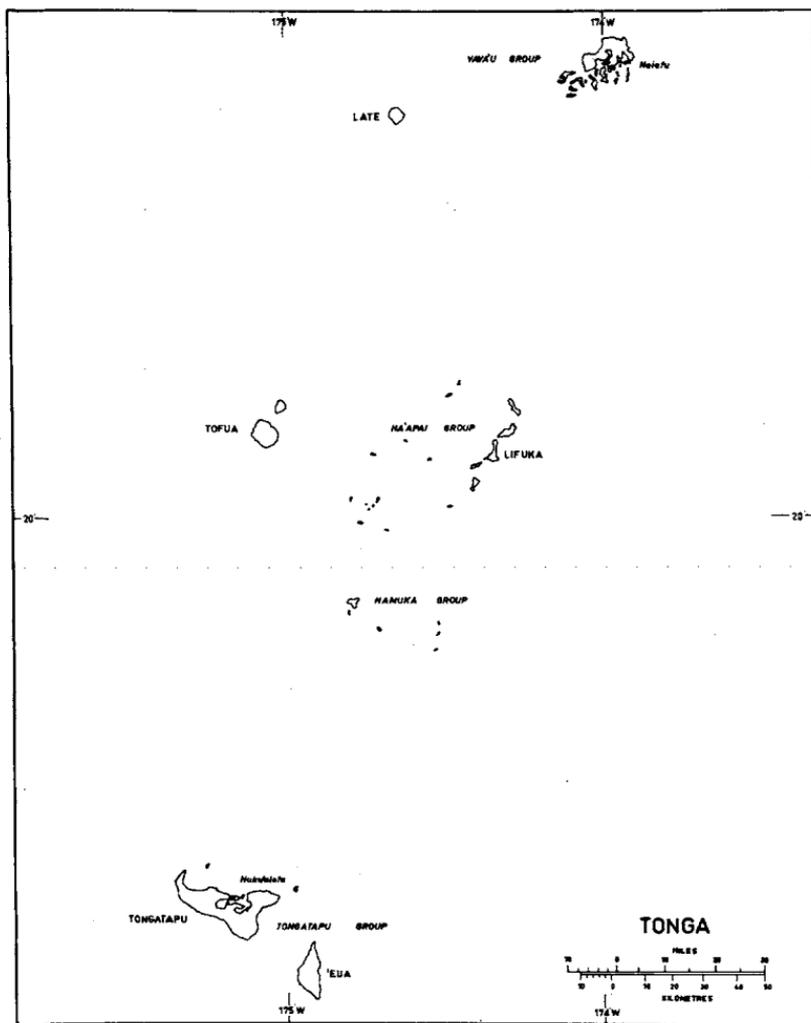
Sabbath (26th Jan^y) was to me a day of much gratification. About $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 A.M. the bell was rung for divine service: and although a smart shower of rain was falling at the time, yet it did not prevent the chapel from being comfortably filled. M^r Thomas led the services. In the singing the people seemed to unite with one voice. And although there was a roughness in the sound, yet I fancied every tone was an echo of a vibration on their heart. During prayer a silence & reverence were maintained, which become that solemn exercise. Young and old bowed their knees and closed their eyes. During the sermon, they listened with close attention, and at the end of it seemed to unite in the singing with fresh alacrity & spirit. The Poet must have had a similar scene in contemplation, when his heart

the vowel *i* and actually functioning as a member of the *t* family, the sound underwent an extremely rapid change to *s* and is now written as such.

6. Later, William Woon redeemed himself in the eyes of the Church by serving it faithfully in New Zealand after his failure in Tonga (Findlay and Holdsworth 1921, III: 207).

7. Josiah Tupou, baptised thus in 1830 (Lawry 1850: 238), was also named Aleamotua and Tupouifaletuipapai (Gifford 1929: 87). In 1826 he was appointed as Tui Kanokupolu — the hereditary title of the present King of Tonga — and he died in 1845.

8. Charles Tucker, who had accompanied Cargill from London.



Map 1 Tonga (the Friendly Islands)

prompted the sentiment,

'Lord, how delightful 'tis to see,
'A whole assembly worship thee;
'At once they sing, at once they pray,
'They hear of heaven, and learn the way.'

The congregation dispersed in regularity and good order. Those who were in the centre of the chapel keeping their places, till the rest had retired.

After the native, we had an English service. About 9 Englishmen were present besides the Mission families. I conducted the service & endeavoured to describe the wedding garment. May the Lord make the word spoken a blessing to all present!

About 3 o'clock in the afternoon, another service was held in the native language. Mr Cross preached to a congregation equally as large, well-behaved and attentive, as that assembled in the forenoon.

In the evening Mr Hobbs addressed us in English, & faithfully admonished these settlers who were present & who he had reason to fear, were not living in the fear & favour of God, to avoid sin, & escape its punishment. Thus ended the first Sabbath I spent in these distant islands.

After making suitable arrangements & spending a few days @ Tonga, on Saturday 1st Feb^y, we re-embarked to join Brother Turner @ Vavau.⁹ In getting into the boat to cross the reef opposite Nukualofa, we found that the tide was not sufficiently high to allow the boat to float. The boat had therefore to be pushed off over a great part of the reef by natives. Abraham the Chief's brother was particularly active. Seeing that we had difficulty to get the boat off, he went in before us on foot, & wading through the water, removed the stones and obstructions from the Channel. Nor did he leave us immediately after the boat floated; but walked alongside on the reef, squeezing our hands, assuring us he would have gone on board, but his dress was too bad, and frequently saying *jiota ofa*. When the water reached his armpits, with tears glistening in his eyes, he exclaimed again *jioto ofa*, & turned towards the shore.

Abraham is a man of a kind disposition & generous spirit. The preceeding day he was invited into the cabin of our vessel to take some refreshments. Keeping only a small moiety to himself he gave a

9. Peter Turner, from Cheshire, had been in Tonga for approximately three years. 'Of slight physique and somewhat timid manner, a poor sailor, slow, moreover, in his first steps in the language. . . he had grit and heart, and wore better than many stronger men. The Natives greatly loved him' (Findlay and Holdsworth 1921, III: 297).

share of all he got to his attendants.

*The harbour at Vava'u — Port-Refuge — at the village of Neiafu, is thought by many to be one of the most beautiful in the Pacific. Later the same year, James Watkin wrote:*¹⁰

The bay is most lovely, studded with small islands clothed with green and their surface crowned with the waving Cocoa Nut. I have not seen anything in the way of scenery to equal it since I left England. The harbour is completely land locked and spacious enough to accommodate many hundred sail.¹¹

Cargill was not so poetic about his own arrival. His first letter from Vava'u to London explains why:

... I embarked for my station in the same vessel which brought us from the Colony, & although we ought to be experienced sailors, yet in coming from Tonga to Vavau, we were as sick as when crossing the Atlantic. . . .¹²

The Columbine reached the harbour late at night on Monday, but the captain was unable to find a landing place. Peter Turner, in residence there, wrote in his journal of the excitement at the arrival of another missionary:

On the 3^d inst a native came about 3 o'clock in the morning — shouting Misa Tana, kuo hau ae vaka babalagi — koe Misonale — ko Misa Kakele — That is — is come a ship — from England, and a missionary M^r Cargill. I went while yet dark to the ship — and found Bro. & Sis. Cargill & a fine baby. They could not come until the morning for fear of some accident, so that I returned home & was to go as soon as light in the morning.

I did so — and they came on shore. We were followed by a vast number — to the Missⁿ premises — who expressed their joy on the arrival of new Miss^{rs} I hope we shall love as brethren & be mutual helps to each other in the best things. I think he will soon acquire the language. He has a naturally bold and daring spirit — which is necessary in the acquirement of a lang^e. As an English preacher he is very excellent & no doubt will be in Tonguese. . . .¹³

Cargill described the event more succinctly:

Friday

7 February 1834

10. James Watkin had been Nathaniel Turner's colleague some years earlier. Later, he continued his ministry in New Zealand (Findlay and Holdsworth 1921, III: 221).

11. James Watkin, Journal, October 1834.

12. Cargill to WMS, begun in Nuku'alofa in January 1834; finished at Vava'u in February.

13. Peter Turner, journal extracts, 20 May 1834.

We arrived in the Bay of Vavau late on Monday evening, but did not come on shore till Tuesday. As I despatched a letter to Bro^r Turner to acquaint him of our arrival, he lost no time in coming off to us to bring us ashore. Early on Tuesday morning we reached the Mission Station. We believe it is that part of the Mission field where Providence has called us to labour. May the Lord qualify us for the work!

On Wednesday afternoon I accompanied Bro^r Turner to the Chapel, when he preached I suppose to about 400 people. The chapel is a noble edifice & will hold, if I calculated rightly about 800 people. It is one of the largest Chapels in the district. In Vavau there are 10 or 11 Chapels. After service we waited on the king¹⁴ to request ground to build my house upon: but as he was then waiting for a favourable wind to sail with many of his people to visit the King of Tonga, and as he expected to return in two or three weeks, he wished us to put off the building of a house till his return. No work of importance can be accomplished here without the King. I am in consequence under the necessity of living with Bro^r Turner till the King's return.

On Thursday morning M^r Turner met the Leaders and exhorters, (about 60 in number — but many are with the King) to enquire how their numbers conducted themselves & explain any subject which they did not properly understand. My ignorance of the language disables me from understanding the people, & acquainting myself with their knowledge of Christian doctrine, & their attainments in religious experience. But with the blessing of God on my own exertions & the suggestions of Bro^r Turner who has hitherto been my tutor, — I hope this inability will be soon removed.

Cargill did not approach his language-learning task haphazardly. In a letter to London, he described the methodology he used:

I am trying to form for myself — (as a help for my learning) a small vocabulary of the language. When I hear a word, I write it on a piece of paper, till I have [grasped?] its import, & then place it with others in a sort of alphabetical order, that I may recur to it (a) pleasure.¹⁵

Sunday

9 February 1834

About 7 A.M. the bell was rung for the native service. The Chapel was full & the people attentive & serious. I gave out a hymn & read

14. Taufa'ahau, whose title was Tui Kanokupolu (Gifford 1929: 58), became George Tupou I. He was known as the 'King' of Ha'apai (Lawry 1850: 238), but became ruler of Vava'u, and in 1845, Tui Tonga (Tudor 1972: 125-7).

15. Cargill to WMS, Nuku'alofa and Vava'u, January and February 1834.

the rules of the society, which I had previously gone over several times. A little attention will enable any one in a short time to read the language, as every letter is sounded. The vowels have a broad sound, like those of the Continental languages.¹⁶ Bro^r Turner explained & enforced the rules wh. had been read.

After the native we have an English service.¹⁷ . . . We had a motley congregation — 2 Englishmen — 2 Frenchmen & 1 New Zealander beside ourselves.

In the afternoon about 3 O'clock Bro^r Turner preached to the natives; & in the evening we had a short prayer meeting. Those of the natives who prayed, spoke with great freedom, & apparent feeling. How pleasing is it to the Christian mind to think that they who a few years ago were treacherous savages, are now praying to the true God & enjoying his love in their heart. What is to me a striking proof of the greatness of the change wh. has been affected among them, is a remark made by the Captain of the vessel wh. brought us thither. He had visited this place about 4 years ago, when first-mate of a whaler. Looking @ the men who worked the canoe in wh. we were landing our luggage & at several who were walking the deck of his vessel he exclaimed — 'How different they are now from what they were when I was here before: then we durst not let them on board, lest they should [] the vessel from us; — Now; they are not like the same people; they appear so mild, you can do any thing with them!'

Monday

10 February 1834

This morning we met the leaders again, — who had now brought with them the delinquents of their respective classes, to have their cases examined. The leaders are very vigilant & strict, & do not connive at the most trifling misdemeanour. Most of the cases were not of a very serious nature. For example, a rat had eaten some of the corn of an old man, who was provoked to utter bad wishes upon it. This Leader heard of his warmth, & brought him among the other delinquents. — Most of them were dismissed with a reproof — very few were suspended. Were there no appointed time to try the offenders, it is probable that on the commission of the fault, the Leader would bring the party to the missionary, & frequently interrupt and

16. Whatever 'broad' means, the distinctive vowel sounds of Tongan, like those of many Austronesian languages, are close to the so-called continental values represented by the letters *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, and *u*.

17. Turner reported in his journal that 'he did very well'.

consume his time. But by the prudent appointment of a certain time, all the cases are dismissed @ the farthest in a few hours.

In the evening I attended the prayer meeting with Bro^r Turner. About 300 were present. The people seem to value the means of grace. May they improve them as they should.

Tuesday

11 February 1834

Accompanied Brother Turner to a place about 4 miles distant called Feletoa. The chapel there holds I think about 400 people. It was nearly full. I took part in the service, by giving out two of the hymns, & reading a lesson, wh. Bro^r Turner explained & enforced. May the Lord apply it to their hearts. M^{rs} T & M^{rs} C accompanied us; & as M^{rs} C was fatigued with the heat and the long walk, four natives made a chair on wh. she sat, while they carried her on their shoulders. This they seemed to consider a privilege. We are much pleased with the simplicity & good-nature of the people: & think we may be very happy among them. One old woman, unable to think of a figure strong enough to express her attachment to us, seriously assured us that she was dead with love to us!!¹⁸ When the rank weeds wh. have overgrown the moral soil of their hearts have been rooted out, it may be turned to good account.

Wednesday

12 February 1834

This afternoon attended divine service in the chapel. After Bro^r T's address to the congregation, we witnessed an interesting sight in the marriage of four couples: including the King & Queen of a small island about 40 miles from Vavau. Native teachers have been sent to instruct them. With the divine blessing on their labours, the people about 60 in number have led resolved to abandon idolatry & embrace Christianity. The King & some of his subjects have come to Vavau to be married & baptized. The rest of the people of the island are expected when the wind is favourable to the sailing of the canoes. And thus one island after another is deserting the ranks of idolatry, & Satan's empire is becoming less extensive & powerful. O that the day may soon dawn when not only every island in this vast ocean shall have been christianized, but when the friends of religion shall triumphantly sing —

'Jesus the Conqueror reigns,
'In glorious strength array'd;

18. *Mate*, whose primary meaning is 'die', can, in this context, mean to be overcome or carried away with emotion (Churchward 1959: 343).

'His kingdom over all maintains,
'And bids the earth be glad.'

Thursday

13 February 1834

Accompanied M^r Turner to (Makave) a place about 1½ mile distant; M^r T preached in a chapel containing about 200 people. The congregation was attentive during the address; but few were able to sing. I feel very anxious to be able to address the people in their own language; and regret that my progress in it must be retarded in consequence of not having a place where I can conveniently sit with a native teacher.

Monday

17 February 1834

This morning it was our painful duty to expel from the society, twenty females; who presumptuously threw themselves in the way of temptations by going on board the vessel. wh. brought us thither. The brethren have adopted the prudent precaution, to enjoin all females on no pretention to go on board any vessel that may come into the harbour. The persons who transgress this rule, are invariably prohibited from meeting in class @ least for a certain time. This resolution being made known to the delinquents, they were dismissed with a serious admonition from M^r Turner. Some of them appeared careless, but they were sorry & seemed to regret their folly.

Tuesday

18 February 1834

Accompanied M^r Turner to []¹⁹ about 5 or 6 miles distant. The extreme heat and the distance of the place made our walk very fatiguing. We found about 400 people assembled in a commodious chapel. I read to them from one of the printed books, a lesson, on the institution of the sabbath, & prescriptive of our duty on the Lord's day. M^r T enforced the precepts. The people listened with close attention. After service, they sent us a basket of cocoanuts & boiled yams. We partook of our homely repast under the shade of a tree: and then pursued our journey homeward.

Thursday

20 February 1834

Went to Makave & took part in the native service by giving out the hymns & reading a prayer wh. I had previously composed in English,

19. Left blank in the journal.

and with the assistance of Bro^r Turner translated into Tonguese.²⁰ May the Lord forward with his blessing my endeavours to acquire the language, that I may be able to enter fully on the work of a Missionary.

Saturday

22 February 1834

Early this morning great anxiety was excited by the appearance of a canoe sailing towards the harbour, and a rumour that it was manned by Feejees, who were coming with the intention of making war on Vavau. But all alarm was speedily allayed, when the report of the people in the canoe was heard. — They had come from Niua-²¹ an island about 150 miles distant to procure books. Some time ago a native teacher had been sent to instruct the people, & through his instrumentality, the whole island was turned from idolatry to the worship of Jehovah. The men informed us that 300 people met in class; & that as they were destitute of books; they came with the intention of getting a supply, and if possible a missionary to instruct them. Those who met in Class have Christian names but are neither baptized nor married, as the native teachers are not allowed to do either. They told us that a canoe had left Niua about 7 months, to come to Vavau for books, & that they have not since heard of it. In all probability this canoe has sunk & the people perished.

May the spirit of God increase this panting after knowledge, till all the sons of Adam shall have been made wise unto salvation.

The number of persons in the canoes amounted to 40:20 each of whom we gave a book; and distributed among them several copies of the rules of the society.

Sunday

23 February 1834

Read a prayer in the morning & one in the afternoon in the native language, both of which were previously examined & corrected by Bro^r Turner

Sunday

9 March 1834

Preached this forenoon in English on 'Grieve not the spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption.' And in the Afternoon conducted the native service @ Makave. I spoke from

20. Turner wrote in his journal: 'Bro Cargill read a prayer. I think he will soon be able to speak so as to be understood by the natives'.

21. The full name of the island is Niuatopotapu 'Niua Doubly Prohibited' (Gifford

Matthew 3-2. Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand. The discourse was simple and short. I had previously translated it into Tongese with the assistance of Bro^r T. I am very anxious to be able to discourse to the natives about divine things, & am resolved to spare no pains to acquire the language. May the divine blessing accompany & back to my feeble efforts!

Monday

17 March 1834

Early this morning a female class-leader died in child-bed, after an illness of 3 days. Her youth as I presume she was not more than 18 years of age, & her extreme sufferings, together with the absence of her husband, who was in company with the King @ Tonga, rendered her death peculiarly affecting. Notwithstanding the agony of her body, her mind was tranquil & resigned. We have reason to believe that she died in the Lord. Towards the termination of her illness, she said, she had no wish to live, that she was not afraid to die, & that she knew she was going to Jesus. Her last words were 'Tatali mai' wait for me, wh. she repeated three times & then expired.

She was interred in the afternoon. The corpse was neatly rolled in several folds of native cloth²² & placed on a frame in the chapel @ Makave. After singing & prayer, the funeral procession advanced toward the burial ground.

M^r Turner & I went first & were followed by the local preachers & male class leaders. M^{rs} Turner & M^{rs} C walked in front of the female class-leaders; behind whom was the corpse, borne on the men's shoulders. Then followed a considerable concourse of natives. On our arrival at the grave M^r T read the burial service. After the interment of the body, we sung a hymn & prayed, and then returned to the Chapel, when M^r T preached a funeral sermon from Let thine house in order, for thou shalt die & not live.

Thursday

20 March 1834

This day, we were visited by the brother of the king of Feejee,²³

1929: 283), and its European name is Keppel Island. It was discovered by Dutch explorers in 1616, the first of the Tonga group seen by Europeans.

22. The cloth, *ngatu*, was not woven but pounded from the bark of the paper-mulberry tree. The English word, *tapa*, is from Marquesan and Tahitian.

23. The visitor was the elder brother of Tui Nayau, the local chief of the island of Lakeba. In no way was he the 'king of Feejee', since there was at that time no paramount chief.

who came to Vavau in a small vessel built by an Englishman @ one of the islands. He expressed a desire for the establishment of a mission among his countrymen. We were informed that the king himself would favour such an undertaking, if it were conducted by a regular missionary, although he would give no countenance to native teachers.²⁴ We were told that some time ago, they had a feast, when 200 men and 100 women were cooked and eaten!! They are said to be worse cannibals than even the New-Zealanders. But the Gospel can humanize & convert them. May Providence soon open an effectual door for the instruction of these heathens!

The arrival of the ship from Fiji aroused in the missionaries an interest that had been kindled some years earlier but not allowed to grow. Turner was the first to react. He wrote:

Lakeba,²⁵ the Island from which the vessel has come is much more civilized — and for many years has been at peace. I am of the opinion that Mis^ys would be safe there. There are some hundreds of Tonguese on the Island to whom a Missionary could be immediately useful who understood the Tonguese language. I am of opinion that when any do go one should go who has been some time in these Islands. As many of the Fijeans can talk & understand the Tonguese. The Old Chief who has been named *Takai*²⁶ has become religious. He attends the Chapel. I am fully persuaded the set time is come to favour Fijee. O that we could to [] thither. Lord hasten the Day. I shall not have any objection to accompany any brother if it be agreeable to the Committee & the brethren. Tho' I am far from thinking myself the most fit. But I am willing to go any where to do what I can.²⁷

*Somewhat later, James Watkin gave the WMS a long account of the missionaries' knowledge of their neighbours to the west, illustrating the extent to which news of events and conditions in Fiji had spread to adjoining islands:*²⁸

24. The main reason for this attitude seems to be that there was neither prestige nor abundance of European goods connected with the local teachers. The European missionaries, however, were a source of both.

25. Turner's spelling of Lakeba accidentally matched the official spelling decided on some years later. It was most likely based on the Tongans' pronunciation of the name — *Lakepa*.

26. See the introduction to Chapter 3.

27. Turner, journal extracts, 17 March 1834.

28. Watkin wrote run-on sentences of great length. I have repunctuated his letter to make it more readable.

You require your Missionaries to communicate interesting facts connected with their work and respecting the people amongst whom they live and labour, and although the subjects of this communication do not fall precisely under the above description, because not connected with my present Mission, yet I hope they will not be altogether unacceptable, as Fiji is to be occupied by us — tho' at present we are unable to enter the open door of this large and enlarging mission.

You are aware, I doubt not, that some Tahitian teachers²⁹ were introduced into Fiji a considerable time ago under the protection of a chief of small power and note whose name is Takai. They have in connection with their patron been of some use, some of the Fijians of Lakeba having renounced idolatry, and they with the Tahitians are now resident on an Island called Oneata, which is at a short distance from Lakeba. It is said that they have been driven from the last mentioned Island in consequence of their Christianity, but if it be so, we know that it shall like the apostle's bonds be for the 'furtherance of the Gospel'.

The natives of Fiji, like most others of the natives of Polynesia, dislike being instructed in Christianity by persons of the same colour with themselves, and tho' the objection seems puerile and grounded in foolish prejudice or pride, yet it exercises as the most powerful influence and which nothing but the power of God can remove. Many of them look with disdain on a native teacher, and regard with indifferences or something worse his communications, who would give all attention to the instruction and reverence the person of an English Missionary. This I know to be the case in the Islands of Fiji most contiguous to us, and where our first attempts at evangelization must be made. It is highly probable that if English missionaries could proceed thither that a very general turning from 'idols to the living God' would be the blessed result, a circumstance earnestly to be desired. For Heathenism in Fiji is what it is everywhere: a tremendous evil, a [], a curse and, perhaps its domination there is more grievous and more productive of evil than in some other parts of the heathen world. They have 'gods many' but a holy God they know not. Their gods are monsters of crime, as far as morals are concerned, inflictive of evil as for power. They are the objects of dread, not of hope; they know not the 'Father of mercies and God of all grace'. This is the knowledge they need to make them wise and to make them happy, and this knowledge the Gospel will supply. Then

29. See the introduction to Chapter Three.

send them the Gospel, a blessing they certainly need, and which some of them desire. They have heard some little from the Teachers from Tahiti and something from the half instructed Tonguese who have gone thither from this and other of the Friendly Islands, but they need more perfect instruction in 'this way' and then we shall have a glorious harvest. As far as wickedness renders a people fit objects for the Gospel, they are prepared, 'fully ripe'.

The Fijians, judging from their general appearance and language, are descended from another stock than the Friendly Islanders, tho' it is true there are some points of resemblance in their habits. It does not become me to decide where wise men have been puzzled and kept to mere conjecture, or I should certainly think the Fijians had an Asiatic origin, whilst the Friendly Islanders might have descended from an ancestry originally from the continent of America. But it is perhaps an inexplicable mystery, and no wit or wisdom of man will be able to clear it up.

My idea of the Asiatic origin of the Fijians does not rest merely upon the Asiatic contour of countenance which I think they bear, but there are points of resemblance in their habits, and perhaps a better acquaintance with the people may add to the number of coincidences we at present discover. One is their bad treatment of the Female sex, making little more of them than if they were beasts of burden, whereas in the Friendly Islands the sex is treated with considerable tenderness. Here the female is not required to do the drudgery, but in Fiji that is the case. She is required, nay, compelled to undertake the labourious duties of tilling the ground; she digs the earth; she sows the seed, dresses the plantation, reaps the harvest, cooks the food, and in fact takes the mans place except in war, while he lounges away his time in idleness or employs it on something worse. Another point of resemblance which I think I discover is the immolation of widows on the demise of the husband; it is true it is not effected in the same way — not by the pile, but by the bowstring; not by burning, but by strangling. It is very general, too, I am assured, when the husband dies the hapless wife prepares for her fate. She seats herself, the cord is placed round her neck, one person places his hand on the head of the victim of superstitious custom, others sieze the extremities of the cord and tighten it to effect strangulation, and the few struggles made are succeeded by the stillness and stiffness of death. Another circumstance is the burying alive of individuals, a practice not unfrequent in Fiji, but I never heard of an instance of its having taken place in the Friendly Islands. Individuals too old or too ill to be of further service are the victims of this cruel practice.

Sometimes it is done, I am told, at the request of the individuals themselves. No effort is made to dissuade them from it, but the willing murderers proceed forthwith to dig a hole of sufficient capacity. They then convey the sick or aged person to it, and having placed him in the grave in a sitting posture, cast the earth upon him, which is pressed down by the feet of his own relatives or neighbours — nay — stamped upon with all their might, regardless of the moans of the *living* whom they are burying out of their sight. These may be revolting details, but they are too true and prove better than laboured argument Fiji's need of the Gospel [or] to soften the ferocious character of its inhabitants, and to give them 'bowels of mercy', for their 'tender mercies are cruel'. Wars are common occurrences — so common that it is usual with the men to carry weapons with them wherever they go that they may be able to run to some rallying point on the first report of war without loss of time. They are a people who delight in war. They have an almost unappeasable appetite for it. Connected with their frequent wars is an evil for which I should think Fiji to be preeminent, and that is Cannibalism, an evil which may have originated in revenge, but which has now grown into a confirmed appetite and fondness for human flesh, and which the Fijians dont always leave behind them when they leave their own country, as I know it to be the fact that a number of Fijians at a neighboring island to this have gratified that unnatural appetite in two instances. In one of which they exhumed an individual who had been interred; the other was the case of an unfortunate European who was unfortunately killed or drowned when the Snapper was cut off in this neighborhood. What they did was done secretly, but it has been discovered since. Fiji I think exceeds New Zealand in that abominable vice. The accounts we hear are sickening: it is not one now and then who furnishes a meal for his canine countrymen, nor ten nor twenty, *but hundreds*. When I first heard it I was incredulous, and confident that the statement was exaggerated, but upon appealing to the authority of a Fijian Chief at present here, I was assured by him that it was 'mooni aubito' [*mo'oni 'aupito*] (most true) that some short time ago there were more than *Two hundred human bodies* prepared for a single feast! They were the victims of war, inhabitants of a fortress which had been taken and sacked. But the horrible appetite for human flesh is not appeased there by the victims of war, frequent as wars are. It is nothing strange for a chief to give orders to kill such a person and dress the body for food, and to do it with as much unconcern as the butcher selects such an animal for the knife from the flock or the

herd. I have heard of one Chief who so preyed upon his people as at length to have left himself without a single person, and then the wretch ought to have preyed upon his own flesh and when no longer able to command or take his unnatural meal, to die like a dog as he was. Some of the chiefs in Fiji are cruel to a terrible degree. One who did possess the chief authority, but who has been dispossessed of it by his younger brothers, was a perfect monster of cruelty. His name was a terror, his presence dreaded more than the pestilence. He was a complete tiger among his people; human life was held awfully cheap by him: he has employed the bodies of men as rollers upon which to draw up his canoe from the sea to the land (they were of course killed for the purpose). The recital of his cruelties makes ones blood curdle, and were the history of 'Tanoa' (Kill or strike at random)³⁰ to be written, he would be ranked with Hyder Ally [Ali], Tip[p]oo Sahib and others of infamous notoriety.³¹ From the preceding statements it will be seen that Fiji is emphatically a 'dark place of the earth full of the habitations of cruelty.'³² O when shall the Prince of Peace begin his mild and blessed reign.³³

But so far, Turner and Watkin were the only missionaries who expressed an interest in carrying the gospel from Tonga to Fiji. Even though Cargill had originally been assigned to those islands rather than to Tonga, he was caught up in the duties of his still-new appointment and made no mention of a possible transfer. His journal continues:

Sunday

23 March 1834

Preached this forenoon in English from 'One thing is needful; but Mary hath chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from her'. The first officer & surgeon with 16 or 18 of the crew of the ship Juno attended the services & were apparently serious during the discourse. I enjoyed some unction and energy, and had considerable liberty. May the word be applied to the hearts of those who heard!

Monday

24 March 1834

This day we were visited by the Captain of the Juno. He behaved

30. Watkin has given here a Tongan etymology for a Fijian name. *Tanoa* in Fijian means 'kava bowl', and the man is said to have received the name from his act of drinking kava directly from a bowl rather than from a *bilu* 'cup'.

31. The 'infamous notoriety' of these two Indian rulers, father and son, may be that they engineered some devastating victories over the British.

32. A favourite phrase used in describing these islands. The source is Ps. 74: 20.

33. Watkin to WMS, Lifuka, 31 May 1834.

with such rudeness & talked so profanely, that we were obliged to reprove him. He endeavoured to prove the impropriety of cautioning the women against being led astray by any loose sailors; & although he & his crew from his own remarks, appear to have attempted to entice women on board their ships, yet we hope that the blessing of God on the serious admonitions wh. were given to them yesterday will prevent any female from being led astray. Although the Captain's observations on that subject was an outrage on all decency, yet he professed to fear God!! It is to be feared that this is a specimen of the religion of too many British seamen. But it is seriously lamented that such a useful & courageous race of men should be so destitute of principle. Even our domestics whispered to one another that the Captain was a very bad man and an impudent fellow.

Cargill and Turner continued their arduous schedule of preaching and instruction at various villages on Vava'u, but it was not until later that week that a convert's emotional display gave a glimpse of the possibilities that lay ahead. At a Leaders' and Teachers' meeting, Turner was soliciting testimonials from the Tongans, when one of them responded with great feeling. Cargill wrote:

He was determined not to rest until he had found the pearl of great price. He accordingly with another Leader . . . prayed to God to pardon their sins & give them a clear evidence of his favour. He gave no rest to his body or sleep to his eyes, but continued in prayer all night, till the Lord graciously pardoned his sins, & enabled him to rejoice in his love. ~ His heart was so full of love that he wished to tell the congregation what the Lord had done for his soul, that they might be persuaded to seek the same blessing. After he had briefly and simply related his experience, another of the leaders rose to speak of the love of God to him, but could not; for tears of joy choked his utterance. He stood for a minute or two & made several efforts to speak, but his tears still prevented him, & he was obliged to sit down. His emotion excited a deep interest and feeling throughout the congregation. He was succeeded by 7 or 8 persons all of whom spoke in an affecting manner of the love of God in delivering them from the dominion of sin, & shedding abroad his love in their hearts. One woman who if spared is soon to accompany her husband as a Teacher to the island of Niua[toputapu] spoke very feelingly. She said that she loved her own land & her own people; & that she was not going away because she did not love them. But that her one foot was in heaven & the other on earth, & that the love of God made her willing to go any where and to any people. O that these occurrences may be as the drops before the copious shower, & that the Lord may take

glory to himself in the conversion of this people, & make the Gospel to them the power of God to salvation!

The 'copious shower' was, however, not immediately forthcoming. In late May, Cargill wrote to his colleague, Joseph Orton, in Australia:

... The work here goes on with some regularity. I would wish it had more of the surprising character; that is, that melting dew — should become the drops of an approaching shower — and that the small stream — should become a flood — which sh^d hone down all the mounds & banks of sin. I am happy to be able to communicate that which will make you happy. That is, that we have been favoured with some sound conversions & with happy deaths. There is religion the same here as with you & as it is everywhere where pure & undefiled religion is found. Two of our leaders have been called from us to be put into the possession of their heavenly inheritance. The seed which has been sown in tears is beginning to spring up and to bear fruit pleasant to the sight & beneficial to others. I am happy that our King is married — which will be a blessing to himself and his people. I am encouraged to proceed in my work. . . .³⁴

The same day, Cargill wrote to Mr Beecham, of the WMS in London, arranging financial aid for his mother. Among all his letters from the mission field, it is one of the few to mention personal family matters:

I embrace a leisure moment to address a few lines to you, that I may be in readiness for the first opportunity of forwarding my communications to England. The subject on which I would principally address you, is the remittance of £10 (let it if you please be remitted annually) to my mother, in the way which you may deem most convenient. I threw out a few hints to you before I left London about the nature of her situation. All her life she has been accustomed to comfort and plenty, but through the prodigality of a backsliding member of the family, she is reduced to a dependance on a scanty pittance. She has been a member of our society for upwards of 30 years: — and the person to whom I allude was a member more than 20: but through temptation gave way to sin and wasted — substance. When I left home, my mother resided in Simpson's Court, Potter-row, Edinburgh; but her peculiar trials may have caused her removal. Perhaps it would be well to make the superintendent of that circuit a medium of communication. Whatever expense may be incurred, — place to my account. You will oblige me by keeping the

34. Cargill to Orton, Vava'u, 27 May 1834.

circumstance as private as possible. And I hope you will excuse me for the trouble it may occasion you: I can only recompense you with my sincere thanks.

You will learn the nature of our position from the letters which accompany this to the Committee. Since my arrival here, nearly four months ago, we have been much tried with the 'tabu' on pigs & on fowls: — the *tabu* is a prohibition to use the article 'tabued': so that the people will not bring us any fowls or pigs. I did not mention this in my other communications, because I think it originates in a feeling of wh. the king himself is ashamed. He seems ambitious to be not only king of the land but head of the Church. He fell into sin some time ago, & was of course expelled [from] the society. But he is now married & is doing much better. But still the 'tabu' remains. He proposed to Bro: Turner & myself — to ask him always when we want a pig. But we think it right not to do so: because, he might soon be tired, & say 'The Missionaries are always wanting pigs:' — it would reduce us to absolute dependence; & would be an unnecessary waste of Mission property as he would expect much more than the value of the article purchased. Excepting this circumstance, he is very kind and affable. And we can easily palliate the peculiarities of an arbitrary monarch just emerging [from] Heathen darkness.

I am getting on with the language as well as interruptions & drawbacks to which we are daily exposed will allow me; began several weeks ago to conduct a native service every Lord's Day — & preach occasionally during the week. — Our baby has been very ill, but is now better. We are in a middling state of health. M^{rs} C. joins me in love to M^{rs} Beecham, yourself & all the family.³⁵

Thursday

29 May 1834

Met the Leaders and local preachers this morning with Bro: T & spent the greater part of the day with my native Teacher. O Lord strengthen my memory so as to retain the instruction given me, that I may be able to converse freely and usefully with this people. ~ I find my attempts to pray extempore in my own house with the native domestics of great service in facilitating my progress in the language.

Friday

30 May 1834

This forenoon, our English class met. I was constrained to acknowledge with chance my spiritual lukewarmness. During the last

35. Cargill to WMS, Vava'u, 27 May 1834.

week my mind has been given to wandering and dissipation. But I hate evil thoughts, & beseech the Almighty to grant me grace to expel these intruders from my heart, and so to guard its avenues that they may not gain admission. Spent part of this day with my native teacher in composing a sermon on baptism. ~ I feel great pleasure in devoting my time & attention to the study of this language, & hope the Lord will make my efforts successful. There are difficulties to be contended with; — and when my teacher corrects an error he cannot assign any reason for the alteration, but merely says, it is wrong, and should be otherwise.

Monday

2 June 1834

Spent a few hours of this day with my native teacher in attempting to translate the 2nd Ch. of Hebrews; but my ignorance of the idiom of the language makes an effort to translate exceedingly difficult. But I find that such essays extend my vocabulary of words, & my knowledge of their construction, and are thereby calculated to facilitate my progress. ~ I am happy in my work, & wish my time and my all to be consecrated to the service of the Lord

Tuesday

3 June 1834

Spent a great part of this day in preparing for the examination and correcting of my native teacher a few remarks on a passage of scripture, & an attempt to translate the 3rd chapter of Hebrews. ~ The numerous interruptions to which a missionary in these latitudes is unavoidably exposed, consume much of his time, and are a drawback on his mental improvement

Wednesday

4 June 1834

This afternoon read a discourse in the native language . . . and afterwards assisted Bro^r T in administering the ordinance to baptism to about 213 females. I have no doubt but the duties of this afternoon would have been to our friends @ home, could they have witnessed or engaged in them, as interesting and cheering as they were to us. The women were dressed in the native costume. Some with several rolls of native cloth about their bodies, others with fine new mats of exquisite manufacture. The scene was very interesting & imposing. As the Chapel was too small to contain the number of people assembled from all parts of the island, we conducted the service in the open air. Bro^r T & I stood under the shading branches of a large tree; ~ the Queen with our wives sat behind us, — while the

candidates for baptism sat in front of us; in rows @ the back of each other, — in the form of a semicircle. At the exterior of these sat the numerous spectators. After the ceremony was performed Bro: T delivered a short appropriate address, & concluded the service with singing and prayer.

Sunday

8 June 1834

Conducted the English service, & addressed about 24 of my countrymen. . . . I understand that 16 of the crew of a vessel which was in harbour last week, have run away in consequence of a quarrel between the Captain & them. I fear they will be no acquisition to the tranquility of the island. . . .

Throughout June, the number of conversions grew steadily, and the missionaries spent an increasing amount of time baptising, hearing testimonials, and participating in the now-extinct 'love feast' — bread and water. The Tongans responded by devoting more of their own time and labour to sacred activities, among which was the building of new chapels fashioned after Tongan houses. Cargill described one such chapel at Makave, a village about a mile and a half distant from the mission premises:

The Chapel is perhaps the neatest in these islands. It stands on a small eminence, the basis of which is washed by the sea; and commands an extensive and beautiful prospect. By a cursory measurement, its length is about 15 yards, & its breadth 10 yards. The beams &c are tastefully wrapped with black, red & white cynet [sennit] or kafa. The pulpit is raised about 18 inches from the ground, & would not disgrace an English Chapel, either as an ingenious piece of workmanship or a useful article of furniture. It is made from the trunk of a tree hollowed out: the wood of which is hard and durable. The execution of it displays ingenuity & a spirit of perseverance. On retiring from the Chapel, we were conducted to the house of one of the native teachers; — where they had provided a (native) feast to express their pleasure on this important occasion. The feast consisted of 15 large baskets of cooked yams, fish & (native) pudding,³⁶ besides three pieces of kava root³⁷ & cocoanuts &

36. 'Pudding' (a mistranslation for American English) is usually made from a starchy root crop or banana, which is grated, mixed with coconut milk and sometimes wrapped in leaves, and baked, broiled, or steamed.

37. *Kava* is the Tongan name for a pepper plant (*Piper methysticum*, Piperaceae) and a ceremonial drink made from grating its dried root and mixing it with water. It is mildly narcotic. In most parts of Polynesia and Melanesia, it was originally chewed rather than grated, but today health regulations usually prohibit this practice.

bananas; — They sent away 2 bunches of bananas — 2 baskets of yams &c to the missionaries wives 'to show their love to them.' Every one seemed happier than another! Their conduct proved to us their attachment to the Gospel; & the new house which they have built & dedicated to the Lord demonstrates that godliness is profitable for *all* things; & that they are improving in temporals as well as in spirituals. Idleness *was* an essential trait in the character of the Tonguese; but even this bane of knowledge & happiness can be removed by the restorative power of the Gospel.

Thursday
11 July 1834

Went to Tuanekevale [Tuanekevale] (a place about 8 miles off) in a native Canoe; — & preached to about 250 persons who listened with great attention and apparent seriousness. At the conclusion of the discourse, I called upon 3 of the native teachers to prayer; who offered their petitions to the God of all grace with great earnestness, for the increase of the faith of those who believe in Christ their saviour, — & for the enlightening & conversion, who yet remain the bond-slaves of Satan. The subject of discourse was the happiness of the children of God. . . . Mrs C & Jane accompanied me on this excursion, & experienced great benefit from the air & exercise. The canoe was old & frail, and on our return one part of it gave way, in consequence of which two of the natives were precipitated into the sea. This occasioned no alarm, as we were in the immediate vicinity of shallow [water], & as the most of the natives are very expert swimmers. Their companions rendered them no assistance, but laughed at their mistake, & allowed them to save themselves by their own agility. In a few minutes, one of them fell overboard a second time, but the rest looked on as if he had been seated @ perfect ease & safety. We landed at a considerable distance from home, & as Mrs C felt fatigued, she was seated on a mat tied to two poles, & elevated on the shoulders of four natives who were relieved @ short intervals; — & in this easy position she was carried home, while the natives kept up their spirits & shortened the distance by repeating the Lord's prayer & 'Creed.' We felt very grateful and happy in finding ourselves the objects of the friendly dispositions of this people. The principal thing in which they try our patience is in trading with them. They act as if they thought, they could not get too much. If a person is eating with them, they will treat him with unbounded liberality, but if he wish to buy any thing from them, they ask an exorbitant price for the article.

Sunday

14 July 1834

Preached this morning in the native language at Neafoo, & felt considerable liberty in addressing the people. . . . In the afternoon preached at Neafoo Tahī. . . . Feel comfortable in my work & ardently desire to be useful to the souls of the people. O Lord increase my faith & love and enable me to consecrate the residue of my days to thy service: Make me more faithful, — fruitful & useful than I yet have been. I lack many things before I can be what thou wouldst have me. Mould my heart afresh, & conform me to thy will. — Am thankful to the Lord for the progress which he has enabled me to make in this language; — and that I am able to address the natives without having frequent recourse to what I may have previously written.³⁸ May the fruit of my labours be evident & abundant!

Tuesday

16 July 1834

Sailed in a native canoe to Niuababoo [Nuapapu] island about 10 miles distant, — for the purpose of opening a new Chapel. On our arrival @ the island, the hospitable people set before us a number of baskets of prepared yams with a variety of other dishes. We partook of the plentiful repast with much pleasure & satisfaction. The natives were called together by the sound of a native drum; ~ an oblong instrument formed from the trunk of a tree hollowed out; & having a small opening from end to end. The sound is produced by striking the hollow trunk with a short stick. The chapel is neat & stands in a convenient situation. . . . We left on the Island a native teacher & his wife.

It was in late July that the fruit of the missionaries' labour began to be indeed 'evident and abundant', and that the conversion of the Tongans began to fulfil Cargill's simile of the copious shower. So far, their rewards had been a few dramatic conversions and audiences who 'listened attentively & seemed affected' by the sermons. An event in the village of Utui changed this pattern, however. Inspired not by the missionaries but by a local preacher, the villagers began to be overcome by an emotional feeling so far unparalleled in Tonga. According to mission historians, as an answer

38. Turner, in a letter to the WMS (undated, but written approximately at this time), remarked: 'Bro Cargill has taken the language capable. For some months he has prayed without books & very frequently speaks extempore. He has zeal, & loves to put his whole strength to the gospel plans. He will if spared, be a useful labourer in his Master's vineyard. May he long be spared to labour in these far off lands.'

to the company's vow to pray daily at noon. . . 'there came upon the congregation an overwhelming spirit of contrition. Every soul was prostrate before God, many cried aloud in agony, some making open confession of past sins. Through the whole night weeping and prayers for pardon continued at Utui'.³⁹

About 9 o'clock that night, the news reached Cargill and Turner, and the next morning at daybreak they set out for Utui to investigate the validity of the report. Cargill wrote:

We found some rejoicing in the possession of God's pardoning love; and many more under deep conviction. 23 souls professed to have found the Lord, & most of the people in the place were crying for mercy. The scene was affecting; & the prospect delightful. The following Sabbath — the Cloud of divine glory rested about Feletoa and Makave, — & descended in a plentiful & fruitful shower. At day-break on Monday morning Bro^r T. and I went to Feletoa to encourage the people to seek the Lord. We found the Chapel even at that early hour crowded with people; most of whom had been engaged in prayer the greater part of the night. Young & old — male and female — the chiefs and the lowest of the people — the robust & the infirm — all were under the influence of the Holy Spirit. It was an animating spectacle to behold. There were few dry eyes in the crowded chapel. Many fell prostrate on the mats of the Chapel & lay as if dead for a length of time. The first exclamation of most of these after their recovery — was 'I love Jesus.' Some vehemently struggled as if legions of devils were being cast out of them. Others incessantly cried for mercy on their bended knees: While the Leaders & many of the people (nearly 200) were shouting the animating praises of Jehovah, whose arm was made bare in their salvation.

After concluding the service at Feletoa. . . Bro^r T & I visited Makave. There also there was a great shaking among the dry bones, and a general turning of the people to God. On our return home in the afternoon we assembled the people in the large Chapel; earnestly praying that the Lord would pour out his spirit upon the King — his Chiefs — & people. And the same God who @ Elijah's request sent fire from heaven to consume the sacrifice, sent down his spirit, as a rushing mighty wind, & filled the house with his presence. A general influence seized the congregation: — some fell as dead; — others roared aloud, while many were smiting their breasts. The king started to his feet as if confounded and irresolute what to do. A few inferior chiefs rallied round his pew, & seemed ready to imitate his example or execute his orders: While all the rest were struggling for

39. Findlay and Holdsworth 1921, III: 305-6.

mercy. The work here surpassed what we had seen at any of the other places. It is impossible to describe it. I never *saw* or *read* of any revival in modern times equal to it — in its *rapidity* — *greatness* & *extent*.

Early the following morning we re-assembled the people. The king now was affected, & literally trembled & roared. It was an affecting sight: — to see the arbitrary monarch stretched and struggling @ the foot of the cross: — the bold and conquering warrior groaning for mercy: — the proud and independent spirit — confessing & hating its follies, and surrendering itself to Jesus. He ordered his people to desist from work & seek the love of God. All that week we assembled the people four times every day. In every meeting — the Gospel achieved victories over Satan's kingdom in the conversion of immortal souls. Since that time, we have had a prayer-meeting every afternoon — & a penitent meeting every night. We cannot yet preach to the people, our voice being drowned by their cries. Sometimes we attempt it, but are obliged to desist. It is impossible to calculate the amount of the good affected by the spirit of the Lord, during this blessed revival. Persons who were formerly troublesome & wicked, now experience a real change of heart. Those who were formerly lifeless, are now rejoicing in God their saviour, & ardently longing for Canaan's happy rest. The king has manifested great love to the souls of his people & exemplary zeal for their salvation. This glorious revival has embraced every inhabited island of this group — & a great majority of the people can say — I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, for it is the power of God to Salvation. Nor have our own souls, Respected Fathers, — remained dry & barren during this fertilizing shower. All the means of grace have been wells of salvation to our thirsty souls. Our English class-meetings especially have been of essential benefit in re-animating our hopes & reviving our zeal. Never — I trust — shall I forget the scene we witnessed on Friday Aug^t 1st /34. The room in which we met seemed filled with the divine presence, and our hearts overflowed with love. Bro^r & Sis^r Turner with my dear wife & myself — each experienced the cleansing efficacy of the blood of Christ. Since that time, our peace has flowed as a river, May the Lord cause our righteousness to flow as the waves of the sea! ⁴⁰

By the end of August, Cargill summarised the Tongan pentecost for the Committee in London:

Dear Fathers and Brethren,

I have no doubt but you will feel unspeakable pleasure — to hear

40. Cargill to WMS, Vava'u, 29 August 1834.

that the great Head of the Church, has blessed this corner of his vineyard with a great and extensive revival of religion. As it regards the blessed work with which Vavau has lately been visited, the prophecy — ‘a nation shall be born in a day,’ has been well nigh literally accomplished. The numerous prayers of God’s people have been answered, their anxieties have been relieved, — and their liberality has been abundantly rewarded, by the conversion of hundreds and thousands [of] immortal souls. But that you may know something of the nature of this revival, I shall make a few remarks on its *commencement*, *progress*, and *effects*. The work confounds human reason — prostrates human energy, & demonstrates to all that it is not by might, — nor by power, — but by the spirit of the Lord. For several months we have been encouraged by the experience of the Leaders & Local P., many of whom professed to enjoy a sense of the divine favour. And among the people, we now & then heard of a solitary instance of conversion to God. But the work has been extended to persons of all *ranks*, and *ages*: and there are perhaps few if any on the island, who have not felt its influence in a greater or less degree.⁴¹

He also reported on his progress with the language, mentioning an idea that has enjoyed sporadic popularity in the last century and a quarter: a Semitic origin for the Polynesian peoples.

As it regards the language of these islands, I am making gradual progress. The numerous meetings we have lately held, have greatly aided me in increasing my vocabulary of words. I can now pray extempore with tolerable ease: but in preaching am occasionally hampered for want of words. It strikes me that the *genius* of this language is *very poor*: — that its *idiom* has some *resemblance* to that of the *oriental languages*: and that the *construction* of its *sentences* is *similar*. The idea that [these] people are descendants of persons who have been more or less connected with the Jews, — is neither *improbable* nor *groundless*. Their acquaintance with — and practice of circumcision: — the visitor sending before him — or bringing in his hand a gift to the person visited: their seating themselves before they speak; — & even the construction of their sentences; — with a few other traits in their character, — are circumstances not unfavourable to such a conjecture.

He concluded with an evaluation of his physical and mental health:

The climate is congenial to health: but frequent and sudden transitions from heat to comparative cold render it not the most genial to European constitutions. And the houses being made of

41. Ibid.

plaited reeds, admit the wind through thousands of apertures. This in rainy-cold weather, is an exposure, which if possible should be speedily remedied. My health, however, is good. I never enjoyed a better frame of body —, or even of mind, — than I have done on this island. But M^{rs} C. is considerably affected by the openness of the houses. Upon the whole, however, we have neither a wish, nor a reason to murmur. Happy in our situation and with our companions, — we feel that God is with us; and it is our delight to do his will. . . .⁴²

Through the next few months, the pentecost continued, not at the emotional height of the previous period, but active enough for the Society to increase to 3000 members. As an example of the rate of increase, Cargill reported that he and Turner baptised 270 adults at one service, 200 at another. Church historians called 1834 an annus mirabilis for Tonga.⁴³ 'The schools had to be given up for the time, and six prayer-meetings were held a day at the same spot.'⁴⁴

As gratifying as this work was to the souls of the missionaries, it was wearing on their bodies. They preached several sermons a day, conducted prayer-meetings, baptised and married converts, and continued to open the new chapels that sprang up in different villages. Cargill described one such episode for late October of that year:

Opened a new and elegant chapel @ Hologa [Hologna], a settlement @ the opposite side of the island. The Lord crowned our meeting together with his presence & blessing: & the heart of many overflowed with love. After service they presented us with a plentiful & according to their ideas a sumptuous feast. The Chief of the District to show his love to the faifekau or Missionary made me a present of a bale of native cloth, a quantity of kava root, & more than a hundred large uncooked yams. The gratitude and love of the people were evidenced by their words & actions. When coming away, they crowded about me to shake hands; — till my arm & hand wished them to be less ceremonious. I did not return home till 9 o'clock @ night. This is the longest & most fatiguing journey I have taken in these latitudes. The sun was almost vertical; & the heat very oppressive.

At another chapel opening, he was fascinated by the symbolism of the pulpit:

. . . part of the pulpit of which is made from a piece of an old

42. Ibid.

43. Findlay and Holdsworth 1921, III: 296.

44. Ibid., 306.

spear. Walking sticks made from these weapons of war are very common. And thus — the prophecies of the Bible are being fulfilled.⁴⁵

The heightened activity of this period led Cargill to all parts of the island. In November, he saw Swallow's Cave, one of Vava'u's natural wonders:

Monday

10 November 1834

Opened a new & commodious chapel @ Falevai ~ and read the rules of the society. During the service, many of the people were affected, and I believe did not wait in vain upon the Lord. ~ Curiosity led me to examine an immense cavern in a rock, wh. juts out into the sea. The opening was so wide and lofty, that a canoe of considerable size could sail through it with ease. ~ About 50 yards from the mouth of the cavern, there is a body of water of unknown depth, contained in a circular basin formed out of the solid rock & about 100 feet in diameter. Overhead — the appearance resembles a large and richly variegated amphitheatre. The walls look as if they had been but lately coloured with green paint, & are decorated with petrified tapestry, & images of various hues & figures. With great difficulty I got from the canoe to the solid rock: & having procured a light by rubbing two sticks together, went into the interior of the cavern. Its length is about 200 yards under ground. About 50 feet beyond the basin of water, is another large hall with a round opening at top, & apparently about 150 feet in depth from the surface of the earth. Here were many marks of combustion. The cinders and heaps of ashes were as fresh in appearance, as if the fire had been but lately extinguished. From this place to the termination of the cavern, the path was made up of ashes & stones wh. had evidently been once in a state of fusion. At the extremity or as far as we could penetrate, large rocks were thrown together in confusion, & were covered with ashes. Here we saw many narrow openings; but we could not discover their bottom: the eye was lost in darkness. The air was damp & respiration difficult. This is the greatest (natural wonder) curiosity I have seen in these islands: and I have no doubt but it is the remains of an exhausted volcano. ~

Throughout most of this period of increased activity, Margaret Cargill was suffering a difficult pregnancy. As early as 14 September, Cargill wrote:

45. Journal, 2 October 1834. A reference to Isa. 2: 4, but evidently, to Cargill, a more pleasing conversion than to secular pruning hooks.

Yesterday my Dear Maggie was seized with a severe affliction, which, although not fatal in itself, is very debilitating. All this day, she has been confined to bed, through pain & weakness.

In late November, he reported to the WMS on this and other matters:

We feel great pleasure in labouring among a people, so affectionate in their disposition, — so tractable in their manners, and so attentive to the 'one thing needful'. During the year, we have felt, that it is a good thing for brethren to dwell together in unity and love. My colleague and I have been of one mind and heart. Our unanimity and affection have never been interrupted. For my own part, — I esteem this a great blessing and am truly thankful for it: and it is my earnest prayer that we may always experience the truth of that affection, which surpasses the comprehension of unreserved minds, 'great peace have they who love thy law, and nothing shall offend them.' And it is to be hoped that our intercourse has not been unprofitable. Bro^r Turner very kindly extended his services to me, in assisting my efforts to acquire the language, — especially after my arrival on the station. And my heart can attest — that as 'iron sharpeneth iron, so a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend.'

We have been blessed during the year with a moderate share of health. For my own part, I am very seldom indisposed; and so far as bodily ability is concerned, I have hitherto been able to go on regularly with my work, till the last few days, during which I have been laid aside through cold and an accompanying fever. But my affliction is light, & it is presumed, of short duration. M^{rs} C, I am sorry to say has not been favoured with the same exemption from affliction and she has frequently been the subject of severe distress; and the occasion of great anxiety during the year. The heat is very relaxing to her constitution, — and during the last three months she has been often reduced to the debility and helplessness of an infant. But I leave her in the hands of the Lord, who doeth all things well.

My progress in the language has been moderate. I have been preaching for some months extempore. But it would be presumptuous and untrue, to say — that my expressions are always according to the idiom of the language. I feel a great deficiency in the idiomatic knowledge of the language; but this can be remedied by care and practice. I have not yet attempted to translate any of the scriptures; but as I occasionally required a small portion for texts. The persuasion that the scriptures cannot be accurately rendered into Tonguese, without a more mature experience and extensive knowledge of it, than I have, prevents me from immediately entering

upon that undertaking.

I hope the request for additional Missionaries will be granted at the earliest opportunity. The people @ the Navigators' Islands [Samoa] are very anxious for instructors. There seems an open door for the preaching of the Gospel to the people of those important islands.

But it is not likely that we can enter in, till our number & means are increased . . .

Monday

1 December 1834

This afternoon, I received the first packet of letters from my friends, with which I have been favoured, since I left my native land. How good has the Lord been to them and me! My dear mother still lives! and notwithstanding the more than usual weight of her temporal afflictions, is blessed with a moderate degree of health! May all her trials be sanctified to the good of her soul, and made productive of much spiritual good to herself & family! I sincerely thank the Lord for his care over them and us, since we parted: and earnestly pray, that if consistent with the divine will, we may yet see our parents on earth & meet at last in heaven, to spend eternity in singing the praises of redeeming love!

Thursday

25 December 1834

Christmas Day. This day I have had a rich repast of heavenly love. At break of day, the bell was rung to assemble the natives to a prayer meeting in the large chapel; — and with the rising Sun. we began to praise God for his love in the gift of his Son Jesus X. The Chapel was crowded even at that early hour; and most of adult persons present, & many of the children were dressed in new pieces of native cloth & fine mats. We continued in supplication and thanksgiving for about an hour; & were blessed with a renewal of our spiritual strength. About 9 A.M. we re-assembled, and I endeavoured to explain to a listening multitude, the mission of the angel, and the conduct of the Shepherd related in the former part of St. Luke's Gospel. During the whole time of the discourse, many could with difficulty restrain their feelings; & frequently, some of the leaders and others cried aloud for gratitude and joy.

About $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 A.M. I preached in English on Isaiah: 9-6 Unto us a child is born &c

At 3 P.M. we held a love-feast, when @ least a thousand people were in attendance. Many — I believe — on that interesting occasion

partook of the bread of life. The service continued about two hours and a half. During which time, one hundred persons (a few less or more) related their experience. All were simple, pointed, and brief: and many were very interesting. Among the speakers, were the King & Queen and a few principal chiefs. One very old chief, whose faculties seem to have relapsed into the simplicity of childhood, stood up & said — 'O Lord Jehovah, I am old and foolish, but I pray thee, to have mercy upon me & take me up to heaven! That is my mind!'

Bro^r T went to another part of the Island the preceding day, & conducted services similar to those wh. we held @ this place.

Just after Christmas, the missionaries at Vava'u were given short notice of a District Meeting at Nuku'alofa. Cargill wrote:

As Brother Turner proposes to sail for the District Meeting early tomorrow morning, and as our information of the time of the D.M. has been rather unexpected, I cannot @ this time forward you any 'extracts' or lengthy communications. I am prevented from attending the D.M. because of the protracted & occasionally alarming illness of M^{rs} C. During the last 4 months, she has been the subject of severe affliction. But our confidence is in the Lord of hosts, — & our consolation is derived from a firm belief that every dispensation of his Providence, may have a sanctifying effect upon us.⁴⁶

It is likely that Turner went to the District Meeting intending to transfer to Fiji. In late June of that year, he had written:

The letters from Nukualofa inform us of a special D[istrict] Meeting held there by the Chairman — Messrs Hobbs & Cross — on the propriety of me & Bro Tucker going to Fejee as soon as opportunity offers. I have before informed you... so that I shall again repeat it. I am resigned to go, or to stay. Not as I will but as thou wilt.⁴⁷

Church historians give a slightly romanticised account of the District Meeting. It reads:

When the Synod met at Nukualofa in January, 1835, full of ardour and thanksgiving, invitations and appeals poured in, not from the outlying Friendly Islands alone, but from Samoa and Fiji besides. Fiji was already on the programme of the Missionary Society. All things seemed possible to men filled with the Spirit who had wrought through them in the recent months things so far beyond anticipation. Their people showed a delightful docility and zeal; they were intent on advance, and their eagerness to spread the Gospel evidenced the

46. Cargill to WMS, Vava'u, 26 December 1834.

47. Turner, journal extracts, 25 June 1834.

true grace of God working in them. British Methodism, the Synod felt sure, would send the assistance needed. They applied for six new Missionaries at once — the tidings of the great harvest in the South Seas must call forth labourers to aid the reaping. For themselves, they were ready to make any sacrifice, to face any danger, the furtherance of God's kingdom in the isles required. It was determined that two of their number should be detailed for Fiji, and one be given to Samoa. Cross and Cargill volunteered for the former enterprise; Turner was chosen for the latter. These brethren were to be dispatched so soon as arrangements could be made; the Missionary Committee must be trusted to supply the vacancies created in Tonga. This was a sacrifice of half the strength of the Mission; three out of the seven upon the ground were to go — and these three picked and choice men. Cargill in particular, with his superior training and organizing powers, was indispensable to Tonga at a time like this. The step was taken in the purest spirit of self-sacrifice. . . .⁴⁸

It is difficult to understand how Cargill 'volunteered' for service in Fiji without attending the meeting. Turner wrote in his journal that, contrary to the historians' report, he had volunteered for Samoa, and Cross for Fiji, if someone would accompany him. In Cargill's absence, the other missionaries had volunteered his services.

Later, Cargill responded:

I must acknowledge that when the D[istrict] M[eeeting] appointed me for Feejee, I was somewhat startled; — but I am quite *happy* @ the appointment, & pray that it may be conducive to the glory of God.⁴⁹

Mrs Cargill seemed equally surprised:

Well, David, I did not expect it to be so: but the Lord knows best what is good for us; and if it be his will that we should go to Feejee I am content.⁵⁰

On 13 January 1835, Mrs Cargill gave birth to a son, who died within a few hours. He was interred 'within the precincts of the burying-place of the Vavau Kings'. Although Cargill had made no note of their arrival, Cross and his family had reached Vava'u the day before — the first stage of their move to Fiji. Cross responded to his new appointment with a self-importance that one eventually perceives as characteristic:

. . . I would observe, that — after having with Bro. N. Turner commenced the Mission at Nukualofa and witnessed a glorious work

48. Findlay and Holdsworth 1921, III: 311-12.

49. Cargill to WMS, Lakeba, 20 October 1835.

50. Cargill 1841: 88.

of the Lord among the Inhabitants of Tongataboo; and afterwards myself commencing the Mission at Vavau & seen the work of the Lord prosper in a most glorious manner there; I feel it a great honour to be employed to carry the glad tidings of Salvation to the inhabitants of Fiji: nor do I feel at all discouraged at having another language to learn, or on account of the barbarity & ferocity of the people.⁵¹

In early February, Cargill and Cross began their study of the Fijian language, with the assistance of a Lauan (Eastern) Fijian living on Vava'u. Their first project was a four-page primer and catechism called A Vosa Vaka Viji i Manda, and it consisted of a tentative alphabet, numerals, a partial syllabary, words grouped according to their number of syllables, a modified catechism, and the Lord's Prayer. Their orthography was a modification of the one developed for Tongan: five vowel symbols were used (as they are today), and such diagraphs as oo for [u], previously used for Tongan, were dispensed with. The Tongan convention of using g rather than ng for [ŋ] was adopted, and using the same principle (a single letter to represent a single sound), Cargill drew on his Greek studies for a sound similar to one of the two that in English are written as th. But in Nuku'alofa, Hobbs, the printer, objected for practical reasons. He reported:

I next printed a leaflet for Fiji. Mr. Cargill said, 'I want you to cast me some Greek thetas.' I said 'The Th in Fijian is flat and I am not a type founder; take one of our spare letters and make that do.' In a short time I got the thing printed giving C the sound of Th.'⁵²

Cargill and Cross completed their manuscript in March and sent it to John Hobbs for printing at Nuku'alofa.⁵³ Evidently, John Thomas objected to their using the press without having first obtained his permission. In August, Hobbs wrote:

... We have heard this week from Vavau. I am sorry to find that the Natives speak of a difference between the Brethren Thomas, Cross, and Cargill. Bro. Thomas also complains of it himself, and it appears from their sending a Book here to be printed without the clear knowledge, that his complaints may be just.⁵⁴

During this period, Cross seemed to get along well enough with Cargill. He wrote of a moderately pleasant relationship but he did so without much enthusiasm:

51. Cross to WMS, Vava'u, 14 March 1835.

52. Spooner 1955: 23.

53. Hobbs, diary, 12 March 1835.

54. Hobbs, diary, 1 August 1835.

It will perhaps afford you pleasure to know that I again feel happy in my work; I have before intimated that this was not the case during the last year. At present Bro Cargill & I go on happily together & I hope that it will thus continue . . . We are now every day looking for a vessel bringing Bro Thomas to his Station and in which it is intended that Bro Cargill and I should proceed to Fiji.⁵⁵

Cargill, however, made no mention of Cross in his journal entries, a marked contrast to the number of times he had spoken of Turner with affection.

From March to October, the missionaries marked time, waiting for passage to Lakeba. From the time of his son's death in January to the departure, Cargill made only eleven entries in his journal. In mid-February he confessed his uneasiness about the Fiji appointment:

I feel considerable exercise of mind with regards to Fiji. I do not regret that I am appointed to labour among the people of those islands, but I fear lest they should not receive our message.

Nevertheless I know that every other strong-hold of Satan *must* be given up to the Conqueror Jesus; and it is my earnest prayer that the time may be at hand when the Fijians shall embrace the Gospel of Christ.

May the Lord strengthen my dear wife, and prepare us both, for extensive usefulness in the new and important sphere, in which we are appointed to labour.⁵⁶

On 8 October 1835, in a small vessel (the Blackbird) that brought John Hobbs from Tongatapu to Vava'u, Cargill and Cross, with their families, finally left Tonga for their new appointment in Fiji.

55. Cross to WMS, Vava'u, 14 March 1835.

56. Journal, Vava'u, 15 February 1835.

3 Lakeba

12 October 1835-12 July 1839

Lakeba, in the Central Lau group of Fiji, is an ovoid volcanic island with an area of about twenty-two square miles, or roughly two-thirds that of Vava'u. The approach by sea is not easy; the lagoon near Tubou, the principal village, is described as 'restricted and difficult of access'. Although by the late 1860s the village had been removed to the shore, when Cargill and Cross landed, it lay a mile inland from a projection on the south coast.

The arrival of the missionaries should not have come as a surprise to the Fijians at Lakeba, for the plan, ten years in its execution, had initiated with the Fijians themselves. In 1825 there arrived at Tahiti a man from Lakeba named Takai (described later by Cargill as a 'petty chief'),¹ who, desirous of seeing something of the world, had gone to New South Wales and lived there for a time. Observing the schools and worship services in Tahiti, he requested that teachers be sent to Lakeba, 'saying that the chief Nuineau [Tui Nayau] was a friendly peaceable man, and would give the teachers a good reception'. Several members of the congregation at Papara volunteered, and two—Hape and Tafeta—were chosen for the mission. Accompanied by Takai and his travelling companion, a Tongan named Langi, they sailed on 2 March 1826 for Fiji, but were detained in Tonga, where they helped the missionaries for two years. At the end of that period, Hape returned to Tahiti (Tafeta disappears somehow in the narrative), and then, joined by Taharaa, went again to Tonga, and finally to Fiji in 1830. We can assume that Tafeta accompanied them, for Davies wrote, 'Some months after-

1. Journal entry for 23 February 1838.

wards word was brought to Tahiti. . that the three Teachers had been taken to Lageba, and had been well received by Tuineau, tho' he had told them, that he could not then embrace a new religion'.² Tui Nayau sent them instead to Oneata, where they awaited passage back to Tahiti. When the Wesleyans arrived five years later, they found them still waiting for their ship and relatively unsuccessful in their mission, since after all their time in Fiji they still spoke a kind of altered Tahitian, largely unable to communicate with the inhabitants. Two of them died on Oneata in 1846 and were buried there; the fate of the third is not known.

Similarly, the shock of the impact of Fiji on Cargill and Cross was lessened considerably by the experience they had had with Fijians resident on Vava'u. Even at that, Cross wrote that he found the Fijians on their home ground 'in a very rude & wild state; they are more like the New Zealanders both in their appearance and manners than any other people I have yet seen (the tatooing of the face is excepted). One can form but a poor idea of the manners and state of the Fejeeans by seeing those who have for some time lived at the Tonga Islands.'³ But their work with the language had given them at least some phrases of greeting (even if they produced no response from the hearers) and a beginning familiarity with the language.

A more efficient buffer was the presence at Lakeba of the

2. Newbury 1961: 289-92. The Tahitians' circuitous route has resulted in some confusion about the number of teachers who were sent. Derrick's account (1957b: 72) seems to be the source of the error. Although he refers to Cargill 1841 (in which it is made clear: 'Three native teachers from Tahiti were the first heralds of the cross to the inhabitants of Oneata'), the other sources (Hunt 1846, Henderson 1931b) may have confused him.

A letter to the WMS from the ever-fractious Cross indicates that rivalry between that organisation and the LMS may have resulted in Tui Nayau's cold reception of the Tahitians. After all, a foot in the door, so to speak, for the LMS could result in its claiming all Fiji for its own territory:

Respecting the information just received from the Committee, of the intentions of the London Missionary Society to withdraw their Teachers from Fejee on our arrival; I beg to observe that there are only two of their Teachers in the Fejee Isles. These were landed at Lakemba from Tahiti in 1830. But as the late chief Tui Naeau had made application to us for Missionaries through the Chief of Tongataboo; and had been informed that we had written to our Friends in England requesting them to send him Teachers: He determined not to receive the Tahitian Teachers. Hence they were sent to a small Island about 30 miles from Lakemba to wait for a vessel to take them back to their own land. The Missionaries who sent the Teachers to Fejee knew this; but an opportunity has not offered during five years for them to remove or even to visit their teachers. Hence they still remain at the Island above referred to (Cross to WMS, 20 October 1835).

3. Cross to WMS, Lakeba, 20 October 1835.

Tongans, many of whom had come to Lau to take advantage of the Fijians' materials and skill for boat-building. The hardwoods, especially vesi (Afzelia bijuga, Leguminosae), were supplied by southern Lau, and the skill was highly praised by Cargill:

The superiority of the Feejeean canoes is acknowledged by the inhabitants of the adjacent islands. The Tonguese have ceased to build canoes after the fashion of their own country, and imitate the structure of those built by the Feejeeans. The timber, — the shape of the canoe, — the manner of lashing it together, — the names of its different parts, — the mast, sail, and rigging, and furniture of the canoe are all Feejeean. This is creditable to the skill of Feejeean Mechanics.⁴

Once into his work, Cross recognised some of the Tongans as former members of his classes. He wrote: 'Some of them had embraced Christianity previous to their coming to Feejee but they appear to have little more remaining than the name of Christian, but — we think that even this will be of some advantage in commencing the work of God in this land of darkness'.⁵

Still, the missionaries must have had second thoughts about their new station when they caught sight of the reception that awaited them. Cargill wrote to the Committee in London:

18 October 1835

On the morning of the 12th Oct^r 1835 — the 5th day after our departure from Vavau, we sighted Lakemba [Lakeba].⁶ As the Capⁿ had no chart of the coast or harbour, and had never before seen the Is^d, he was unwilling to come to anchor, until the size of the harbour, and the disposition of the people should be ascertained. It was therefore determined that M^r Cross and I should go ashore in the boat, and visit the king of the Is^d

As we approached the beach, we saw many of the natives running hither and thither on the sand: and as we drew near to the landing place, nearly 200 men, some armed with muskets, — others with bayonets fastened to long sticks; some with clubs & spears, others

4. Cargill to WMS, Lakeba, 18 June 1839.

5. Cross to WMS, Lakeba, 20 October 1835.

6. When Cargill wrote the name of the island, he had not yet settled on a final form for the orthography. But even when it was fixed, he and many of the other missionaries continued to spell place names and personal names according to the old system. I have used the official system, whose so-called anomalies are these:

b is pronounced [mb]

d [nd]

q [ng], as in *finger*

c is pronounced [ʃ], as in *this*

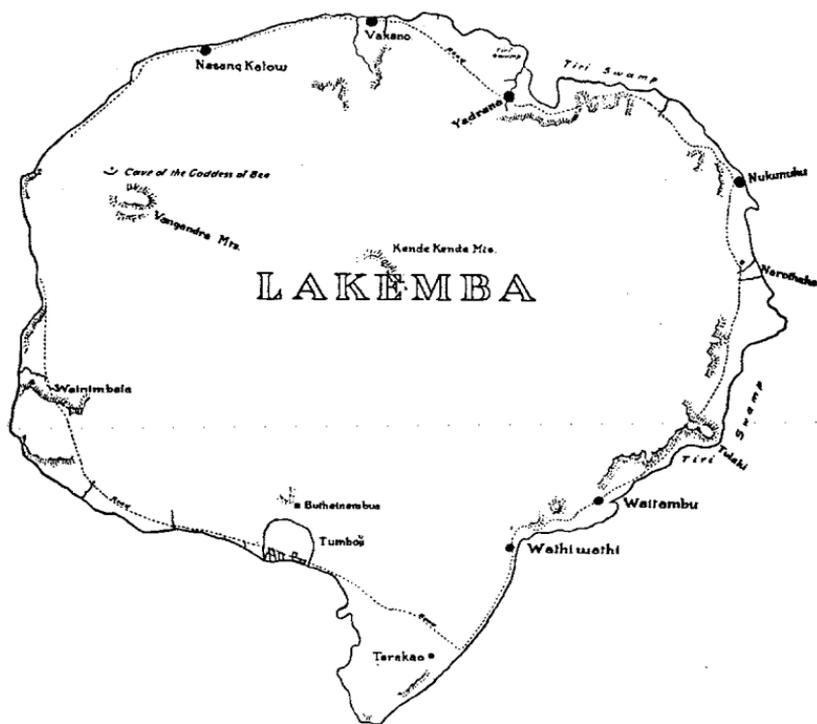
g [ŋ], as in *sing*

dr [ndr]

with bow & arrows: — having their faces painted, some jet black, others red; some after one fashion, some another, and all nearly naked, were standing about 100 ft distant from the place at which we stepped on shore. We approached those, who were next to us, and addressed them with, 'Sa loloma kiveike mundou' (my respects to you).⁷ They receded from us. We approached others, but received no answer to our salutation. They were astonished & seemed not to know what to think of us. We were informed that the king⁸ was waiting in a house near the beach, & that he wished to know who we were & what we wanted. Being informed that we wished to have an interview with him, he went to his own house, a very large building within a fortified place nearly one mile from the shore. We followed him, taking with us a small present. The settlement in which the king's house stands, is surrounded by a stone wall, built without mortar; on top of the wall, a fence of reeds is erected, & the whole is surrounded by a moat nearly 100 ft wide. We made known to the king in the presence of many of the chiefs and principal men, the object of our visit. They welcomed us by a simultaneous clapping of the hands. The king asked many questions, & promised to listen to instruction, to grant us a piece of ground to live on, — & to extend his protection to us. We then returned to the vessel, & brought our families on shore in a large canoe. We spent the following night in a canoe house. During the daylight, several hundreds of the natives were constantly surrounding the house, & even during the night, we were annoyed by the intrusion of a few, whose curiosity was not easily satisfied. We prepared our beds on the deck of the canoe, & after singing a few verses of a hymn, & invoking the protection & blessing of 'him who neither slumbers nor sleeps.' we lay down to 'court tired nature's sweet restorer, balmy sleep;' But what a restless night! Myriads of Moschettoes seemed leagued against us, & by their loud & incessant buzzing, & the frequent introduction of their sharp sting, effectually deprived us of any refreshing sleep. Long before the break of day we were up, & looking for morn. After sunrise we selected a spot of ground for the Mission premises. The king granted it to us with much cheerfulness, & promised to build a temporary house for each family without delay. In three days, the houses were finished.

7. This odd expression sounds like a nearly literal translation (no 'my' expressed) of the English. It is not a standard greeting, and it is no surprise that the hearers did not respond to it.

8. That is, Tui Nayau. Normally, the title *Tui* is affixed to the name of the chief's domain, but since *Tui Lakeba* referred to a deity, the name *Nayau*, a nearby island, was used instead.



Map 2 Towns and Villages, Lakeba, 1836-56

The materials were cocoanut leaves platted & laid one above the other. The ground about our houses was an uncultivated wilderness; we had to get it cleared, — put up fences, & make roads, — as well as keep a constant and strict watch upon the natives, to prevent their pilfering.⁹

From the presence of the Tongans, many of the Fijians knew something of their language, and vice-versa, so communication was not a problem for the newly-arrived missionaries.¹⁰ They were able to hold a service on the following Sunday:

Sunday

18 October 1835

This morning we had divine service in the open air. About 70 Tonguese and as many Feejeeans were present. Among whom was the king, who listened with attention to an account of the creation of the world. He seemed much interested in the remarks wh. were advanced.

Sunday

25 October 1835

Spent this sabbath in a similar way to the preceding. Had service twice under the open air. The congregations not quite so large as on the former Lord's Day.

Friday

30 October 1835

Received a visit from his Majesty this morning, & read to him a part of the Conference Catechism. After which we entered into a conversation about the advantages of reading. He expressed a desire to be able to read, & a willingness to receive instruction. Although the king does not profess to have embraced Christianity, yet he seems conscious of the absurdity of his own system of religion, & seems of readiness to abandon idolatry when made acquainted with the advantages of knowing and serving the true God. May he speedily be disposed to hear and obey the joyful sound of Gospel grace. ~

9. Cargill to WMS, Lakeba, 18 October 1835.

10. Cross wrote on 20 October 1835: 'Many of the Feejeeans at Lakemba understand something of the Tongese language; but as the generality of them do not know Tongese we shall proceed with all possible diligence to acquire a knowledge of the Feejean language, that we may be enabled to make known to them in their own tongue "The wonderful works of God"'.
~

Monday

2 November 1835

On Saturday 31st, Naufahu, the son of the late king of Vavau with his people,¹¹ about 50 in number, professionally embraced Christianity. He appears a young man of great simplicity and openness of character. Probably thinking it more auspicious to commence his worship of the true God on the Sabbath, he at first expressed his intention to begin his devotional exercises on that hallowed day. Being asked if anything prevented him from worshipping Jehovah immediately, he answered in the negative, & added his willingness that moment to call *our* God *his* God. With grateful & joyful hearts, we sang a few verses of a hymn & then prostrated ourselves before the searcher of hearts, & prayed that the divine blessing and unction of the Holy Ghost might rest upon the young converts to truth. May this important step which they have taken terminate in their eternal salvation!

On Sabbath morning the congregation consisted of about 200 persons — Tonguese and Feejeeans, who listened with deep attention while Bro^r Cross read the 1st Ch. of Genesis in the Feejeean language and preached in Tonguese. After service I had a long and interesting conversation with the king and Naufahu, on the necessity of being decided in favour of Christianity. I enlarged upon the misery of those who serve idols, & pointed out the blessedness of those who worshipped Jehovah in spirit & in truth. The king professed his belief in Jehovah as the true & only God: & expressed his intention to serve him at some future period: & assigned as a reason for his procrastination, his fear lest the Islands which do not acknowledge him as their sovereign should make war upon him: or lest some of the chiefs who submit to his authority should be offended at the change of religion, & dethrone him. Naufahu very earnestly joined me in urging upon him the folly of such fear & the danger of living in heathenism. He admitted the truth & propriety of our remarks, & told us not to be faint-hearted, for he intended to embrace Christianity at an early period.

In the afternoon I addressed a congregation of about 150 on the obligations under which we are laid to worship Jehovah, & Him alone. The people seemed considerably interested in what they heard. May the seed sown bring forth fruit to the honour and glory of God!

11. Lawry (1850:238) refers to Feenau [Finau] as 'King' of Vava'u in 1830. According to Gifford (1929:261), 'Naufahu' is a name for a high chief, from Nau, the chief mourner of the deceased.

Sunday

8 November 1835

This morning I read a discourse in the Feejeean language to about 200 individuals — Tonguese & Feejeeans. . . . The king was not present. His absence was a disappointment & a source of grief. The conversion of the king is very desirable, not only on his own account, but on account of his people; — as it is very probable that few if any of them will embrace Christianity, till he shall have openly avowed himself a worshipper of the true God. They are the subjects of our daily and earnest prayer. For my own part, I feel the necessity of an increase of that faith which prevails with God. I see the necessity of a humble yet firm dependence on God, not only for the retention of personal religion & for growth in grace, but also for the establishment of the great work in which I have the honour to be employed. O Lord, I beseech thee, send now prosperity; enlighten the minds, soften the hearts, & convert the souls of the dark, degraded, and miserable Feejeeans.

Monday

9 November 1835

This afternoon I admitted 10 new scholars into the Tonguese female school. The total number in the school is about 50. And all manifest a great desire to learn to read. This is encouraging. As we have no chapel or school-house, we have to conduct the school in the open air. Old and young sit upon the grass under the shade of a tree, & seek instruction with great assiduity. When shall we see the Feejeeans panting so eagerly to drink of the streams of salvation?

Sunday

15 November 1835

In the afternoon the rain fell in such torrents that we were obliged to assemble the natives in our dwelling house, to hold divine service. Our house is a very unsubstantial building, being made of cocoanut leaves: This however was no drawback on our devotion. Some of the congregation it is hoped realized the divine presence and could say in truth, This is none other than the house of God, & the very gate of heaven.

Monday

16 November 1835

Met my class of Tonguese, who are only seven in number. One of them is a young man of great piety and promise who accompanied us from Vavau in the capacity of a servant. . . .

Sunday

22 November 1835

Very heavy and constant rain prevented us from worshipping God under the canopy of heaven. About 80 persons assembled in our dwelling house about 8 O.C.A.M. I endeavoured to explain the necessity of obtaining the pardon of sin in order to secure admission into heaven at the day of Judgment After service we were highly delighted by the receipt of letters from the Brethren in Tonga, & of periodicals from England. In our present seclusion from civilized society, any event that interrupts or variegate the monotony of our lives is important, but communications from home — from our Fathers in the Church, and from our parents & friends are surpassingly interesting¹²

Thursday

26 November 1835

During the last three days, we have had to endure one of the severest storms that I ever witnessed. For about 60 hours the wind blew with tremendous vehemence, incessantly shifting to every point of the compass. The rain fell in torrents, and literally deluged a great part of the Mission Premises. ~ During the prevalence of the storm, we were kept in constant excitement and alarm for the safety of our houses & persons. The wind frequently rushed with such violence, as to threaten the demolition of every object within its reach, — and the rain was dashed through the innumerable crevices in the thatch & reeding of our dwelling houses. The posts of the house were shaken by every blast. All our attention & time were occupied in providing for our safety, by tying the roof, & propping the posts & beams of our houses. But by the kindness of Him who 'rides on the whirlwind and directs the storm,' we experienced no personal injury, except a slight cold from exposure to the rain. Our houses, perishable as they are, were materially injured by the rain & wind. A few garden seeds, which had just sprung up a few inches above ground, were torn up & or blasted. The mission premises & in fact the whole country were a dreary aspect.

Our premises were flooded with the water, which rushed from the neighboring hills in deep & rapid torrents. Our fences were blown down; our frail house was literally rocked to & fro by the tempest, & the timbers cracked under the pressure of every blast. The wind blew up the leaves of the roof, & dashed down the rain, upon our bedclothes & wearing apparel. Our family circumstances too, were

12. Omitted here is a reference to a Wesleyan theological dispute.

at a critical juncture, as we did not know the hour when our number might be increased.¹³

While the tempest raged, the Feejeeans were in great terror, & through the medium of the chief Priest, frequently consulted their God of wind about the cause of the storm & the time of its duration. — The Oracle responded that he was angry because Christian missionaries had been allowed to remain on the island, & as a punishment for such disrespect to his divinity, he had resolved to turn the Is^d upside down.¹⁴ Numerous and expensive sacrifices were offered to appease his wrath, and now the priest and people congratulate themselves on the success of their pious offering. Our hearts bleed when we think of their ignorance & misery, and their unwillingness to abandon lying vanities. But we pray that the time of their conversion may soon arrive.

Sunday

29 November 1835

At the afternoon service, about 150 Tonguese were present, who listened very attentively while I endeavoured to prove the impossibility of serving two Masters. The countenances of several persons bespoke the deep interest which they felt in the remarks: and some I trust, sincerely resolved to serve God. At the conclusion of the service, a Tonga chief of considerable rank spoke to me, & with visible emotion expressed a wish to meet in class that his soul might live.

Monday

30 November 1835

Commenced the female school about ½ past five in the morning: about 70 were present, and all sought instruction with great eagerness. During the forenoon, my time was principally occupied in making arrangements about our premises, — in mending doors, & c. Spent from 2 to 4 with a Feejeean chief in translating a part of the 9th

13. This last paragraph was added by Cargill in his letter to WMS.

14. If the god was angry, the priest was probably even more so. As part of a maximal lineage (*yavusa*) or an even larger unit such as the *vanua* or *matanitu*, his hereditary position was a powerful one. Acting as the intermediary between the human and the spirit world, he had the potential of curbing the power of even the chief by producing supernatural comment on the chief's action. Particularly in times of war, the priests' direct connection with the gods was all-important. The emergence of a competing god and an intermediary with no hereditary connections at all threatened the priests' position and indirectly, the total system of traditional authority (Nayacakalou 1961).

ch. of Matt: At 4 P.M. met my Tonguese class: our little band was increased by 5 additional candidates for membership. May they all become members of the church triumphant! In the evening visited a sick woman who resides about a mile distant. She acknowledges herself a miserable sinner. May the Lord have mercy upon her!

Wednesday

2 December 1835

Received a visit from the king & several other chieftains. I introduced a conversation about Christianity, & the folly and misery of those who reject the truth. The king acknowledged the vanity of their Gods, & expressed a willingness to embrace Christianity if our friends in England would send him as many muskets & as much powder and shot as would make him greater and more powerful than his enemies. He has more than [] wives, & I fear the principal obstacle in the way of his conversion is his reluctance to part with them.¹⁵ But nothing can defeat omnipotence: May this besotted heathen be soon found a humble and sincere worshipper of the Conqueror Jesus!

Saturday

5 December 1835

Early this morning, my dear wife was delivered of a daughter.¹⁶ Mother and child are likely to do well. What shall we render unto the Lord for all his benefits conferred upon us in this lonely island, where we have no earthly friend to sympathize with us, nor human skill to aid us in the hour of trouble! But we are not overlooked by Him who slumbereth not nor sleeps. He is better to us than all our fears. May gratitude fill our hearts & flow from our lips every day and every moment of our lives! —

This has been a high day at Sangkalau [Nasaqalau], a koro [village] at the opposite side of the island. A fashion prevails among the people, that the sons of great chiefs go entirely naked till 11 or 12 years of age, when they are faka-masied or clothed for the first time.¹⁷ Today this peculiar ceremony was performed on one of the sons of Toki, the king's elder brother. Many people were assembled

15. It is impossible to pass by too many of these observations without being reminded that Cargill was offering nothing but spiritual protection to a relatively powerless chief. Had he been able to offer Tui Nayau in addition to his promises of grace the protection of the British Navy, the king might have 'converted' more readily.

16. Named Augusta Cameron. Augusta, after Mrs Cross; Cameron, after Cargill's mother (Cargill 1841: 143).

17. *Faka* 'to cause'; *masi* 'tapa, bark cloth'.

from all parts of the island to witness the ceremony. The boy's father performed the ceremony by fastening many folds of native cloth about his waist, & so adjusting the ends that one dangled in front & the other behind.

Extensive preparations had been made for this occasion for about a fortnight prior to the performance of the ceremony. Night & day, heathenish dances & songs were practised. Great eagerness & industry were manifested in securing what they esteem ornaments for their persons. Whales' teeth were in great requisition.¹⁸ One chief solicited the loan of 20 or 30 looking glasses to decorate his head! — The food provided for the occasion was piled up in several large heaps. They spent all the day & the greater part of the subsequent night in heathenish revelry. Even the least guilty pleasures of these people yield no solid satisfaction, and exert a debasing and demoralizing influence. May they soon make their escape from the fowler's snare! — — —

Tuesday

15 December 1835

Last night, we were visited by another tremendous storm of wind & rain, which continued about 16 hours, & raged with alarming vehemence. Our late dwelling house was blown down, & many articles of household furniture & wearing apparel were damaged. We had providentially got up a small out-house a few days previously to the storm, this screened us from the rain; — and although it was much shaken by the wind, yet by tieing it with ropes & propping it with sticks we were able to keep it standing. Many houses were blown down & destroyed, and a few persons were much injured by the falling timbers.

The storm was particularly trying, since Mrs Cargill had just given birth. Although the bed linen was wet during two days and a night, she received no 'permanent injury'.

The king of the island was in the utmost trepidation. He despatched an emissary with a present to the high priest to consult him about the cause of the storm, & the manner of appeasing the deity. This important personage answered with as much duplicity & vagueness as characterized the responses of any of the ancient oracles; — The substance of his revelation was, — that the God of Lakemba was enraged because of the Missionaries; — that he had called to his assistance all the gods in Feejee; — and that these

18. Whales' teeth, or *tabua* are objects of great value in Fiji. In his June 1840 journal extracts, R. B. Lyth described them as 'the Feejeean's passport into Eternity'.

assembled were unanimously resolved to send 10 strong winds & heavy rains to drift or blow us to sea.¹⁹ But one scale @ least has fallen from the king's eyes. He asked, 'if the Missionaries are the objects of the God's resentment, why does he punish us who have not abandoned his service?' Receiving no satisfactory answer, he took the liberty of calling the supposed deity — a liar & a fool. Thus Satan's kingdom begins to wither! May it soon be finally abolished.

*Although the chief had promised to build a chapel, he had not yet found it convenient to do so. He approved of Cross's plan of building a temporary chapel from the timbers of the missionaries' houses, flattened during the storms. Some professing Christians on the island immediately cut new posts — longer than those of the houses — to prevent the chapel being levelled in the next hurricane. The frame was completed in a day, for thirty persons co-operated, in the Fijian way, on the project. The chapel was not completed until a few days later, but the first services were held on Sunday.*²⁰

Sunday

20 December 1835

Preached this morning in a chapel built from the materials of our late dwelling houses. Although it is a rude and temporary edifice, yet we are very thankful for it, & trust it will be to many wandering souls the gates of heaven. The people listened with deep attention, whilst I endeavoured to explain the deadly nature & powerful remedy of that disease which sin has made in the human soul. May the Physician of souls apply his healing blood to the souls of all who were present.

Sunday

3 January 1836

Through the mercy of God we have been spared to see the first sabbath of another year. The duties of the day have been various and interesting. About 8 A.M. the males assembled in the chapel to be exercised on the Catechism. They engage in this work with great readiness & pleasure. About 9 the bell was rung for divine service. More persons attended than on any former occasion. Our place of worship was crowded. Many were present, who for the first time engaged in an act of homage to the Most High. Some of the Tonguese who are yet heathens came to hear for themselves. My heart was greatly enlarged in earnest prayer for their salvation, while

19. Here, the priest was striking back at the missionaries. Had he employed more wisdom and less flamboyance in his predictions, he might have been successful.

20. Cross to WMS, Lakeba, 22 November 1836.

I was enabled to speak with some freedom. . . . After the sermon, we united in marriage 6 couples. Our souls magnify the Lord. More than 100 Feejeeans were about the doors and windows, or rather the apertures of our chapel. Many of them listened with attention. Who knows but a word in season may have been spoken to some of them?

Sunday

10 January 1836

Bro^r Cross & I united in marriage 6 couples, who had previously expressed a wish to glorify their God below, & find their way to heaven. In the afternoon I was enabled to explain the nature & urge the necessity of a change of heart on a very attentive audience. I could not discover one who seemed indifferent about the one thing needful. Whatever the people who receive instruction from us may be in their heart, their behaviour in the house of God is very devout & reverent. And although all may not be sincere, yet we entertain good hopes of many of our hearers. We believe that the Holy Spirit is striving with, & that at least a few are obedient to the call. After the service, I administered the sacrament to 11 persons, among whom were Europeans, Tonguese, & Feejeeans. We are indeed but a little flock, — but we have faith to effect an increase, — & to believe that we shall receive a kingdom, if we faint not. After service, I visited a sick young man, who lately met in one of my classes, but whom we had to exclude for misconduct. He seemed penitent, & says that his mind is pained on account of his sin, & that he earnestly prays to God for pardon. —

Monday

11 January 1836

At 5 O.C. this morning rung the bell for school. About 50 males were present. Nearly 40 are learning to write. Their progress in this branch of knowledge is rapid. Spent the forenoon in preparing for the press a part of St. Matthew in the Feejeean language. In the afternoon met 2 male classes: & was much pleased with the experience & prayers of some of the candidates for baptism. They seem in earnest to save their souls. May they receive a crown of life.

Tuesday

12 March 1836

My principal employment to-day, has been revising my translation of a part of St. Matthew's Gospel. The Feejeean is more copious than the Tonguese language: but the idiom of the two languages is similar. Many words are common to both languages. In many

instances, they are both remarkable for precision. Both appear to have been grafted on one common stock. And if the Feejeean must give place to the Tonguese in softness & perhaps in melody, yet the Tonguese is far surpassed by the Feejeean in expression & energy.

Sunday

20 March 1836

This forenoon my Colleague and I baptized 32 adults, the first-fruits of the Gospel in Feejee. May these be succeeded by a plentiful harvest! Some of them embraced the profession of Christianity 5 or 6 years ago in the Tonga Islands: the rest have abandoned idolatry since our arrival in Feejee. All of them have been meeting in class at least three months, & so far as we know have walked worthy of their vocation. In the afternoon we administered the ordinance of baptism to their children. May the Head of the Church baptize the parents and their children with the Holy Ghost & with fire!

Sunday

3 April 1836

This morning before break of day, Peter Lelenoa, the person who first joined my class in Feejee, departed this life, having good hope of a blessed immortality. His death was the termination of a long & wasting illness, during which [he] had sufficient time & warning to prepare to meet his God. During his illness, I frequently visited him to exhort & pray with him. His conviction of his personal depravity was deep: — his ideas of the plan of salvation were clear & scriptural, — and his faith in Christ, though sometimes weak & wavering through manifold temptations, was such as to lead us to hope that his spirit is now in the paradise of the blessed.

In the afternoon I endeavoured to enforce the various admonitions & instructions which are suggested by the resurrection of Christ. May all who heard be raised to a life of holiness on earth & a glorious immortality in heaven!

Sunday

17 April 1836

This afternoon, I endeavoured to describe to an attentive audience the good; old and narrow way to happiness and heaven. May all who heard be led triumphantly to glory! After the sermon, we held a love feast. About 20 persons spoke; most of them related the causes which induced them to embrace Christianity. And all coincided in testifying the incomparable superiority of the religion which they now

profess, to that system of lies to which they were lately attached. They have seen and experienced some of the advantages of the grace of God and are 'glad.' In this little vineyard, there are a few promising flowers, but as yet, not much substantial fruit. . . .

Monday

18 April 1836

Assembled the male scholars @ sunrise, & when the business of the school was finished met one of my classes. During the forenoon I visited Tui Naeau [Nayau], & wished to know his mind about turning to God. But to all my inquiries, he responded in the most silly and ridiculous equivocations. He eulogised the wisdom of the Feejeeans, & extolled the power & magnificence of the god whom they worship; adding 'we cannot see him, & therefore are uncertain, whether he is a true or false god'; — and asking — 'can you see your God?' I endeavoured to communicate to his dark mind an idea of the spirituality of the godhead. May the God of truth convince the king & his people of their error, & 'teach them his paths!' In the afternoon I met two classes. The day was spent in the discharge of duties entirely Missionary. The person who has to commence a new station in these islands has very little time for the cultivation of his mind. He has to conduct schools, — perform divine service, — visit the sick, — prepare & administer medicine, & perform numerous but necessary manual labours. After going through these diversified exercises, he has neither leisure nor ability, however keen may be his appetite for mental food, — to spend much time in his study. But if he has any evidence that his labours are blessed to any one in any degree, he can close the day in songs of praise.

Tuesday

19 April 1836

This forenoon, I was visited by Toki or Soroagkali [Soroaqali], the king's older brother. This chief about a month ago was seized with a severe fit of the asthma. An expensive sacrifice was offered to their avaricious god. His immediate recovery was predicted. But the disease of the suppliant assumed a threatening aspect. The priest was directed to consult the presiding divinity of another island: but the king interposed & said 'These gods cannot save you.' The afflicted chief applied to me for advice. After a conversation, in which I reminded him of my inability to prolong his life, & of the necessity of praying to the true God to save his soul, I consented to prescribe to him. He is now in a great measure convalescent: but yet his heart is hard. He has a brighter intellect than the ruling chief, but is also

more obstinate. But as stubborn idolaters as he, have been made to 'serve the Lord with fear:' & we pray that Toki may be soon induced to 'kiss the Son.'

Monday

2 May 1836

This morning 35 of the members of our society sailed in a canoe for the Friendly Islands. They came to Feejee about 5 years ago to build a large canoe. Many of them professed themselves Christians, but were really living without God in the world. They profaned the Sabbath, — violated the laws of God, & held in contempt the laws of men. At the time of our arrival on this Island, we found them living in the practise of the grossest sins. Many of them were debauchers of their neighbours' wives; — none of them regarded truth in their words; nor blushed to acknowledge that they principally supported themselves, by openly committing depredations on the property of the Feejeeans. But it is pleasing to observe, that since our arrival, a great change has been effected in their outward conduct. They spent the Sabbath in acts of devotion. So far as human observation goes, they served God according to their knowledge. Chastity & truth were held sacred; & they endeavoured to support themselves by honest industry. Nor was this reformation of conduct obvious only to us. The Feejeeans took notice of it, & acknowledged it to be a satisfactory evidence of the truth & excellency of our religion. These remarks relate to all who listened to our instruction. But I fondly hope that some of them experienced a change of heart; at least it is not an exaggeration to say that a few of them were earnestly agonizing to enter in at the strait gate of regeneration.

Their removal has greatly diminished our little flock. At the end of last quarter 73 met in class; & of that number 35 have gone to their own land. May their places in our portion of the Church militant be soon filled, & may they & we obtain a seat in the church triumphant!

Sunday

8 May 1836

Preached this morning on the character of righteous Noah. May the spirit of God convince all who heard of their danger as sinners, & of the possibility of salvation from sin & its punishment through Jesus Christ! In the afternoon, I visited several sick persons, — & conversed with several heathens on the subject of Christianity. One old Tonguese chief acknowledged the truth of my remarks & the vanity of their idols, & most unblushingly assured me that the only motive which deterred him & his people from worshipping the true God, was

the fear of starving for want of bread in Feejee and that he & his people were now principally supported by stealing. I reminded him of the goodness of God in providing for all his creatures, & especially for man. May the spirit of God apply the word of exhortation, & excite in him a hungering and thirsting after righteousness!

Wednesday

11 May 1836

Preached this afternoon on Adam's primeval innocence, and enumerated a few of the deplorable ravages which sin has made on the souls and bodies of his posterity. Glory be to God for the few who believe our report, & seem in earnest to be delivered from the bondages and [] of sin. The Gospel leaven is gradually diffusing its hallowing influence. The horizon of our prospects is becoming brighter. The circle of usefulness in this corner of the vineyard is being enlarged. Almost every week, new converts to the word of truth rank themselves among the number of professing Christians. May the [] Sun of Righteousness soon pour a flood of light on the understandings of all the people of these isles of the sea.

Sunday

15 May 1836

In the afternoon I explained the necessity and importance of cleaving to God in all circumstances, & of intimate & constant intercourse with the Father of Light. Most of the congregation were very attentive, & listened as if anxious to realize all the privileges of God's children.

Thursday

19 May 1836

This afternoon under the shade of a tree I re-echoed the proclamation of John the Baptist. Field preaching in heathen as well as in Christian countries has its advantages. It sounds the gospel trumpet in the ears of those who are too wise, too much prejudiced, or too busy, to seek instruction in the house of God. On this occasion about 30 heathens placed themselves at some distance from the little flock which was seated before me on the grass. I addressed myself particularly to the heathens. Most of them listened attentively to what was said of their idols & of the true God: They remained till the service was concluded. May the word which they heard be as a nail fastened in a sure place by the Master of assemblies!

Sunday
22 May 1836

Another sabbath is terminated: I have had much pleasure in the discharge of my ministerial duties today. The congregations were much larger than usual, both in the morning & in the afternoon. A gracious feeling pervaded the minds of many present. May the impression never be effaced! Towards the close of the service in the afternoon, a number of heathens surrounded the Chapel, curious to see how we worship the Lord of hosts. I embraced the opportunity of inviting them to turn to God, pointing out some of the advantages of Christianity. After going out of the chapel, I offered them some advice, and asked them why they did not unite with us in worshipping the Creator and Judge of all men. They candidly answered, 'We do not know.' When going from them, I overheard them saying, 'all he says is true; & we are foolish people; for when asked why we do not worship the true God, we can assign no reason.' May they see more & more of their own emptiness! May they feel more & more of the galling weight of those hellish fetters of unbelief which claim their souls! May they soon surrender themselves to the Conqueror Jesus!

Monday
23 May 1836

Began to translate St. Mark's Gospel.

In June, Cargill's permanent house was completed. Cross considered it the best built in that district.²¹ As the chief was about to begin Cross's house — after a long delay — Cross told him that there would be no need for it, as he would be going to another island where the chief should listen better to the word of God.

The same month, the Active arrived at Lakeba with supplies and letters for the missionaries. When it left to return to Tonga, however, it was wrecked on a reef near Moce,²² on 2 July at seven p.m. The crew all survived and proceeded to Oneata by boat, arriving there on the 3rd, and at Lakeba on the 6th. Cross and Cargill received the Captain, the Supercargo, and the Mate at the mission premises, and Tui Nayau promised to take care of the rest of the crew. Cargill described the events that followed:

A month had not elapsed when 4 of them, of their own accord and in spite of remonstrance, left Lakeba in a small boat, with the expectation of finding a vessel at one other of the Leeward group of

21. Cross to WMS, Lakeba, 8 July 1836.

22. Moce is thirty-five miles SSE of Lakeba. Reefs surround the entire island and stretch seven miles to the southeast (Derrick 1957a: 314).

Is^s We regret to have to state that before they had been above 30 hours from the Is^d, they were attacked by some Feejeeans in a canoe, and all killed, and report says — eaten. We have not been able to ascertain the particulars of this circumstance.²³

The loss of the Active was an additional trial to Cargill, since with it sank some long reports to the mission headquarters in London. Later, he wrote:

I had in readiness for you long before the arrival of the 'Active' a long letter, containing a few particulars of our history since we left Vavau, — a condensed account (of what I then knew) of the character of the Feejeeans, — the genius of their language, the appearance and produce of this Is^d, and the prospect of the Mission. That letter, however, and many others addressed to the Secretaries and our relatives have all been lost. . . This is to me an untoward event, as I kept no duplicates of any of the letters. But if spared next month, I shall endeavour to prepare long letters. . .²⁴

Cargill made good his promise and sent the General Secretary a five-part abridgment of the lost letter. A portion of it shows the progress he had made with the language:

The language of the Feejeeans varies in the different Is^s of the group. But it is a difference in *words*, not in *principles*. The idiom, genius & construction of the various dialects are the same. So that one Grammar & one Dictionary compiled as a polyglot will be sufficient for all Feejee. A Grammar is in contemplation. A Dictionary is in progress: I have inserted in it nearly 3000 words, exclusive of the names of persons & places: the number is being daily increased. The accent, — pronunciation, meaning & derivation of the words are attempted.

Cargill's letters show — more than his journal does — how much satisfaction he derived from the study of the language:

I am very happy in my work. My time is wholly given up to the language & duties purely Missionary. Although my knowledge of the language is by no means, what I wish it to be & what I hope it shall be, yet I am able to converse in it with some freedom & to make known the love of God to man extemporaneously & without an interpreter. Difficulties arising from the inflection of the verbs, — the number of pronouns, & their juxtaposition, cannot be surmounted without close and long application. The articles are frequently the cause of perplexity and doubt. A thorough knowledge of the use of

23. Cargill to WMS, Lakeba, 13 September 1836.

24. Cargill to J. Beecham, Lakeba, 14 September 1836.

the Greek article would be of invaluable advantage to all who wish to acquire an accurate knowledge of the Feejeean language. A translation of the Bible into the various dialects of Feejee, is a subject with which my mind dwells with ardour & delight; & I hope that I shall see such a work accomplished.²⁵

At the same time, John Hobbs, the printer for the Tonga Mission, wrote to London that Cargill's skills were badly needed there:

... we could not easily bring our Bro. Cargill back from the Feejees; although my personal opinion has been, that he ought, according to the Mind of the Committee, to be near the Press, or at least in one of the Islands of the Tonga group; that his knowledge of Greek & Hebrew might the sooner be brought to bear on the Translations of the Word of God. But having lately heard from the Feejees, that the work is opening before them, I am now somewhat reconciled to his being there, though I still think it will be a long time before Feejees will require the Scriptures translated and printed, in such numbers as are already required here, and into which, I think the best of the strength of the District ought to be thrown. Though I think that No *individual* ought to stand *independent* of his *Brethren* in respect to the Translations.²⁶

Hobbs's letter seems to be the first indication of a dispute over personnel and supplies that persisted for years between the Tonga and Fiji missions. In spite of the need to apply his special talents to Tonga, Cargill kept at his work on Fijian.

The journal continues:

Friday

5 August 1836

Spent the most of my time in compiling a Dictionary of the language, & in translating.

Monday

15 August 1836

Spent a part of this day in translating a portion of St. Mark's Gospel, and in the afternoon met the leaders 6 in number to enquire into the state of their experience, & to give them suitable advice and admonition. They all seem anxious to give themselves up without reserve to the service of God.

25. Cargill to WMS, Lakeba, 18 October 1836.

26. Hobbs to WMS, Feletoa, 26 August 1836.

Tuesday

16 August 1836

This day I visited another part of the island, & from observations made on this & former occasions, am of opinion that Lakemba is about 8 miles in Diameter and nearly $25\frac{1}{2}$ in circumference. The land is in many places rich & fertile; and the scenery consisting of hill & dale, is in many places very beautiful. The natives were very kind to us, & provided us very liberally with cocoanuts & provisions. May they themselves be soon found hungering & thirsting after righteousness?

Sunday

21 August 1836

This morning I preached in English from the 4th verse of the 3rd chapter of Colossians. When X, who is our life shall appear &⁹ The congregation consisted of the members of the Mission families, with the Capⁿ, Supercargo & Mate of the Active, and another Englishman, who resides on the island.²⁷ . . .

Sunday

28 August 1836

The people who composed the congregation both in the forenoon & afternoon listened with close attention, while I read to them & explained a part of John's first epistle. Although the Gospel like an irresistible and overwhelming deluge, is not rapidly destroying this portion of Satan's kingdom, yet it is gradually sapping its basis, & we confidently hope that the period is not very remote, when the whole super-structure shall sink into ruins. We are encouraged to expect this desirable event from the progressive increase of our society & congregation. Very frequently one & another turn their back upon idolatry, & listen to the sound of the Gospel trumpet. May the effects of the Gospel in these ends of the earth, very soon put to silence the cavilling heathen, & convince every individual that 'the excellency of the power is of God & not of us.'

Monday

29 August 1836

This day I finished my translation of the three epistles of John into the Tonguese language: May the Lord make them a blessing to all who may read or hear them.

27. Cargill made no other mention of the Englishman, but it apparently was a man who stayed on Lakeba when the *Harriett*, a whaler, was wrecked there. He was occasionally employed at the Mission premises (Cargill 1842: 18).

Tuesday

30 August 1836

Translated 19 verses of Mark into the Feejeean Language, and 12 of Jude into Tonguese. In the afternoon, attended the female school and then visited the sick.

Sunday

4 September 1836

Preached in English in the morning, & in Tonguese in the afternoon: & baptized Mr. Cross' child.

Sunday

11 September 1836

Preached to more than 200 people, who behaved with great reverence and listened with attention to the word of truth and life. At the close of the service married 3 couples.

Saturday

17 September 1836

This afternoon, Capn. Dixon &^c sailed in the schooner 'Pearl,' at the invitation of Captain Winn of the ship 'Eliza' off Kaueue, one of the Feejee Is^s. Despatched 10 letters to England & N.S. Wales.

Sunday

18 September 1836

Prevented from preaching through indisposition.

Tuesday

20 September 1836

Finished the translation of St. Mark's Gospel into the Feejeean language.

Thursday

22 September 1836

Completed my first attempt to translate St. John's epistles into the Feejeean language.

Friday

23 September 1836

Spent most of the day at my translation of St. Mark's Gospel into the Tonguese language. Was informed that the bodies of the crew of the Active's boat were not eaten, but thrown into the sea.

Sunday

25 September 1836

This has been to me a happy day. The congregation this morning

was more numerous than any assembly I have yet had the pleasure of addressing on this island. Our little Bethel was crowded to excess; & between 150 & 200 persons who could not obtain admission on account of the smallness of the Chapel were seated outside on the grass, this accession to our numbers has been occasioned by the arrival of 300 or 400 Tonguese from the Leeward Is^s of Feejee. Many of them have embraced Christianity through the instrumentality of Joshua, an accredited Preacher whom we sent among them 10 months ago. He has acted with great zeal & fidelity. All are *very* anxious for books: some of them will part with almost any thing they have in order to procure a portion of the Word of God. I spoke to them this morning about the penalty annexed to the transgression of the divine law. I saw but few countenances which were not characterized by seriousness & attention. At the close of the service, the banns of marriage of two couple were published, & 4 couples were united in marriage. Many Feejeeans and heathen Tonguese surrounded the chapel, & behaved respectfully. The signs of the times are favourable, & we are encouraged to hope that the day is not very remote when the influence shall be extended to every individual of the great population of this group of Is^s. May the Lord of Hosts hasten that happy day!

Saturday

8 October 1836

This afternoon the schooner 'Pearl' touched @ this island. I received much information from the Master & crew respecting the Feejee Is^s & their inhabitants. They state that the Is^s are numerous & — large, & in general thickly inhabited: that it is impossible to form accurate conjecture of the amount of population, — but that if far exceeds 120,000: that the people of different districts wage incessant wars with each other, & that frequently whole towns are depopulated: — that the victors feast on the bodies of their enemies, & that frequently living children are hung up in a basket at the mast head of their canoes as trophies of victory. Their degradation & wretchedness are manifested by the callousness with which they sometimes meet death. They related an anecdote respecting two men, who lived on the Is^d of Ovalau, & who when they had seen an English ship were so surprised & delighted, that they exclaimed 'We have lived long enough now, we have seen a white man's vessel; let us go home & die.' It is said that they returned without delay to their settlement in the interior, & immediately caused themselves to be choked.

A similar circumstance is related of an old man who being weary of life, caused his wife to be put to death, & then requested his friends to strangle him. They complied with his request with great alacrity & cheerfulness, but their first effort merely occasioned suspended animation. On his recovery, he said 'You are making a fool of me.' They made a second attempt to terminate the existence of the wretched man. That also failed. He then caused a grave to be dug; & the body of his wife being put in the grave, he placed himself by her side, & at his own request was buried alive. So lightly do they esteem that life which millions of words could not prolong.

But notwithstanding their ignorance & barbarity, we are told that the chiefs of the principal Is^d are anxious to have Missionaries among them that their wars may be terminated, & that they may live in peace & mutual confidence. It is said that those chiefs who are to be first visited by us, think themselves honoured, & that the jealousy of others will probably be excited. But we cannot go in at all the 'open doors' which he who walks among the golden candlesticks is setting before us, until our numbers are greatly increased.

*Before a year had elapsed, Cargill and Cross had realised that conversion of the Fijians would be a slow and individual process until a chief more powerful than Tui Nayau took the first step. Tui Nayau himself expressed this opinion and suggested that Tanoa at Bau be persuaded to embrace Christianity. Reports of the influence of Tanoa and of the large population of Rewa were the reasons for the decision to station Cross there. Lakeba did not like to 'lead the way.'*²⁸

A growing realisation of the size of Fiji (hence more souls to be converted) and the relative conveniences of the Tonga mission (more supplies, better communications, a larger staff, and control over the Fiji branch) led to further pleas for assistance:

We are about to commence a new station in the Leeward group of the Feejee Is^s. I am appointed to remain at Lakemba. If the Brethren in the Friendly Is^s. do not send us two additional Missionaries, I shall be alone. This will be a trial for me. For although I have a little thirst for the pleasures of solitude, yet I delight occasionally to taste the delights of society. 'As iron sharpeneth iron & c.' O send us Colleagues, — send us help! At least 100,000 souls are perishing in Feejee for the lack of knowledge.²⁹

28. Cargill and Cross to WMS, Lakeba, 13 September 1836.

29. Cargill to J. Beecham, Lakeba, 14 September 1836.

Sunday

9 October 1836

Today I preached morning & afternoon. In the morning, I urged the necessity & explained the nature & power of faith in God through Christ. Several persons were asleep the most of the time. At the close of the service, I apprised them of the sinfulness of indulging themselves in sleep in the house of God. In the afternoon, every individual in the chapel seemed to feel a lively interest in the subject on which I discoursed to them 'Oh, that wait upon the Lord &c.' It is a pleasing circumstance that instruction or reproof is not lost on these people. When reproved for what is wrong, they generally refrain from it, & strive to do what is right.

Thursday

20 October 1836

This afternoon I buried at Lasea a young man called Leha who died in a consumption. He turned from heathenism about 2 months before his death. In consequence of the great debility of his body, he was unable to attend divine service in the chapel. But his friends were very attentive in instructing, & praying with him. I frequently visited him, & conversed with him about the nature & necessity of preparing to meet his God, & was gratified by his knowledge of divine things & his submission to God's will. He died, — while exhorting his eldest brother to embrace Christianity. There is hope in his death. Many heathens were @ the funeral: I spoke to them of Christ, the resurrection & the life, & informed them that we must all stand before his judgment seat. After the service the heathen relatives of the young man, sent a messenger to say that they wished to be informed of those of their customs at funerals which are wrong, & that they intended to discontinue them. Accordingly, they did not 'tabu' their hands, — shave their heads, cut & tear their flesh, — apply burning sticks to various parts of their bodies, nor feast for several days; — practices which were formerly scrupulously attended to by the Tonguese at funerals.

The entries for late October and the first half of November are unusual, for Cargill was able to devote much of his time to translation and vocabulary work, without the interruptions that he sometimes complained about. Because he was still responsible for the Tongan translations, it was necessary for him to work in that language, as well as in Fijian. Occasionally, he reflected on the similarities and differences between the two languages. He could not help but notice the many similar words and conclude that the

languages were 'grafted from one common stock'. As for the differences, he impressionistically praised Tongan for 'softness and ... melody', and Fijian for 'expression and energy'.

Earlier, when the more practical Mariner heard a Fijian language³⁰ for the first time, he said, 'The language of these people is very different in sound from the Tonga language, and is much more harsh to pronounce; it is replete with very strong percussions of the tongue, and with a frequent rattling of the letter r'.³¹ Besides the 'rattled' r, Fijian also has a voiced th, s (what is now s in Tongan was more like ch then), and combinations of b, d, and g with preceding nasals — probably the source of Mariner's 'harsh' sounds.

Having received his training in a period when some of the most important figures in comparative philology — von Humboldt, Grimm, Rask — were forming their theories about the relationships among Indo-European languages, Cargill was no doubt aware of the genetic hypothesis. While at Levuka on Ovalau, he interviewed a Hawaiian 'about the pronouns and several other parts of speech in the language of the Sandwich Islands. There is such a resemblance between it and the other languages of the South Seas as to show that they are all of kindred origin'. However, Cargill had access to Mariner's Tonga (he referred to it earlier), in which the author not only noticed such similarities but also contrasted their degrees: 'It is rather a curious fact that, if true, and it appears to be so from all that we can learn, that the language of the Sandwich islanders is more similar to the Tonga language than that of Fiji islanders, though the latter people are not more than about one ninth part of the distance of the Sandwich Islands from Tonga.'³²

Cargill's first published work on the Fijian language, *A Grammar of the Feejeean Language*, grew from a grammatical sketch he wrote for his wife to aid her language learning: 'Hints to a Friend on the Rudiments of the Feejeean Language'. The work eventually appeared as part of a mission report and served as a basis for Hazlewood's grammar and dictionary.

In Cargill's work with the spelling system, it might be more appropriate to call him one of the developers of the system, rather

30. Mariner referred to the place as 'Pau', but it is unlikely that he meant Bau, since the ship he was on was in the sandalwood area. On a map in im Thurn 1925, 'constructed from original documents by A. Arrowsmith, 1814', 'Ambow' is applied to a large area of northeast Viti Levu ('BEECHY-A-LEB').

31. Martin 1817, II: 71.

32. *Ibid.*

than its originator.³³ Even in his handling of the Tongan system, which presents fewer complexities, Cargill's judgment was not always unerring. For instance, he ignored, as did most of his colleagues of that century (and many of the present), the persistently illusive glottal stop, writing Ha'apai as Hapai. As late as the time of the *Memoirs*' publication, he had not realised that Tongan has no contrast between p and b or k and g, and wrote *aupito* 'very' as *aubito*.³⁴ For Fijian, he followed the obvious course rather than the later more ingenious one, and wrote mb, nd, and ng or ngg for what were eventually discovered to be units rather than clusters. His spelling of *Feejee* presents a curious inconsistency, for he maintained the ee spelling for i throughout (with one exception) while using i for the same sound in other words. It is probable that he reserved the official spelling system for Fijian words in a Fijian context, and used for place and personal names a system that would be more familiar to readers of English. The use of j in the same word reflects the Tongan pronunciation (Fiji then; Fisi now). *Viti* is used in most places throughout the group.

Even at the most favourable times, the translation work was not without interruption:

Tuesday

15 November 1836

Translated 50 verses of the 2nd epistle to Timothy. While at dinner, we were alarmed by the cry of fire, & on going out saw the

33. Hunt attributed the design of the alphabet, at least the use of single symbols for consonants, to Cross. In his memoir-biography (Hunt 1846: 88), he wrote: 'The advantage of such an alphabet to a native is great, as, in general, in these languages, every consonant is followed by a vowel, which makes the language easy to be read; and, no wonder: the eye and the ear are not at variance as in reading English; but in general you know how a word should be pronounced the moment you see it, though you have never heard it uttered. This is in part due to the excellent alphabet, which owed its chief value to the ingenuity of Mr. Cross. It ought to be said in Mr. Cargill's favour, that, though he was much superior to Mr. Cross as a man of letters, he adopted his improved alphabet, being convinced of its usefulness.'

For a number of reasons, I find it hard to credit Hunt's account. Even though Cargill's name was still in disgrace when Hazlewood completed his Fijian grammar in 1850, the compiler chose to include Cargill's original explanation of the innovative spelling system. Had it been true that Cross was the originator, the brethren in Fiji would have been very likely to say so. Cross's letters to the WMS Headquarters, at least those that have been preserved, do not mention the subject, and Cross was not modest about his accomplishments, particularly when he felt he had been slighted in some way. On the other hand, it is easy enough to imagine Cargill, the M.A. with literary attainments, being jealous enough to withhold from Cross the deserved credit for a brilliant insight.

34. See p. 24n.1.

reeds and grass that surround the chapel, burning with great vehemence & velocity. The flames blazed till within two or three feet of our little sanctuary, but through mercy, not a reed of the fence, nor a leaf of the thatch was burned. The materials of which it is composed are so dry in consequence of the long drought and excessive heat that if a single spark had fallen on any part of it, the whole fabric would have been reduced to ashes in two or three minutes. Small & rude as our Chapel is, we are thankful for its preservation. May many immortal souls be born again within its precincts!

Saturday

19 November 1836

Finished the translation of St. Paul's epistles to Timothy, into the Tonguese language. The Tonga language is inferior to the Feejeean in copiousness and vigor. In the afternoon, I drew up the outline of a sermon in the Tonguese language.

Thursday

1 December 1836

This afternoon H. B. M. Brig 'the Victor' Capⁿ Crozier Commander called off the Is^d.³⁵ I went off in a native canoe & was received by the Capⁿ in a kind gentlemanly manner. The object of his visit was to take off the survivors of the 'Active' & to investigate the murder of the four men who left this is^d in the Active's boat. We rec'd by him a most seasonable supply of trade, — encouraging letters from our Breⁿ in the Friendly Is^s, together with the Minutes of Conference, Magazines & other periodicals from England.

Friday

2 December 1836

This morning Capⁿ Crozier with 2 of his officers & some of his men came on shore. The Capⁿ waited on the king of the Is^d & Bro^r Cross and I being interpreters, explained to him the object of his visit. The murderers of the Boat's crew being at Lakemba on a visit to another part of their tribe, he expressed to the king his intention to go direct to the settlement in wh. they resided & demand the perpetrators of that horrid deed. The settlement is called Levuka. The chiefs and people of the place were thrown into great consternation. They wished to atone for the barbarous act by presenting the Capⁿ with a

35. Francis Rawdon Moira Crozier (1796? — 1848). Under the orders of Sir John Franklin, he was later appointed to an Arctic exploration voyage, on which he and his ships were lost.

large pig & a piece of native [cloth?]. Capⁿ Crozier however would not listen to such terms of Capitulation, & threatened that if their men were not delivered to him he would reduce their town to ashes. He allowed them a short time to revolve the affair in their minds. During this space, the king called upon us, & requested us to intercede with the Capⁿ stating that if the Capⁿ acted with vigour towards the people who were now merely on a visit at this Is^d their friends from other parts of Feejee would probably make war upon him & kill him and his people. The king stated moreover that if the Capⁿ would not listen to his entreaties, he would accompany [him] to the king of Britain & himself bear the punishment due to the men who cut off the boat's crew. The Capⁿ after this intercession & having obtained a promise from the Chiefs of the tribe to which the murderers belong, that they would never connive at any act of cruelty to be committed on any Englishman by any of their people relinquished the idea of burning the settlement. The pacific termination of this affair will I am persuaded have a more beneficial influence than the execution of the threat to burn the town. The people were very much alarmed: the two men who were the ring-leaders in the murder hid themselves in the bush: all their moveable goods & chattels were carried, & the inhabitants of the town placed themselves in an attitude of war, arming themselves with clubs, guns & axes. We are very thankful, that his Majesty's government has investigated the affair, & that the investigation has been brought to a pacific result.

Sunday

11 December 1836

This has been a very happy day, and the means of grace I trust have been made a blessing to many. In the forenoon we baptized 79 male & female adults. The behaviour of all was devout, & many seemed to be earnestly seeking the baptism of the Holy Ghost. In the afternoon, I explained to a large & attentive congregation the nature & means of attaining the baptism of the spirit. May the spirit of power & wisdom apply the word to our hearts. At the conclusion of the sermon we baptized 17 children. Brother Cross addressed their parents, on their duty to God and their children.

Sunday

1 January 1837

The Lord has mercifully spared me to see the commencement of another year. I wish to dedicate myself afresh to his service. May he graciously accept of the humble sacrifice. This forenoon I urged

upon an attentive congregation, the necessity of watchfulness & prayer, that we may not fall into temptation.

Tuesday
3 January 1837

Walked to Narothake, a settlement about 6 miles from the Mission premises, and on my way home called at Uathiuathi [Waciwaci]³⁶ & Tarukua. At Narothake, we have commenced a class meeting. Five Feejeeans and one Tonga man have begun to meet. They all express a desire to serve the true God, and save their souls. At Uathiuathi, two Feejeeans have begun to seek the Lord while he may be found; another has begun to read, and all the people of the settlement express a wish to become worshippers of the true God, but are afraid of the king's displeasure. At Tarakua, another Feejeean in the last stage of a consumption turned to God, that he might die an Xian. His sister turned with him. When I arrived at Tarukua, I was informed that the man had departed this life the preceding night. All the people of that tribe are anxious to be made acquainted with the nature and worship of the only living and true God. By the information received on this journey, I was encouraged to hope, that the king & his people will soon abandon the service of the wicked one, & unite themselves with the people of God. 'Lord, increase our faith,' & give thy Son these heathen for his inheritance.

Tuesday
10 January 1837

This afternoon I walked to Uathiuathi, a settlement about 2½ miles from the Mission house, & commenced a class meeting. 3 Feejeeans were received on trial. May they be the first fruits of abundant harvest! Today a Feejeean chief of considerable rank began to worship the true God. His dwelling house was also the temple in which his tribe performed their heathen rites. It has been converted into a house of prayer & praise to the true God; & thus although only the chief has embraced Christianity, yet by this act he has deprived the whole tribe of a place in which to perform their pagan worship. It is probable that they will all soon join with him in worshipping the true God. May the Holy Spirit carry on & complete the gracious work which he has commenced!

On 17 January, 1837, Cargill wrote to London, amending his earlier directions for a yearly payment to his mother:

36. The spelling with 'U' reflects the influence of Tongan on Cargill; that language has no 'w'. Cargill's spelling shows that he probably heard the name pronounced by the Tongans rather than by the Fijians.

... Accept my thanks for your trouble in meeting my wishes respecting an annual remittance to my Mother. I have to request you to send her in future only £5 annually, instead of £10. — I cannot afford any more: — am sorry to trouble you, — but you are the only persons through whom I can convey this feeble expression of gratitude. ~ ...

Evidently at this time, Cargill felt a want of direction from the Committee. He closed his letter with:

Your counsel respecting the translation of the word of God, & any other department of the Mission work in the Feejee Is^d would be gratefully received by

Your ...

In the next portion, signed by both Cargill and Cross — but in Cargill's handwriting — the missionaries again begged for help:

We feel it our duty again to importune you for Missionaries. Our prospects with respect to the success of Missionary enterprise in Feejee are becoming still more encouraging. Great anxiety for Missionaries is manifested by the inhabitants of some of the Islands. A son of the ruling chief of Moala — one of the places already recommended to your notice, — asked if they could not have a Missionary within 7 months, & when told that they could not appeared much concerned.

On two former occasions, we have requested you to send a Printer & printing press to Feejee: & from the peculiarity of our circumstances, we deem it expedient to remind you of the necessity of granting that request at the earliest opportunity. Books are now much needed for those Feejeeans who are already under our instruction, & we believe that thousands more are on the eve of embracing Christianity, & we have only a first book of 4 pages printed in their language. We had prepared a second book, & with the consent of the Brethren sent it to the press in July 1835 & have not yet received it. Several other books have been prepared for printing, but for want of a press, they are still in manuscript, & likely to be so for some time. The difference of the language in the various groups of Feejee is another reason for sending a press with all possible despatch. Each group of Islands has a dialect peculiar to itself, & must have a version of the Scriptures in its own tongue. Consequently, we have but little hope of being supplied with books through the Tonga press, & the progress of the Mission must be greatly retarded, until we are furnished with the means of printing our own books.

The journal continues:

Tuesday

31 January 1837

Was visited by Tuithakau [Tui Cakau]³⁷ the chief of Somosomo & his two sons; they are very anxious to have Missionaries and request Bro^r Cross to accompany them to Somosomo, but being engaged to go to Rewa he cannot comply with their request.

Friday & Saturday

3 and 4 February 1837

Employed in translating a part of Genesis into the Feejeean language.

Monday & Tuesday

10 and 11 April 1837

Employed in translating a part of Genesis.

Thursday & Friday

13 and 14 April 1837

Prosecuting the work of translation, & enlarging my vocabulary.

Monday

17 April 1837

Have not been able to make much progress in the translation of Genesis today, owing to frequent interruptions from other duties, & the visits of the natives: but shall endeavour to let no day pass without @ least 12 verses, & as many more as possible.

Tuesday

18 April 1837

This morning I attended the funeral of a child & performed the burial service. Spent the forenoon in translating: in the afternoon revised my translation of the first part of the conference catechism, — met a Tonguese class, & performed several duties of a secular nature, which though not connected with the grand design of a Missionary's work, are nevertheless incumbent upon him. Our temporal circumstances are now very trying owing the detention of the vessel with our supplies. With the exception of a little sugar & tea, (& very little of these) we have to subsist entirely on the produce of the Island. We make bread of arrowroot & molasses. Provisions

37. Tui Cakau (*cakau* 'reef') was the principal chief of the province of Cakaudrove on the island of Vanua Levu. He had moved his seat from Cakaudrove to Somosomo on the adjacent island of Taveuni (Derrick 1957b:63).

are very scarce. But the Lord is our Shepherd, & he will sustain us.³⁸

Wednesday

19 April 1837

Translating Genesis.

Thursday, Friday, Saturday

20, 21, and 22 April 1837

&c

Monday

24 April 1837

I have been occupied the greater part of this day in translating & in revising & enlarging my vocabulary. Met the leaders in the afternoon.

Tuesday

25 April 1837

Spent this day in translating a part of Genesis, & in investigating some of the principles of the language.

Wednesday

26 April 1837

Spent the forenoon in translating. In the afternoon preached to an attentive audience. I had enlargement of heart, & was greatly blessed while urging the exhortation, 'Why will ye die?' May the Lord add his blessing.

Thursday

27 April 1837

Revised the history of Joseph prepared by Bro^r Cross for the Feejeean School: — in the afternoon I transcribed a part of Genesis.

Friday

28 April 1837

Revised the appendix of the first part of the Conference Catechism, & prosecuted the translation of Genesis.

38. Cargill and Cross used the barter system to obtain provisions. An early letter to London asked for '8 doz. broad axes, 8 doz. fell: axes, 4 doz. spades, 4 doz. adzes, 16 doz. hatchets, 16 doz. chisels, 16 doz. pinions [?], 3 doz. iron pots, 3 doz. Fry pans, 3 doz. sauce pans — some of them cast iron, 16 doz. knives, 24 doz. P. knives, 8 doz. razors, 16 dozen [scissors?], 16 doz. gimlets, 16 pieces print, 16 pieces calico, 16 doz. slate with pencils, 16 lbs. beads, 4 doz. japanned lamps with cotton 12 lbs., 4 doz. hand saws of different sizes and kinds'. In the 1840s, the Society took steps to eliminate the barter system.

Saturday
29 April 1837

Translated 26 verses of Genesis, & wrote a short sermon in the Feejeean language. Am happy in my work, & encouraged to persevere.

*By May 1837, the number of converts was still increasing slowly, there having been as yet no dramatic conversion of an important chief. The society numbered only 138. Cargill still thought Tui Nayau to be the principal obstacle, and he found his vacillation frustrating. 'At one time he expresses his conviction of the truth and beneficial tendency of the doctrine which we inculcate, and at another, denies that the Christian religion is superior to that which they adhere to, and accuses it of levelling the distinctions of rank, sanctioning insubordination among the common people, and of producing poverty and famine.'³⁹ . . . Were we ignorant that the "excellency of the power" of converting the soul "is of God," we should frequently despair of being the instruments of good to Him. But our courage does not fag, nor our hope fade, because the work is God's and He is able to accomplish it.'*⁴⁰

*Confronted by Tui Nayau's refusal to make a firm decision, Cargill and Cross were increasingly anxious to convert a more powerful chief. Tanoa remained at the head of the list. 'Although nearly 70 years of age, [he] is a man of an enterprising spirit and unshaken constancy. He has subdued most of the enemies of his government, killed some of the rebel chiefs, and eaten their flesh to satisfy his revenge.'⁴¹ But notwithstanding this ferocious appetite, there are some excellent traits to his character. He is the most respectable as well as the most powerful chief in Feejee, — is the constant friend of foreigners, — & is political though rigorous in the principles of his government. We are daily expecting a vessel with our supplies, and if possible, Bro^r Cross is to avail himself of that opportunity of going to Tanoa.'*⁴²

39. Some of the most realistic criticisms offered up to that time.

40. Cargill to WMS, Lakeba, 23 May 1837.

41. Interesting qualifications for the proposed leader of the Fijian Christians.

42. Cargill to WMS, Lakeba, 23 May 1837. Even earlier (in a letter to the WMS, 13 September 1836), Cargill and Cross realised that Tui Nayau was afraid to convert before Tanoa did. They wrote: 'From the experience which we have obtained since our arrival in Feejee, we are fully convinced that *not many* [] Feejeeans will embrace Christianity, until some chief [] or more powerful than Tui Naeau lead the way! Tui Naeau is himself of this opinion, and we believe that nothing except fear of man prevents him from becoming a worshipper of the true God. And although

But there were other possibilities. When Tui Cakau and his two sons, Bici and Tui Kilakila, visited Lakeba in January, they were ready to receive a missionary. They argued:

The Chief of Lakemba is not powerful, — his people are very few and poor, & he cannot practise what you teach without the consent of his superiors. If you come to us, we will allow our children to be taught to read on your first arrival, & we will listen to your doctrine, that we may know if it is true or false, beneficial or useless.

When the elder man was questioned about the truth of Christianity, he replied:

True — everything is true that comes from the white man's country; muskets & gunpowder are true, & your religion must be true.⁴³

Thursday

25 May 1837

This afternoon I walked to Waitambu, a settlement about 3 miles distant, and preached to 10 or 12 Feejeeans, who listened with great attention to an account of the flood. They have lately embraced the truth, and notwithstanding menaces of the king and other chiefs seem unshaken in their resolution to worship the true God.

Friday

26 May 1837

This forenoon Lua — the chief who persecuted the Christians, & who was the occasion of the late war in Tonga, arrived at this Is^d. He has great authority in this part of Feejee, being the Vasu of Tui Nayau's dominions.⁴⁴ We fear he will prove a barrier to the progress of the Gospel in these parts. But greater is He who is for us than all that can be against us.

Monday

29 May 1837

This forenoon Lua called to see us. He conversed very agreeably, — expressed his regret for the circumstances which gave rise to

he wishes us to remain at Lakemba, yet he is desirous that one of us should visit Tanoa. He says that when Tanoa or any other powerful chief embraces Christianity, he and his people will imitate his example.'

43. Cargill to WMS, Lakeba, 23 May 1837.

44. *Vasu* refers to the relationship between a man and his mother's brother. Within Tui Nayau's territory, Lua had the right to take whatever he wanted of his uncle's goods. Cargill may have been familiar with a similar term in Tongan: *fahu*.

this late war in Tonga, & stated that it was his intention to renounce heathenism, when he shall return to his friend in Tonga. May the Lord change his heart. During the action, he was wounded by 3 musket balls. The Christian party, according to Lua, have gained a decisive victory over their persecutors.

Thursday
15 June 1837

Preached this afternoon to the Feejeans at Waitambo, -they listened with attention. O that this little cloud may soon cover the heavens, & be followed by a fertilizing shower of grace. They treated us very kindly, & had provided for us abundance of talo [taro] & fish.

Wednesday
21 June 1837

Preached to the Tonguese, & urged upon them the necessity of denying ourselves and following Christ. After the sermon, I met the candidates for baptism, & explained to them the nature of that ordinance. I have just been informed that the priest of Tokairambe one of the principal of the Feejeean gods, died this afternoon; but have not heard if he spoke of the true religion before his death. Great lamentations and mourning have been made for him. The absurd practice of rending the air with terrific shrieks and of cutting and burning the bodies of the surviving relatives have not been neglected. O when shall their dark minds be illuminated, and their demoralizing superstitions annihilated.

Tuesday
11 July 1837

This morning I preached to the Feejeeans at Narothake, and met a class. After the conclusion of these services, I proceeded to Noo-koonookoo [Nukunuku] to visit an old man, who seems to be fast approaching the confines of an other world. He is a chief of high rank from Thakaudrove [Cakaudrove], and embraced Christianity that he might die in the worship of the true God. He is old and infirm. He expresses an earnest desire to know God and his Son Jesus Christ. Many people assembled in and about the house. I embraced that opportunity of explaining to them the nature of the true religion. May the Sun of Righteousness arise and shine upon their hearts. When returning home, I called at Wathiwathi, & preached to a few young converts to the truth. I reached home a little after sunset, & was much fatigued, having walked about 16 miles on a bad footpath over hill & dale.

Sunday

30 July 1837

Preached at Boothainambooa [Bucainabua] in the morning and at Waitambo in the afternoon. Many of the people are afflicted with a violent dysentery. In many cases the disease is fatal. The king has been seized with, & is reduced to great weakness. His brother & some other chiefs urged to offer a sacrifice to their gods. He replied, 'That would only be to waste our pigs' for the priests declare that the gods have all fled from our country. 'They shall have no more sacrifices from me.' May the Lord enlighten his understanding, & turn him to himself.

Friday

10 November 1837

Tui Nayau began to persecute the people at Waitambu.⁴⁵ On the morning of the 10th Nov^r/37 all the male population of Waitambu had gone to a distance from home by the king's order to cultivate his talo plantation. As had been previously concerted, a company of robust young men armed themselves with clubs and other implements of war, and made an attack on the village during the absence of its protectors, and when they were certain of meeting with opposition from none but the women and the children — the aged and the infirm. They confined their ravages to the houses and property of the Christians. The muskets — axes and most valuable articles of their household furniture were preserved as the reward of the plunderers. All their other chattels were broken & rendered entirely useless. The sick & the feeble were loaded with insults & threats, and the women and children fled for refuge to the adjacent plantations or hid themselves among the bushes. One poor woman with a sucking infant in her arms fell into their hands and was brought before the king. She was not restored to her friends until a ransom was paid for her redemption, and a promise extorted from her husband that he would abandon Christianity. These dastardly heroes having executed their commission returned in triumph to the king & his brother, and the enemies of the Gospel rejoiced at the success of their scheme. In the meantime the unsuspecting Christians & their friends had finished the task which had been imposed upon them, & returning home found their houses scenes of desolation. Most of them had not made sufficient progress in knowledge & grace to support them under the shock of opposition, and turned back to

45. The spellings of *Waitabu*–*Waitambo* on 25 May and 30 July, and *Waitambu* on 10 November reflect the fluidity of the spelling system at this time.

the beggarly elements of this world. Some of them however had so much of the fear of God before their eyes as to deter them from relapsing into heathenism, and rather than incur the Almighty's displeasure, suffered themselves to be driven from their home and their friends, and are still patiently enduring the privations of exile.⁴⁶

During the preceding months, the supplies of the mission had been reduced to almost nothing. A ship had been expected from New South Wales, but had not arrived. Some food was available from the Missionaries' gardens and their own pigs, but much was secured by trading their personal clothing and belongings. They subsisted 'principally on yams and salt, with cakes made of arrowroot and yams'. Since their privations were due to a ship's captain's refusal to sail from Vava'u, it seemed still another argument to move the mission to Bau, Rewa, or Somosomo, since those places were more frequently visited by ships from Australia.⁴⁷ Also, Cargill thought that provisions would not be so scarce in other parts of Fiji.⁴⁸

Tui Nayau continued to be vague. During a severe illness, he refused to participate in the customary ceremonies, but, on the other hand, made no positive move toward accepting the new religion. He said, 'When Tanoa becomes a Christian, I will follow him'.⁴⁹

After Tui Nayau's persecution of the new Christians of Waitabu village, Cargill wrote:

In my opinion his opposition to the Gospel originates in the deep depravity of his heart, — manifesting itself in hatred to the truth, & in the love of sin. He is the slave of appetite, and in his mental structure, I have not been so fortunate as to discover the slightest vestige of moral beauty. He is so loaded with the bonds of iniquity, that his thoughts seem incapable of making any excursion beyond the bounds of time and sense. Falsehood and meanness are the native elements of his soul; and he appears most easy and happy when absorbed in indolence and sensuality.

Tuesday

28 November 1837

This afternoon the Schooner Jess appeared off the Is^d Brother Cross & I went on board in a boat which belonged to the Harriett, the vessel which was wrecked on a reef near Mothe. We were glad to be informed that the Jess had brought us a supply of trade &^c, with periodicals and letters. There being no proper anchorage near this

46. Cargill to WMS, Lakeba, 23 April 1838.

47. Cargill to WMS, Lakeba, 10 August 1837.

48. Cargill to WMS, Lakeba, 23 May 1837.

49. Cargill to WMS, Lakeba, 27 December 1837.

Is^d and night coming on, we returned home, & the Schooner bore away from the Is^d, as the wind was strong and the aspect of the weather terrific.

Wednesday

29 November 1837

The wind still strong & the sea rather rough, so that we could not prevail on the natives to attempt to bring our goods from the Schooner, lest their canoes should be broken by the rolling of the vessel. In the afternoon we received a letter from the Capⁿ of the Jess, expressing his surprise that we had not sent for our goods, & intimating an intention to sail away at the break of day. This intelligence has occasioned great anxiety, as we are greatly in want of the goods which are in the vessel.

Thursday

30 November 1837

This morning the Jess was seen a great way off bearing down upon the Is^d; we procured a canoe to attempt to bring some of our goods ashore. After many ineffectual efforts to get to the side of the vessel the natives told us they could not succeed without having the canoe broken to pieces. We went from the canoe to the Schooner in a whale boat. Chevalier Dillon⁵⁰ the principal owner of the Schooner told us that he intended to visit the wreck of the Harriett & then return to Lakemba & then negotiate with Bro^r Cross about going to Bau. He caused a few light cases to be conveyed to the canoe in a boat. When returning home we heard a heathen chief express his gratitude for the safety of the 'Spirit' of the canoe. Their canoes are adored as Gods.

Friday

1 December 1837

This morning the Jess sailed away from Lakemba. It is uncertain whether she will return with our goods or not. The natives tell us that a certain person on board the Jess assured them that the religion which we teach is not true, & that the pretended author of that religion is a false God. If the report of the natives is true, — and I know no reason to doubt it, the individual who is capable of throwing such aspersion on the religion of his country, & of casting such stumbling blocks in the way of the success of that religion, — dis-

50. Companion of Charles Savage, sandalwood trader (at the end of the era), and ship's captain, Chevalier Peter Dillon was known chiefly for his *Narrative of the Discovery of the Fate of La Pérouse* (1829). Later (1842) Cargill defended the Wesleyan missionaries in Tonga against Dillon's published 'slanderous' attacks.

honours his Christian name, and whatever may be his pretensions, forfeits all right to the appellation of a gentleman.⁵¹

Sunday

3 December 1837

At daylight this morning I left home to proceed to Nukunuku. I arrived there about 8 A.M. As a substitute for a bell, the native teacher had hung up a piece of sheet copper at the door of the house in which divine service was to be held, & struck it with a piece of iron. The sound though harsh, was heard at a considerable distance. The young converts to Christianity and many of the heathen population about fifty in number assembled in and about the house. Many of them listened with attention to a succinct account of Adam's fall & a brief enumeration of its lamentable effects. But some of the heathen part of the audience indulged themselves by smoking tobacco,⁵² & making an occasional remark which excited the laughter of those who sat next to them. A gentle reproof, however, put an end to their irreverence.

Tuisoso, the chief of Nukunuku, and of the Christian party in that settlement displayed some strength of resolution when ordered by Tui Nayau on pain of persecution to abandon Christianity. He replied that he had become a worshipper of the true God from a conviction of the truth of the new religion, & that he was determined not to return to heathenism. This part of our little vineyard has just been brought under cultivation. May it be fertilized by heavenly showers, & made productive of much good fruit! Amen.

About 11 A.M. I commenced service at Narothake [Narocake], & expiated on the Miracle of feeding the 5 thousand with the loaves and fishes. The congregation was small but attentive. This morning another woman was persuaded to deny herself the pleasure of following the multitude & to cast in her lot with the people of God. Praise the Lord for all his mercies.

While travelling home, my body fagged under the burning rays of a vertical Sun. My clothes were saturated with perspiration. I reached home about 3 O.C. P.M. fatigued in body, but happy in mind.

51. Cargill is referring to Chevalier Dillon. The Lakeba incident was only one of a number of quarrels between the Wesleyans and Dillon, who was described by a biographer as 'naturally excitable, and, when anything occurred to displease him, tyrannical in the extreme' (Bayly 1885: 9).

52. The word 'tobacco' borrowed early by the Fijians. *Tabaka* (now *tavako*) was transcribed by Gaimard in the 1820s (Dumont d'Urville 1834)

Wednesday

6 December 1837

This afternoon I preached in Tonguese. A divine unction seemed to influence the hearts of some of the people. During the last few days I have been employed in revising my translation of St. Mark's Gospel, & in compiling my vocabulary: & have been collecting materials for a grammar of the Feejeean language. May these labours be blessed to the good of souls!

Saturday

9 December 1837

This afternoon we received another letter from the Capⁿ of the Jess informing us that the vessel was at anchor off Oneata an Is^l about 30 miles from Lakemba, & that he intended to visit the wreck of the Harriett the moment the wind & weather should be favourable; and requesting us to send a canoe to Oneata to bring our goods from the vessel to Lakemba.

Sunday

10 December 1837

At 9 this morning I preached in Tonguese to an attentive and devout audience. At 11 I commenced the Feejeean service. About 50 professing Christians (Feejeeans) were present. Although two or three of them fell asleep during the sermon, yet a great majority behaved with decorum & listened with seriousness, while I explained some of the circumstances connected with the restoration to sight of the two blind men who applied for mercy to Jesus. O Lord, open thou the eyes of the people that they may see the wondrous things which are contained in thy law. In the afternoon I preached in Tonguese. May the Lord add his blessing!

Tuesday

12 December 1837

This morning two canoes sailed for Oneata for the purpose of bringing our goods from the Jess. The wind was contrary & strong. In the afternoon one of the canoes returned to this island having met with an accident at sea. When lifting the sail from one end of the canoe to another in order to turn on another tack, the principal rope connected with the mast was broken, & the unwieldy mast and sail fell overboard. The poor natives had to leap into the sea to recover the sail. On such occasions they express themselves in strong figurative language & say, 'we are all dead with work.' It is a cause of thankfulness that no lives were lost. The other canoe; it is supposed, kept on its course.

Wednesday

13 December 1837

Part of this day has been occupied in translating. May all my labours and all my time be consecrated to the service of God. I hope if I am blessed with health to be able to complete the translation of the New Testament into the language of the weather groupe of Feejee Is^s before I am removed to another station. May the Lord assist me in this great work!

Monday

25 December 1837

Bro^r Cross & I went on board the Jess wh. is lieing at anchor about 10 miles from the Mission premises, to negotiate with Chevalier de Dillon about Bro^r C's passage to Bau. We agreed to give him £125 — a large sum, but we could not persuade the Chevalier to take less.⁵³

Thursday

28 December 1837

M^{rs} C & I with the children accompanied M^r Cross & family to the Jess. On the way thither we were overtaken with heavy rain & thoroughly drenched. The Chevalier received us with kindness. I hope he will endeavour to make our friends as comfortable as possible.

Saturday

30 December 1837

This afternoon the Jess sailed for Bau by the way of Moala (another groupe of the Feejee Is^s) May the Lord grant our friends favourable winds and weather, and waft them in safety to the place of their destination: may he give his servant favour in the eyes of the chiefs and people, that thus the cause of truth may prevail.

Cross's departure left the Cargill family as the only Europeans on

53. To justify the unusually high fare, Cargill wrote to the General Secretaries: 'The distance to Bau is said to be more than 200 miles from Lakemba. The navigation is very difficult, because numerous reefs are interspersed through the Is^s, and no chart of Feejee on which any dependance can be placed is in print. The unwillingness of owners and Captains of vessels to visit the Feejee Is^s is greatly increased by the lamentable number of accidents which occur in Feejee. In July 1836 the Active was wrecked on a reef not far from our shores: a few months ago the Harriett of London suffered a similar fate near the same place: and from the number of barrels of oil which drifted to our shores in the early part of the year, there is reason to believe that one or two other whalers have been wrecked in Feejee.'

But the high fare still seems unjustified. The missionaries had no choice in the matter, and Dillon took them for what he could.

Lakeba. Aside from his displeasure at not having another colleague to work with and talk to, Cargill could not have helped but have misgivings, for his wife was two months pregnant.

Sunday

7 January 1838

This forenoon I baptized 22 adults and 11 children. Among the adults is William Lajike, a chief of the highest rank and one of the first who abandoned heathenism in the Friendly Is^s. For several years he has been sojourning in Feejee, and is much respected by the chiefs of this groupe. He wished to be baptized William in honour of his late Majesty King William. He has been meeting in class for some time, and seems in earnest to save his soul. In the afternoon, I administered the sacrament to most of the members of the society. It was a solemn and profitable season.

Friday

12 January 1838

This forenoon I preached at Nukunuku and Narothake, and in the afternoon at Buthainambua. The fear of persecution is shaking the resolution of the Feejeeans at Nukunuku. May the Lord strengthen and encourage them to persevere! The king and principal chiefs of the Is^d are now on a visit to Thithia [Cicia].⁵⁴ Then Soroanggali [Soroaqli], the king's brother was embarking, he despatched a messenger to inform those of the people who have abandoned heathenism, that after their return from Thithia, they intended to build a heathen temple, and that all who would not return to the worship of the gods of their fathers should be killed, and either roasted and eaten, or buried under the posts of the temple. But I believe these menaces are mere bugbears to intimidate the people, and cause the young converts to apostatize from the true religion. May the Lord throw a chain upon his evil propensities, and soften his obdurate heart!⁵⁵

Sunday

28 January 1838

Preached twice in the Tonguese language and once in the Feejeean. The congregation were not so large as they generally are, as many of the people have gone with the king to Thithia.

54. Cicia is the northernmost island of Lau proper, lying about thirty-five miles northwest of Lakeba.

55. This is the last legible entry in the first volume of Cargill's diary, and the second volume starts with the entry for 28 April 1839. The entries for the intervening period are taken from the journal extracts that he wrote to the WMS.

Monday

29 January 1838

This morning I was informed that the threats of Soroanggali have so far operated upon the people of Nukunuku that some of the adults and most of the children have relapsed into heathenism. Among the apostates is one Solomoni Nggera [Qera], — a man who was baptized in the Friendly Is^s and who came to Lakemba in Dec^r 1836. Since his arrival he has frequently violated the Sabbath, and neglected the means of grace. His example is most pernicious. May the Lord have mercy upon his soul!

Thursday

22 February 1838

About 9 O.C. this morning I sailed for Oneata in a canoe, and arrived there about 3 P.M. The king of the place received us very kindly: and supplied us with abundance of provisions. Oneata is a small but fertile Is^d about 9 or 10 miles in circumference. It is (by conjecture) about 35 miles due East of Lakemba. It has only one settlement, which resembles a dirty, straggling village, and contains about 200 adults. When we arrived in Feejee, a few of the natives had taken upon them the profession of Christianity *principally* through the instrumentality of three Tahitian teachers and one Takai, (a petty chief belonging to Lakemba) who had visited Tonga and Tahiti, — and had gone to Port Jackson in company with Chevalier de Dillon, who was then known to the natives of this part of Feejee as 'Tute,' the name by which the distinguished navigator Capⁿ Cook is known to these Islanders. At that time the converts to Christianity in Oneata, lived in the open violation of the Sabbath, and the line of demarcation between their religion and heathenism was a name. They *now* profess to have *then* known nothing of the nature & design of Christianity, and express their surprise that the divine being did not inflict singular punishment upon them for their gross iniquities. The Tahitian teachers have been in the habit of speaking to the people in dialect of their own, — composed of the Tahitian, Tonguese and Feejeean languages. What the Feejeeans of Oneata now know respecting the design and advantages of true religion, has been communicated to them since our arrival and through the instrumentality of our people. Since that time their numbers have been gradually increasing. They lately sent a request for a teacher to instruct them in the doctrines of Christianity in their vernacular tongue. Although the Tahitians formerly refused to co-operate with us and were very insolent,⁵⁶ yet I thought it my duty to comply with

56. In *Memoirs* (p. 174), Cargill softened his criticism: 'The three Tahitian

the request of the people and give them a teacher. They seem very thankful for a teacher whose language they can understand.

Friday

23 February 1838

This afternoon I preached to an attentive congregation of more than 70 persons including 20 or 30 Tonguese from other Islands. I have made arrangements to leave Joshua Mateinaniu to instruct the people. He is a man of prudence and meekness, and is now of considerable standing as a local preacher. I trust this arrangement will promote the cause of God, and be instrumental in the conversion of immortal souls.

Saturday

24 February 1838

I returned to Lakemba today. The wind was contrary and strong. When we were off Lakemba about 3 P.M. and preparing to tack about by lifting the sail from one end of the canoe to another; the huge, unwieldy sail fell into the sea, but after 8 or 10 men had been plunging and swimming in the water for half an hour, they succeeded in getting it on board again: they hoisted it wet as it was, & we sailed away for another part of the Is^d. The wind veered round a few points in our favour, and we arrived in safety at Lakemba in the dusk of the evening.

18 March 1838

I preached four times today: twice in the Feejeean and twice in the Tonga language. The services were well attended: and the Lord condescended to manifest his presence by shaking a few of the dry bones. O that the Lord would send now prosperity! Both in the Feejeean and Tonguese services, several of the people seemed deeply impressed with a sense of their guilt before God, and cried with the publican, 'God be merciful to me a sinner!' May this be a presage of good things, — of times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord!

We have still to weep over the opposition of the King and his brother to the Gospel of Christ. They threatened to strangle Monggei [Moqei] — a woman of high rank — if [s]he persisted in assembling with the Christians: and in consequence of their menaces she and several others have returned to the beggary elements of this world.

25 March 1838

In the performance of the various duties of the Lord's day, my soul teachers waited on Mr. Cargill, acknowledged their former imprudence, entreated him to forgive it, and urgently requested him to receive them into society'.

has been blessed, and I trust that many who have waited upon the Lord in his sanctuary have renewed their spiritual strength. The people seem more in earnest to save their souls than I have ever seen them in Feejee, and many of them appear to be agonizing to enter in at the strait gait of regeneration. The congregations — both Feejeean and Tonguese are increasing the sometimes violent opposition of the Feejeean Chiefs.

1 April 1838

This morning my heart was warmed by seeing so many people present at the 6 O.C. prayer meeting. Very few of the members of society were absent. Old and young seemed desirous of commencing the duties of the Lord's day with prayer and praise in his sanctuary. Some of the women walked fully a mile with young infants in their arms. The attendance of the people on the means of grace is an encouraging symptom; may they amply realize the good prognosticated by these auspicious omens. More than 50 persons were present at the Feejeean service. The Tonguese congregation in the morning listened with great attention to some of the arguments which demonstrate the Bible to be the word of God. In the afternoon, a very solemn feeling pervaded the minds of most of the people, while I attempted to improve the death of a boy about 11 years of age who departed this life on the 28th Ult^{mo} in the glorious hope of a blessed immortality. A short time before his death, he said to his parents, 'My love to you, I am about to depart to another world.' When asked if he knew the Lord, he replied, 'O Yes, — I know the Lord: all the Missionary tells us is true. I have seen heaven: it is a good place; I want to go there: hush! I am going; prepare my body for the grave, and do not speak, for I wish to die praying.' After a few minutes of very solemn silence, his parents found that he had breathed out his soul into the arms of Jesus. O God, 'So teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom.'

Tuesday

3 April 1838

This morning I received a letter from Isaac Ravuata, the native teacher who was sent to Ono in Jan^{ry}. The tidings from that remote but interesting Is^{ld} are heart-reviving. One hundred and twenty two adults have joined the standard of the Cross. All of them are very anxious to read; but they have no books, nor have I any to send them, except those which I write: but as the teacher earnestly begs me to send them a supply of books, and although my time is already fully occupied in preaching three or four times on the Sabbath, and

several times during the week, — in translating the Scriptures, and in other fortuitous engagements, yet I must attend to their cry for help and *find* time either by rising earlier or sitting up to write books for them. May they be made a blessing to their souls!

As Cargill's workload increased, so did his realisation of the enormity of his task. The prospects of the Fijian people asking for books, and chiefs like Tui Cakau asking for their own resident missionaries, were tantalising and frustrating. On 23 April Cargill wrote to London, asking for reinforcements:

We entreat you to send us help. What are two Missionaries among so many? Some suppose the population to amount to 200,000 — & others to 400,000 souls. May the Lover of Souls open the hearts of the friends of the heathen, that they may come forward to the help of the Lord against the mighty, and enable you to send us labourers. Bro! C is in a precarious state of health. He has requested permission on account of his health to leave the Is^s If his request should be granted, I shall probably be alone, until more men come from England: and I hope you will take a favourable view of our petition, & embrace the earliest opportunity of granting it. I am getting on with a consecutive translation of the N. Testament into the dialect of this part of Feejee. The translation is made from the original with occasional or rather constant reference to the Vulgate & other versions.

It is executed with some care, & many a happy day and hour have been spent at it. This letter is to be despatched by the Mermaid of Salem — by way of Manilla. I write in haste — as the opportunity is quite unexpected, & as the vessel is lying to off the Is^d waiting for our letters. I cannot therefore at this time illustrate our hopes & fear by extracts from my journal but hope to be soon favoured with another opportunity of addressing you. . .

Sunday

22 April 1838

After preaching twice at Buthainambua this morning, — (once in Feejeean and once in Tonguese), I set out in a canoe for Narothake to bury Mary Louakau who died last night. She died in the faith of Jesus. Her last words were prayer & praise to God.

Tuesday

26 June 1838

This afternoon we received the cheering intelligence that a canoe from the Friendly Isles had entered the harbour. On hastening to the beach I found that the canoe belonged to King George, and was sent by him and the brethren in Vavau for the express purpose of

bringing six native Missionaries with their wives and families to assist us in the glorious work of preaching the Gospel to the Feejeeans. Their names are Joeli Bulu, Joni Havea, Juliusi Naulivou, Sailasi Faone, Uesili Nangi and Jelemaia Latu.⁵⁷ Their hearts seem to be burning with zeal for the glory of God and the conversion of souls, and they express a willingness to labour in any part of the Feejee Islands. Although it is probable that they will never be able to acquire a correct enunciation of the Feejeean language, yet if diligent they will soon be able to communicate instruction to the people. I am truly thankful for such seasonable and efficient help. Some of them are Chiefs of high rank, and while in a heathen state one of them received homage from the present king of Vavau and Haapai. Another of their number is the chief of an island in the Vavau group. They have experienced the love of God in their hearts, and feel themselves highly honoured in being called to proclaim his love to their perishing fellow sinners. Actuated by this motive, & with no temporal reward in view, they have cheerfully left their country and their friends to be 'strangers and pilgrims' in Feejee and have thus afforded us no mean specimen of some of the trophies of the cross among the S.S. Islanders.

Wednesday

27 June 1838

This afternoon my old friend — Jobi Soakai — the chief of the Tonga canoe, preached an instructive and animating discourse. A divine unction accompanied the word, and towards the conclusion of the service the tears and cries of many of the people powerfully reminded me of many of those scenes which I witnessed during the glorious revival of religion which commenced at Utui in Vavau on Tuesday the 22nd July 1834. O that these drops may be the precursors of a teeming shower.

Friday

29 June 1838

Today we held our local preachers' meeting, — the first that has been held in Feejee. Several young men who had been six months on trial were received as fully accredited local preachers. Five new candidates were received on trial. Among the latter is Tevita Vakarewa, — a native of Ono and a young man of considerable promise both in reference to his piety and his usefulness. The

57. These names, both 'given' and 'Christian' in the literal sense, are the Tongan forms for Joel, John, Julius, Silas, Wesley, and Jermiah.

meeting terminated about 1 P.M. A homely repast of yams and a baked pig had been provided for us: after partaking of it we held a short prayer meeting, and supplicated God to pour out his Spirit upon us and bless our labours. O that the Gospel may speedily become triumphant among the Feejeeans.

The frustration of trying to convert a chief powerless to make his own decisions finally forced Cargill to abandon almost three years' work on the language of Lakeba — just as his colleagues had forced him to drop his Tongan studies. In July 1838, he resolved to sail to Rewa at the first opportunity, leaving the Lakeba work in the hands of the local teachers, mainly Tongan. Since his last request for more missionaries, Cross, debilitated by a long illness, had asked permission to leave Fiji. Now Cargill would be alone.

When I think of the great responsibility of an Ambassador for Christ to perishing sinner, — of the extent and importance of the Feejee section of the Mission field, and that I shall have no colleague to assist me by his counsel and his efforts, I feel an overwhelming sense of my weakness and inexperience and am constrained to say 'Who is sufficient for these things?' I beseech you therefore to send assistance, — and to send it without any delay, to the degraded, and still neglected population of Feejee. What is one missionary among nearly 300 inhabited Is? What can he accomplish in a country where almost every district has a dialect peculiar to itself? Let your ears be pierced with the dieing groans of strangled widows, — and the wild shriek of the victims of a horrid superstition, — who are either roasted alive or otherwise cruelly murdered. Paint to your imaginations the awfully horrifying spectacle of multitudes of human beings fattened and slaughtered to be roasted and eaten! Look at enraged warriors cutting out the tongues of their fallen enemies and eating them raw! See some of them quaffing the still reeking blood, and proudly retaining the scull of their vanquished foe as a drinking vessel! and I am confident that you will not only not deny my petition, but that you will strain every nerve to grant it with the least possible delay. I am persuaded you will pardon my importunity in thus adding another entreaty to our already numerous and urgent petitions for help: for the deplorable circumstances of the Feejeeans demand and justify the greatest importunity. My earnest prayer is, — that you may very soon have the pleasure of hearing that thousands of the Feejeeans have bowed the knee to Jesus, & are clinging to his cross as their only asylum and their only hope.

I had indulged the hope of being able to complete a translation of at least the New Testament into the dialect of Lakemba before my

removal to another station. But as an all-wise Providence has called me to another sphere of labour much sooner than I expected, I shall not be able to accomplish such an undertaking. But should the labour and time which I have devoted to the language of this groupe be of any service in facilitating the studies of succeeding Missionaries, and expediting the triumphs of the cross, I shall be truly thankful, and feel myself amply rewarded. I have been able to complete a translation of the four Gospels: and although many of the imperfections of first translations are necessarily attached to it, yet it has already been the means of instruction to some of the Feejeeans; and it may possibly serve as an auxiliary to paving the way of future labourers. Other detached portions of the Word of God have been translated: but as they are mere fragments, their preservation would be comparatively useless.

The syllabus of a grammar has been formed; but as I shall probably have no time to fill up the plan, — at least in Lakemba, — I shall reserve it as the basis of a similar work in the Rewa dialect. One Grammar will suffice for the various dialects of Feejee, for the difference in the language is merely verbal. Much time has been devoted to the compilation of a Vocabulary of the dialect used in this groupe. It contains 5000 or 6000 words with their signification, accentuation and probable derivation. It is the result of much research and of the labours of many happy hours, and may be of essential service to those Missionaries to Feejee who may be disposed to avail themselves of such an auxiliary.

In my last letter, I mentioned to you that a fire of persecution had been kindled about those scions of the tree of life which had taken root in several parts of Lakemba. That fire is still burning, but those scions are not consumed:

‘Like Moses’ bush they mount the higher,

And flourish unconsumed in fire.’

But should I have time before the departure of the canoe for the Friendly Is^s to transcribe a few extracts from my Journal, you shall have a detailed account of the progress and state of the glorious war in which we are engaged. Through mercy I am blessed with good health; and I hope that I shall long be spared to labour among these benighted but not ignoble members of the human family. I say *not* ignoble; — for while Feejeeans equal any of their neighbors in industry, their articles of manufacture — viz-pots, drinking vessels, cloth &^c exhibit specimens of ingenuity & genius which are unrivalled by *any* of the South Sea Islanders who have yet been discovered. M^r C suffers much from Ophthalmy, — a most

inveterate species of which is prevalent in Feejee. Our children are well. With sincere wishes for your personal welfare, — & the prosperity of the work in which you are engaged, I continue to be

Your Ob^t Ser^t in the Gospel of Christ
David Cargill⁵⁸

Tuesday
17 July 1838

This forenoon Uiliami Lajike returned from Somosomo where he has been on a visit to Tuithakau and his two sons Tuikilakila and Ratubithi [Tui Kilakila and Ratu Bici]:⁵⁹ — the chiefs who so earnestly requested a Missionary in Jan^r/37. Our friend Uiliami has brought us most interesting and encouraging intelligence from Somosomo. Tuikilakila was so sincere in his entreaties for a Missionary, and so anxious to promote his comfort, that immediately after his return to Somosomo, he selected a plot of ground for Mission premises near the principal fortification on the island, and ordered his people to cut bamboo for a fence and timber for a house for the Missionary. When conversing with him in Jan^r/37, I told him that Missionaries preferred an airy situation, and the place which he has selected as the site of a Mission house is on a beautiful eminence. He has prevented his people from cultivating it so that it may be ready for immediate occupancy when a Missionary shall arrive in Somosomo. When expressing his disappointment and regret that a Missionary had not yet been sent to him, he said with considerable ardour, 'Look! the bamboo and the timber have been so long cut, that they are almost rotten and yet no Missionary has come to me!'

The same chief has sent a friendly message or rather a powerful appeal to Tuinayau. As coming from the lips of the heathen, it may be considered a curiosity. The following is a verbatim translation of it. 'Tuinayau, why do you not turn and worship the true God? Of what use are the Feejeean gods to you? Religion — like the sun — (The Feejeeans were of [the] opinion that Tonga was the Eastern — and Feejee the western boundary of the world: and that the sun rose at Tonga and sunk into the sea at Feejee) — has come from Tonga to you, and will then come to us. Why do you attempt to stop it? When you stop the sun from coming from Tonga to Feejee, then you may prevent religion from coming to us. You cannot stand at the bottom

58. Cargill to WMS, Lakeba, 2 July 1838.

59. *Ratu* is a chiefly title for males.

of a hill, and arrest the progress of a heavy weight which has been hurled down from the summit of that hill. You are foolish in attempting to do so. Religion is a heavy weight which the God of the foreigners has hurled down upon you from Tonga: you cannot hurl it up again; you cannot stop it: be wise, and let yourself be borne away by it, and let it come to us.' This is the logic of the heathen, the sensibility of a renowned warrior, the reasoning of a chief whose people are the most notorious cannibals in all Feejee, — whose people are accused of kidnapping children, and ransacking the graves to gratify their propensity for human flesh. O that we had Missionaries to send him and his people! May the Head of the Church who knows his circumstances and desires raise up men to come to Feejee 'to the help of the Lord against the mighty.'

Friday

20 July 1838

About 2 O.C. this morning our fifth child — a stout girl — was born. We have had none but natives to assist us at this critical juncture, but the Lord has been better to us than all our fears. Our native female servant has been very attentive and kind on this occasion. M^{rs} C is much better . . . than we could have expected her to be. May she and I have grace to dedicate ourselves afresh to the service of God.⁶⁰

Monday

23 July 1838

This forenoon our people under the direction of Uiliami Lajike began to build a new chapel. We held divine service at the erecting of the posts which are to support the building. The scene was very interesting and I trust profitable to the souls of many. A large congregation was present, and many tears of joy were shed. The Feejeeans and the Tonguese seem to be desirous of outstripping one another in this labour of love. All have engaged in the undertaking with great alacrity and goodwill. Several heathens have volunteered their services in rearing this Christian temple. Lua — the quondam

60. Cargill was less formal when he wrote to the Reverend J. Beecham: 'Our fifth child was born 4 weeks ago. On that trying [] I had no human aid, but had to act as accoucheur, nurse, &c &c I am sure you would have smiled had you seen me trying to dress the lovely babe. I succeeded in getting on two of its garments with the *back* in *front*, & was obliged to desist; and having wrapped it in an abundance of flannel the little stranger soon fell asleep & allowed me to take care of the Mother. Through Mercy all was well. We have four stout *girls* alive & a pretty little boy in heaven.'

persecutor of the Christians — has very kindly presented us with several large skeins of cynet, and has tendered his assistance in the preparation of the various materials for the house of prayer. Soroangkali — the king's brother has presented the Chief of the Christian party with a large roll of cynet. The chapel when finished will probably hold between 500 & 600 persons. May it be the birthplace of many immortal souls.

Wednesday

1 August 1838

At the leaders' meeting this afternoon we appointed Uiliami Lajike to the care of a class. He is a Tonga chief of the highest rank, and has more influence in Feejee than any other Tongan chief. But what is of more importance he seems very desirous of saving his soul, and of being instrumental in the salvation of the souls of others. If faithful and humble, he will be a great blessing to the cause of God in this and other parts of Feejee!!

Friday

3 August 1838

This afternoon Joeli Bulu⁶¹ went to reside at Narothake for the instruction of the few Feejeeans who worship God at that place. He is one of the six local preachers who were lately sent from Vavau to assist us in Feejee, and is very assiduous and earnest in his endeavours to acquire the language.

Tuesday

7 August 1838

Visited Narothake and preached to our little flock at this place. The members of society there are very thankful for a teacher to reside

61. Joeli Pulu (at this time, the missionaries were still writing Tongan *p* as *b*) was born in Vava'u, and although he turned to Christianity soon after it began to spread in Tonga, his 'real' conversion occurred at the time of the Vava'u pentecost (1834). Later he was requested by John Thomas, then stationed at Vava'u, to assist Cargill at Lakeba.

Pulu's 'autobiography', edited by G. Stringer Rowe and published in 1871, was 'translated by a Missionary'. James Calvert, who wrote, 'I wish . . . that I could transfer to paper his earnest look, the workings of his face, the twitching of his mouth-corners, his tears, his gestures, and the tones of his voice, as he told me the tale. It would then indeed make an effective book' (p. 4).

There are points at which rather more of Calvert's than Pulu's earnestness shows through. Although Cargill's journal shows that he and Turner shared fully both the sowing and the reaping of that Revival harvest, a mention of Mrs Cargill is the only indication Calvert gave that Cargill was even present. His name appears once throughout the remainder of the book. Pulu died on 7 May 1877 (Moore n.d.).

among them, and treat him and his wife with great kindness. Several of the heathen promise to turn to God in a short time. I hope to see good days even in Lakemba. The Christians on this island are more in earnest than they have ever been, and many of the heathen are beginning to enquire if they are really in danger of everlasting misery. All the people declare with one voice, 'We wish to turn to God, but are afraid of the king.'

Wednesday

15 August 1838

Early this morning H.B.M's vessel of war the Conway, Capⁿ Drinkwater Bethune Com^d appeared off Lakemba. In the forenoon the Capⁿ came ashore and brought us many letters and several other things of which we were destitute.⁶² Capⁿ B. kindly offered to take me and my family to Rewa in consequence of Bro^r Cross's ill health and his intended departure from the islands: but as we expect the new brethren will soon arrive in Feejee, I have resolved to yield to the entreaties of Tuinayau and our society in this place, and to postpone our removal until we shall be favoured with another opportunity. We have been greatly encouraged by the delightful intelligence that two Missionaries are probably on their way to Feejee, and that the Feejee Mission has excited great interest among the friends of Missions. May our brethren and their wives be brought to us in safety, and made a blessing to the souls of thousands of Feejeans.

The news of the assignment of new missionaries came from Tonga, rather than from London. In late March, the Committee wrote to the Chairman of the Tonga District,⁶³ informing him that the pleas for aid to the Fijians had not gone unnoticed; on the contrary, 'the statement of their case has produced such a feeling of sympathy among the friends of the Society as to embolden the Committee to increase, at once, the number of Missionaries in Fejee to seven . . .'. It was not only Fiji's popular appeal, the direct result of Cargill's eloquent letters and a published plea by Watkin of Tonga,⁶⁴ that made it possible for the Committee to increase their efforts there, but also an agreement between them and the London Missionary Society

62. In his ship's log, the captain noted succinctly that he 'left the ship', making no mention of the missionaries.

63. WMS to Thomas, London, 28 March 1838.

64. Watkin's appeal was published in the *Missionary Notices* for February 1838. The Missionary Committee titillated its readers by informing them that they 'have omitted several disgusting particulars included in the original communication, and that neither the whole nor the worst is here told in detail'. The theme of the essay was: 'Pity, oh, pity cannibal Fiji!' (Findlay and Holdsworth 1921, III: 381-3).

that put Fiji entirely in the Wesleyans' domain and Samoa in that of the LMS. Beecham, the Secretary for the Committee, warned Thomas in Tonga that the Society was receiving special pledges on the strength of its pledge to aid Fiji, and under no circumstances could the brethren in Tonga change the assignments from London.

Oddly, one important part of Beecham's letter was not passed on to Cargill: he was not told that Fiji would now constitute a separate district. He was, however, given the qualifications of his prospective colleagues, and to this news he responded with enthusiasm. He wrote to London that same day, so that his letter could go with the Conway. With some moderate reading between the lines, it is possible to identify at least one source of friction between Cargill and Cross: their disparate backgrounds in language training. Cargill praised his superiors for selecting men with the proper background:

I most heartily thank you for selecting such men for us: for had I ever entertained any doubt on the subject, my experience in these Is^s would have removed it, — and would have furnished one with numerous arguments — clearly to demonstrate that some literary attainments are *absolutely* and *indispensably* necessary to every one who would acquire a correct knowledge of the language of any of the Is^s. And I sincerely hope that the time is @ hand when you will make effectual provision for securing a correct translation of the Scriptures into the Tonga language, & for establishing that language on a grammatical and permanent basis. My worthy friend Mr. Thomas has a most excellent and extensive colloquial knowledge of the Tonga language. His translation of the Gospel of Matthew has many excellencies, but is replete with grammatical errors. In that Gospel & some of the epistles there are scores of instances in which the Nominative is put for the Vocative case. For instance, the literal English of the Tonga version of the Lord's Prayer is — 'The our Father is in heaven.' Minor inaccuracies frequently occur, but I need not enumerate them.⁶⁵

He went on to complain about the Tonga missionaries' handling of a particularly worrisome problem for translators, that of loan words:

65. See the Introduction for an enumeration of John Thomas's lack of talents. Cargill, with his exceptional training, must have had difficulty in working with such people, and vice versa. A similar inequality of backgrounds may have been one source of friction between Cargill and Cross, for even Hunt (1846: 57) gave faint praise to Cross's translations: 'These were not literal translations, but between a literal rendering and a paraphrase. The same portions of Scripture and some others, were rendered into Feejeean in the same way, by Mr. Cross. . . . Few of his translations have been printed, but they have been very useful, and are monuments of the industry and good sense of their author.'

Another practice prevails in that groupe, — which if persisted in will ultimately destroy the simplicity of the language and render many portions of the Word of God utterly unintelligible to the natives; I allude to the immense number of English words which are introduced into the language. Such is the number of foreign words which are constantly introduced, that when a new book is printed it is impossible for a native to understand it without an English interpreter. This appears to me an evil of no common magnitude. It is absolutely necessary to introduce some words into the Tonga language, but to introduce such words as brother — sister — husband — wife — door & a host of others, and unceremoniously to cashier the native nouns which every child understands, is in my opinion an unwarrantable liberty. The other day — a very intelligent local preacher said while conversing about one of the epistles, — ‘My mind is pained because our language will be spoiled, & we shall not be able to understand the word of God: — When Misa — goes away, will not some other Missionary give us another edition of the sacred book in our own language?’ As I am not concerned with the translation of the scriptures into the Tonga language, I have never suggested many remarks to the Breⁿ on that subject.⁶⁶

Cargill's dissatisfaction with the Tonga Mission was not confined to academic matters. A more practical problem was the lack of supplies at Lakeba, which led to a suggestion that the Brethren in Tonga were a good deal better off than those in Fiji.

Our financial accts are quite a chaos, and now our privations are unnecessarily increased [since a shipload of goods had failed to arrive]. Our supply of trade is a mere pittance notwithstanding the large quantities of articles of barter with which you have from time to time furnished the Breⁿ in the Friendly Is^s. We have been obliged to sell our trunks & many articles of wearing apparel, & are still under the necessity of giving up to the Mission print & Calico which have been ordered for family use. We are badly off for kitchen utensils — crockeriware &c. We have only *one* tea cup, & that by the by has *lost* the *handle*. Please to send us a supply of such things as soon as convenient.

66. Cargill to WMS, Lakeba, 16 August 1838. This criticism did not go unnoticed by the WMS. When the committee reassigned Cargill later to Tonga, Beecham referred to a thorough revision of ‘such translations of portions of the Holy Scriptures as you have already effected, and the expurging of all English or other foreign words which may have been *unnecessarily* introduced. Mr. Cargill is in full possession of our views. That we regard as a work of urgent necessity’. (WMS to Thomas, London, 12 January 1843).

The journal continues:

Friday

17 August 1838

This afternoon the Conway sailed: the Capⁿ kindly consented to take two native teachers with their wives and families to Rewa.⁶⁷ The wind was strong and the sea rough, so that the canoe which conveyed our friends to the Conway was in danger of swamping. The sea was in such a state of agitation that it was impossible for the canoe to approach the vessel. She consequently lowered the sail and lay to: three of the natives leaped into the sea to keep the canoe from upsetting. The Capⁿ of the Conway seeing their predicament promptly despatched a boat to their assistance; the teachers with their families and several cases belonging to M^r Cross were safely received on board the Conway.

Friday

24 August 1838

This morning I sent Juliusi Naulivou — King George's brother-in-law and an adopted son of one of the late kings of Lakemba to reside at Nukunuku. The chief of Nukunuku has for some time professed Christianity, but his mind has been in a very vacillating state, owing principally I presume to his not having a steady teacher residing in his settlement. The king and many of the chiefs and people endeavoured to thwart our designs, by ra[ising] a false report that the chief of Nukunuku had relapsed into heathenism, and by threatening to kill and eat all the people of the settlement who should embrace Christianity. But He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh, the Lord shall hold them in derision.

Thursday

6 September 1838

Visited Nukunuku and Narothake in company with M^{rs} C and the family. In the evening I preached at Nukunuku to a very attentive and serious congregation. M^{rs} C is the first white female who ever visited those settlements. The natives treated us with great kindness and were thankful for our visit to them. May it be made a blessing to their souls.

Friday

5 October 1838

Our new chapel has been opened today. At an early hour the

67. Even though Cargill had planned to take the first available passage to Rewa, it is likely that he remained at Lakeba to greet and instruct the new missionaries.

Christian Feejeeans began to assemble at Buthainambua carrying with them baked food and new dresses of native manufacture. About 9 A.M. the congregation amounting to nearly 500 professing Christians assembled in the chapel. Many heathens sat at the outside. The first sermon was preached in the Tonga language, and before the congregation was dismissed a second discourse was delivered to the Feejeeans. The services were affecting and profitable. The subject of discourse to the Tonguese was Solomon's dedication of the temple, and the remarks to the Feejeeans were based on Jacob's vision. All listened with great attention, and seemed much interested in every part of the services. After the conclusion of the morning services, we partook of a feast of baked hogs, yams, fish &c which had been provided for the occasion. In the afternoon we held a love feast, and it was to many a time of refreshing from the presence of the Lord. Several of the Feejeeans expressed themselves surprised and delighted with what they saw and heard, and all seemed to dedicate themselves anew to the service of God. Thus terminated the services of a day which has been as interesting as any I have yet spent in the Feejee Islands.

We have called the chapel 'Bethel'. It is a neat and commodious edifice, and is capable of holding about 500 persons.⁶⁸ The posts have been brought from an island nearly 50 miles distant: they are hard and durable. The variety of patterns in the wrapping of the cynet round the posts, beams and other parts of the building displays great ingenuity and taste. The fence which encloses the communion place and that of the Mission pew are entirely of Feejean workman-

68. In 1935, a group of Methodists from Australia decided to celebrate the Centenary of the Fiji Mission by chartering a ship to visit various historic spots in Fiji. The *Katoomba* left Sydney with 435 passengers. The entire party landed at Lakeba on 12 October.

'At 9 p.m. the first religious service, in the form of evening prayer, took place in the open. We felt it strangely impressive in that far-away place to hear a Fijian choir sing without accompaniment the "Hallelujah Chorus." Those who shared in this preparation for the Sabbath were deeply moved by the scene of over two thousand Fijians and Australians gathered under a tropical full moon, upon the village green, while hymns and prayers were offered in worship to Him who is the Father and Saviour of all men.'

On Sunday morning the crowd gathered at the beach where Cargill and Cross had landed a century before. Then the party moved to the new Centenary church.

'After the ceremony of opening the church, the people, numbering about seven hundred, entered the building. The white visitors occupied one side of the church, and the native people, as many as could enter, filled the remainder of the space.'

Ratu [later Sir Lala] Sukuna gave a 'delightful little speech of welcome' in 'perfect English' (Burton and Deane 1936: 115-30).

ship. They consist of reeds fastened with cynet, the cynet so wrought as to resemble diamonds, squares, vandykes and wings of birds. Although the Tonguese performed their part of the work in a manner very creditable to their ingenuity and their Christian feeling, yet there is no part of the building which exhibits so much taste and beauty as these inner fences. The Feejeeans have faculties which when cultivated and polished by divine grace will cause them to shine at least as brightly as any of the South Sea Islanders.

Tuesday

16 October 1838

This morning M^{rs} C, — myself and our four children left Lakemba in a canoe, with the intention of making a tour among the islands for the purposes of visiting the various societies and congregations, and examining the various schools in this group. When we set sail in the morning, the wind was moderate and favourable, but towards midday it became stronger and more ahead, and in the afternoon increased to half a gale and blew directly from the island which we wished to make. The sea became very rough and our frail canoe laboured much. M^{rs} C, all the children and I were very seasick: and several of the natives who had never been sick at sea before had this afternoon to endure that most disagreeable sensation. The natives told us we were in jeopardy, but they were very attentive and kind, and managed the canoe with great caution and dexterity. We lifted up our hearts to God, and at twilight arrived at the inside of the reef which surrounds Namuka — the island we wished to arrive at. The place which we made was about six miles from the inhabited part of the islands: but the passage to it is very difficult, on account of having to sail among rocks and eddies. But after great exertion we arrived in safety at the place of our destination about three O.C. in the morning. The natives received us kindly, and were glad to see us.

Wednesday

17 October 1838

This afternoon I preached to the Tonguese who reside at Namuka, and appointed several persons to assist in the school as teachers. After the Tonguese service I preached to the Feejeeans in their settlement. They were attentive and very thankful for our visit to them. This is a small town, but the cleanest I have yet seen in the South Sea Islands. It is built on the top of a gently rising hill. In the immediate vicinity of this settlement is a rock which rises perpendicularly about 250 ft. above the sea. On the summit and on the very brink of this rock the natives have built houses in which they

sleep that they may be the more secure from any sudden attack of an enemy.

Thursday

18 October 1838

The wind is still strong, and therefore we have been unable to proceed on our voyage. In consequence of this detention I preached again in the afternoon to the Feejeeans. There is a great scarcity of food on this island; the natives subsist principally on mamee apples [papaya] and an indigenous root the native name of which is waka.⁶⁹ The poor people are so oppressed by their chiefs that they have not a hog or fowl of their own. There is great abundance of tall, straight timber on this island. A tree called 'vesi' by the natives is found in great abundance. It is of a red colour, is exceedingly hard and durable: it is susceptible of a very fine polish. The best canoes are built of it. Some of the tree[s] are 150 ft. high & 6 ft. in diameter.

Sunday

21 October 1838

Being still wind-bound at Namuka, I had an opportunity of preaching twice to the Feejeeans on the Sabbath. In the forenoon we converted a heathen temple into a Christian temple. It is a new house and had been dedicated to one Malanga — a heathen deity. We took possession of it in the name of King Jesus. Previously to the commencement of the service, the principal person among the Christians said to me, 'There is a house which while heathens we built for Malanga — a god of lies; and if it is not a bad thing to worship the God of truth in it, and if agreeable to you, we wish this morning to drive Malanga out of it, and consecrate it to Jehovah.' May Malanga and all the brood of the old Serpent be soon crushed by the Seed of the woman. At the close of the service I married four couples.

Monday

22 October 1838

This morning we sailed from Namuka, were very sick in consequence of a heavy swell in the sea, and arrived in safety at Mothe about noon. The king of Mothe is a mean spirited man, and a bitter enemy to the Christians. The society and schools on this island have always been very fluctuating. The people have difficulties to contend with, and do not make such progress either in knowledge or in their numbers. In the evening I preached, married six couples, and baptized 23 adults.

69. Perhaps a misunderstanding. In Bauan Fijian, *waka* means 'root'.

A few minutes after our arrival at Mothe, we were surprised to see Joshua Mateinaniu — the teacher in Oneata — walking up to the house in which we were sitting. He and our friends in Oneata had become anxious about our safety. They knew that we had been seven days from Lakemba, and had heard a false report raised by the heathen, that we had been unable to manage our canoe, and had been drifted away to the leeward islands. Apprehending that some accident had befallen us, they despatched Joshua and three other young men in a small canoe to look for us among the islands, and render us assistance. This demonstration of kindness excited our gratitude.

Tuesday

23 October 1838

After appointing several teachers to assist in the schools we sailed from Mothe and arrived in safety at Oneata in the afternoon. Our friend Joshua had arrived before us and apprised the Christians of our approach. Our reception was most gratifying and even affecting. Before we had come to anchor, Joshua came off in a small canoe to take M^{rs} C and the children on shore. On the beach we were met by the Tahitian teachers and many of the Christians. They conducted us immediately to that part of the settlement where our chapel and the houses of the teachers stand. To our surprise we found 10 or 12 baskets of baked hogs, yams, bananas, &c placed before the door of one of the teachers houses. 'This,' said one of the teachers 'is for the crew of your canoe,' and without waiting for a reply, led M^{rs} C, the children and myself away into a small [] where a plentiful repast was prepared for us. A table was covered with a white cloth, plates were laid on it, and a sailor's knife with a rusty fork. A baked hog, a fowl and abundance of yams were placed before us. In the earnestness of their love they would not allow us to rise from our seats to procure our own knives, but entreated us to excuse their poverty and endeavour to make one knife and fork do for us all. While expressing our gratitude for our safe arrival and the people's kindness, one of the teachers said, 'Misa Kakile, this food has been provided by me; it is an expression of my love to you and Misisi Kakile and your daughters: another teacher will provide similar things tomorrow, — a third at noon and so on,' and before we could express our thankfulness, he ran off to another part of the house, and immediately returned with two mats and a piece of native cloth and presented them to us. Whilst thus employed a number of women came to shake hands with M^{rs} C and the girls, bringing with them

several earthen pots filled with cooked fish and yams. We were astonished and delighted at their kindness: what a contrast between these young converts to Christianity and the heathen king of Mothe! I entreated him to sell us food, but he would not, but these people have impoverished themselves to show kindness to us.

Wednesday

24 October 1838

Today I married 23 couples, and baptized 43 adults and 21 children. The services were very interesting. Many heathens surrounded the chapel as spectators. Some of them were prevailed upon to worship God, and for the first time they bowed the knee to the King of kings. Men, women and children were all neatly dressed in new and beautiful pieces of native cloth manufactured for the occasion. They prepared a feast which consisted of turtles, hogs, fowls, yams &c.

Thursday

25 October 1838

The greater part of this day has been occupied in selling books to the natives. They purchased them with fowls, native cloth &c. Many of them have made considerable progress in reading. In the afternoon I appointed three class-leaders and one local preacher to assist Joshua.

Friday

26 October 1838

As the wind did not favour our returning to Lakemba this morning, the greater part of the day has been spent in visiting the heathen, and selling books to the Christians. I have no doubt but the stay at this place will be made a blessing to the people.

Saturday

27 October 1838

About 7 O.C. this morning we left Oneata with a light but favourable breeze, and arrived in safety at Lakemba about 4 P.M. after an absence of 12 days. Our friends crowded about us on the beach to welcome us home. We found the Mission premises just as we left them. The man who was left to take charge of them had been very attentive to his duty and rejoiced at our safe return.

Here, Cargill ended his journal extracts. In his next letter to London, he showed an unwarranted optimism toward the work of conversion:

I am happy to be able to state that the affairs of the Feejee Mission

are beginning to wear a pleasing aspect. The civil war at Bau has been terminated. The king — Tanoa — is more than ever solicitous to have a Missionary residing with him. Some of the Bau Chiefs have expressed a resolution to embrace Christianity when a Missionary shall be stationed at Bau. The king of Rewa is favourably disposed to Christianity, and says he only waits for Tanoa to turn to God, and that he shall then follow him. Some of his younger brothers, especially Ngkaraningkiō [Qaraniqiō] — were at first hostile to Christianity, but a very favourable change has lately taken place in their views. Some of them say that they are fully convinced that the Lord is the only living and true God; — that they have ceased to worship false gods, & that they do not profess themselves Christians *merely* because their elder brother has not abandoned heathenism. — — The brethren Jaggar & Hunt have not yet arrived.⁷⁰

But within the month, a ship arrived carrying not two, but three missionaries, a long-delayed shipment of goods, and the news from London that Fiji was no longer a branch of the Tonga mission, but a separate district in itself.

The Brethren Hunt, Jaggar and Calvert with their wives arrived here on Saturday 22nd in the Schooner Letitia.⁷¹ We are truly thankful for such a valuable acquisition to our number. Such assistance was greatly needed, as I have been labouring alone during the last twelvemonth, and as Bro^r C's (Cross) health is in a precarious state.

Your resolution to constitute Feejee a separate District is a measure which appears best calculated to advance the prosperity of this mission and the comfort of the Missionaries. As to the appointment of a Chairman, I could have wished you to select a person of riper years and more extensive experience than the one you have selected. With regard to the Senior brother Cross to whom allusion has been made in your communications, I beg to assure you that I shall endeavour on all occasions to treat him with that courtesy and respect which are due to him on account of his seniority and his devotedness to the cause of missions.⁷²

70. Cargill to WMS, Lakeba, 26 November 1838.

71. Hunt (1812 - 1848), notwithstanding his early death, became the most notable missionary of this era for his eventual translation of the New Testament. Calvert (1813 - 1892) returned to England in 1855, but soon came back to Fiji, this time to Levuka. Later he worked in South Africa (Cochrane n.d.: 137). Jaggar later worked with Cargill at Rewa.

72. When the Secretary of the Committee informed Cargill that he had been appointed as Chairman, he added: 'This appointment cannot, we are persuaded, be regarded as a slight upon the other brethren who may be senior to M^r Cargill; as

We held our first District Meeting on the 27th In^t — The minutes accompany this and will make you acquainted with the stations of the brethren and the various other resolutions which have been adopted. Lakemba is not a good place for the press, but it is the best we are yet acquainted with; and as you have stationed the printers and myself at Lakemba, we have resolved to keep the press here, at least until we shall be able to decide whether it shall be ultimately stationed at Bau, Rewa or Thakaundrove. It is probable that one of these will be the place of its ultimate destination. In the mean time the press will be employed in printing portions of the New Testament in the Lakemba language, and in printing elementary works in the Bau, Rewa and Thakaundrove languages.

The newly-arrived printing press completed Fiji's severance from Tonga. Up to this time, all the Fijian material had been printed in Tonga, where the missionaries, unfamiliar with Fijian, had let too many typographical errors escape their notice. While Hunt joined Cross in Rewa, Jaggar and Calvert stayed at Lakeba to set up the press. In spite of two severe storms in the months after the arrival of the additional missionaries, they made some progress with the printing. The brethren erected an office, set up the press, and began the first printing in Fiji.

With the help of Cargill's manuscript vocabulary, 'and the enlargement of a syllabus of the Fijian tongue, these brethren strenuously and successfully applied themselves to the acquisition of the language. After the lapse of a few months, they could convey instruction to the natives with tolerable ease and accuracy. The necessity and advantages of such compilations, where missionaries have to acquire a foreign language, are great and obvious'.⁷³

Calvert himself acknowledged his debt to Cargill for the help he provided with the language:

Mr. Cargill has kindly supplied me with a copious Dictionary and good Grammar of the Language of the Western⁷⁴ groupe of the Feejee islands, so that I shall now be able to make greater progress in the language than that which I have hitherto made. My knowledge of the language is very far from being what I wish it was, and what probably it would have been if I had not had some things to prevent me from devoting myself more fully to it. We have had 2 severe

Chairmen of Districts are not chosen on account of their seniority, but in consequence of their possessing *special* qualifications for the work which the office imposes' (WMS to Chairman of Feejee District, 9 April 1838).

73. Cargill 1841: 205

74. Calvert must have meant eastern.

storms since our arrival here, which has made sad havoc among our buildings, and put a stop to our work of acquiring knowledge of the language for a time. We were also desirous to commence with the Press as soon as possible, as there had not been more than 12 chapters of the Gospel of Matthew printed in the Feejeean language. We therefore got an office erected as soon as possible, got our press up, our type sorted, and were exceedingly thankful to find that our printing apparatus was complete and in good condition. By exerting ourselves we were able to get the 1st part of the Conference Catechism printed by the 13th of March, and have since that printed part of the Gospel of St. Mark. The people are much delighted with the Catechism — they thereby obtain important information, and learn to read with ease and delight.⁷⁵

Among the goods that arrived with the new missionaries and the press was a 'large quantity of intoxicating drink' brought for Cargill, who (aside from his praise for a ship's captain's teetotalism)⁷⁶ never mentioned liquor in his journals or letters. Cross, on the other hand, complained about his dwindling supply in Rewa: 'In consequence of the peculiar circumstances in which we have been placed, we have scarcely a glass of wine, and no other article of beverage to recruit our strength which is so frequently exhausted by the oppressive air and heat of this climate'.⁷⁷

Calvert's observations of his colleague's behaviour, based on the proximity of their living quarters, suggest a reason for the silence about alcohol: drinking had become Cargill's defence against the privations of the mission post. Calvert wrote that during a storm in early March, he had found Cargill 'quite insensible' and had had to undress him. He was persuaded, he wrote later, that Cargill had been completely drunk on that occasion. Seeking confirmation of his opinion, he found that Jaggar too had seen Cargill 'really drunk' during their time together on Lakeba.⁷⁸

Cargill continued to make no mention of his problem. He began the second volume of his journal in April.

Sunday
28 April 1839

Early this morning a small vessel was seen off Lakemba, sailing towards the harbour on the south side of the island. Bro: Calvert and I hastened to the beach, expecting the brethren Spinney and Lyth to

75. Calvert to WMS, Lakeba, 24 June 1839.

76. Entry for 12 May 1834, but deleted in this edition.

77. Cross to WMS, Rewa, 3 May 1838.

78. Calvert to E. Hoole, Somosomo, 16 July 1843.

be in the vessel.⁷⁹ In this, however, we were disappointed, -for we soon ascertained that the vessel was a small schooner which had been built at Ovalau one of the Feejee islands. We went on board in a small canoe, and were happy to receive letters from Rewa from the Brethren Cross and Hunt. They and their families are well. The report of the natives — that Namosimalua⁸⁰ — a celebrated Feejeean warrior — had embraced Christianity was confirmed by the communications of the brethren. Their prospects of success are exhilarating. The number in society in that circuit is 14, and the number of professing Christians 100.

Monday

29 April 1839

This forenoon I made an agreement with the owners of the Schooner 'Jane',⁸¹ to take Bro^r Calvert and myself to and from Ono, in order to marry and baptize the people. Ono is nearly 200 miles distant from Lakemba. It has never been visited by a missionary: most of the inhabitants worship the true God. They are very anxious to see a missionary and to receive instruction from his lips. We have been informed that the chiefs hearing of our intention to visit them, have built a house for our reception, and have put a taboo on the pigs and fowls, that we may have abundance of food to eat. The natives are in general hospitable to strangers and generally manifest their love by preparing a feast, or giving a present.

Thursday

2 May 1839

This forenoon I parted from Mrs. C and my family with the intention of sailing to Ono; but as the wind was more favourable for Rewa than Ono, and as we [Cargill and Calvert] wished to see the Breⁿ in Rewa, to converse with them about removing the printing press from Lakemba to a more central situation, we steered for Rewa, resolving to visit Ono as soon as practicable after our return.

79. John Spinney and Richard Burdsall Lyth. Lyth, the first qualified physician in the islands, finally arrived with Spinney two months later.

80. Namosimalua, chief of Viwa, had previously taken part in the Bau rebellion, and, with Varani (Fijian for 'France' and so-named in honour of the deed) had been instrumental in seizing *L'Aimable Josephine*. Probably the communication was premature; not until about 1845 did Namosimalua's behaviour indicate that some conversion had taken place (Derrick 1957b: 61, 86).

81. The *Jane*, commanded by Charles Pickering, was eventually (May 1844) wrecked on Cicia Island. The cargo was seized and one of the crew killed by the Fijians, but Pickering escaped and found refuge with the missionaries in Lakeba (Derrick 1957b: 93).

Friday

3 May 1839

We came to anchor off Nukalau [Nukulau] — a small island in the Rewa harbour — about five O.C. this afternoon. The mission premises are about 5 or 6 miles from the place where the Schooner is anchored. We despatched a letter to the brethren informing them of our arrival. About midnight Bro^r Hunt arrived at the Schooner in a small canoe. We accompanied him to Rewa, and reached the mission premises about 3 A.M. The Breⁿ and their wives expressed great pleasure on account of our arrival, and treated us with much kindness.

Saturday

4 May 1839

This forenoon we visited several of the king's brothers, and some of the principal chiefs in Rewa. We gave each of them a small present. The king⁸² and queen of Rewa were at Bau on a visit to Tanoa. In the afternoon I preached out of doors in the native language. Nearly two hundred people were present. The difference between the Lakemba dialect and that of Rewa, is not so great as I formerly supposed.⁸³ It exists principally in the pronouns and a few other words. The same idiom prevails among these and the other dialects of Feejee. So that a person who has a tolerably extensive and accurate knowledge of one dialect, can be understood by most if not all the natives of Feejee, & may in a short time and with comparatively little labour become master of all the dialects in the groupe.

Sunday

5 May 1839

This morning I preached in a chief's house to about fifty people. Bro^r Calvert conducted the English service. Bro^r Cross officiated in the evening in the native language, — and I preached in English. May the Head of the Church bless our labours and revive his work.

82. That is, Tui Dreketi, from the family Burebasaga.

83. The stand Cargill took here, and seemingly maintained in the face of contradictory evidence, influenced for a time the policy of the Mission and constituted (in my opinion) his greatest professional mistake. Cross, who seems to have influenced Cargill's linguistic judgments very little, gave a more realistic appraisal of language diversity two years earlier: 'In examining about 500 words of the language of Lakemba I have discovered that more than half of them are different in the language of Rewa; so that it will be absolutely necessary to have books in both dialects' (letter to WMS, 2 February 1837). After Cargill's death, Hunt justifiably attacked his misguided policy (see the Epilogue).

Monday
6 May 1839

This morning we sailed from Rewa about three O'Clock A.M. to visit Bau and Viwa.⁸⁴ Bau is a very small island near the mainland. It is the metropolis of Tanoa's dominions, and the place where the king and his principal chiefs generally reside. It is about twenty miles from Rewa. The intercourse between the two places is carried on by land and water.⁸⁵ Tanoa — the king of Bau — appears to be on the verge of seventy. He is tall and slender in his person, and forbidding in his aspect. His eye still retains considerable lustre and keenness. The hair of his head is closely shaven: his beard is bushy and long. Age and infirmity have made them white, but through a desire of appearing young, his head, — face, beard and breast are generally daubed with an earth which produces a jet black colour. On the back of his head, — and near his right ear, — are two fearful scars, — occasioned by the blows of a club wielded by the arm of his brother Naulivou — the late king of Bau — in an attempt to kill Tanoa.⁸⁶ His conduct to us was kind and respectful, — and his conversation cheerful. He presented us with a fine large hog. His house is incomparably the largest and best that I have seen in the South Sea Ids. The workmanship displays great ingenuity. Its length is 135 ft., and its width 42 ft. His son Seru is not by any means prepossessing in his appearance and manners.⁸⁷ He will probably be his father's successor in the government of Bau. While in Tanoa's house we met with the king and queen of Rewa. They are both of princely aspect and agreeable manners. The place which has been fixed upon as the site of the mission premises is on the top of a hill.⁸⁸ Tanoa has

84. Viwa is two miles up the coast from Bau.

85. At low tide, it is necessary to walk from the coast of Viti Levu to Bau, only one-half mile offshore.

86. Derrick (1957b: 58n.) recounts Mrs Wallis's story of Tanoa's white turban, wound with pink ribbon. He adds that 'among Europeans he was irreverently known as "Old Snuff", from a peculiar noise in his nose when he spoke'. Belcher (1843, II: 51) also called Tanoa 'Old Snuff' and Seru 'Young Snuff', probably by analogy. Wilkes (1845, II: 56) said the name arose from his begrimed look, but added that he spoke through his nose, 'or rather as if he had lost his palate. . . .'

87. An underestimation, to say the least, of the man who later, known as Cakobau, would be Fiji's most powerful chief. Belcher (1843, II: 51) gave a more realistic appraisal, describing Seru as '... an active, intelligent young man, much prepossessed in favour of our countrymen'. Seru succeeded his father in 1853.

88. In 1961, the missionary's house on Bau was still on this hill, just above the church. Some of the Bauans, annoyed with the current minister for not learning the language faster, were of the opinion that the site was the least desirable on the island because carrying supplies was so difficult. This, however, was not a problem for people with servants.

promised to build a mission house in a short time. From Bau we proceeded to Viwa, the residence of Namosimalua, or Nang-garase [Naqarase]. Namosimalua was a celebrated warrior, and was feared by most of the chiefs and people in Feejee. He was remarkable for artifice and courage. During the late rebellion he went to the chiefs of Somosomo to demand Tanoa from them, that he might kill and eat him. That such a revengeful man as Tanoa, should spare Namosimalua's life amid the general and indiscriminating massacre of chieftains which followed his restoration to authority, — is unaccountable.

Namosimalua was the principal actor in capturing a French brig and murdering the Capⁿ a few years ago. Covetousness instigated him to the perpetration of that awful crime.

Last October [16th], two French vessels of war — the *Astrolabe* and the *Z[éléé]* anchored off Viwa. A troop of marines was soon conveyed to land, to punish the murderers.

Namosimalua and his people being apprized of the intention of the French, betook themselves to flight, leaving behind them most of their property. They arrived in safety at the mainland. The French burned their plantations. When Namosimalua returned to Viwa, he found it a scene of desolation, and reflecting on the heinousness of his conduct, and his exposure to the vengeance of foreign powers & of his countrymen, resolved to abandon his criminal course of life, and embrace Christianity. He announced his resolution to Tanoa, and despatched a messenger to carry the intelligence to M^r Cross. Tanoa approved of his design and admonished him sincerely to reform; but M^r Cross — knowing the duplicity of his conduct, and fearing, lest his profession of Christianity should be merely an artifice, that he might the more easily revenge himself on foreigners for the destruction of his town & property, — replied to his message with caution. But being convinced of his sincerity by the change in his conduct and his desire to be instructed in the doctrines and duties of the true religion, he soon gave him all the assistance that was in his power. Since that time his conduct has been consistent & praiseworthy.⁸⁹ His conversion is a great victory achieved by the Gospel. He has built a strong and beautiful chapel. It is erected on the top of an eminence in a pleasant situation. Its length is 57 ft., and its width 24 ft.

His principal wife is a person of very high rank, and is very interesting in her appearance and manners. She has already made considerable progress in reading. I had the pleasure of preaching in

89. See n. 80.

the new temple to the young converts. They listened with much attention. As Namosimalua was about to sail to another island to transact some business for Tanoa, he requested to be favoured with a teacher who might accompany and instruct him. This appeared to me a strong proof of his sincerity.

After the conclusion of the service @ Viwa, we hastened to the beach, & embarked in our canoe for Rewa. But our return was retarded by unforeseen difficulties. The wind was strong and unfavourable, — and the bay of Bau was very rough, — besides these hindrances the canoe was old and in danger of swamping. But although the men who worked the canoe were much fatigued, yet with the blessing of Providence on their incessant exertions, we succeeded in reaching about midnight a part of the river nearly eight miles from the mission station. The tide being low, we resolved to walk home. We arrived at the mission premises about 3 O.C. A.M. much fatigued in body on account of the difficulties, but highly gratified in mind on account of the pleasing occurrences of our voyage.

Tuesday
7 May 1839

This morning we commenced a Special District Meeting, to converse about the propriety of removing the press from Lakemba to a more central situation. The following is an extract of the minutes of that meeting.

Present: The Rev. D. Cargill, A. M. Chairman, W. Cross, J. Hunt, and J. Calvert. As much of the success of the work of God in Feejee depends upon the operations of the press, it is desirable to have it in a central situation and as Lakemba in consequence of its distance from the principal parts of Feejee, and the difficulty of intercourse between it and the other stations, is very unsuitable, its removal is deemed necessary: and Rewa being of great importance — in consequence of the extent of its population, its political influence, and being easy of access because of its central position, is considered to be the most suitable place for the Press; — It is therefore unanimously resolved, — 1st: That the press be removed from Lakemba to Rewa by the first opportunity. The removal of the press renders an alteration in the appointment of the Brethren as recommended by the District Meeting held at Lakemba on the 27th December 1838, absolutely necessary: resolved,

2ly; — That the Brethren be stationed as follows:

Lakemba, R.B. Lyth.
Rewa, D. Cargill, T.J. Jaggard and J. Calvert.
Somosomo, J. Spinney & J. Hunt
Bau, W. Cross.

Wednesday
8 May 1839

This evening we concluded the business of the S. D. [Special District] Meeting. May the Head of the Church sanction and bless our arrangements.

Either at the District Meeting or in private conversations, Cross informed his colleagues that he had written to London to complain that his name had been left out of the minutes of the previous District Meeting, and to request a common censure of his brethren. In his letter he made an additional, somewhat more veiled complaint:

I have just heard that a chief on the east side of the island wishes to embrace Xity; & that about 50 settlements are in some degree subject to him (Tanoa) & will be influenced by him, but we have no help to send him. There is also a large Island not more than thirty miles from Bau subject to Tanoa where Missionaries would be gladly received when once a Miss-y has taken up his abode at Bau.

The name of the Island is Ovalau & is not mentioned in the District Minutes now forwarded from Lakemba. I suppose the brethren there had not so good an opportunity as my self of obtaining information in reference to this Island.⁹⁰

Also, Cross's endorsement of Cargill as Chairman was less than enthusiastic. He wrote simply: 'I beg leave to observe that I feel perfectly satisfied with the Appointment by the Committee of Bro. Cargill to the Office of Chairman'.

Cargill explained to London in some detail the cause of the dispute:

There are several topics connected with the affairs of the Feejee District to which I wish to call your attention. One of these topics is our not having inserted Bro^r Cross' name in the Minutes of our first annual meeting. The reason of that omission was (as we thought) fully and satisfactorily explained in the miscellaneous minutes. And great was our surprise when informed that Mr Cross had complained to you respecting the non-appearance of his name in the District Minutes. On this affair I beg to remark that I think Mr Cross had no cause of complaint: but if he thought he had been aggrieved that it would have been the better way to ask a further

90. Cross to WMS, Rewa, 10 January 1839.

explanation of the cause of that grievance, before he resolved to involve his brethren in one common censure. The real cause of the omission of his name was unmingled kindness. The facts of the case are these: Last year M^r Cross addressed a letter to all the Breⁿ in the Friendly Isles' District requesting permission to remove to the Colony — I believe — N.S. Wales —, stating that he was reduced to such weakness that he thought he should never be able to labour with success in Feejee. All the Breⁿ who received the letter approved of his request, and the Chairman wrote an official letter granting him permission to remove. In a letter addressed to myself M^r Thomas writes, 'Bro^r Cross's request I have considered as just and reasonable, and from your letter on the same subject, I consider not to comply with it would be cruel. I have therefore written him granting all he asks for.' In a subsequent letter M^r Cross stated to me that he was quite resigned either to remove from or remain in the islands according to the decision of the Breⁿ. When the Minutes of the Friendly Isles' District Meeting came to hand, his name was not inserted in them, because the brethren approved of his removal, and considered him as given up to the Committee. Indeed at the time of our Meeting, I did not really know whether he was still in Feejee or not. When the question was agitated in our meeting, we thought that to insert his name in the minutes would be a reflection on the brethren in the District with which we were lately connected, and would most certainly appear to M^r Cross as an effort to counteract their decision, and prevent his removal. We therefore thought it better, as well as more courteous and respectful to M^r Cross to imitate the decision of the Friendly Isles' District Meeting. The meeting further directed that a letter should be written to M^r Cross leaving it in his power either to remain as Superintendent of Rewa Circuit, or to remove from the islands. That letter was written by myself: every idea or word that might give pain was studiously avoided; and I consider it a duty in behalf of my colleagues and self to say that M^r Cross' complaint appears an act of injustice and unkindness.⁹¹

In this matter, Cargill had the support of his colleagues. Hunt sent the Committee a similar explanation:

With respect to Mr Cross's name not being in the Minutes perhaps, I ought to say, that as he had been given up to the Committee by the Friendly Isles District Meeting, as a *sick* man, unable to labour in Feejee, and as the Chairman fully believed he would go to the Colony, by the same vessel that took us to Rewa, the Meeting seemed

91. Cargill to WMS, Lakeba, 27 June 1839.

to be under the necessity of leaving out his name, otherwise if we had sent his name in the Minutes to the Committee as usual, they would have addressed all communication to Rewa, when Mr Cross would have been at Sydney. . . .⁹²

Cross was not the only source of friction at the District Meeting. In his letter to London, Cargill referred to another disagreement:

One of the brethren who lately arrived in Feejee is intending — he says — to write to you about what he calls the injustice of authorizing one person to decide in doubtful cases in the translation department, — while at the same time he expresses his approbation of your choice of the individual invested with such authority. Such obtrusion of sentiment is uncalled for and annoying. Such untowardness is not graceful. If there be any jarring sounds among us, — the individual who proposes to mend instead of keeping the laws which our legislators have given us will I fear occasion the loudest. Your arrangements respecting the translation are in my opinion just and necessary in order to secure uniformity. It seems to me just and necessary that a properly qualified person should be appointed by you to decide in doubtful cases; and it seems advisable to place that authority in the hands of him who stands at the helm of affairs, in every district where the word of God is to be translated into a foreign language. Had the duties of Chⁿ devolved on a person more advanced in years [Cargill was then thirty], and of a riper judgment and more experience than the one whom you have appointed to that office [he] would have worked with more ease. But equality of years is a consideration which will have little weight except with those who wish to have everything their own way. The other day I received a letter from Mr Thomas complaining of many things in the Tonga books of which he does not approve, and regretting his want of power to prevent such things. Every person prints what he pleases whether others approve of the translations or not. The consequence is — an abundance of grammatical errors and a want of uniformity. I know of no other way of preventing these things than by appointing a properly qualified person to prevent the printing of that which he does not approve, and to decide in doubtful cases. Decision by a majority has been tried, and has proved inefficient to the end proposed. — You will please to excuse my freedom in suggesting these hints; I do not forget that I am writing to my fathers, at least in wisdom, and you know a son has the privilege of unbosoming his thoughts to a father without disguise.

Of the three newcomers — Calvert, Hunt, and Jaggar — the first
92. Hunt to WMS, Rewa, 11 January 1839.

*seems the most likely source for the argument, since he worried more about translation. Feeling at a disadvantage for his insufficient training in 'the languages in which the Scriptures were originally written', he wrote that '... while I and a few others may be destitute of such a blessing as a knowledge of the languages, & shall on that account be inefficient translators, yet, in this blessed field of labour, where there is such a variety of such excellent work of many descriptions, I hope we shall unite with the rest in doing good among these numerous, degraded, yet evidently improving people.'*⁹³

The journal continues:

Thursday

9 May 1839

Bro^r Cross preached in English this evening. At the conclusion of the service I administered the sacrament.

Friday

10 May 1839

This morning Bro^r Cross & Bro^r Hunt accompanied us to the Schooner. We parted with them and weighed anchor about 11 O'Clock A.M., but the sea being rough, and the wind strong and contrary, we were driven back to the harbour. We cast anchor about sun-set.

Saturday

11 May 1839

The wind being still boisterous and contrary, we did not attempt to go to sea. We sailed to another place in the harbour where there is better ground for the anchor during stormy weather. Three canoes attempted to sail to Kandavu [Kadavu], an island about 40 miles from the mainland. Two of them were driven to the harbour, and one was swamped; but all the people who were on board were saved.

Sunday

12 May 1839

This forenoon I preached to the sailors, and had made an

93. Calvert to E. Hoole, Lakeba, 24 June 1839. Calvert's biographer, however, the prolific G. Stringer Rowe, praised Calvert's speaking ability; evidently ranking it above the more esoteric pursuit of philology: 'Some members of the mission carefully built up a scientific knowledge of the Fijian tongue; but he, without philosophic hesitation or questioning, caught by ear the beautiful language, with its open syllables, and wealth of rich, full vowels and picturesque expressions, direct from the lips of the people, and thus gained very early the power of conversing with them, and in a few years had a ready mastery of their vernacular, in which he has never been excelled' (Rowe 1893: 30-1).

arrangement with the natives (who were waiting at Nukalau for a fair wind to proceed on their voyage,) to hold divine service on shore & to make known to them the nature and design of Christianity, but was prevented from carrying this design into execution by the removal of the vessel to a safer place of anchorage, off Lauthala [Laucala], in consequence of the wind having increased to a gale.

Wednesday
15 May 1839

This morning we weighed anchor and endeavoured to beat out of the harbour, that, we might proceed on our voyage, but the wind was so violent and unfavourable that we were obliged to return. Very soon after our return a canoe was seen approaching the vessel. Messrs Cross & Hunt were on board. They came to request us to return with them to the Mission station, and remain with them until the wind should become favourable. We accompanied them to Rewa.

Thursday
16 May 1839

To-day we visited several settlements in the vicinity of Rewa. The chiefs and people seemed gratified by our visit to them, & treated us with kindness and respect. We spoke to them of the necessity of worshipping the only living and true God. They listened with attention, and seemed to be favourably disposed to Christianity. At one settlement we visited a heathen temple, to see a number of large shells which are arranged within the sacred precincts of the ground which surrounds the temple. The officiating priest of that temple tells the people that those shells are sometimes thrown into commotion, & make war on one another, & that the more powerful shells get above and vanquish the weaker one. The poor people listen to these fabrications of the father of lies with the greatest solemnity, & some of them seem to give entire credence to them. While conversing with the priest, he at first strenuously contended for the truth of these glaring absurdities, but ultimately acknowledged that they are false, and that he believed them to be false. We told him of God and Christ, and parted with him, hoping that the word of exhortation may be as a nail fastened in a sure place by the Master of assemblies.

Friday
17 May 1839

This morning we fell in with a white boy, — who was born of Feejeean parents. I have heard of several real Feejeans who are as white as Europeans. Some of them were born white, & others of them

became white through disease. This boy was born white. His eyes are of a light blue colour. He can see better by night than during the day. I have seen a Feejeean woman who became white through disease.

Saturday
18 May 1839

This afternoon the wind changed and appeared favourable. We therefore went to the schooner, — but the wind soon returned to the old point, and again prevented our voyage. We endeavoured to bear the disappointment with patience and resignation. We returned in the evening to the Mission premises.

Monday
20 May 1839

We left Rewa about six O.C. this morning and arrived at the vessel about 10 A.M. About midday a light breeze sprung up. We weighed anchor and bore away for Ono. There was a heavy swell in the sea. Bro! Calvert and I were very sick. Towards evening the wind and the swell increased, and the sky appeared tempestuous.

Tuesday
21 May 1839

About 1 O.C. this morning the wind increased till it blew a hurricane. It became quite contrary. The waves became tremendously high — and we began to fear that our little vessel could not weather the storm. I was so sick that I could with difficulty lift up my head. I thought of my dear wife and four helpless girls, and felt tranquility & pleasure in committing them and myself to the care of 'Him who holds the winds in his fist.' Day dawned, but the storm did not abate. The light of the sun seemed only to make our danger more apparent. No land was in sight, and the sailors did not know where we were. About 11 a.m. land appeared on the larboard side of the vessel. We endeavoured to sail for it, but found ourselves separated from it by a reef. The sailors being apprehensive of not being able to weather the end of the reef, spoke of running the vessel upon it, — to prevent the vessel from swamping, and if possible to save our lives. In a few minutes another island appeared in sight, and with the blessing of God on the vigorous exertion of the sailors, we succeeded in getting to the inside of the reef which surrounds the island about 2 A.M. The water in the inside of the reef is deep and comparatively smooth, so that we sailed in safety. The name of the island is Moturiki; it is in the immediate vicinity of Ovalau and is subject to

Tanoa. We sailed into a small bay in Moturiki, with the intention of casting anchor, & of remaining there till the storm should abate, but the men not being well acquainted with the bay, the vessel ran aground, and with all our exertions we could not succeed in getting it into deep water.

About 4 P.M. the natives seeing the vessel being on the reef came off to us, — with the intention as we supposed of plundering us; for it is a custom which prevails throughout Feejee, and is a dictate of their religion to plunder the shipwrecked. They invited us to go and sleep in their houses, stating that the vessel was very bad, & would probably never float again. They suggested the idea of taking all the property out of the vessel to lighten it, and used every artifice which their ingenuity could invent, to induce us to abandon the vessel. But finding their efforts unavailing, they reluctantly left us. About high water after midnight, they returned in a canoe & maintained unbroken silence. They approached very near to the vessel, but finding it to be afloat, returned without speaking a word. Thus Providence watched over us, and protected us from the designs of avaricious and wicked men.

Wednesday

22 May 1839

Early this morning we weighed anchor and sailed toward the harbour at Levuka in Ovalau.⁹⁴ The natives shouted after us, beating the sand and the water with their clubs. We sailed in the inside of the reef, as the sea was still too rough, and the wind too boisterous, to permit us to go outside. And as the wind was quite contrary, we were obliged to come to anchor in a fine bay in the island of Ovalau. Bro' Calvert and I with our two natives & two of the men belonging to the vessel walked about 8 miles along the shore to Levuka. Levuka is the name of the settlement where the Schooner was built, and where the owners and several other white men reside. We arrived at the settlement about four in the afternoon, and were treated with kindness & respect by the British and American residents.

Thursday

23 May 1839

94. Later, especially during the sixties (Derrick 1957b:138), Levuka gained population rapidly and became, for a time, the most important European settlement in the islands. After Cession in 1874, it became the capital of the Colony. Partly because of its restricting surroundings (high mountains behind the town prevented growth inland), Levuka suffered a decline in trade, and its place was taken by Suva, the present capital.

The Schooner beat up to Levuka, and came to anchor about 3 O.C. P.M.

Saturday
25 May 1839

On Friday and Saturday, the wind continued strong and favourable. We visited the chief & several of the people of Ovalau. While in the principal temple of the place, I saw a bowl of singular shape and appearance, and upon inquiry found it to be the bowl from which the priest was in the habit of drinking anggona [*yaqona*]⁹⁵ during his fits of inspiration, & that it was sacrilege for any person but the priest alone to drink out of this sacred instrument. The appearance and use of this utensil excited in me a desire to become its proprietor. I begged it from the chief, but was informed that he could not dispose of it without the sanction of the priest. The priest was therefore sent for, and being informed that he might expect a present, his sanction to give me the bowl was soon obtained. I took this opportunity of warning them of the danger to which they are exposed while worshipping false gods, and of inviting them to adore and obey the Creator & Preserver of all things.

Sunday
26 May 1839

The forenoon Bro^r Calvert preached to the British & American residents at Levuka. I officiated in the afternoon. May the word of exhortion be abundantly blessed to these voluntary exiles from their native land. In the evening we returned to our lodgings in the Schooner.

For the next five days, every attempt to set sail was defeated by unusually heavy seas and strong winds. On Friday the schooner left the harbour, but was driven back to shelter.

Saturday
1 June 1839

This forenoon I forwarded a letter to Bro^r Cross by a canoe which was going to Rewa. We were informed that the principal priest of Levuka told the chief, — that the god was very angry because the priest's anggona bowl had been given away, and that he had raised

95. *Yaqona* is the Fijian name for kava. At present there are no ostensible religious connotations to the kava ceremony — at least none connected with Christianity — but it is still the centre of Fijian ceremony. And as the focus of less structured social interaction, it provides an excuse for hours of discussion, gossip, or guitar playing and singing.

the strong and contrary wind as a manifestation of his displeasure, — & that we could not have a favourable wind until we appeased the deity's wrath by presenting a sacrifice or peace offering. This we supposed to be an artifice to procure property from us. The chief however seemed to rely with implicit confidence in the priest's declaration: for he looked serious and surprised when he knew that we had no intention of presenting a peace offering. We asked to favour us with another bowl, but he would not, and said they had no more.⁹⁶

Sunday

2 June 1839

I preached again this morning in the English language on the value of the soul. In the evening we heard a report from the natives, that Nanggaraninggio had been rude to Mr Cross, & that the king his brother ordered him to leave Rewa, that he might not lead them into trouble.

Monday

3 June 1839

The wind still contrary and very stormy.

Tuesday

4 June 1839

Saw a canoe approaching the island, and supposed it to be a Tonga canoe ('Katonimatau') which had been sent from Lakemba to look for the outrigger of William Lajike's new canoe which had been lost. We were disappointed. In the afternoon, I conversed with a Sandwich Islander about the pronouns and several other parts of speech in the language of the Sandwich Isd. There is such a resemblance between it and the other languages of the South Seas, — as to show that they are all of kindred origin.

Wednesday

5 June 1839

This forenoon we weighed anchor, resolved if possible to proceed to Lakemba. The wind was contrary but moderate, and the sea was not so rough as in former attempts to proceed on our voyage. We made a little progress.

96. Cargill seems to have been incredibly gauche in his handling of the *yaqona* bowl affair, but his behaviour was consistent with his general condemnation of many aspects of Fijian culture, other than their skill at handicrafts.

Thursday
6 June 1839

This forenoon the wind became more favourable than it was yesterday. We sailed towards home at the rate of four miles an hour.

Friday
7 June 1839

In the morning the sky lowered and threatened a storm. The rain fell in torrents, but we still proceeded in our course to Lakemba. In the afternoon, the rain ceased, the sky became clear & the wind became very favourable. Towards evening Vanuavatu — a small island near Lakemba — was seen from the deck of the vessel, and about midnight, we were opposite the harbour of Lakemba.

Saturday
8 June 1839

At the break of day this morning, we tacked about and approached the harbour. As we were going through the passage, we saw many people running about on the beach. I soon recognized M^{rs} Cargill and Bro^r Jaggar among them. In a few minutes we were on the beach surrounded by our dear friends and many of the members of society after an absence of thirty seven days. I found my dear wife and family in good health. M^r Calvert found that he had been a father 6 days. We approached the throne of grace, and presented our united tribute of gratitude to the Giver of every good and perfect gift, for his goodness to us and our families. Yesterday the people of Lakemba had finished a new dwelling house for us, our old one having been blown down in a storm. They were just beginning to erect it when we sailed to Rewa. M^{rs} C had to superintend the building of it during my absence. It is incomparably the best mission house that I have yet seen in the islands. It has five apartments, & is about 58 ft. long, and 20 ft. broad. Most of the beams and the tops of the posts are wrapped with red, black and white cynet. I have not seen any of the chiefs' houses on the Friendly Is^{ls} which are nearly equal to it in size or beauty.

Sunday
9 June 1839

At the native service this morning, I discovered several strangers in the chapel, and upon inquiry found that they had embraced Christianity during our absence. One of them is a woman whom I had frequently exhorted to become a Christian.

The natives have informed M^{rs} C that the canoe which sailed from

this to the Friendly Is^s some months ago was wrecked a few days ago on a reef near Mothe. They report that the Letitia is @ Hihifo preparing to come to Feejee, and that M^r L[yth] and M^s L are intending to come by that vessel. But this is merely the report of the natives; our letters from the brethren are still at Mothe in the possession of Juliusi Niulala.

Thursday

13 June 1839

This afternoon the people who went to Tonga several months ago, and whose canoe was wrecked on a reef near Mothe returned to Lakemba. We received letters from the Brethren in Vavau and Tongatabu. They inform us that Bro^r Spinney is decidedly better,⁹⁷ and that we may expect to see him and Bro^r Lyth in Feejee by the first vessel.

Saturday

15 June 1839

For several months we have been annoyed by some malicious and ill disposed persons, — who have come to the mission premises through the night, and stolen pots, ovens and other kitchen utensils. Last night they stole two tea kettles. Being determined to put a stop if possible to their depredations, we wrote a list of some of the stolen articles and waited on the king to request him to prevent his people from stealing our property. We told him — that our love to him and his people was great, & that our only wish in coming to and remaining in his dominions, — was to be useful to him and his people in making known to them the commands of the true God, — that they might be blessed in time and eternity. We reminded him of his promise to protect our persons and property, — and added that as he had ceased to attend to the engagement which he had made with us after our first arrival, we should feel it our duty — if he would not interfere to prevent a repetition of such robberies as had been practised upon us, to acquaint the Captain of the first Vessel of War that should touch upon Lakemba, of the conduct of his people.

The king replied, 'I am ashamed because of the covetousness and dishonesty of my people; they have acted very unbecomingly, but be of a good mind, until I make search for the stolen property, and restore it to you and if the identical articles cannot be found, I will cause a recompense to be made for them.' We thanked him and returned home.

97. Spinney was suffering from a 'pulmonary consumption'. He proceeded to Sydney, where he died (Cargill 1841: 230).

Sunday

16 June 1839

This forenoon I preached in the Feejeean language to a large and very attentive congregation of Feejeeans; and then preached in the Tonga language. In the afternoon, I preached again in the Feejeean language, and in the evening officiated in English. May all our labours be made an abundant blessing to the souls of the people. May darkness be chased away, and the true light shine on the heart of every Feejeean.

Monday

17 June 1839

About 9 O.C. this morning the king's brother with several other chiefs from the principal settlement waited upon us, bringing with them a pot and several articles of wearing apparel which had been stolen from us, — and to our great surprise and regret presented us with the ends of four little fingers which the king had caused to be cut off, as a punishment to the thieves. We thanked them for their efforts to recover the stolen property and to prevent the recurrence of similar offences, but expressed our regret that the culprits' fingers should have been cut off, and our wish that they could have inflicted upon them a more merciful punishment. The king's brother replied, 'That is one [of] the ways in which we punish criminals, — and we hope you will be of a good mind that we may live together in peace.' We sincerely hope that the king's vigorous effort to detect the thieves and recover the articles stolen, will effectually prevent a repetition of such grievances.

Sunday

23 June 1839

This forenoon I baptized about 20 adult Feejeeans and several Tonguese. M^r Jaggar presented his son, and M^r Calvert his daughter to the Lord in baptism. In the afternoon we held a love-feast, and were favoured with a time of refreshing from the presence of the Lord.

Sunday

30 June 1839

This afⁿ. the Letitia appeared off Lakemba. The Breⁿ Spinney and Lyth were on board. They and their families came ashore in the course of the evening. The Head of the Church has been pleased to lay the rod of affliction on our dear Broth. Spinney. Though the

event is painful to our feelings, yet it is ours to submit to the will of Him who doeth all things well, and who will I doubt not, cause it to conduce to His own glory.

Tuesday

2 July 1839

This morning the Letitia in entering the passage got on a reef, but through the prompt and vigorous assistance of William Lajike, she was got off without having sustained much injury.

Saturday

6 July 1839

We held our second annual District Meeting to-day. Unanimity and affection prevailed among us. The brethren are stationed as follows:

| | |
|-----------|------------------------|
| Lakemba, | James Calvert |
| Rewa, | David Cargill |
| | Thomas Jaggar |
| Somosomo, | Richard Lyth |
| | John Hunt |
| Bau, | W ^m . Cross |

Sunday

7 July 1839

I addressed the Feejeeans in the morning, and the Tonguese in the afternoon. The Tonguese were much affected.

On the 8th, 9th, and 10th we were engaged in packing our goods that we might be ready to sail to Rewa by the first favorable wind.

Even after finding Cargill drunk, Calvert had been able to praise him to the General Secretaries in London. In June he had written, 'Our Chairman [that is, Cargill] is a very superior man. He has effected many translations. It is indeed of the utmost importance to have a man of such extensive and suitable knowledge at the helm of affairs; and especially so at the commencement of a new Mission'.⁹⁸ But during the packing, Calvert had a chance to see that Cargill had nearly depleted the supply of liquor brought for him the previous December. He 'felt persuaded that all was not right. . .'.⁹⁹

On 12 July 1839, Cargill ended his Lakeba stay. Once outside the dangerous harbour, he reflected on his first post in Fiji:

98. Calvert to WMS, Lakeba, 24 June 1839.

99. Calvert to E. Hoole, Somosomo, 16 July 1843.

We resided three years and nine months in Lakemba. During that period we had many trials & privations to endure. Though our success in the cause of God was not commensurate with our expectations and desires, yet we were blessed with an encouraging degree of prosperity.¹

¹This last paragraph is from Cargill's letter to the WMS, Rewa, 21 September 1839.

4 Rewa

15 July 1839 — 27 July 1840

The Rewa, largest river in Fiji, has its source high in the Nakauvadra mountain range. As it flows south, it is joined and increased by its tributaries — the Wainimala, the Waidina, and the Wainibuka — until it is more than one-half mile broad through its delta. For the eastern part of Viti Levu, it is the lifeline of communication and transportation; population maps show that most inland villages are clustered along its banks and those of its tributaries.

Where it joins the sea, the Rewa has spread itself out into a huge delta — a maze of narrow, twisting, almost covered passages through stinking mangrove swamps. The mission premises were in a more open area, but still subject to flooding, intense heat and humidity in the summer, and an erratic water supply. Cargill and his family arrived there during the cooler and more comfortable season.

Monday

15 July 1839

About 8 O.C. this morning we cast anchor off Nukulau, — a small island in the Rewa harbour. We proceeded to the Mission premises in a boat. As we approached Rewa crowds of natives thronged the banks of the river and shouted as we passed along. We found the mission families in good health.

Wednesday

17 July 1839

We this morning commenced the first meeting of the Language and translation committee.

Monday

22 July 1839

This forenoon the Breⁿ Lyth and Hunt sailed in the Letitia to

commence according to appointment a new mission at Somosomo. I accompanied them that I might introduce them to Tuithakau and his sons.

Saturday
27 July 1839

This forenoon we arrived at Somosomo. The breⁿ Lyth & Hunt and I went ashore in the Letitia's boat. We were kindly received by the king and his son Tuiilaila [Tui Kilakila].¹ His other son Bithi was @ Lakemba. Tuithakau promised to give up his house to the breⁿ as a temporary residence.

Sunday
28 July 1839

This forenoon I preached to Tuithakau and a few of his people. In the afⁿ bro^f Lyth preached in English in the schooner.

Monday
29 July 1839

All the breⁿ's goods were brought on shore by 2 O.C. P.M. The king's house being large and commodious, — they were tolerably settled in the evening of the day

Wednesday
31 July 1839

Intelligence of the death of Bithi — off Moala reached Somosomo this morning.² The king & the chiefs were thrown into consternation and alarm. They prepared to strangle 7 or 10 of his principal wives. We interceded for them although we have little hope of saving the lives of the hopeless victims, yet I doubt not but our interference will cause their murderers to perform their 'works of darkness' with a trembling hand. During the course of the day, the king & his son sent a large hog & three heads of tortoise-shell as a present to the Capⁿ of the Letitia to request him to go to Koro and Nairai,³ — to get more

1. Earlier, Cargill referred to Tui Cakau's son by the Lakeba and Bauan form of his name, *Kilakila*. Here he used the local form, which should be *'Ila'ila*. Cargill may have heard the glottal stop ('), but he never wrote it.

2. Wilkes (1845, III: 159) told of Bici's reputation: 'Katu [Ratu] Mbithi was considered the finest man in the group, and was the favourite of his father, the old king, who in passing an eulogy upon him, ascribed to him all the beauty that a man could possess in the eyes of a Fijian man'.

3. Koro is the northernmost island of the Lomaiviti group, situated thirty-six miles northeast of the town of Levuka on Ovalau. Gau (see the entry for 4 August 1839) lies at the southern end of the group, and Nairai is nine miles northeast of Gau.

information respecting the canoes and the people who were on board. He consented to go for 5000 yams; to which terms they professed to accede.

Sunday

4 August 1839

This morning the *Letitia* returned. The natives at Koro informed the Capⁿ that part of a canoe house had been drifted ashore at Gnau [Gau],⁴ but he had received no account of the king's son. Several canoes were immediately despatched to different parts of the Feejee I^s. As the vessel approached the shores of Somosomo, — 13 — or according to some — 40 handsome females were again prepared for slaughter, and again the work of death was arrested.

Tuesday

6 August 1839

This afⁿ the king and his son refused to give the Capⁿ the 5000 yams for his trouble in going to Koro and Nairai. The Capⁿ was justly offended. Such deceit is characteristic of a Feejeean. They say, — they cannot give him the yams, because he has not brought Bithi home, & because they must keep yams with which to feed their missionaries. These are mere subterfuges, — because they have perhaps @ least 15000 yams piled up in heaps before the king's house, as a present from the son to the father.

Wednesday

7 August 1839

This evening we sailed from Somosomo.

Thursday

8 August 1839

The Capⁿ took the vessel to Koro to buy yams. Koro is an island about forty miles from Somosomo. The inhabitants have had but little intercourse with foreigners, and are in a very barbarous state. A few weeks ago the male inhabitants of one town were treacherously decoyed by the inhabitants of another into a yam plantation, and all put to death. The women and children are enslaved. As we approached that part of the island where the Capⁿ expected to find a harbour, the vessel was nearly on a reef. In five seconds more she would probably have struck, but she instantly obeyed the helm; and thus to all appearance we were saved from a watery grave. The Capⁿ

4. It was rumoured that Bici was eaten there. Wilkes (1845, III: 158) made no mention of this.

steered to another part of the island, and there dropped anchor.⁵

Friday

9 August 1839

This afⁿ the Capⁿ removed to another part of the island to trade for more yams.

Saturday

10 August 1839

The Capⁿ was cheated out of 340 yams, — and the trading master was detained by the natives as a hostage for a paltry musket. The musket was at length sent to the natives, & the man was allowed to return to the vessel. In the evening we weighed anchor. The wind was very favourable for Rewa, but the Capⁿ told that he intended to direct to Ovalau to procure more yams. At this I was grieved but was obliged to submit. I had been now twenty days from home, & was anxious to return to my wife & family and my regular work without delay.

Sunday

11 August 1839

This morning — we were off Ovalau, — the Capⁿ entered the harbour to procure — if possible more yams. I obtained a small single canoe, & returned home after an absence of three weeks. I found my dear Maggie and children in good health. . . .

Wednesday

28 August 1839

This morning the *Letitia* sailed for Sydney. Bro^r Spinney with his wife & family were on board. May the Lord take them in safety to the place of their destination.

Bro^r Cross with his wife & family sailed for Viwa in a small canoe. The door of usefulness in Bau seems shut at present. Tanoa is willing to receive a Missionary, but he is opposed by many of the Bau chiefs. They wish to kill & butcher their fellow-creatures as offering to their gods whilst they are erecting a heathen temple. Last Saturday three men were murdered, & the body of one of them was sent to Tuindreketi [Tui Dreketi]⁶ to be eaten; we entreated him not to allow it to be eaten. He promised to give orders to bury it; but I was afterward informed by his brother, that the body was cut in pieces, roasted, and eaten. Early on Sunday morning the cooked human

5. Cargill to WMS, Rewa, 21 September 1839.

6. Tui Dreketi was the 'King' referred to on Cargill's previous visit to Rewa. He is the Paramount Chief of Rewa and the areas subject to it.

flesh was carried past the Mission house in a canoe. Some of the Christians who saw it, supposed it to be part of a baked hog until the king's brother disabused their minds of their mistake. Truly the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty.

Monday

9 September 1839

Most of the people in Rewa have been seized with a violent cough, headache, and dysentery.⁷ The king and queen are both ill. Very few of the people are exempted from this affliction. A great portion of our time is occupied in administering medicine, and visiting the sick.

The distemper has seized Bro^r Cross with his wife & family, & most of the people of Viwa and all the other towns & islands with which we have lately had any intercourse. Many of the natives believe that the disease has been inflicted by the God of the foreigners as a punishment for their disobedience to His laws. Some of them think the punishment is just; others are much displeased & irritated.

Sunday

15 September 1839

This afternoon so many of the people were afflicted with the prevailing distemper, that we thought it best to have no public service. We therefore visited the people from house to house & prayed with them. They seemed thankful for our attention to them in visiting & praying with them, & in administering medicine to them.

Monday

16 September 1839

I visited & prayed with many of the sick this afternoon. Most of them are recovering. The king & many of the chiefs & people say — Nggaraning-gio [Qaraniqiō] does badly in being unkind to the Missionaries, for they love us, & when we are sick & in pain, they strive to do good to our bodies, & comfort and instruct our minds; they are our friends, & wish to make us wise & happy. Ng-garaning-gio is one of the king's younger brothers, & is a man of a violent temper. He disturbs the peace of the Missionaries & persecutes the people who listen to instruction. We endeavour to treat him with kindness, & on all occasions with that respect wh. is due to a chief.

7. Derrick (1957b: 62) reported that 'an epidemic of influenza, of a kind described as malignant and obstinate, swept through the islands in September, 1839. During that month the sickness was reported by missionaries living at places as far apart as Rewa and Somosomo. . .'. The symptoms Cargill listed are just as likely to have been those of dengue fever.

We thus heap coals of fire upon his head, & hope with the blessing of God to succeed in gaining his esteem and confidence. He has not many people under him, & is formidable more on account of his treachery than his power.

Wednesday

2 October 1839

One of the King's brothers⁸ departed this life early this morning after an illness of several months. He died a listless and impenitent heathen. When we arrived in Rewa in July, we found him approaching the last stage of a consumption. We waited on him several times, and entreated him to give his heart [to] God. But he would not listen to instruction & expostulation, and seemed to await the approach of death with most appalling apathy and unconcern. We visited him two days before his death. He listened to our remarks on the nature and consequences of death in sullen silence. His mother enquired if his embracing Christianity would prolong his life and restore him to health. We availed ourselves of the opportunity wh. her question afforded of explaining the design of true religion. The King and all the people present listened with attention, but seemed determined not to give up their false religion without an assurance that the new one wh. we wish them to embrace would save their bodies from death and every temporal calamity.

Two of his principal wives were strangled and buried with him in the same grave. The ceremonies wh. are performed after the death of a chief of high rank in Feejee are very numerous, and some of them are as barbarous as superstitious. When death is visibly approaching, his friends present him with whales' teeth, that he may be furnished with stones to throw at a tree which is supposed to stand in the way which leads to the region of the dead. Not to be able to strike the tree with any of the teeth is considered a very evil omen; & the natives confidently assert that the wives of the chieftain are prevented from following his spirit as a punishment for his want of skill in throwing the teeth. Immediately after life is extinct while the friends & domestics of the deceased are rending the air with their shouts, messengers are despatched for the gravediggers, that they may wash the corpse, a duty which it is not lawful for any one to perform but those whose province it is to dig the grave, and inter the deceased. The body, being bathed, is laid on cloth and mats, and carefully wiped & dried. It is then dressed and decorated, after the manner of a person who is about to be present @ a great assembly. The one

8. Bativuaka 'Pig's tooth' (Cargill 1841: 241).

end of masi or native cloth is made to lap under the groin, while the other is rolled many times round the waist. Every part of the body is then anointed with oil, after which the face, the arms down to the elbows & the neck & breast are daubed with a black substance, resembling soot. A white bandage of native cloth is wound round the head, & tied on the forehead or above the temples in a graceful knot. A club is put into the hands and laid on the breast of the deceased, that he may still hold the rank of a chief and warrior. Being thus decorated & equipped, the deceased is laid on a new bier, and then his friends and the chiefs of various tribes assemble to perform the superstitious punctilioes of the occasion. Each tribe presents a whale's tooth to the deceased. This tooth is suspended by a string, and whilst the chief or principal spokesman of the tribe is holding it in his hand, he pronounces the following oration: 'A neitou boka goka, ki na mate; sa dravudravua ko keitou; e segai na yau e kunea; a balabalavu noqu vosa a sororaki ki Burebasaga;⁹ 'This is our offering to the dead; we are poor, and cannot find riches; this is the length of my speech.' All the persons present return thanks by clapping their hands and then the king or a chief of rank replies, — 'Ai mumudui ai mate — 'the end of death', the people simultaneously respond, Mana, — edina: — 'let it be so; — it is true.'

The female friends of the deceased approach and kiss the corpse.¹⁰ Any one of his wives who wishes to die that she may accompany the departed chieftain to the abode of disembodied spirits hastens to the house of a brother or a near relative, and seizing him by the arm says, 'I wish to die that I may accompany my husband to the land to which his spirit has gone; — love me and make haste and strangle me, that I may overtake him.' Her brother applauds her resolution & orders her to go and bathe herself. Her ablutions being accomplished, her female friends accompany her to the house of the deceased, and with all possible despatch, dress and decorate her for the journey which she is about to undertake. Her mother — if alive — spreads a mat and causes her to sit upon it; & she then gives her friends a parting salutation. Whilst all are rejoicing at and commending her heroism, there are occasionally a few who cannot stop the tear of humanity, and whose feelings recoil at the apparatus of death; and by such — but their number is few — the murderous cord is either

9. Although Cargill still wrote place names and personal names in the old orthography, the sample here shows the system in its final form, which is used today. The phrasing of the Fijian is not exactly right; Cargill had been in Rewa only a short time.

10. Not exactly 'kiss'. The Fijian word *reguca* refers rather to a touching of the cheeks and noses.

touched with a trembling hand, or seized with a maniac grasp.

The widow musters all her energy & surrenders herself into the hands of her murderers. The yielding victim is placed in the lap of another female; & the piece of native cloth being rolled up so as to form a string is then put round her neck. A knot is tied on the string on each side of the windpipe, & the two ends of this instrument of death are made to pass each other in opposite directions; and whilst one woman is pressing down her head and another holding her hand on her mouth and nostrils to prevent the possibility of breathing, four or five strong men take hold of each end of the cord, and pull till the two knots meet or pass each other. The work of death is violent, brief & certain. She is soon stretched on the mat — a breathless corpse. The fatal cord is left about her neck and tied in a bow. The body is then rubbed over with tumerick and laid by the side of the chieftain. The friends of the chief immediately present a whale's tooth to the brother or relatives of the females, and say, 'A kenai sere ni wa ni kuna, 'this is the untying of the cord of strangling.' The cord is then untied, and left loose about her neck.

The grave diggers then go on with the work wh. devolves on them. They first measure the length and breadth of the bodies & then mark the dimensions of the grave. They work in a sitting posture, as it is unlawful to stand while digging the grave of a chief. Long sticks are substituted for spades. Before any of the earth is removed, one of the grave diggers takes a stick into his hand, & puts himself in an attitude of digging, but does not bring the stick in contact with the earth. This is done three times, and the fourth time he thrusts the stick into the ground, and the first handful of earth wh. is taken up is called 'sacred earth' — or 'the earth of a god.' This earth is carefully preserved in a leaf till after the interment, & is then put under a stone wh. is erected on the surface of ground near the centre of the grave. The finished grave is from 5 to 7½ ft. deep. Four leaves — drau ni leba¹¹ — are handed to one of the grave diggers; he causes them to pass each other two & two — , *four* times. These leaves are then laid at the bottom of the grave. The body of the chief is then deposited in its resting place, and a strangled female is placed at each side. The one on the right side of the chief has her right hand laid on his breast, — while she on the left has her left. The bodies are wrapped together in cloth. After this, *four* times a little earth is put into the grave, and is put in with the least possible delay. The grave

11. *Leba*: small tree [*Eugenia neurocalyx*, Myrtaceæ] used for perfume, and the fruit for making necklaces (Capell 1957: 137).

digger tramps upon it. [The] other *four*¹² leaves are then laid above the bodies, — two at each end, & one of the grave diggers mutters these words, — ‘E kilana Kalou me kua so na mate,’ — ‘God knows that we wish that there may be no more death.’ The grave is then filled with earth, and a stone is erected in the centre, having the sacred earth placed under it. A mat is spread on the surface and the people disperse to bathe. Whilst the grave is being filled the house of the deceased is burned. The grave diggers are made to pass under a branch of creeping shrub (*wa vusovuso*) having a part of another shrub placed in the centre of it. Two men strike their backs with the leaves of another shrub-*salata*,¹³ which produces a smarting pain resembling that occasioned by nettles. The design of this is that they may be purged from the smell of the dead bodies & of the earth. They then bathe themselves in water, rubbing their bodies with the leaves of a shaddock tree, & fragrant shrubs.

During a period of one hundred nights grave diggers bathe daily, and take with them and wash the club, wh. had been placed in the hands of the departed chieftain. They say that only the Spirit of the club, whales’ teeth &c has accompanied his Spirit. This club is left at the outside [of] the temple. The grave diggers are not @ liberty to return home until after the expiration of 100 nights. During this period they are plentifully supplied with food; and at the end of it they are enriched with presents & sent home.

The women who touched the dead bodies bathe themselves with water heated by throwing a hot stone into it, — & rub their bodies with shaddock leaves &c. This process is repeated during 4 days after very short intervals; they sometimes wash every hour or every half hour that they may be thoroughly cleansed from all pollution contracted by touching the dead. In 4 nights after the funeral, a house is erected over the grave.

The hands of all who touched any of the dead bodies are thereby rendered *tambu* or unclean. Some who did not touch the bodies volunteer to have their hands *tambu*. Those whose hands were previously unclean, are cleansed by the retouch of the dead. This was the case with the king. The touch of his dead brother removed the *tambu* from his hands. Those whose hands are *tambu* are not allowed to handle food. This restriction continues for several

12. The italics are Cargill’s. Although he made no reference to it, he apparently saw some significance in the repetition of ‘four’.

13. The proper spelling is *salato*. It is a nettle plant [*Laportea harveyi*, Urticaceæ] (Capell 1957: 212).

months.

During 10 nights after the death of a great chief, men & women of all ranks and ages tease and torment one another by performing a most whimsical and painful ceremony called veinasa. The men arm themselves with an instrument formed of bamboos, by means of which they throw hard clay at the women. The women attack their assailants with the supple roots of trees, or the tough stems of creeping shrubs. Some of the females are furnished with cords or ropes to the ends of which are fastened small shells. They wield these weapons with great dexterity and efficiency, & frequently produce deep and indented gashes in the bodies of their antagonists. These amazons face the clayey missiles of the men with fearless indifference, and for once the females of Feejee triumph over their despotic lords. They are so ardent and intrepid in this part of the celebration of the funeral obsequies, that one is apt to think that they are instigated by personal feeling, and they are determined if possible, during the temporary reign of anarchy and confusion, to redress their grievances, and avenge the wrongs to which on other occasions they are obliged to submit.

Nor are the children of the friends of the deceased exempted from the tragedy wh. follows the death of a Feejeean. After the expiration of 10 days, a joint of one of their little fingers is cut off. The finger is placed between the edges of two axes, and the part to be cut off is amputated from the finger by one blow of a heavy piece of wood. The child's hand is held in the smoke of burning grass in order to stop the bleeding of the wound. This is the only remedy wh. is applied. From this cruel obsequy the first-born of every family is exempt.

While the children are thus being partially immolated on the altar of Moloch,¹⁴ the adults are shaving their beards and heads, and many of them are burning their cheeks, arms and backs. Many of the relatives of the dead fast all day, and are allowed to eat only at night. Some are prohibited for a certain time from eating pork, and to others yam are forbidden. All have some part or other to act in that mournful scene, and are either fasting or feasting, mourning or rejoicing. How oppressive is the yoke of bondage with wh. they are entangled!

Thursday
17 October 1839

14. Moloch, another spelling of Molech — Canaanitish god of fire to whom children were offered in sacrifice. References in Lev., 1 & 2 Kings, Jer., Amos, Ezek.

Yesterday evening during twilight, we were startled by the report of three muskets; wh. were fired off at no great distance from the Mission premises. The muskets were loaded with ball & were evidently fired towards the Mission premises with a hostile intention. One of the balls went over the head of one of our domestics, and another went through a bamboo in Mr Jaggar's fence & fell to the ground at the distance of a few feet from the fence. This ball was found, but our efforts to obtain the other balls have been unsuccessful.

Suspicion immediately fell on Ng-garaning-gio, — the king's younger brother, for he is hostile to Missionaries and Christians. This afternoon he called upon us, and protested his innocence. We gave him a small present, and admonished him to abandon sin and turn to God. He went away apparently pleased, but we give no credence to his protestations of innocence or his expressions of good-will, for the [Fijians] are adept in dissimulation. This forenoon a blacksmith's shop in the immediate vicinity of the Mission premises took fire, and was burned to ashes in a few minutes. The Rewa people thought that the flames would be communicated by the wind to the Mission premises, and in a few minutes nearly two hundred persons were surrounding our fence, in the expectation of soon seeing our houses in flames, and in the hope of obtaining plunder. But a merciful Providence presided over us and preserved us from danger. The building was soon reduced to ashes — and the flames died away of their own accord.

When the flames first broke out Ng-garaning-gio and some of his people were hastening over to share the expected plunder. But in crossing the river their canoe sunk: they succeeded in getting it afloat; — but it sunk a second time & then a third time, and they were obliged at length to return to the other side with as much expedition as possible. In this affair there are three things wh. excite our gratitude: — the 1st is — that the fire was not communicated to the Mission premises; — the 2nd — that another of the King's brothers who is the friend of Missionaries was on the spot at the time, and could have prevented any outrage of the people; & 3^{ly} that Ng-garaning-gio was providentially prevented from approaching near to the Mission premises. O that we have an increase of grace most confidently to cast our care upon Him who careth for us.

Friday

18 October 1839

Today the secret respecting the instigation of the firing of the

muskets on the mission premises has been divulged. Ng-garaning-gio as we supposed was at the bottom of the whole affair. When he heard the bell for assembling the few who attend divine service on Wednesday afternoon he & some of his dependents loaded three muskets with bullets & hid themselves in a place near wh. we had to pass with the intention of discharging their firearms at Mr Jaggar and myself while returning home. When he saw us in the canoe in the middle of the water, he said to his people, 'There they are; fire at them.' One of them replied, — (from what motive I know not — but in his speech and conduct I cannot but recognize the restraining hand of God,) 'No Sir; they are the missionaries; let us not fire @ them. Wait till the Tonga people (the teachers from Tonga and their friends) are crossing over, and let us fire @ them, for if we kill any of them, it will not be difficult to find a land to wh. we can fly for refuge.' They, however, either did not see or were restrained from firing @ the teachers, and night coming on and supposing themselves deprived of their prey, they fired the contents of their muskets towards the mission premises. But no injury was done. We waited on the king and in an affectionate manner requested him to interpose his authority and prevent a repetition of such conduct. He expressed his regret at what he called his brother's foolishness, and promised to prevent any further annoyances. But his power is very limited, and he is evidently much afraid of his brother's treachery.

Monday

21 October 1839

This afternoon Bro^r Jaggar and I attended divine service at Singatoka [Sigatoka], a part of Rewa where no professing Christians reside. We stood in the open air at the side of a house. We were allowed to commence the service without any molestation, but immediately after I began to tell them [] of the love of God to man, and of our design in coming among them, a volley of stones, earth and shaddocks was poured upon us by persons concealed behind the houses in front of us. Some of the stones were more than 2 lb. in weight. Had they struck us we should certainly have been much injured, if not killed. But He who 'numbereth the hairs of our head' kept us in safety. I expostulated with them on the impropriety of their conduct, and told them that although we were @ a distance from our country and our friends yet we are not without friends & that they would certainly inquire into the cause of any injury that might be done to us. After entreating them to listen in quietness & silence, I resumed my address to them on the love of God. But no

sooner had I ceased to speak about the stones, than another shower of various and dangerous missiles fell around us. We maintained our ground, and at length concluded the service.

Although the stones were thrown about in all directions, & some of them whizzed past our ears, yet not one touched us. They that trust in the Lord shall be like Mount Zion, which cannot be moved.

One of the Tonga teachers whom I told to watch during the service to discover if possible the ring leader of the persecutors, detected Ng-garaning-gio throwing a stone & then creeping into hiding. We retired to his house, followed by more than 100 people, many of whom threw stones @ us, but all of them missed their aim. His wives said that he was at a distance from home. This we knew to be an untruth. We went to a heathen temple in wh. we supposed he had hid himself. As we approached one man shut one door, & another seated himself in the doorway of the temple to prevent our ingress. The man who had shut the door proceeded to extinguish a fire that burned in the temple, that the inside of it might be darkened. They both denied that Ng-garaning-gio was there, in consequence we thought it most prudent to return home. When crossing the water many stones were thrown @ us, but all fell @ a distance from us. Although we have no human arm to protect us, yet we feel tranquil in the enjoyment of the divine love and protection & earnestly pray that God would breathe His life inspiring Spirit upon these dry bones that they may live.

On the same day, Cargill wrote to the Secretaries of the WMS in London, asking for a shipment of medicine. Among his requests: laudanum.

Tuesday

22 October 1839

This morning Ng-garaning-gio sent us two men to inform us that he was very angry at the persons who had thrown stones @ us yesterday afternoon, & that he intended if possible to detect and punish the culprits. This we believe is a mere artifice to put us off our guard. May the Lord grant us wisdom to act & speak with propriety on all occasions.

Monday

28 October 1839

Having had an interview with the King, & as he seems afraid or unwilling to exert his influence in preventing the people from throwing stones @ us, we have resolved to discontinue for a time the service @ Singatoka, — 1st, because it seems to us a waste of time to

continue it. There are no professing Xians there; none attend but the Tonga teachers & their friends, and the time devoted to the service in that place might be more useful occupied in visiting the people, or in the performance of some other duty. 21y, because to continue the service there in the present agitated state of the minds of many of the people, appears to us a tempting of Providence. There is no human power in wh. we confide under God for protection; & our opponents listen only to passion & are deaf to reason. For these reasons we deem it our duty not to expose ourselves to danger in Singatoka without any prospect of doing good. May a brighter day soon dawn on Rewa.

Tuesday

29 October 1839

Today about 670 copies of the 2nd part of Mark in the Lakemba Dialect were printed. (This is the first operation of the press for more than 5 months.)

Thursday

31 October 1839

This morning we have witnessed a shocking spectacle. 20 dead bodies of men, women, & children were brought to Rewa as a present to Tui Dreketi from Tanoa. They were distributed among the people to be cooked and eaten. They were dragged about in the water & on the beach. The children amused themselves by sporting with & mutilating the body of a little girl. A crowd of men & women maltreated the body of an old grey-headed man and that of a young woman. Human entrails were floating down the river in front of the mission premises, mutilated limbs, heads and trunks of the bodies of human beings have been floating about, & scenes of disgust and horror have been presented to our view in every direction. How true is it that the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty.

Jaggar described the same incident:

And oh! what scenes we have witnessed the recollection of them almost makes me shudder. We went over the water to the side of the river, when they were taking the vanquished slain to the different parts of this District to be eaten. We were in time to see about 12 bodies, some of these were carried off in canoes, — others were lying on the beach, and men, women & children surrounding them, and violating their persons: — others were being taken off, — and what way? Why dragged through the water and along the Beach in a manner in which Pigs would not be dragged: — some by one of the

hands, — others by a band tied round the wrist. Some were young children and therefore were carried off by men who swung them round their heads in *glorious triumph*: — one woman, as she was dragged past us in the water we observed to be very far advanced in pregnancy. All the bodies were quite naked, and most of them showed the wounds which had taken away life, and most of them had the skin dragged off from different parts of their body.¹⁵

Cargill's journal continues:

Friday

1 November 1839

This morning a little after break of day, I was surprised to hear the sound of voices talking very loudly, near the front fence of the Mission premises, and going out to ascertain the cause of their noise found a human head in our garden.¹⁶ This was the head of the old man whose body had been abused on the beach. The arm of the body had been broken by a bullet, wh. passed through the bone near the shoulder, & the upper part of the skull had been knocked off with a club. The head had been thrown into our garden during the night, with the intention no doubt of annoying us and shocking our feelings. The victims of war were brought from Verata, & were killed by the Bau people. 260 human beings were killed & brought away by victors to be roasted and eaten. Many women & children were taken alive to be kept for slaves. About 30 living children were hoisted up to the mast head as flags of triumph. The motions of the canoes when sailing soon killed the helpless creatures, & silenced their piercing cries. Other children were taken alive to Bau that the boys might learn the art of Fijian warfare by firing arrows @ them and beating them with clubs.

As far as I can learn, the war originated with the Bau people. Some time ago they killed three Verata men as sacrifices during the building of a temple. The Verata men revenged the injury by killing five Bau men. And thus the war commenced. A fortnight ago a party of Bau men pillaged many of the plantations of Verata, & killed several persons: and this week they went in greater numbers, — ravaged part of the territories of the king of Verata, burned two settlements, killed 260 human beings, and brought away many prisoners. For two days they have been tearing and devouring one

15. Jaggar to WMS, Rewa, 3 December 1839.

16. Jaggar added some detail: The head had been 'cooked and partly eaten; the worms were feeding on the remainder. (After the bodies have been jointed and roasted, they recook them by boiling them in their pots &c.)' Ibid.

another like wolves and hyaenas. O that a door of usefulness were opened in these parts of Feejee, that we might publish the glad tidings of the advent of the Prince of Peace. In the meanwhile, they will not listen to our report. But they are in the hands of God. . . .

Tuesday

5 November 1839

This morning the king & most of the men belonging to Rewa sailed to Bengga [Beqa]¹⁷ to wage war on the inhabitants of one settlement in that isl^d on acc^t. of their insubordination to the Rewa chiefs, & because of their having murdered & eaten the crews of several canoes wh. were wrecked on their shores. This war has been contemplated for a length of time, & the people of Bengga have been preparing to resist any attack wh. may be made upon them. Their settlement stands on the summit of a rock & is very difficult of access. The Rewa people have sailed in very high spirits, & assure themselves of a complete triumph over their enemies.

Thursday

14 November 1839

This afternoon the fleet of canoes wh. sailed to Bengga returned to Rewa, bringing back the king & his warriors. They returned in triumph, shouting a song of victory brandishing their clubs, & having white pieces of native cloth fastened to the ends of spears as substitutes of flags. One of their number was killed by a musket ball. This excited great trepidation & dismay among the besiegers. Many others were wounded with arrows, & some with stones thrown by means of slings. Several of them had their feet pierced with sharp pointed pieces of bamboo cane, which the besieged had concealed in holes under the surface of the ground in order to lame and harass their assailants. Three of the Bengga people were killed. They surrendered to the Rewa chiefs & presented them with 2 women, 4 whales' teeth, 10 mats and 1 basket of earth as evidence of their submission & as the price of pardon. The basket of earth was a symbol of the surrender of their land to the king of Rewa. The king and his people gladly concluded a treaty of peace, & speedily returned to celebrate at home their imaginary feats of heroism.

Friday

15 November 1839

Today I commenced the study of the French: my reasons for this

17. Beqa, although now in the same political subdivision (*yasana*) as Rewa, is a little over twenty miles to the southwest. The people of Beqa are known chiefly for their firewalking and are the only Fijians who possess this skill.

are two; 1st: a desire to be able to consult the French Bible when translating any part of the Word of God into the Feejeean language, & 2ly; a wish to read the Sermons of Laurin & others in the language in wh. they were originally composed.

Thursday

21 November 1839

Bro^r Cross visited us, His prospects @ Viwa are encouraging. Mentioned to him that it was my opinion that he should continue @ Viwa until the king of Bau should request him to remove to that place — 1st for the sake of the Xians at Viwa, & 2ly because the chiefs of Bau seem to have no good desire for a missionary.

Friday

29 November 1839

This afternoon I began to read in French the first ch^r. of John's Gospel.

Tuesday

3 December 1839

About 10 O.C. P.M. a native of rank informed us that the King's brother — the persecutor of Xians — had expressed an intention of setting fire to the Mission premises, to revenge himself on the king with whom he is at variance. A few weeks ago he took by force a female who had been a wife of the brother who lately died. This female was of low extraction & had been living in the King's house since the death of her husband. Qaraning-gio wanted her as a servant, & went by night, & conducted her to his house. The king became incensed & demanded back the female. His brother refused to return her but sent spears & whales' teeth to the king by the principal speaker¹⁸ of the Rewa chief — to solicit forgiveness. The King refused to receive the present — or to be reconciled to his brother.

Although the younger brother retained the female in his possession, yet he made several efforts to effect a reconciliation. The King continued implacable. And as his brother with many other Rewa chiefs have imbibed the singular notion that we are Missionaries to the king & not to the other chiefs & people, he thought that an injury done to us would gall and annoy the king. He therefore told his people that he should burn our houses if the King would not pardon the offence and allow him to keep the female.

We are in the hands & cast our care upon Him. Surely the wrath of

18. That is, *mata-ni-vanua*, the chief's official spokesman or herald.

man shall praise thee: the remainder of that wrath shalt thou restrain. The Tonguese teachers & our domestic kept watch during the night.

Friday

6 December 1839

This forenoon I had an interview with the king's brother. He protested that he never spoke or thought of burning the mission premises, & earnestly entreated me to intercede for him with the king. I told him that he had done wrong by taking any person from the king's house without the king's consent, but I would endeavour as far as consistent with prudence to effect a reconciliation. He seemed pleased with this promise & took his leave in a very friendly manner.

Saturday

7 December 1839

Last night the King, who had been @ a distant part of the country, returned home and before I had an opportunity of waiting upon him, his brother dispatched another messenger to him with a whale's tooth & a solicitation to obtain forgiveness and reconciliation. The King rec^d his present & granted the petition. The chiefs assembled in a temple in the forenoon to consult about & ratify the reconciliation between the two brothers. A little after sunrise the king & queen called at our house and presented Mrs. C with 24 fine fowls.

Sunday

8 December 1839

This forenoon an invalid embraced Xianity. Most of the Rewa people have imbibed the notion that the design of Xianity is to heal disease, & to prolong the life of the body. But although the religion of the bible does hold out 'the promise of the life that now is,'—yet that is not its radical & main design. We are doing all we can to disabuse the minds of the people of this notion. But whatever may be their motive in casting in their lot with the people of God, we are glad to see them deserting the standard of the enemy of souls, & hope that the grace of God may speedily penetrate their hearts & enable them to worship Him in Spirit & in truth.

In the afternoon, we were informed that some malicious person had made a hole at the head of the grave in wh. the king's bro^r is interred & that with a spear he had pierced the skull of the putrid corpse. That chief is the second member of the royal family in Rewa whose skull has been pierced in the grave. This is an act of

consummate barbarity and revenge, and is a triumphant demonstration of the truth of the assertion of Solomon: 'Wrath is cruel & anger is outrageous.'

Monday

9 December 1839

This afternoon I paid Thokanauto £1.10 & an iron pot for a new store.

Tuesday

10 December 1839

Early this morning the king's brother called upon us to buy medicine for himself. I hope he will cease to molest the Xians & that he will allow us to persevere in the great work in wh. we are engaged without interruption or annoyance. A short time after his departure from the house, he sent a few cocoanuts to Mrs. C as an expression of his love. The weather @ this season is sultry, & the heat oppressive. The queen reproved Mr J's servant for disobedience & insolence.

Sunday

15 December 1839

Early this morning a large conch was blown by a number of young men & boys. The design of this curious custom is to apprize the people that the tambu on the prohibition to use the leaves of the banana, — breadfruit & other trees is taken off. An embargo on the leaves of trees & certain articles of food is an expedient wh. is frequently adopted in order to secure an abundance of leaves in wh. to wrap their food, — or to gratify the caprice of the ruling chief. Whatever may be the ostensible, — the latter is frequently the real cause of such restrictions.

Monday

16 December 1839

This afternoon we held a meeting of the language and translation committee in order to examine a spelling book, — hymn book, & a catechism in the Rewa dialect.

Tuesday

17 December 1839

About 7 O.C. this morning Bro! J & I left our families in order to visit the chief of Naitasiri, — with the design of publishing to him & his people the glad tidings of salvation, & of offering them if agreeable two native teachers. The following remarks¹⁹ . . . describe

19. The journal entries 'show the course of our canoe when sailing up the river', and

the conduct of the people to us, & some of our views & feelings while associating with them, & while sailing the serpentine and beautiful river.

The stream in many places is bestudded with numerous fertile islets, which give variety and beauty to the scenery. It abounds with shell-fish and ground-sharks. The shell-fish are generally obtained in great numbers by fastening a basket to the end of a long pole and dragging it along the bottom of the river in a direction opposite to the current. They constitute a staple article of food to the natives who reside in the settlements on the banks, or in the vicinity of the river. They are procured by the women. In our passage up the river we passed several parties of females who were employed in catching shell-fish. Ground-sharks are so numerous in every part of the river that the natives who bathe in it are in danger of being killed or maimed by their bites. Accidents of this kind are of frequent occurrence. The shark is in consequence worshipped as a deity by many of the tribes, or revered as the vehicle of a deity of great power and an implacable disposition.

In most places the banks are adorned with luxuriant verdure to the edge of the water. Occasionally the channel is bounded by a precipitate rocky cliff, or a gradually declining sand-bank. Numerous settlements are erected on its banks and in its vicinity; and the banana, taro, and yam plantations of the inhabitants give such an air of industry and semi-civilization to the aspect of the country, as is not frequently equalled among a pagan and untutored people.

The stream is so winding in its course that the sail of our canoe was not always available, and at the time of our tour, the strength of the current was much increased by heavy rains. Nevertheless, our crew plied their paddles and used their long poles with so much dexterity that we made considerable progress. As we passed up the river, many of the natives were attracted to its banks to look at us, and if possible ascertain the place of our destination. All these spectators treated us with civility, and generally sat down as we passed them, for to sit down in the presence of a Fijian chief is an attitude of civility which, according to the etiquette of the people, is indispensable. To stand before a chief is a breach of good manners and is followed either with reproof or chastisement. Some of the people, whose settlements were near the river, manifested the hospitality of their disposition by presenting us with a bunch of bananas or a root of yaqona for the

are keyed to these compass readings. Some of this passage, therefore, is from Cargill 1841: 278-89.

natives of our canoe. They thereby ingratiated themselves in our esteem, and contributed to render the trip pleasant to us, and, I hope, profitable to them.

We visited the chief of Nausori, a settlement about ten miles from Rewa, but did not spend much time in his company. The village seemed deserted, most of the men being at work in their plantations. We gave the chief a butcher's knife. He and a few other old men, as well as the women and children, seemed afraid and suspicious of their visitors. A pair of green spectacles that I wore on the occasion increased their surprise and apprehension. We told them who we were; and having briefly explained our design in visiting them, prosecuted our voyage.

On one side of the river, about sixteen miles from Rewa, stands Kasavu, a town which is memorable among the people of the adjacent district, on account of the slaughter of many of its inhabitants; a disaster that was brought upon them under the direction and influence of a ship wrecked seaman, called Charles Savage. He belonged to an English vessel which was wrecked about the year 1808 on a reef called Moce, in the vicinity of Nairai, an island about seventy miles from Rewa. The captain and crew betook themselves to their boats and landed on the island. They buried money and axes near the beach. One of the crew was killed at a settlement on the island because he refused to part with his clothes, to gratify the covetous disposition of the natives. These mariners were plentifully supplied with gunpowder and muskets, which they saved from the wreck. By means of these, they protected themselves, assisted the natives in their wars, and acquired great influence. Before that event, there were few muskets in Fiji, and most of the people were ignorant of their use. Savage and his companions taught them the use of these instruments. They remained only a short time at Nairai, and then removed to Bau in a canoe, and were kindly received by Naulivou, Tanoa's older brother. Some of them resided at Bau, and others removed to Rewa. They were all much feared by the Fijians because of the skill and effect with which they used their muskets, and the victories which they won for the chiefs with whom they resided. They at length quarrelled among themselves, and some of them were killed by their own countrymen.

Savage aggrandized himself by means of his muskets and his ammunition. He was generally armed with a rifle, and the natives report that he never missed the victim at which he aimed. He shot several of the Fijians for their cannibalism. His wives were numerous: Kupua, a female of rank, was the principal. One of his daughters is

still living at Rewa. The attack on Kasavu was made about thirty years ago, not long after Savage's arrival in Fiji. The only reason the natives assign for the indiscriminate slaughter that he committed among the inhabitants of that settlement is a desire to establish and extend his reputation. He stood in his canoe in the middle of the river, at the distance of less than a pistol shot from the reed fence of the fortification and fired upon the inhabitants. They had no means of defending themselves against powder and ball, and great numbers fell before his murderous aim. The victims of this cruelty and ambition were so numerous that at length the survivors piled up the dead bodies of their friends and sheltered themselves behind them from the fatal fire of their aggressors. These statements were made to me by a Christian native, and I had no reason to doubt his veracity. Savage was himself ultimately killed and eaten at Wailea in an affray between Captain Dillon and the natives of that place. The enraged conquerors made sail needles of some of his bones.

A few miles beyond this place, on the opposite side of the river, is the site of another town which was depopulated by the inhabitants of Bau about six years ago. The town itself was burned, and about three hundred of the inhabitants were killed. About this place, the banks of the river are adorned with extensive banana plantations; and a little farther on, there is a stream of water gushing out of a rock, to which the singular property of causing the beard to grow is ascribed by the natives. They have designated it *wai-ni-kumi* 'water of the beard'.²⁰

We arrived at Naitasiri about 4 P.M. & were received with great ceremony, & treated with much kindness. An old blind priest was the king's speaker. After they had given us a Feejeean reception by clapping their hands & presenting us with a root of Yanggona, we endeavoured to enter into a conversation with the king. He looked pleased, smiled & replied in a whisper.²¹ The old blind priest being the King's speaker²² — thought that every word uttered was addressed to him, & that it was his prerogative to lead the conversation. His replies to our enquiries were vague, laconic, and ridiculous. In about an hour, the old man retired, — & allowed us an opportunity of conversing with the king. His appearance is prepossessing & his person handsome. The color of his skin is a shade lighter than that of many of the Feejeeans. We told him that the object of our visit was to establish a friendly intercourse with him & his people, to make

20. End of the section from Cargill 1841.

21. A sign of respect.

22. The *mata-ni-vanua*: the chief's herald or spokesman.

known to them the commands of the true God, — & if agreeable to him to send him two native missionaries. He seemed highly pleased with the attention shown him, & requested time to think about having native teachers stationed in his district. He supplied us with fowls & an abundance of food.

We slept in his house. Before we retired to rest, we requested permission to sing & pray in his house, to which he consented. While we sang & prayed, he, his wife, & about 20 of our domestic[s] listened in a very respectful silence. I hope that Xianity will make a favourable impression on this Chief, & cause him to embrace the truth.

Having accomplished the object of our excursion, — viz: to express in person our Xian love to the King of Naitasiri & ascertain from himself if he wished to have a native Missionary, we intended to return the next morning to our families & our work. When this design was communicated to him, he objected to such a speedy departure & requested us to remain until he should be able to present us with something as an expression of love to us. We consented.

Wednesday
18 December 1839

This morning we walked through the settlement. It is built on the top of a hill & contains about 300 adult inhabitants. During our perambulations we entered the principal temple of Naitasiri. The old man who acted yesterday as the King's speaker, & another old priest were reclined on mats. We saluted them, and entered into conversation with them on the truth of Xianity, and the blessedness of those who worship the true God. At first they maintained the truth of their religion, but at length acknowledged that it was false, but seemed fearless of the frown and regardless of the smile of the King of kings.

About 1 P.M. we went on an excursion up the river. A little beyond Naitasiri the river becomes narrower and shallower. The natives say that the sharks are very numerous. On the left there is a settlement called Thokaika [Nacokaika]²³; on the right another called Naletta. On the right is Tovotovo. The population of this place is not great. Here the river is broad and winding. The land is rich and covered with brushwood and trees. About 4 miles beyond Naitasiri on the right side of the river, the king's father is buried. The scenery is very beautiful. The land on the right side of the river is more than 200 ft in height and covered to the summit with the most

23. Of the villages listed, Nacokaika is the only one still on the map.

luxuriant foliage. The two men who accompanied us in the canoe while passing the tomb of the deceased chieftain repeated the words of ceremony which are used when approaching the presence of a person of high rank.

In the adjacent parts of the river the sharks are very numerous. They frequently bite and kill the women who dive for shellfish. The superstition of the natives tributes all such calamities to the anger of the chief's spirit. This anger they suppose to be excited by acting contrary to his wishes. A little above this place the banks are bold and verdant. The river still wide and winding.

We terminated our excursion at Viti, the remotest settlement on the banks of the river which is subject to Savou, the king of Naitasiri. The chief and people treated us with great kindness and hospitality. They brought us yang-gona and bananas. We begged from them 4 arrows which had been presented to their gods as peace-offerings to appease their wrath and restore the sick to health. Many of the old men and two of the chief priests were sitting in the temple. They spend much of their time in these sacred edifices in conversation, sleep, and drinking of yang-gona. They have little friendly intercourse with the inhabitants of the _____.²⁴

The place is nearly 6 miles above Naitasiri; the people have little friendly intercourse with the inhabitants of the interior. The exploring party in the Conway's boat proceeded up the river about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile beyond this settlement.²⁵ The town is small, the inhabitants do not appear to be numerous. The surrounding scenery is picturesque. The land is fertile, but by far the greater part of it is uncultivated. The foliage of the trees is rich and beautiful. When we were about to come away, the chief of the place ran to his dwelling house and brought out two large roots of cooked taro as white and sweet as any we had ever tasted. He placed them in a part of a banana leaf and presented them to us. No people surpass the Feejeeans in the hospitality of their disposition towards strangers and those with whom they are living on friendly terms.

In the afternoon we were present in the temple of Naitasiri at an offering of the first of the yams to the deity.²⁶ The yams were cooked

24. Left blank in the journal.

25. The preceding year, a boat from H.M.S. *Conway* (which stopped at Lakeba in August) explored the Rewa River to a point just below the town of Viti (Derrick 1957b: 66).

26. Hocart (1952: 18-19) described the nature of the ancestor god: 'The high chief's work is abundance, and so we should expect him to represent the gods of the land, and not the gods of war. This idea is very clearly expressed in Somosomo: there he is a kind of human spirit, much more important than the spirits, for they are useful

and presented in baskets with a great deal of form and ceremony. Several priests were present on the occasion. The one who officiated thanked the gods for the good crop of yams with which they are blessed this season and prayed for life and health. In most of their transactions the Feejeeans acknowledge the influence and endeavour to secure the favor of a deity.

In the evening the king gave us upwards of 2500 roots of talo as an expression of his love to us. During prayer in his house at night and in the morning, his principal wife and the domestic behaved in a very respectful manner.

With regard to native missionaries, the King expressed a fear of giving offence to the Rewa and Bau chiefs, and seemed on their account reluctant to have any of them residing with them; but stated a desire to have them at some future period.²⁷

Thursday

19 December 1839

This morning about 9 O.C. we sailed from Naitasiri. The king and queen, and many of their followers accompanied us to our canoe and were very kind when parting. The Feejeeans need only the grace of God in their hearts to make them as happy as any people in the world.²⁸ May we soon see the effects of that grace, and be glad. We arrived in safety at the mission premises about 5 P.M. and found our wives and children in tolerable health. Let praise rebound to God for all his mercies.

in war, but he is responsible for prosperity. In Seanggangga they say that the first fruits are presented to the priests, then to the chief, because the spirits are just the same as the chiefs. If a man eats his crops without offering to the chiefs he dies'.

Nayacakalou (1961: 7, 8) elaborated: 'In a way the relationship between the chief and the ancestor god is mediated through the concept of *sau*, which is not dissimilar to the *mana* of Polynesia. This is a kind of mystical power which always brings good fortune to the chief and his people, and prosperity to the land. When the harvests are heavy and the reefs abound in fish, it is said that the land is *sautū* because the chief is good and right . . .

'This particular offering was probably to Ratu-mai-Bulu, the god of agriculture, who comes in December and blesses the fruit trees and the land with bumper crops.'

27. A response that must have been familiar to Cargill by now.

28. Henderson (1931a: 98) quoted the preceding comment and continued: 'But the grace of the god of corn and wine *was* in their hearts at that festival, and it made them happy in themselves and kind to their visitors. The missionary full of religious prepossessions could not see it. It is always so — a heathen god is no god, and therefore no grace could abound even at the festival of first-fruits! What does it matter what name they called their god by at such a time? Is it not conceivable and even probable that the great God Himself was present at the festival receiving the thanks of His simple-minded children for the goods He had given them?' Then Henderson noted the

Wednesday

25 December 1839

This morning I preached to the Feejeeans on the advent of our Saviour. The few Feejeeans in Rewa who are called Xians are not even lukewarm in the service of God: an icy coldness seems to freeze their hearts. May the Sun of Righteousness arise with healing under his wings. In the forenoon — preached in English. In the afternoon we held a love feast. Some who were present realized divine presence; our souls were blessed. Gross ignorance still characterizes some of the converts to xianity. One old man in relating his experience said that he was very happy because he could eat with impunity certain articles of food which he formerly considered sacred and worshipped as God; and stated that for this deliverance his gratitude and love to the Lord were such, that he wished to have the privilege of carrying Him on his back that he might not touch the ground and be thereby defiled! Gross darkness still envelops the faculties of his soul.

Sunday

29 December 1839

Preached this morning to the Feejeeans: & in the afⁿ. to the native assistants & their friends in the Tonga language. Some of them are much in earnest in the important undertaking in wh. they are embarked, & are panting after entire conformity to the will of God. O si sic Fiji.²⁹

Tuesday

31 December 1839

About 10 P.M. we held prayer meeting in our house. The divine presence was manifested, and our souls were blessed. May we be so taught to number our days as to apply our hearts unto wisdom.

Saturday

4 January 1840

This afternoon the Currency Lass arr^d from Sydney, with supplies and letters.

'icy coldness' (referred to in the 25 December 1839 entry) of the Rewa Christians. 'The contrast is striking, and in justice to the missionaries and their work at this time it must not be stressed too heavily; Rewa was a hopeless centre. But what a change here *in spirit* from the heathen celebration at Naitasiri! Let any sensible man pause and ask himself at which place the grace of God was working in the hearts of the people — the heathen festival at Naitasiri, or the Christian service at Rewa?'

29. Finally, Cargill abandoned the *Feejee* spelling, but only temporarily.

Monday

27 January 1840

Three teachers with their wives arr^d here this forenoon from Somo. They are three of the ten whom Mr. Thomas sent to aid in our work.

Wednesday

29 January 1840

This morning we sailed from the mission premises about 8 a.m. and arr^d at Viwa about 5 p.m.

Thursday

30 January 1840

In the forenoon we visited Bau and saw thirty or forty canoes returning from Verata, with which place the Bauans are at war.

Friday

31 January 1840

We visited a small uninhabited is^l: found abundance of oysters.

Sunday

2 February 1840

Preached in the Feejeean and English languages.

Tuesday

4 February 1840

Returned home: arrived in safety at the Mission premises about 4 P.M.: found all well. A report has been brought from Kandavu that Ng-garaning-gio has been killing many of the inhabitants of that island.

Sunday

9 February 1840

The *Currency Lass* sailed.

Although moved to praise the conduct of a few visiting ship's captains and seamen, Cargill had little time for most of them, since they—in his view—interfered with the work of the Mission. He wrote:

A strong prejudice against the true religion exists in the mind of many of the Feejeeans; and that prejudice while it militates against our success, has been raised in their minds by the licentious conduct of British and American seamen. The natives assure me that all the Cap^{ns} of vessels which have visited Feejee, have procured women for purposes of prostitution, -that they have kept them on board during

the whole of their cruize [sic] among the islands; and that many of them have allowed the same liberty to any of their crew who were so disposed.

The following was a case in point:

Wednesday

12 February 1840

Capt. Eagleston arr^d in Rewa. Capⁿ E. is a married man & has brought his wife from America to reside @ Tahiti. Nevertheless he keeps a mistress in Rewa — a native woman. Several children are the fruit of this connexion. He has erected a house for her, & built a fence about it. This establishment is kept up by supplies of articles of barter consisting of ironmongery, &c Capⁿ E. attempts to justify his conduct by urging that such things are common in Britain & America. He strives to pacify his conscience by resolving to become religious after this voyage, when he flatters himself that he shall have realized a competency for his future support. I conversed with him on these things, but he ignores counsel — and this man calls himself the friend of missionaries.

In his letter, Cargill added:

The deluded woman is spoken of by some of the natives as the equal of Missionaries' wives!

Some of the sailors who are now residing in Feejee have two, three, four, or five native women. The custom's so characteristic of the majority of foreigners by whom they have been visited, that the natives suppose it to be the invariable practice of all white men; and generally offer all strangers a female companion. Some of the Midshipmen of HBM's vessel of war the Conway countenanced this conduct by their example. They visited the town of Rewa during the day and (I translate the words of the king's brother) 'slept with the women like pigs.' Their Commander Capⁿ Drinkwater Bethune was ignorant of this fact. His conduct in the islands was such as became his rank.

... Many of the foreigners who have been residing in Feejee have engaged in the native wars: Some of them by their audacity and dexterity in handling a musket, have so aggrandized themselves as to become the leaders of the people, and to wage war at their pleasure. They have been the arbiters of life and death. Fearful is the reckoning which such a man as Charles Savage will have to give in on the day of final retribution,—for the streams of human blood which the natives declare he has caused to flow in Feejee.

Other foreigners were reported to have spread the word that 'fornication and adultery are not crimes, and that they are sanctioned by British and American customs.' Another rumour in retrospect more credible than the others, claimed that if the Feejeans embraced Christianity, not only their land but their persons will be at the disposal of their instructors.³⁰

The journal continues:

Sunday

16 February 1840

Preached in the English and Fijian languages. Capⁿ Eagleston sailed this forenoon. This violation of the Sabbath is perhaps in his estimation another instance of his friendship to the missionaries & the causes in which they are embarked.

Sunday

23 February 1840

Preached in Feejeean & Tonguese.

Monday

24 February 1840

The rain has been incessant and the wind violent. We are apprehensive of a hurricane and an inundation of the river.

Thursday

27 February 1840

This morning the wind increased to a hurricane, and the river overflowed its banks.

Friday

28 February 1840

The gale continued. In the forenoon the scene was terrific. About noon the storm was at its climax. A large house — Bure Karewa — fell before the fury of the blast. Several other large houses were blown down. Our frail house was propped with sticks and tied with rope.

The river was greatly swollen. The town of Rewa and the adjacent country to a great extent were inundated. The depth of water on the Mission premises was more than 3 feet. Our house was the only one wh. was not flooded. The water in M^r Jaggar's bedroom — the highest part of his house — was more than a foot deep. The natives had to erect shelves under the roofs of their houses. There they sat, slept & cooked. Intercourse from one house to another was carried on

30. Cargill to WMS, Rewa, 6 April 1840.

by means of canoes. The roof of our house was so shattered that @ both ends it was as wet inside as out. Only one room in the centre was tolerably dry there. M^r and M^{rs} J & child — M^{rs} C & myself with four children, — the Tonga teachers' wives with our domestics assembled. Goats, pigs, ducks, and hens retreated to this elevated spot to save their lives. We would not run them out to certain death. We were huddled together in a pitiable plight. O how I desired to have a house as substantial and comfortable as a British barn.

About noon when the storm was at its height, M^{rs} C dressed the dear children and placed them near the door, — with the intention if necessary of exposing ourselves to the wind, rain, & inundation, rather than run the risk of being maimed or killed by the falling timbers of our weak edifice. But the Governor of the Universe rebuked the wind, & there was a calm.

Saturday

29 February 1840

The wind was moderate, but the water did not decrease. The water rolled down the river with great rapidity & force, bringing with it talo, bananas, trees &c M^r J. & I sailed around the premises in a canoe. The destruction of property was great. Towards evening the water began to decrease.

Sunday

1 March 1840

The depth of water that covered the premises was still great: we were unable to walk out, or have public service. We sang, prayed, & read the scriptures in our house.³¹

When the flood waters had subsided enough to allow Cargill and his family to leave their house, the aspect was not pleasant. The river had levelled their fences, destroyed their garden, and made their house unliveable. Once again Cargill wished for proper living quarters.

Nor were the prospects of the church any brighter in Rewa; the people there remained unyielding to the pressures of conversion. Cargill referred to his circuit as 'a place of gross darkness, degrading superstition and barbarous cruelty...'.³² At the time he wrote, there were only about thirty members of the Society in Rewa, and

31. Wilkes (1845, III: 359) summed up the missionaries' existence in Rewa: 'Truly, there is no poetry in such a life, and it requires all the enthusiasm that fervent religion calls forth, to endure the pains and perils to which they are subject'.

32. Cargill to WMS, Rewa, 6 April 1840. Based on his observations less than two months later, Belcher (1843, II: 53) wrote: 'I am afraid that the missionaries will find

these were principally the Tongan teachers with their families. He suggested that perhaps the flag could aid the cross:

If you should have an opportunity of introducing the evangelization and civilization of Polynesia to the senate of our country, would it not be advantageous on such an occasion to mention some of the circumstances of Feejee? Feejee suffers many grievances which Britain could redress, — many wrongs which Britain could remove. Britain's subjects have formerly murdered Feejeeans with impunity: they have taught them bad examples, and are still neutralizing the efforts of Missionaries. The Gospel, I know, is possessed of power to overthrow and annihilate every species of opposition; nevertheless is it not our duty to employ every instrument within our reach to aid and abet that power? Human legislation may be an instrument of much good or evil to the souls and bodies of men. It may be productive of much good to Feejee by throwing a chain about the vicious propensities of wicked men, and showing the natives that the shield of British protection is extended over the persons of the Missionaries & their families. I merely suggest the hint.³³

Friday

10 April 1840

I visited Bau and Viwa. William Lajike, — & King George's brother arr^d at Bau with many Tonguese a few days ago. Lajike has been doing very badly since we left Lakeba but he seems ashamed. May divine grace check his evil propensities and change his heart.

Saturday

11 April 1840

these people far beyond their powers. They have no chiefs of sufficient importance to carry into effect any important change, and possibly if any one attempted it otherwise than by example, his head might pay the forfeit. They are too self-willed and independent to be driven, and at the present moment far too ferocious to submit to any restraint.

I put the question to Phillips [Cokanauto] who answered immediately and to the point. "They have no objection to the residence of the missionaries, and would feed them; and would not molest any one voluntarily embracing their religion. But they dislike their spying into their houses. By-and-bye, when they see more of them, and *understand* them, the people may come round."

Wilkes (1845, III: 359) saw little hope for the missionaries' progress. The chiefs opposed the new religion, fearing a lessening of their authority. He thought that the commoners — if allowed — would turn to Christianity, seeking a change in their condition. 'Should the king of one of the powerful districts be converted, his whole tribe will follow the royal example.'

33. Cargill to WMS, Rewa, 6 April 1840.

We sailed from Viwa after the tide flowed, about 11 O.C. last night. We had a very tedious passage to Rewa, and did not arrive home until about 2 O.C. on Saturday.

Sunday

12 April 1840

I preached in the Fijian language this forenoon, but my body was much indisposed and I was unable to preach in the afternoon.

Jaggar wrote in his journal that day that in his opinion, 'the fatigue of that journey was more than Bro C. could well stand'. But the journey was not the main cause of Cargill's fatigue. From his description, it is clear that he suffered a fairly serious attack of dengue fever. The symptoms he described the next day are classic: fever, pain in his back, shoulders, and head, accompanied by shivering and nausea. On the following Saturday he noted that he had been delirious. During the week, Jaggar bled him once on Wednesday and twice on Friday.

While Cargill was ill, he wrote in his journal that an 'affray took place at Rewa among the natives'. Jaggar described the incident more fully:

This afternoon we were greatly alarmed by an unusual disturbance, and confusion at Rewa: every individual seemed in an uproar and a confusion of tongues prevailed. I ran out to our front gate, the confusion I found was on the increase, and the strangers making their speedy exit from Rewa: hundreds were crossing the river some in canoes, others swimming, with their clubs, spears, muskets &c; — all ferocious and angry & in fear. Upon enquiry heard that the visitors (from several towns, assembled at Rewa for a feast) had been quarreling with each other, that the Rewa Chiefs had been firing at them, and that their desire was to kill & fight. We quickly had our gates closed; the uproar increased, and the firing of muskets was so great that I was afraid to run from Bro.C's house to our own, lest a shot should accidentally strike me. Several bullets entered our premises, but through mercy we were protected.³⁴

By the end of the month, Cargill was well enough to describe his recent illness as the . . . severest affliction with which I have been visited since I was 17 years of age. . . . On the afternoon of that day a large quantity of yellow matter of a billious nature was evacuated from the stomach, and strong symptoms of fever appeared. During the night and the following day those symptoms greatly increased. The fever was of an intermittent nature. During the former stages of

34. Jaggar to WMS, 25 April 1840.

the disease, the stomach was much deranged, during the latter, the bowels were affected. On the third day delirium commenced, and continued for several days with few and short intervals. On the 18th In^t the delirium and fever were apparently at their climax, but the Lord in great mercy rebuked the disorder, & laid upon me his healing hand. From that time I began to recover. I am still weak and unable to walk. What effect the shock will have on my constitution I cannot say; but I trust that I shall soon be restored to my usual health. During the former period of my illness, my mind was harassed by the enemy of souls: but by prayer to God and faith in Christ I was enabled to ward off all his fiery darts. During the latter period, my mind was tranquil & happy. Though raving, yet my mind selected pleasing themes, and during the lucid intervals, I experienced much of the blessedness of the man who trusted in the Lord. M^{rs} C. suffered much from bodily infirmity while waiting upon me night and day. The circumstance was much increased by the circumstance of her being within a few weeks of her confinement. Hers was the hand which supplied my needs, and performed the duties which devolve on an attendant on a sick bed. But the Lord supported and strengthened her. To transcribe the preceding pages is the first work which I have attempted to perform since I began to recover. . . .³⁵

A letter written on the same day asked for carpenters to be sent from New South Wales for the erection of mission houses, a theme begun by Lawry almost twenty years earlier, with repeated variations by Cargill. By this time his family had suffered hurricanes and floods, and especially in Rewa, where the presence of the missionaries was not wanted, they had done so in houses too weak to hold up under such conditions. His present house was the size of an 'ordinary bedroom', and to make matters worse, the roof leaked. The king had promised to build them a house, but the Rewans' animosity toward the missionaries precluded any possibility that it would be ready in time for Mrs Cargill's confinement.

When Captain Hudson from the United States Exploring Expedition, visited the Cargills the next month he found them 'most miserably accommodated, in a small rickety house on the left bank of the river, opposite the town of Rewa, the dwelling-house that they had occupied having been blown down in the tremendous storm which happened on the 25th of February, 1840'.³⁶

35. Cargill to WMS, 30 April 1840.

36. Wilkes, 1845, III: 113.

Saturday
2 May 1840

About 3 O.C. this morning during a very heavy shower of rain, a man made an opening in the fence of the store & having removed 40 or 50 yams crept into the inside with the design & expectation no doubt of possessing himself of a rich booty. But his reception was very different from his anticipation. One of the teachers was sleeping in the inside, & hearing a noise got up to ascertain the cause of it. He approached the door with a substantial club in his hand, & caused the intruder to creep out with more celerity than. . . .³⁷

11, 12, 13 May 1840
Employed in revising Luke's Gospel.

Friday
15 May 1840

This afternoon I received fifteen Colonial Newspapers from the purser of the Vincennes, the principal vessel of the American Squadron employed in a survey of the Feejee Islands.³⁸ In the evening I went to M^r Jaggar's to read a paragraph; Maggie followed me. We read of the death of the Rev. J. Williams of the London Missionary Society at one of the New Hebrides Is^{ls}. He went ashore in the Camden's boat, & was barbarously murdered by the natives. Report informs us that his flesh was eaten: but of this we are uncertain.³⁹ This melancholy intelligence shocked our feelings. Maggie deeply sympathized with the deceased's surviving widow. The tears of passion sparkled in her lovely eye.

Saturday
16 May 1840

Late this afternoon I sailed in the Mission canoe to visit Suva,⁴⁰ a place about 12 miles from Rewa where there is one native who professed to worship the true God. When near Nukulau, I met one of the boats of the Peacock of the American Squadron, & received from the officer of the boat a letter from Capⁿ Hudson requesting information respecting the natives & the mission. I went on board the

37. Here it is noted in the MS.: '3 pp missing when received'.

38. The United States Exploring Expedition, 1838-1842, commanded by Charles Wilkes. The ships were in Fiji from May through mid August 1840.

39. Williams's companions were unable to rescue the body from the beach. At a later investigation, 'communications were opened, and the wretched creatures confessed that they had devoured the bodies, of which nothing remained but some of the bones' (Prout n. d.: 258).

40. Now the capital city.

Peacock & was kindly received by the Capⁿ, Purser, and officers. The Capⁿ & Purser inquired very particularly & kindly respecting our circumstances & prospects. They were shocked to hear of Nggaranggio's conduct, & grieved @ the dilatoriness of the King in the erection of our dwelling houses. The Capⁿ invited me to preach on board on the Sabbath. We arrived @ Suva about 9 O.C. & were very kindly received by the natives. Maggie continued ironing her baby's clothes & mine till after 10 O.C. p.m.

Sunday

17 May 1840

This morning I visited a few sick people @ Suva, & exhorted them to turn to God. About 9 O.C. I went to a large uninhabited house where strangers are received to perform divine service. After we entered the place a messenger from the King arrived to inform us that he intended to bow the knee to God & worship him, and to request us to conduct the service in his house. Our hearts were glad and we cheerfully complied with his request. He & two of his people bowed their knees to the true God. He is Tanoa's grandson. His name is Ravulo, and is about 18 years of age. If he continues faithful to God, he will probably be an instrument of good to his countrymen. I had the pleasure of preaching unto him Jesus. ~ I sailed from Suva about 10 A.M. and arrived at the Peacock about 1 P.M. Capⁿ Hudson read prayers. I preached to the officers and crew on the balm of Gilead.⁴¹ The Capⁿ & officers vied with each other in acts of kindness. I arrived at the mission premises about 9 @ night & found my dear Maggie in good health & delighted to see me. Her eyes sparkled with animation & joy.

Monday

18 May 1840

At Capⁿ Hudson's request, I went on board the Peacock to meet him & the Rewa chiefs, to interpret to them certain regulations [to] which he wishes them to subscribe respecting their intercourse with foreigners. He treated them with great kindness, & gave each of them a liberal present. He fired off two large guns, the natives were surprised @ their power, & the distance to wh. the balls were thrown. He spoke to the King about erecting our houses, & exhorted him to abandon heathenism & listen to instruction. He reproved the King's brother for his improper conduct to the Missionaries. His

41. It was reported that Cargill 'delivered an excellent discourse' (Wilkes 1845, III: 111).

behaviour towards them will I have no doubt make a deep and beneficial impression on their minds.

Tuesday

19 May 1840

This afternoon my dear Maggie felt much fatigued, & lay down in bed about an hour to rest herself. She then got up, & continued to prepare her baby linen to be in readiness for her approaching confinement. About 6.O.C. @ night Capⁿ Hudson with the purser & surgeon visited us. They drank tea with us. Maggie officiated @ the table, and appeared tolerably well and cheerful.

After tea we went to Rewa. Capⁿ Hudson exhibited fireworks. The natives were astonished. Some of them called them gods.⁴²

Wednesday

20 May 1840

Capⁿ H &c breakfasted and dined with us today, & left Rewa in the afternoon. M^{rs} C complained of indisposition, & retired to bed @ an early hour. Thought her indisposition slight & temporary. She manifested her usual composure and tranquility.

Thursday

21 May 1840

This morning my dear Maggie's distemper exhibited symptoms of a violent diarrhea. She was unable to get out of bed. Her bowels were much pained. Her stomach was deranged. She frequently vomited & excited our fears, lest the great exertion should bring on premature labour. We used every means in our power to arrest and remove the disorder. Toward evening the symptoms were less severe, and she appeared much better than in the morning. My earnest prayer was that the desire of my eyes might be speedily restored to her wonted health & vigour.

In the evening we recd information that the King & Queen were detained on board the Peacock as prisoners until Veindovi, the King's brother, should be delivered up to the Capⁿ of the vessel. In 1832 Veindovi was the principal instrument in the murder of 8 or 10 men belonging to the Charles Doggett, an American trader @ Kandavu [Kadavu], — an is^l about 40 miles from Rewa. The chief

42. Wilkes (1845, III: 116) wrote that the fireworks had a singular effect on the Fijians: 'the king seized Captain Hudson by the hand and trembled like a leaf, and many of the commoners shouted and blew conches to ward off the spirits that had been let loose. They believe that the flying spirits had been assembled for the destruction of Rewa'.

and people of Rewa were much alarmed on account of the detention of the king & queen, — some of the Chiefs came to our house to request me to go to the Peacock & intercede with the Capⁿ to release the king and queen. The king ordered some of the chiefs to watch our premises, — lest the people from the interior should be incensed @ his detention on board the vessel and revenge themselves on us by setting fire to our premises. Our people watched all night, but no attempt was made to molest us, or injure our property.

About 11 O.C. P.M. Lajike & many of his people arr^d at Rewa on a visit to Tuindreketi. He was much concerned about the King, & urged me to accompany him to the vessel.

Friday

22 May 1840

Maggie was considerably better this morning, though not quite well. At Lajike's request I accompanied him on board the Peacock. Tuindreketi had left before we arrived @ the vessel. Capⁿ Hudson was glad to see us, and happy that the people had not annoyed us.

Veindovi was in irons. He acknowledged that his crime was great, & that he merited punishment. Capⁿ Hudson informed me that he intended to take him to America, to show him many of the vessels of war, that this might form an idea of the extent of the power of the Americans, in punishing those who kill or molest the crews of any of their vessels. He wished also to introduce him to Missionary Societies, — to teach him Xianity, & to imbue his mind with a love of virtue.⁴³

Saturday

23 May 1840

This morning my dear Maggie appeared much better; & was very busily employed in making preparations for her approaching confinement. I translated the regulations which relate to the intercourse of the Fijians with Foreigners.

Sunday

24 May 1840

M^{rs} C. was much better this morning, but not sufficiently well

43. Veidovi, with his Hawaiian barber, Oahu Sam, sailed with the squadron. When Cargill saw Wilkes, a few weeks after this incident, he told the Commodore that the chiefs agreed that Veidovi should be punished. 'Mr. Cargill spoke much of the vast benefit that would result from our visit, not only to the trading vessels and whites generally, but also to the natives, as well as the advantage it would be to the missionary cause.' (Wilkes 1845, III: 137).

enough to attend divine service @ Rewa. Being detained longer than usual @ Rewa, my dear Maggie came to the side of the river to ascertain the cause of our delay. When I returned home she had retired to bed, being much fatigued.

Monday

25 May 1840

This afternoon we received intelligence from Suva. A few of Ravulo's people have imitated his example and turned from heathenism to the worship of Him who rules in earth and heaven. M^{rs} C. was not much indisposed, but fatigued toward evening in consequence of her exertion in preparing clothes &^c for the expected little stranger.

Tuesday

26 May 1840

During the course of the day, Maggie was tolerably well. In the evening she walked to M^r Jaggar's house. During my absence she wrote to M^{rs} Jaggar for a little laudanum. She retired early to bed. (She never rose again.)⁴⁴

Wednesday

27 May 1840

About ½ past 4 O.C. this morning Maggie awoke me and told me to get up, as she felt herself very poorly, and thought the child would soon be born. I conversed with her a few minutes without getting out of bed. She @ length told me to make all possible haste. I immediately got out of bed & began to put on my clothes but was obliged to run half dressed. I woke Joeli Bulu to heat water & ran to tell M^{rs} Jaggar that M^{rs} C. needed her assistance. I hastened back & was soon followed by M^{rs} J. We were both employed in making preparations, and in a few minutes my dearest wife made me the father of our sixth child — a stout beautiful girl. Although we did not expect the child for a fortnight, yet it seems full grown and is very fat & lovely. We think that labour was prematurely brought on, in

44. The parenthetical note at the end of this entry, written with the same hurried handwriting, supports a hypothesis that Cargill wrote some of the entries for May and early June after his wife's death. Seldom in the journals did he call her by her given name, and during none of her other 'confinements' did he give so explicit an account of her preparations. In the entry for 21 May, the first day that his wife seemed to be seriously ill, Cargill concluded his paragraph with: 'My earnest prayer *was* [italics mine] that the desire of my eyes might be speedily restored to her wonted health & vigour'. I should expect him to have used the present tense. On the other hand, the tenses for some entries seem appropriate to the situation.

consequence of the weakness of the mother's body occasioned by the disease which has been lingering about her during the last eight days. The child was born about 5 O.C. A.M. After the birth of the child, the diarrhea ceased, & she appeared to be doing well. I was truly thankful and happy. But a worm of affliction was @ the source of my earthly bliss.

A short time after the birth of our dear child, a hemorrhage came on, and speedily reduced M^{rs} C to a state of extreme debility and helplessness. We used every means in our power to stop the flooding, but it *seemed* to baffle our efforts. Life seemed to ebb a pace. All colour fled from her cheeks. A death-like paleness was spread over her lovely features. She was composed and tranquil. My heart was wrung with anguish. I thought that the desire of my eyes was about to be taken from me, & that I was to be left desolate and forlorn in this vale of tears. But the Lord heard our cries & prayers. A reprieve was graciously granted, and the wife of my youth was spared to me a little longer. The hemorrhage ceased, after the two mattresses under her were wet through. Again did my heart beat high with gratitude & joy.

But no sooner was this cause of apprehension removed, than the diarrhea returned with increased virulence. Every medicine we gave her seemed insufficient & powerless. The pain in her bowels was great; but she bore it with much resignation & patience.

The people of Burebasanga came this morning to erect our new dwelling houses.⁴⁵ They made a great noise. I had frequently to leave my Maggie's bedside to give them directions. They are building us a large house and I look forward to the enjoyment of many happy days under its roof. May our Heavenly Father grant us grace to live to his glory.

Thursday
28 May 1840

The dysentery still continues, — the baby is quite well and seems desirous to suck. Her mother has not much milk. May our Heavenly Father rebuke the disorder, & restore my Maggie to health and strength.

Friday
29 May 1840

The symptoms of Mrs. C's distemper are today more alarming than they have been. The pain in her bowels is increased: her stools

45. In the journal, Cargill first wrote *Burebasanga*, and inserted the *m* later.

are more frequent & fetid. She is in the hands of a kind father who doeth all things well.

About 7 O.C. we were informed that H.B.M.'s vessel of war the Sulphur had anchored near Nukulau. I thought it my duty to go on board and consult the surgeon respecting Mrs Cargill & to request him if convenient to visit her. I sailed from the mission premises about 7 P.M. and arrived @ the Sulphur about 9. As I approached the vessel we were saluted by a rough voice & heard or thought we heard the question, 'What canoe is that?' The same voice said, — 'What do you want?' I responded, 'To see the Capⁿ [Belcher] if convenient.' We were told the Capⁿ was in bed. I then asked if I could see the surgeon, & was informed that he also was in bed. My reply was, 'If inconvenient to see any of them, we can return home.' I was then told that the Capⁿ was not asleep and that I might go on board. I was introduced to the cabin, and found the Capⁿ in his hammock. He did not ask me to sit down. I explained the cause of my visit, — & requested him to allow the surgeon to accompany me to Rewa to see Mrs Cargill. He told me that the surgeon could not accompany me, nor could he spare a boat to take him to Rewa in the morning, as all the boats and men would be engaged.⁴⁶

He then interrogated me respecting the conduct of the natives, & asked if they had committed any outrages upon us. I told him that the King's brother had caused three muskets loaded with ball to be discharged @ the Mission premises, but that he now appeared more friendly & that we did not apprehend any molestation from him in the future. I then bade him good night & left the vessel.

We arr^d at the mission premises about midnight. Maggie appeared considerably better than when I left her.

Saturday
30 May 1840

46. Belcher's behaviour here and on subsequent occasions does not speak very favourably for him. Jaggar agreed with Cargill: 'I regret to say that the Captain of the Ship of War "Sulphur" has not acted towards us either as a Christian or a Gentleman. His tyrannical and overbearing conduct has been very much talked about and wondered at by the natives. I fear his visit will not improve their moral condition very much' (Jaggar to WMS, 10 June 1840).

But Cargill did not mention the circumstances under which he visited the *Sulphur*. Earlier that day, Belcher, who had proceeded to Nukulau in his gig 'to save time, as well as examine the anchorage, &c.' had the exasperating experience of watching his own ship run aground. 'In the midst of distress', he wrote, 'we were visited by Mr. Cargill, one of the resident missionaries, whose wife, then dangerously ill, required medical assistance.' Belcher also had the feeling that, because of Wilkes and the Veidovi incident, the Fijians were ill-disposed toward him (Belcher 1843, II: 37, 38).

This morning M^{rs} C. appeared much better: all the symptoms of her disease exhibited a more favorable aspect. In consequence of this favourable change, & the incivility of the captain of the Sulphur, we thought it better not to send the canoe for the surgeon.

Baby sucked a little arrowroot, and appeared in good health. Maggie's breasts are quite dry. May the Lord lay upon her his healing hand.

Sunday

31 May 1840

This morning my dearest Maggie was much worse, we thought it advisable to send for the doctor of the Sulphur. Mr. Jaggar kindly went in the mission canoe to request the favor of his attendance.

About ½ past nine I sent a native to conduct the service @ Rewa. About 1 P.M. the doctor visited M^{rs} Cargill. He approved of all the means which have been employed, and administered to her a dose of castor oil & laudanum. I asked him if he considered her out of danger. He shook his head, & said, 'No.'

Her poor mother has no milk for her. Maggie wished to have her baptized, as her appearance seemed to indicate the approach of death. This was *my* wish. I went immediately for M^r Jaggar & requested him to administer the ordinance of baptism to this our sixth child, & thus receive her within the pale of the Xian Church. She was baptized about 7 P.M. in our house in the presence of our domestics, & the Tonga teachers and their wives. We called her Ann Smith — in memory of her maternal aunt — Ann Smith, who died in Aberdeen in Dec^r 1825.⁴⁷

Monday

1 June 1840

This morning M^{rs} C was very weak and helpless. The disease seemed to rage with less violence than on the preceding day. About noon a great change took place. The pain in her bowels still continued, but the stools were less frequent and offensive. My hopes were raised. Her eyes rolled, & were not steadily fixed on any object

47. Jaggar wrote: 'The dear babe is very unwell: my respected Superintendent requested me, therefore, to baptize the child, which I did. . . — all the Teachers were present, and it proved to be a most solemn occasion: for we expected to be deprived of both mother and child in one day. — This Sabbath has been one of great anxiety to us all, both in body & soul. In the morning the illness of Sister C assumed such an aspect that I went on board H B M Ship Sulphur to request the assistance of the Surgeon, who arrived, but said nothing which gave us to hope the restoration of our dear sister' (Jaggar to WMS, 10 June 1840).

for a length of time. Her thirst was great, & she drank with apparent greediness. I considered these things the affects of weakness. Occasionally she raved, but in general she was sensible & composed. We both thought that the change was for the better, & that she was beginning to recover, while at the same time she expressed her resignation to the will of God. She frequently smiled, clapped my cheek, & thanked me for my attention to her.

About noon Ann became convulsed. M^{rs} C requested us to take the child to her. We complied with her request. When she saw her, she seemed much affected and feelingly said, 'My baby is dying.' We did everything in our power to save the life of the dear infant, but our efforts were useless. The convulsion fits became more frequent, and of longer continuance, till about 4 O.C. in the afternoon her sufferings terminated, & she became an inhabitant of that world the unrivalled sovereign of which said, 'Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven.' She died in a fit. I thought — that to inform her mother of her departure was better than to conceal it to her, — especially as she made frequent inquiries respecting her condition. I leaned over her in the bed and said, 'Maggie, — our Ann has gone to heaven.' She calmly replied, 'Has she? Glory be to the Lord for I gave her up to Him, and He has taken her to Himself.' She asked to see the corpse. We complied with her wish. She looked earnestly upon the lifeless clay, & with that tenderness for which as a mother she was distinguished, kissed the cold lips & returned her to us to be prepared for the narrow house appointed for all living. I directed the carpenter to make a coffin for her mortal remains. I sent a verbal message to M^r Cross to apprise him of what had taken place.

The prostration of M^{rs} C's strength became greater and more apparent. She spoke but little, occasionally raved, — was very restless, & frequently expressed a desire to drink. I now for the first time seriously despaired of her recovery. Grief lacerated my soul, any my heart began to bleed @ every pore. About 7 O.C. she seemed to [be] entering the lists with her last enemy. Her body was agitated with pain, — but her mind was recollected and tranquil. Seeing me much affected, she calmly said, 'Come near me David, that I may bless you before I die.' She threw her arms about my neck, & kissing me said, 'May my love be with you, and may the love of God the Father, — God the Son, — and God the Holy Ghost fill you now & forever. Amen.' She then added, 'Bring the children to me, that I may bless them;' & seeing me lingering & weeping by her bedside added, 'Make haste, David, for I am dieing.' I brought each of the children to her.

She addressed Jane Smith in an affectionate & solemn manner, telling her to love and obey her father, and then kissed & pronounced upon her dieing benediction. For each of the younger children she breathed a wish for their salvation; but they were too young to understand the nature of the solemn scene in which they were engaged.

This affecting scene being closed, she presented each of the children with a memento of their mother. To Jane Smith she gave a ring which she had received from her mother on the morning of our wedding day. To Augusta Cameron she presented the seal of a watch which I had received from my father when a lad, & containing this very appropriate motto, 'Though lost to sight, — to memory dear.' Margaret received from her a ring, which had been bequeathed to her mother by her grandmother — & which according to her will was to be transferred by her at her decease to any one of her children whose name is Margaret. Mary's memento is a gold locket containing a lock of the hair of her mother & father, & of her grandmother & Aunt Jane Smith. She took off her wedding ring & presented it to me, but I declined it: returned it to her finger.

About 11 O.C. she requested M^r Jaggar & myself to pray with her. We kneeled by her bedside. She held my hand in hers & frequently pressed it with all the warmth of her wonted affection. The occasion was very solemn M^r Jaggar engaged in prayer with great fervour, after which I addressed the throne of grace on behalf of her who was passing through the valley of the shadow of death, and of those who were surrounding her in her dieing moments. During our devotions she seemed to enjoy a respite from pain, & responded to our petitions with cordiality & earnestness. The power of the disease affected her mind and occasioned brief aberrations of intellect. But such moments were neither of long continuance nor of frequent occurrence. Reason quickly resumed its seat. Her mind was generally calm & collected. The grace of God reigned with her, & communicated courage & strength to enable her to meet & encounter the last enemy. There was no expression of fear, no shout of triumph. She approached the confines of the invisible world, leaning on the bosom of the beloved of her soul, & confiding on the merits of the death of him who died to save her.

A short time after this in order to elicit from her a statement of her feelings & prospects, I said, 'Have you any fear Maggie in entering the other world?' Her reply was, 'O David, this is an awful place.' But said I, 'Have you any fear in entering it?' She modestly & meekly replied in her characteristic manner, 'Jordan's streams are dark and

deep.' I adopted the allusion & said, 'Have you any fear in crossing those streams?' She answered, 'Why should I fear, whilst Jesus is at the helm.' 'You have no fear then,' said I, desirous of obtaining from her the fullest testimony of her trust in the Saviour & of the power of divine grace in her soul. 'Jesus is in the ship' was her brief but expressive reply.

About midnight she requested all present to retire & leave me alone with her, that she might converse with me about a few family affairs.

When her request had been complied with, she took me by the hand, and addressed me with the greatest affection & composure. The substance of her remarks related to the education of our children, & the disposal of some money that had been bequeathed to her by her maternal Grandmother. 'Now David,' said she, 'I am dying. I have full confidence in your affection for our children, and I know that you will exert your utmost ability to promote their happiness. I entreat you above all things to strive to promote their spiritual welfare. I wish you to leave the islands by the first opportunity, and return to England. Do not leave our children with your mother or my mother, & do not reside with them in Scotland, for the Methodists in Scotland are only half Methodists. The Methodists in England are whole Methodists; I wish our children to be whole Methodists, and therefore wish you to reside with them in England & to give them a Methodist education.'

She then briefly adverted to the money wh. was left to her by her Grandmother, & wh. according to her will is still in her mother's hands.

To M^{rs} Jaggar she gave instructions about her grave clothes, and expressed her regret that all her best night caps were dirtied during her illness, & that there was not a neat one remaining to put on her head when dead. She expressed a wish to be buried at Viwa, because the majority of the inhabitants of that island are professing Christians. We told her that very few Christians had yet been buried at Viwa, and that many Christians would ultimately be buried at Rewa.

During a moment of mental aberration she imagined the Triton with a tender had arrived, & expressed a wish to be conveyed in the tender to Vavau, that her dust might be deposited in the grave of her infant son John Smith. At another time she imagined that one of the Native teachers who was @ a distance from home had returned, & with this impression on her mind said, 'Ji oto ofa, Lailasi, — it is well that you have come, for I am very weak.' When informed that Lailasi

was in the country, she immediately said, 'O, I rave,' and became recollected.

She urged Mr and Mrs Jaggar and her eldest daughter to retire to bed, and added, 'We shall see one another in the morning. Nothing is too hard for the Almighty. I may recover but I am resigned to his will.'

They complied with her wish, & left me to watch by her bedside.

Tuesday

2 June 1840

From 12 to 3 O.C. she seemed to suffer much pain, & was very restless. Sleep departed from her. Her thirst was great. Her strength in rolling from one side of the bed to the other and in sitting up to slake her thirst seemed supernatural. When two of the native assistants & their wives were standing with me by her bedside, she said, 'Pray with me, for it is my mind to spend as much as possible of the remainder of my time in prayer.' I asked if we should pray in the Tonga language. 'O yes,' was her reply, 'so that Joeli may be able to engage in prayer. I shall understand Tonguese as well as English.' Three of us recommended her to God in prayer. She was composed during our devotions, & heartily responded 'Amen' to many of our petitions.

To me the scene was heart-rending. The object of my first and only love; the amiable and lovely wife of my bosom, the affectionate and prudent mother of my helpless girls, my devoted and best earthly friend, — was passing from me into the invisible world. I was about to be left forlorn in this vale of tears, & the hand of desolation seemed to touch every object by which I was surrounded. Never did such feelings swell my heart. Painful was the struggle between my long-cherished love to Maggie and the duty of resignation to the Divine will. But @ length nature yielded to grace, and I was enabled to resign her into the hands of her Heavenly Father. I frequently asked her in the course of the morning if she knew me, to which interrogations she replied, 'Yes, you are my David.'

A short time before her departure, I proposed the same question to her. With one hand, she took hold of mine, & with the other rubbed my face and said, 'You are my David; and I shall hear that voice no more, & see that face no more, until the morning of the resurrection, when the angel shall sound the last trumpet, and the dead shall rise from their graves.' Her mind was kept in a calm and devotional frame. She frequently gave vent to her feelings and sentiments in devout aspirations.

About half past 4 O.C. the earthly tabernacle seemed to be about to be dissolved, and she feebly said, 'I am going.' I sent for M^r and M^{rs} Jaggar. They came and stood by her bedside during the last moments of the expiring saint. To M^{rs} Jaggar she said, 'Lay yourself out for usefulness: — take my class; on no account give it up, but do all the good you can.'

By this time the disease had done its work; she seemed to suffer no pain, but to be sinking into the arms of death through the entire prostration of all her energies. Her mind was tranquil and happy. She frequently expressed her sentiments and feelings in pious aspirations, but in consequence of her great weakness, much of what she said was inaudible. Notwithstanding my grief, I felt it a privilege to witness her resignation of herself into the hands of her God and hear her dying testimony of the efficacy of the atonement. I was constrained to repeat the language of the poet as expressive of my sentiments on the occasion; — 'The chamber where the good man &^c &^c'

The last sentence wh. she was heard to utter was, 'I have — I have been — I have been an,' and we thought she added 'unprofitable servant.' May my services be as faithful; may my labours be as abundant. For several minutes after this I leaned over her, and was uncertain whether or not she had ceased to breathe. My hand was still in hers, & I requested her several times to press it if she knew me. But her hand had forgot its cunning, and her tongue cleaved to the roof of her mouth. She fell asleep in Jesus about a quarter before 6 O.C. in the morning.

During her last moments every enemy seemed abashed and routed. Not a struggle agitated her limbs; not a pang distorted her features; not a groan moved her lips; but with the calmness, — the recollectedness, and the dignity of a conqueror rendered invincible by Almighty grace, she passed 'through death triumphant home.'

The report of her death was soon circulated among the natives. In a few minutes the King & one of his brothers with the queen came to condole with me. She was beloved by all who knew her, & hated by none. Christians & heathens showed respect to her memory.

Her body was wrapped in a linen winding-sheet, which M^{rs} Jaggar made out of a sheet which we brought from home with us. Even in death her features were lovely.

About ½ past 10 O.C. M^r Cross arrived from Viwa & was astonished & grieved to hear of the tragic event. The carpenter made a neat coffin, which we covered with dark blue cloth. The body was placed in the coffin about 4 O.C. P.M. Ann was laid on her left arm

with her head on her mother's shoulder.

In an agony of feeling I kissed the bodies, spread over them a sheet, filled the coffin with sawdust, & then screwed on the lid.

Lajike with his wife & many of the Tonguese who were visiting Tanoa @ Bau called to sympathize with us, & to assist to consigning to the silent grave the mortal remains of a departed friend.

The Brethren & their wives, as well as the natives, seemed to vie with each other in acts of kindness to me & our children, and in showing respect to the memory of the deceased. We were married 7 years, eight months, & 27 days.

Wednesday

3 June 1840

The mortal part of my dearest Maggie was deposited in the narrow house appointed for all living about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 O.C. A.M. Mr Cross conducted the funeral service. The first Lieutenant & three other of the officers from H.B.M's vessel of war the 'Sulphur' were present on the mournful occasion.⁴⁸ She was buried in the house in wh. she died.

Mr. Cross left us about noon & at his most urgent request, though contrary to my feelings I allowed him to take Augusta & Margaret with him. In the afternoon the Tonguese teachers and their friends began to raise a mound of earth over the grave.

Thursday

4 June 1840

This afternoon the mound of earth over the grave was finished. It is a great work, and reflects credit on the Tonguese. They performed it with great cheerfulness. It is 11 ft. 4 in. long: 10 ft. broad: & 4 ft. 3 in. high. The earth is supported by strong slabs.

Saturday

6 June 1840

Went on board the Sulphur, — was kindly received by the officers, & grossly insulted by the Capⁿ

Sunday

7 June 1840

Preached in the morning in the Feejeean language on these words — 'The living know &^c.'

48. Belcher wrote that his duties kept him from attending the funeral, but that he had sent his senior lieutenant and all the officers who could be spared (Belcher 1843, III: 39).

Monday, Tuesday
8, 9 June 1840

Employed in packing Maggie's clothes, & in making arrangements for returning home with our dear children.

Wednesday
10 June 1840

This afternoon when preparing to go over the water to Rewa to conduct the service, I received a message from Capⁿ Belcher by his first Lieutenant, requesting me to wait for him @ the King's house. In consequence of his want of politeness, as well as the abrupt manner in which he sent the message, I thought it my duty to refuse to go; but told him that we should be glad to see him at the Mission premises.

Thursday
11 June 1840

This morning I was visited by the king and queen, who came to inform me that Capⁿ B. was incensed against me because of the tambu on the pigs &^c, - & because of the regulations wh. had been made by the Capⁿ of the U.S. vessel of war.⁴⁹ The king, queen, king's brother and many others of the natives assured me that Capⁿ B. threatened to tie me, — take me on board of his vessel, — and to flog me. The natives call him a tamata lialia,⁵⁰ — a foolish man, & a tamata viavia turaga, — a man desirous of being a chief.

Saturday
13 June 1840

This evening we rec^d a visit from the chief of Suva. We are pleased with his steadiness & apparent firmness, & pray that he may not grow weary in well-doing.

Monday
15 June 1840

This morning a boat was seen approaching our premises. We at first thought that it was one of the Sulphur's boats, but when I went out to receive the officer, to my great surprise & joy I met our dear

49. Derrick (1957b: 92) noted that Belcher was angry with the Americans and their regulations, because the port duties imposed (\$3 for anchorage, \$7 for pilotage) ignored the *Sulphur's* status as a warship, customarily exempt from the payment of port dues. When Belcher wrote of his Fiji stay, however, he made no mention of the incident, and described Wilkes most respectfully.

50. *Lialia* can also be translated as 'insane'.

Bro^r Hunt.⁵¹ He had come from Somosomo to condole with me under the painful bereavement wh. Providence had inflicted upon me, — and to invite me in his own name, & in the name of Bro^r Lyth, & their wives to remove with the children to Somosomo & to remain with them until the arrival of the Triton. When I informed him of my wish to sail from Feejee by the *Currency Lass*, he expressed his approbation. I was very thankful for the great brotherly love manifested by this visit. May our heavenly Father reward him & all the other brethren and sisters for their kindness on this occasion. In the afternoon we visited the *Flying Fish* — a schooner attached to the American squadron.⁵² . . . In the evening the *Sulphur* sailed.

Tuesday

16 June 1840

Bro. Hunt and I visited Viwa. I informed M^r & M^{rs} Cross of my intention to take Augusta & Margaret to Rewa with me. They acceded to my wishes. We conversed about the affairs of the District.

Wednesday

17 June 1840

Early this morning we sailed from Viwa. The children, — especially Augusta, were delighted when informed that they were to accompany me home. They were very cheerful and happy in the canoe. We arrived @ the mission premises about half past four P.M. The children ran to meet & kiss each other, and were very happy. After we had drunk tea, Jane took Augusta & Margaret by the hand & said, 'Come and see Mama's grave: — it is finished now.' Their mutual affection & their love to their departed mother were to me very gratifying. The little innocents looked @ the mound of earth which had been raised over the sacred ashes, & seemed pleased. The three eldest recollect the substance of my remarks to them respecting

51. News of Mrs Cargill's death had reached Somosomo via the *Currency Lass*. Hunt was offered passage on the *Flying Fish*, and he proceeded to Rewa immediately (Hunt to WMS, Somosomo, 29 July 1840).

52. During one of these visits to the ships of the Wilkes Expedition, Cargill loaned Horatio E. Hale, the Expedition's ethnologist and philologist, his Lakeba grammar and dictionary. Hale copied them (dating his manuscript July 1840), along with Hunt's notes on the Somosomo language, and the manuscript is now in the Turnbull Library, Wellington. After analysing the material he collected, Hale published it as part of a series of grammatical sketches and word lists of Pacific languages (Hale 1846), thus giving Cargill's pioneering work much wider distribution than did the WMS.

It is likely that Cargill influenced Hale on the matter of language diversity, for their opinions of relative homogeneity in Fiji seem curiously similar.

their mother's happiness in the other world, & when asked where their mama is, they reply 'In heaven, Papa, with Jesus.'

Friday

19 June 1840

This forenoon I wrote the reports for the Society & school.

Saturday

20 June 1840

Today I have completed my thirty-first year. Hitherto I have been an unprofitable servant. May the Lord stir me up to greater diligence in divine things. The departure of my best earthly friend has made heaven more desirable and earth more worthless. Prepare me O Lord for all Thy righteous will, that I may do and suffer that will, and finally reign with Thee in glory everlasting.

Sunday

21 June 1840

Preached in the forenoon in the Feejeean language. Bro^r Hunt conducted the English service. His text was 'Thou shalt come to thy grave' &c

Monday

22 June 1840

This day was spent in making preparations for the District Meeting.

Tuesday

23 June 1840

This evening Bro^r Jaggar preached. At the conclusion of the service Mr Cross arrived.

Wednesday

24 June 1840

We held the District Meeting. Harmony and love prevailed. We divided the duties of the Chairmanship between the Brethren Cross & Hunt. Bro^r Cross is appointed to act as Chairman of the District, & Bro. Hunt as Superintendent of the language and translation department of the work. May the seal of Heaven's approbation be stamped upon our proceedings.

Obtained the consent of the Breⁿ to return to England, & was requested by them to take all my translations with me, to endeavour if possible to get them printed by the Bible Society.

The minutes of the Third District Meeting of the Fiji District, Rewa, 24 June 1840, read:

We request Bro. Cargill to take these translations to England, and earnestly recommend the Committee to use their influence with the British and Foreign Bible Society to have them printed.

We consider it necessary for Bro. Cargill to remove from Fiji for the following reasons:

(1) It is impossible to procure for his family the necessaries of life, the natives being altogether incapable of taking care of a young family, and it being impractical for Mr. C. to attend to his work as a Missionary and the claims of his family under such circumstances.

(2) It was the dying request of Mrs. Cargill that he should remove with their family to England as soon as possible. For these and other reasons much as we feel our need of Bro. Cargill's presence and help in this District, and much as we lament his leaving us, and much as we venerate the instructions of the committee on the subject of the Missionaries returning to England, we cannot but most heartily recommend his immediate removal. . .

But the brethren's private correspondence shows that 'harmony and love' were not the prevailing sentiments at the District Meeting, nor was Cargill's removal to England 'most heartily recommended'. Again, Cross opposed his colleagues' plans:

I beg leave to say that with the Committee's instructions in my hands I could not vote for Mr C's immediate removal from Fejee; to say nothing of the great need there is that he should remain, to prevent the Rewa Circuit being left with only one Missionary. The latter I strongly opposed, on account of the Press, Printing &c. On its being determined that Mr C. should go home I said it was my mind that one of the Brethren should come from Somosomo to Rewa, but this was considered impracticable. Mr C's principal reason for wishing to return to England was his inability to take care of his children in Fejee & to attend to the duties of a Missionary. I offered to take two, or even three of them into our family & to treat them as we do our own children. Mr. C. said he could not be happy were they not under his immediate care.

I said if he must leave Fejee to obtain assistance for the children, he could get as much assistance in N.S. Wales as he could in England, until the mind of the Committee be known.

Cross went on to assure the Committee that he would be willing to share the expense of Cargill's trip if the funds were not approved in London. He added a criticism of Cargill's handling of the District's finances:

I have since ascertained that Mr C. does not wish any person to draw Bills in his behalf, that he thinks he has authority to draw Bills

now as when he belonged to the Fejee District.⁵³

Hunt hinted to the Committee that Cargill was returning to England for reasons other than those given in the Minutes:

His circumstances were peculiarly trying, and can only be fully known by those who reside in Fejee: and the peculiarity of his circumstances is of course the only reason why the District Meeting agreed to his removal before he heard from the Committee. I fear however that the circumstances cannot be so fully made known to the Committee as to give satisfaction, and that the District Meeting will be censured for what had been done.⁵⁴

Thursday

25 June 1840

This forenoon we received information that the Currency Lass was @ anchor near Viwa. I rec^d a letter from M^r Waldron, the Purser of the Vincennes, informing me that he had purchased a portion of land from the Chief of Levuka, in Ovalau. He presented the land to the mission, with a request that a missionary be sent to [Ovalau] as soon as possible.

Friday

26 June 1840

Bro^r Hunt & I sailed to Viwa in Thokanauto's canoe. We had a pleasant passage, & spent the time in profitable conversation. We arr^d at the Currency Lass about 7 P.M. Friday, & negotiated with M^r Hooten about a passage to Sydney for myself and family. He asked £200 for our passage!!

Saturday

27 June 1840

Early this morning we visited M^r Cross and took breakfast with him, & then sailed in our canoe for Levuka where the Vincennes is anchored. The tide was out, & in consequence we had great difficulties to contend with. We walked a great part of the way. We arrived at the Vincennes about 7 O.C. P.M. The Commander Capⁿ Wilkes treated us with great kindness, & promised to give Mr. Hunt a passage to Somosomo in his vessel.

53. Cross to WMS, 6 July 1840. Perhaps Cross thought that his own behaviour under similar circumstances had been more stalwart. After the death of his first wife, he continued working in Tonga for over a year, and then took leave only as far away as New South Wales (Hunt 1846).

54. Hunt to WMS, Somosomo, 29 July 1840.

Sunday

28 June 1840

The Vincennes sailed about 8 this morning. Bro^r Hunt and I parted, pledging ourselves to pray for and correspond with each other. Spent the day @ Levuka.

Monday

29 June 1840

Left Levuka about 1 O.C. this morning, & sailed to Rewa. We arrived @ the Mission Premises about 11 P.M. Rec^d Communications from M^r Cross, & a present of a box of arrowroot for the children on the passage.

Wednesday

1 July 1840

This forenoon I placed a neat wooden house over M^{rs} Cargill's grave.

Thursday

2 July 1840

I visited Makuluva in a large canoe to obtain sand stones, shells, & coral to spread on the top of the mound of earth over M^{rs} C's grave. During our absence Joeli Bulu planted maile — a shrub resembling myrtle — round the outer house. I have done everything in my power to render the tomb neat & durable. I must now leave it to the mercy of the elements and the care of the missionaries.

On the morning of the last day, when her baby shall be raised from the grave, may we meet on the right hand of the throne to part no more. Amen.

Friday

3 July 1840

Bro^r Cross arrived from Viwa, and purchased about £60's worth of books.

Saturday

4 July 1840

The Currency Lass arrived.

Sunday

5 July 1840

Preached in the Feejeean language in the forenoon, and in Tonguese in the afternoon.

Monday

6 July 1840

Went on board the Currency Lass in a single canoe in company with Mr Jaggar. The wind was contrary and very strong. I made an arrangement with Mr. Hooten to take me to Sydney for £140. In returning home the canoe nearly upset more than once.

Tuesday

7 July 1840

Engaged in packing. Repainted the wooden house over Mrs Cargill's grave. An air of melancholy neatness pervades the whole.

Wednesday

8 July 1840

Engaged in packing. A native preached.

Thursday

9 July 1840

This is the day on which I was to send my boxes on board the Currency, but have been prevented from doing so on account of the great strength of the wind.

Friday

10 July 1840

The wind still strong and contrary.

Saturday

11 July 1840

The wind the same as yesterday. Verelevu threatened to kill and eat Thakau and her father, — if she would not go & obtain from her father a knife & a few small articles which I had given him on account of the services of his daughter. When I was informed of his covetousness and cruel menace, I expostulated with Verelevu on the great impropriety of such language. He seemed ashamed, & told the girl not to go to her father.

Sunday

12 July 1840

Preached in English in the morning from these words, 'Fear not little &c,' and in the afternoon conducted the Feejeean service. This is perhaps the last time that I shall ever have the pleasure of addressing the Feejeeans. May the Lord revive his work among them, and save them all with an endless salvation.

Monday

13 July 1840

Sent seven chests on board the Currency Lass.

Tuesday

14 July 1840

Took a sketch of the two houses over Mr^s C's grave, -and one of the Mission house. I feel very reluctant to leave Feejee, & the spot where the sacred ashes of my beloved Maggie are deposited. May the Lord direct my steps, & give me grace to acknowledge Him in all my ways.

Wednesday

15 July 1840

Employed in writing letters to several of the brethren. In the afternoon received intelligence to go on board the Currency Lass in the morning.

Thursday

16 July 1840

Bade adieu to Maggie's grave. My heart was wrung with anguish. Prayed at the grave for grace to enable me to bring up our offspring in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. By a violent effort I tore myself away, never expecting to see the place again. May Maggie, our dear children, and I spend eternity in heaven. Amen.

I went on board the Currency Lass in the King's canoe. The Capn does not intend to sail till tomorrow morning. Parted with Mr Jaggar,⁵⁵ the local preachers, the King & other natives.

Friday

17 July 1840

While at breakfast & making all haste to weigh anchor and sail from Feejee a sail hove in sight. I immediately concluded that it was the Triton, and expressed a wish that we might not weigh anchor

55. The official Wesleyan biographers, Findlay and Holdsworth (1921, III: 386), disposed of Jaggar with one phrase: '... but through temptation he fell out of the ranks at a time of sore need.' More specifically, in September 1848, he was relieved from his duties for 'having committed fornication with a native girl named Hannah Mbuna, who has long been residing with Mr. Hunt'. He declined to defend himself, saying that the evidence was sufficient. He and his family were offered passage to New Zealand on the *Wesley*. 'On the girl's being questioned, she acknowledged at length (though at first she denied) that Mr Jaggar had had criminal intercourse with her on the night they were seen together. She also made known her seduction by Mr Jaggar, which took place in the printing office some months before. The girl stated that she resisted, and reasoned with him on the wickedness of the act, but he overpowered her and said, "I know it is wrong, but I will do it." She likewise stated to Mr Hunt that, during the time Mr J. and family were residing in his (Mr H's) house. . . Mr Jaggar had been in the habit of courting her and dallying with her — making her promise of marriage &c.' (Appendix to the 11th Annual Meeting of Feejee District in Vewa [Viwa], 9 September 1848).

until we ascertained. We accordingly waited till the vessel came into the harbour. We saw on her flag, 'Glory to God in the highest,' & at once concluded that it was the Triton.⁵⁶ — Capⁿ Wilson went on board, and sent back his boat, to inform me that it was the Triton, & that Mr. Waterhouse was on board. I got into the boat with the children & was kindly rec^d by M^r Waterhouse. M^r Brooks & family from Vavau were on board, on their way to the Colony. We made an arrangement with Mr. Hooten to sacrifice £70 -the half of the stipulated sum, and to transfer the children and me to the Triton. I hope this is providential, & that our removal to the Triton will be for our good & the glory of God. After dinner Mr. Waterhouse & I visited Rewa. . . Found M^{rs} Jaggar poorly. The natives were glad to see us.

Saturday

18 July 1840

Returned to the Triton in order to take care of the children. When they saw me they leaped for joy.

Wednesday

22 July 1840

Spent the day at Nukulau with the children.

Thursday

23 July 1840

Visited Rewa and the tomb.

Monday

27 July 1840

We weighed anchor about 11 O.C. this forenoon. A chaos of feeling filled my heart as we sailed away from Feejee. Felt a great desire to return, if the Lord will open my way before me. . .

56. The Wesleyan mission ship. The Reverend J. Beecham of the WMS wrote to the Reverend Joseph Waterhouse, General Superintendent of the Wesleyan Missions in Australia and Polynesia, on 7 July 1839: 'Now as we have purchased a Missionary Ship for Polynesia, which we shall send out as soon as possible after the Conference. . . You will have her at your command, and go where you please' (University of Hawaii microfilm 1097, #33).

Interlude

By late August 1840, the *Triton* had left the tropics and had moved into the colder latitudes of southern Australia and then Tasmania. A few days later, it sailed twelve miles inland from the estuary of the River Derwent to Hobart Town. Here, Cargill had his first glimpse of European culture since leaving Sydney seven years before.

During that interval, Tasmania had come under the leadership of one of its most illustrious governors, the explorer Sir John Franklin, and in Hobart, the capital, social life and the standard of living contrasted vividly to that in Lakeba or especially the Rewa Delta.

But Cargill made no mention of such secular attractions as the Hobart Regatta or grand opera at the Theatre Royal. Instead, he was caught up with the opening of the Wesley Church on Melville Street. Begun in 1837, it was completed about the time of Cargill's arrival, for he preached there his first night in town and again, two weeks later, at its dedication.¹

The remainder of the entries in this volume of journal refer only to meetings and services at various towns on Tasmania — Launceston, Ross, Longford, Jerico, and Oatland. The volume ends with the departure of the family for London on 9 December 1840, aboard the *Emu*.

1. The Wesleyans first worked in Tasmania in 1820, and by 1822 had started to build a chapel. The Melville St Church, still standing, was begun in 1837 and completed in 1840 (Historic Notes concerning Wesley Church, Melville Street, Hobart, Tasmania. n.d.). The description of Hobart at the time of Cargill's arrival is from Beatty 1967: 7, 66-7, 69.

So far as we know, Cargill kept no journal on his voyage back to London, but according to the preface to *Memoirs*, he spent his time working over his Tonga and Fiji journals:

These Memoirs were written at sea, during the passage of the author and his family from Hobart-Town to London. The compilation was more than a relief from the monotony and comparative *ennui* of a sea-voyage. It assisted his memory in arranging and making more prominent the monuments which reminded him of days and scenes of much of his earthly bliss; it prescribed to him a lesson on the necessity, importance, and beauty of holiness; and whilst it tended to moderate his attachment to the enjoyments of earth, it operated as a stimulus in raising his affections and his hopes to the employments and happiness of that world of which his valued and beloved friend is now, by God's grace, an inhabitant. Though he occasionally associated with his fellow-voyagers, and when circumstances permitted, acted as Minister in their devotional exercises, yet most of his time was occupied in writing the volume which is now submitted to the Christian public. His children were his principal companions; and were generally playing and prattling about him whilst thus engaged. The theme was engrossing, and the employment delightful. If he read any of the paragraphs aloud, the attention of the little audience was soon arrested; and the descriptions have frequently so operated upon the understanding and the feelings of his eldest child, then seven years old, that, with streaming eyes, and throbbing heart, she has said, 'Read it again, papa.'²

Allowing four or five months for the return voyage, we can place Cargill in London in April or early May, 1841. His year in the British Isles is largely unaccounted for, and there is no record at the Methodist Archives Research Centre at Epworth House of his having served a circuit during that time. It is likely that he was on leave during this period, since he had taken none since setting out for Tonga in 1832. His publications, however, give some indication of his activities.

First, sections of *The Memoirs of Mrs. Margaret Cargill*³ go considerably beyond the contents of Cargill's own journals. The inclusion of a biographical sketch of his wife and some of her letters to her family shows that he probably visited his mother-in-law, Mrs

2. Cargill 1841: v-vi. The preface is dated 13 November 1841 at London.

3. Cargill 1841.

Jane Smith, in Aberdeen. There may also have remained a misunderstanding there to clear up. About a year after his transfer to Fiji, Cargill wrote to one of the Secretaries of the Society in London, asking him to communicate with Mrs Smith, who had not written since she learned that her daughter was not remaining in Tonga (the comfort in the name 'Friendly Islands' lingered on) but was instead removing to Fiji. According to Cargill's letter, he must have made an effort at the beginning to assure his mother-in-law that the initial appointment to Fiji was merely a 'nominal' one, as he called it, and now he wanted to assure her that his service in those less friendly islands had not been planned from the beginning.

Cargill's other major publication, a long essay written in London in January 1842, was inspired by a pamphlet written by the Wesleyans' enemy of long standing, Chevalier Dillon. According to a non-Protestant account, Dillon's outburst was caused by the wars in Tonga between the Christians and those not yet converted. After one massacre — at Hule —

the bodies were carried to Nukualofa and laid in front of the Missionaries' house. The Missionaries were angry at this and questioned the people as to their reason for so doing. The people answered, 'There has been a battle and we have killed our own flesh and blood according to your will. Have you not said that from the shedding of blood will spring the true faith! We, therefore, have brought the bodies in order that you may know your instructions have been carried out.'

Dillon then wrote the missionaries: 'In what manner do you suppose the news of your action here in condoning the murder of men, women, and children, will be received in England? The British public, through their offerings are supporting you here; what do you think they will have to say of the manner in which you are carrying out their trust. Mr. Thomas, I am a Britisher; it is my duty to carry these tidings to the British Government, and I shall do my best to spread the news throughout the world. . .'.⁴

The Chevalier's best was good enough to catch the attention of the Wesleyans in London. Notwithstanding his grievances against the Tonga Mission and its head, Thomas, Cargill wrote a defence with more eloquence than disinterest.⁵ For example, to counter the accusation that a French Bishop was 'hunted off the island by [the Reverend] Mr. Thomas', he wrote:

4. Blanc 1934: 37-8.

5. Cargill 1842.

When the Bishop and his colleagues were dressed in their ecclesiastical robes, and walking in pompous procession through the principal settlements of the island, the natives said, *Koe launoa eni*, 'This is vanity or nonsense.'⁶ no flattering indication of a wish that their visitors should remain on the island. And when the Bishop urged his request for permission to remain, that request was refused. He assigned a wish to acquire a knowledge of the Tonga language as his only reason for such a request. The King replied, 'The Tonga language is spoken only in the Tonga Isles, and cannot be useful to you in acquiring knowledge here, or in communicating knowledge in any other place.' This was sound logic. The Bishop and his colleagues left the place.⁷

As for the cause of the war in 1837, some opinions more secular than Cargill's have been fairly close to Dillon's. Wilkes, observing a later skirmish, claimed that the Reverend S. Rabone regarded the war as a means of propagating the Gospel, and favoured its continuance.⁸ A current historian states that the cause was 'the persistent attempt of the missionaries and their supporters to convert the heathen to Christianity'.⁹

In addition to writing, Cargill was also laying plans to return to Fiji. The Committee of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society reported in 1841:

In consequence of severe domestic affliction and painful bereavement, Mr. Cargill has been compelled to undertake a voyage to England, proposing, however, at an early period, to return to his important sphere of labour, with the special view of effecting, with the assistance of his colleagues, a translation into the language of Feejee.¹⁰

Prompted, no doubt, by Cargill's report of the activities of the Mission, the Committee also made an unduly optimistic statement of the affairs of the WMS in Fiji, omitting to mention that the number of Fijian converts was very small indeed:

6. 'Nonsense' is a better translation than 'vanity'.

7. Cargill 1842: 28-9.

8. Wilkes wrote (1845, III: 7, 12) that he learned from the missionaries Tucker and Rabone that the 'Christian and Devil's parties were on the point of hostilities...'. Rabone was 'evidently more inclined to have it continue than desirous that it should be put a stop to; viewing it in fact, as a means of propagating the gospel. I regretted to hear such sentiments, and had little hope, after becoming aware of them, of being instrumental in bringing about a peace, when such unchristian views existed where it was least to be expected'.

9. Hammet 1951:110

10. From p. 61 of the report.

The Schools are in a prosperous state; the people manifest great aptitude for learning, as an evidence of which, the case of the Chief of Vatoa may be quoted, who, within a single month, assisted only by a native teacher, learned to read with ease the Feejeean translation of St. Matthew's Gospel; the Mission press is fully employed in printing elementary books and portions of the Scriptures for the use of the natives; and Mr. Cargill is preparing for the press a Grammar, and an extensive Vocabulary, of the Feejeean language.¹¹

At the same time, Cargill was laying other plans for his return to Fiji. Just as Cross had been successful in finding a replacement for his first wife in New South Wales, so did Cargill meet with similar success in London. On 27 November 1841, at the Parish Church (St Mark, Clerkenwell), he married Augusta Bicknell.¹²

Soon after the wedding, the Cargills travelled to Aberdeen, and from there Cargill wrote his new father-in-law (William Bicknell, a grocer). The letter¹³ shows him in unusually good spirits, playfully admitting to being manipulated by the 'persuasive powers of the females in his family'.

Aberdeen 15th Decr 41

My dear Mr Bicknell,

We arrived here on Monday evening, and received your kind letter. Our plan was to sail from this place by the steamer for Hull tonight, and return home on the 23rd or 24th Int per railway. But the ladies in Aberdeen have revised and as they think, improved our plan, and as eloquence — especially that which flows melliflously from the lips of affectionate female orators, is so persuasive — as to be almost if not altogether irresistible, — you will not be surprised to hear that the proposed amendment has been unanimously and cordially adopted. The plan is to protract our visit to Abⁿ until after Xmas. In the meantime, I am to proceed to Hull, whilst Augusta remains under the protection of her sisters. My absence from her will be of course as temporary as possible. I say nothing of feelings and predilections, the whole is the effect of the eloquence to which I have already referred. . . .

11. Ibid.

12. Certified copy of an entry of marriage, given at the General Register Office, London.

13. In the collection of the Methodist Archives Research Centre, Epworth House, London.

Meanwhile, Cross, who had been reluctant to agree to Cargill's leaving, was adjusting well to his new role as Co-chairman of the District. Calvert wrote, 'He has always been in the wars — first at Tonga, others with Mr Cargill. . . . Lately — since Mr Cargill left — he has enjoyed a very peaceable, settled spirit'.¹⁴ In fact, at year's end, Cross wrote in his diary: 'The former part of the year I had some severe trials, but the Lord sustained me (They arose principally through one who is now removed). The last few months have been among the happiest of my life'.

Cross's newly-found peace gave him time to reflect on the consequences of direct communication between Cargill and the General Secretaries in London. In January 1841 — which would allow his letter to arrive in London not too long after Cargill — he wrote:

I have often thought I ought to say something to the committee on what has frequently caused me great pain of mind. I have felt reluctant to do this, from an unwillingness to say any thing of a painful nature about any with whom I have been called to labor; also I have waited thinking the Committee would say something to me by way of enquiry or complaint, and that then I should have a proper opportunity to answer for myself. The reason for the latter thought is that I have sometimes been threatened that the Committee should be written to respecting me. I now determine to say a few words on the subject, not from bad feelings toward any; but from a conviction that you ought to know something about it.

He continued by telling of disagreements between him and the Reverend Thomas, not that this was his central theme

. . . but to shew you that this was one cause why Mr Cargill and I were never happy as fellow labourers, as what he heard of these things prejudiced his mind against me; other causes there were, but Mr C is gone from this field, and I would that the *very many* things of a *painful* nature which occurred between us were gone from my mind. When we were together, I strove hard to live in peace, but could not succeed: Mr C was sometimes kind and affectionate, but at other times we were exceedingly unhappy.

Often I have vainly wished we were nearer the Committee that we might advise with them, and lay our griefs and complaints before them, but the being forced to wait two or three years for

14. Written after Cargill's death, but evidently referring to Cross's mood from the time of Cargill's departure. Calvert to E. Hoole, 16 July 1843.

answers to our communications renders our circumstances peculiarly trying, and the more especially so when the Missionaries are few in number.¹⁵

Although Cross wrote directly to the Committee in London, Calvert seems to have used the Reverend Joseph Waterhouse, General Superintendent of the Wesleyan Missions in Australasia and Polynesia, as an intermediary. Earlier, Calvert wrote of his pleasure at having Waterhouse as a confidant: 'It is indeed, not only a great advantage, but a great honour to have such a man in whom is such an excellent, fatherly & wise spirit. One feels confidence in him, & can freely tell him all one's concerns'.¹⁶

On 23 February 1842, the General Secretaries examined Waterhouse's letters and part of his journal, the minutes from the District Meetings in Tonga and Fiji, and other official communications. A month later, at the next meeting:

The case of Mr Cargill whose wish to return to the Polynesian Missions was under consideration of the Committee some time ago was resumed.

Resolved

1. That under all the circumstances Mr Cargill be appointed to the Friendly Islands where it is expected that his peculiar talents may be applied to great advantage to that important Mission: and where he may have the comfort of his family being brought up under his care.

2. That he take a suitable opportunity of visiting the Feejee Islands, and in conjunction with the Brethren there consider the translations which have been laid before the Bible Society, so as to forward the object of his communications with that Society.

The WMS made a similar entry in its report for 1842, this time indicating a closer connection between Waterhouse's report and Cargill's reassignment:

The Books of the Old and New Testaments are all either translated, or in the course of translation, into the vernacular language of this group [Tonga]; and the greater part of the New Testament, with some portions of the Old, has been printed at the Mission-Press, and put into the hands of the natives. Anxious to secure the careful revision and completion of these translations, the Committee have resolved, since the receipt of Mr. Waterhouse's recent communications, to alter the appointment of Mr. Cargill from Feejee to the Friendly Islands. His long acquaintance

15. Cross to WMS, Viwa, 11 January 1841.

16. Calvert wrote this after Waterhouse visited him at Lakeba in 1840.

with the Tonguese language, and his literary habits, seemed to render the appointment of Mr. Cargill important at the present juncture; and this can now be effected without impeding the work of the translation-department in Feejee, such arrangements being adopted as will enable him to visit Feejee whenever it may be deemed necessary.¹⁷

On 30 April 1842, Cargill, his new wife, his four daughters,¹⁸ and Miss Hull — who was to be a governess for the children — boarded the *Haidee* (commanded by Captain Marshall),¹⁹ bound for Hobart. The voyage was not an easy one. Within two weeks, Jane, the oldest daughter, was ill with measles, and soon all of the children were infected. Jane remained the most seriously ill: 'Death seemed to be whetting his scythe to cut her down. A raging fever was fuming in her veins and reducing her strength. But by the blessing of God on the skillful and affectionate services of M^r Mair — Military Surgeon, the power of the distemper was subdued'.

Although in the last volume of his journal, Cargill never mentioned his new wife by name, he marked the anniversary of his first wife's death:

May the mantle of her meek and quiet spirit fall on me and our children. A few days ago Jane — the first pledge of our love — was reduced to such a state of weakness, that for a time we despaired of her recovery. She is the only one of the four children who recollects much about her Mother, and the prospect of being bereaved of her opened afresh the wound which her Mother's departure inflicted.

The next day:

The anniversary of the funeral of M. and Ann Smith. Are they among the number of my guardian angels? May I live to meet them in the paradise of God!

During the voyage, Cargill offered — if that is the right word — his services to the other passengers: 'I am desirous if possible of being instrumental of some good to our fellow voyagers, some of whom I fear are not sufficiently in earnest for the salvation of their souls'. He noticed other imperfections: 'Our comforts with regard to accommodation, the disposition of more than one of our fellow passengers, and the treatment we receive in this vessel are by no

17. WMS report for the year ending 1842.

18. Thus going against Margaret Cargill's wishes that her children be brought up in England, Cargill's ostensible reason for returning there instead of New South Wales.

19. It is at this point that the last volume of Cargill's journal begins.

means equal to our expectations; but we feel it our duty to strive by every prudent means to follow peace with all men, and to reconcile our minds as far as practicable and proper to our circumstances'.

As the ship approached the Equator, Cargill proved as intolerant of some of the customs of his countrymen as he was of those of the Fijians. In fact, on this occasion the Fijians came out ahead:

This evening a burning tar barrel was thrown over board. About the same time one of the sailors representing Neptune came on the quarter deck, & said that he intended to visit us tomorrow morning at ten o'clock. About 7 O.C. when I was about to come down stairs from the deck, a bucket of water was thrown down from the mizen, the greater part of which fell upon my back. That the captain and his officer know nothing of such gross impudence I fully believe. And that the person who poured the water may have mistaken me for another individual is possible, though by no means probable. But such conduct is not much to be wondered at, when we reflect that several persons who sail with us in this vessel appear not to know how to value or treat a Minister of the Gospel. The conduct of any person towards a Minister of Christ is a species of spiritual thermometer by which his religious knowledge and experience may be ascertained with tolerable accuracy. The heathen Feejeeans are capable of teaching politeness to many British Christians who emulate [] heathens in indifference about sacred things, and in rudeness of manners.²⁰

The captain was next to incur ministerial disapproval. His presence was missed at a Sunday morning service, and he attempted to justify his absence by saying 'that to preach the necessity of coming to God through Christ, may be applicable to the Feejeeans, or very bad people, but is quite unnecessary on board of his ship, for that he & his sailors are all good & that he has as good a 'chance' to get to heaven as any person in the vessel'.

By 1 August, the *Haidee* had been three months at sea.

Many events have been crowded into this space of time. May divine grace sanctify them all! Wind & weather are now propitious, & are propelling us comfortably towards the place of our destination. How I long to be at my circuit to be actively & regularly engaged in the duties which devolve upon me. Lord, bring me there in safety & in thy own time!

On 11 August, Cargill's son David was born, a month earlier than

20. Entry for 14 June 1842.

was expected. Cargill wrote: 'My earnest wish is that by God's graces he may become wise, good & useful. I should esteem it one of the greatest honours that could be conferred on him or me, were the Great Head of the Church to make him a useful Methodist Preacher'.

Just before the end of August, the *Haidee* reached Hobart. While the family was lodged with Mrs Waterhouse in Hobart, Cargill preached at many settlements on Tasmania, but the most notable was Port Arthur. The penal colony there, about sixty-seven miles by road from Hobart, was established in 1830, after it was realised that security in scattered prisons on the island was hard to maintain. At Port Arthur, on the Tasman Peninsula, escape across narrow Eaglehawk Neck was virtually impossible, since the line from shore to shore was staked with hounds on short chains, and was continually patrolled.

The church, the walls of which still stand, was designed by the convict architect, James Blackburn, and was completed in the year previous to Cargill's visit. It was not a Methodist church, but interdenominational and therefore never consecrated. Cargill could have preached to some of his largest congregations there: the total capacity was 1140.

Cargill's congregation was not all composed of the hardened criminals that the word 'convict' suggests. Records show that some of the inmates from the British Isles had been sentenced for stealing a sheep, or even a silk handkerchief.

Here, his journal entries continue:

Wednesday

28 September 1842

Again addressed a congregation of convicts in the evening on the inseparable connexion of misery with sin, and happiness with holiness. All were attentive. Some wept.

Thursday

15 December 1842

We embarked on board the *Triton* at 10 O.C. in the evening & were accompanied on board by many friends, & loaded with many acceptable presents.

Friday

16 December 1842

Detained through neglect at the Custom House. We sailed down the river in the afternoon, & the wind being light and unfavourable we cast anchor near the iron pot lighthouse.

Saturday

17 December 1842

Weighed anchor but made little progress.

Sunday

18 December 1842

Storm Bay rather rough. Disposed to be sick, but was able to preach in the forenoon on 'The Lord God is a sun & shield.'

Monday

19 December 1842

A strong head wind. The sea tempestuous, & Triton rolling at a fearful rate. All very sick.

Tuesday

20 December 1842

Things wear a brighter aspect today. Wind favourable but light. The vessel sails about two knots an hour.

Wednesday

21 December 1842

A pleasant breeze, wafting us forward about five knots an hour. My anxious thoughts carry me forward to the scene of my past — and if spared my future missionary labours. May I have grace to be in 'labours more abundant.' I feel renewed and increased desires to be wholly consecrated to God's cause, & to live wholly to his glory. Lord, qualify me for usefulness in thy church and thy world!

Saturday

24 December 1842

We are sailing forward at the rate of six knots. Old scenes and old friends crowd about my recollection and my heart as we approach the spheres of my former labour. May the mantle of my sainted M. fall upon me; may I imbibe her lovely spirit and imitate her exalted example of devotedness, humility, and zeal! She promised, if permitted, to be my guardian angel. Perhaps she is now a ministering spirit to me and our dear children. O that we all may meet her in heaven, where we shall never, never part! Lord, seal them and me with thy Spirit, as thine own, now & eternally!

21 January 1843-25 April 1843

The nearer Cargill drew to Tonga, the more anxious he appeared to be to recapture the feeling of the islands in 1835 — the evangelistic fervour, the mass conversions, the Tongan people 'dead with love' for the missionaries and their god. What he found when he reached the islands was something quite different. In the eight years of his absence, a variety of circumstances had contributed to internal wars and a deterioration of the social system. For the latter, perhaps, there is no direct evidence that the missionaries were entirely responsible. But it seems impossible that they could have hacked away at local customs without some effect. Their role in the wars is more carefully documented, however, in reports of contemporary observers. Wilkes, the most important of these, had arrived in Nuku'alofa in the midst of hostilities between the 'Christian and Devil's parties'. He wrote:

Anxious to know the actual cause of the war, I made every enquiry that was in my power, and satisfied myself that it was in a great measure a religious contest, growing out of the zeal the missionaries have to propogate the gospel, and convert the heathen. With this is combined the desire of King George, or Taufaaahu, who is already master of Hapai and Vavao, to possess himself of all the islands of the group.¹

1. Wilkes 1845, III: 10. Some modern historians have based their interpretations almost entirely on Wilkes's report. Hammer (1951: 110) wrote: 'The fundamental cause of the war was the same as in 1837; namely, the persistent attempt of the missionaries and their supporters to convert the heathen to Christianity. . . . It seems also, that the heathens had been subjected to considerable annoyance by members of

Wilkes was also disappointed in the want of charity on the part of the Wesleyans in their treatment of two recently arrived Catholic missionaries:

While I bear witness to the arduous labours and well-conducted operations of these missionaries, I cannot help remarking that I was disappointed in finding religious intolerance existing among them. It was to be expected, that among a class so devoted, and undergoing so many privations, dangers, and sacrifices for the cause they are engaged in, charity would not have been wanting; and that they would have extended a friendly hand to all, of whatever persuasion, who came within their sphere of duty, especially those engaged in similar duties with themselves. . . .²

The effects of the Wesleyans' various animosities were beneficial to no one, least of all to themselves. In all the circuits, great numbers of Tongans, once 'on the roll', had become backsliders. Those who remained nominal Christians seemed to have lost the spirit of the previous decade. James Calvert, in a vitriolic mood because Tonga had usurped goods on the Triton meant for Fiji, wondered why the Committee bothered with Tonga at all. He wrote:

Tonga is not comparatively important with Fejee. The Tonguese are few — & they are in an awful state. They are desperately bad. The thousands that have been spent on them with such little effect is heart-rending.³

the Christian party, and had been denied the free exercise of their own religious worship. It must be made clear, however, that the missionaries' actions in Tonga were not sanctioned by their superiors in London. On the contrary: the Committee there perceived what was happening and gave the Tonga brethren strict orders to discontinue any kind of encouragement of the wars.

2. Wilkes 1845, III: 30. He went on to say that the Tongans too had noticed the Wesleyans' uncharitable behaviour. But Wilkes must have been unaware of the Wesleyans' hatred of the Catholics, which left little room for charity. Their letters from Tonga during this period contain many references to the 'lies of popery'. An example is from George Kevern (from Neiafu, 12 April 1843): 'You are aware that the Emissaries of the Church of Rome have obtained a footing on the Island of Tonga which is indeed a matter of sincere regret and this semi-paganised form of Xtianity is likely to prove a serious opponent to the evangelization of the Islands of Polynesia generally. . . .'. For Cargill's attitudes toward the Catholics, see the discussion of his 'Refutation'. The reaction of the Committee in London was not noticeably different: 'In that communication you will be informed respecting the measures which the Committee deem necessary to raise your District from that comparatively depressed state in which it is now presented to our view, and to counteract the pernicious influence of the emissaries of Rome, — who, the Committee regret to learn, have at length succeeded in establishing themselves within your sphere of operation' (WMS to John Thomas, 12 January 1843).

· 3. Calvert to E. Hoole, Somosomo, 16 July 1843.

Another disappointment awaited Cargill. After years of a difficult and unwanted association with Cross, he might have viewed his return to Tonga as a means of renewing the only close friendship he had made within the community of missionaries. Just after arriving in Fiji in 1835, he had written to the Committee:

During the time of my labour in Vavau, I lived with Bro^r Turner in the greatest harmony and closest intimacy. He is a holy man & a valuable Missionary. Our removal to separate spheres of labour, was one of those trials which Metho: Preach: have frequently to bear.⁴

Assigned to his former station at Vava'u, Cargill, with his family sailed for that island on the Triton. About noon on Saturday, 21 January 1843, the Tongans at Vava'u informed Peter Turner that the Triton had come to anchor in the harbour. Cargill's arrival caught Turner by surprise, for he had expected to remain on Vava'u himself and continue his superintendency there. Although he welcomed Cargill and his family into his house, he was not enthusiastic about the return of his old friend. Foremost in his mind was the necessity of moving again:

This is painful to me & to M^{rs} Turner on more accounts than one. 1. We have only been here about one year & a half & before that I was only the same time or a little more at Haapai. It was agreed upon when Mr. Waterhouse was here that we sh^d recommend the committee not to move us oftener than every 4 or 5 years. But now I have to move just when I have got the people to my mind & have formed my attachments. Now I must move by order from the secretaries. I do not like this, neither do I think it right to [] me so I feel most on this account. I am still expecting to return to Samoa. I did not think that we sh^d remove again until this important point was determined.⁵

Still, Turner kept his disappointment to himself for the time being — and Cargill's journal entries for the next three weeks are brief and routine:

Saturday

21 January 1843

Arrived at Vavau, & were kindly welcomed by Messrs. Turner, Wilson, & Kevern.⁶

4. Cargill to WMS, Lakeba, 20 October 1835.

5. Turner, Journal, 21 January 1843.

6. Francis Wilson had been trained at the Wesleyan Theological Institution at Moxton, England. He was appointed to manage the Native Teaching Institution in

Sunday

22 January 1843

Preached in the afternoon in the native language with greater freedom than I expected. Preached in English in the evening.

Sunday

29 January 1843

Preached on the balm of Gilead to the Tonguese in the morning, and on Jacob's Ladder to the English in the evening. The Lord was with us in each occasion.

Sunday

5 February 1843

Preached at Hologa morning & afternoon, & travelled sixteen miles through heavy rain and bad roads.

Sunday

12 February 1843

Preached at Utui and Makave.

Thursday

16 February 1843

The Brethren arrived to hold the D.M.

Evidently at the District Meeting, Peter Turner's resentment at being moved again was directed into a personal attack on Cargill. At least Cargill interpreted it as such, for his journal entry reads:

Friday

17 February 1843

Commenced the sittings of the D.M. Bro^r T. astonished us all about his appointment. My spirit was deeply wounded by his unkind, uncalled for remarks.

Kevern wrote to the WMS only the details of the appointments, mentioning no controversy. He expressed regret at parting with 'Mr Turner with whom & his excellent Partner we have lived & laboured in unbroken harmony & love' and hoped that Cargill's services would aid the translation work.

Sunday

19 February 1843

Tonga (Hammet 1951:118). He and George Kevern came out with John Waterhouse on the *Triton*. In Tonga, Kevern conducted the Mission press, and on his return to England, eventually supervised the printing of the New Testament in Tongan (Findlay and Holdsworth 1921, III: 319n.).

M^r Thomas preached to the Tonguese in the morning & M^r Rabone in the afternoon. The sermons were excellent, & the devotional feeling deep on both occasions. Mr. Rabone preached in English in the morning, & myself in the evening.

Sunday

26 February 1843

Preached twice at Neiafu in Tonguese, and once in English. Met the Society in the forenoon. A divine unction rested upon the services of the day. May the Lord make me useful in this place.

Friday

3 March 1843

A comet was seen in the evening in the S.W. Its tail seemed to extend over a space of about 45° or 50 degrees. One was seen in Vavau after the introduction of Xianity to Tongatabu & Haabai. The natives designated it fetuu fuka [*fetu'u fuka*], that is — the flag star — an appellation by no means inappropriate. They compared it to the masi [tapa] of Feejeeans which they spread to the breeze on the summit of a hill when the new canoe of a chief is for the first time landing on the shores of his native island.

Sunday

5 March 1843

Preached at Koloa & Faleono. Met the classes and renewed the tickets of the society at both places. Returned home in the evening much exhausted.

Cargill's exhaustion marked the beginning of another attack of dengue fever, milder than the previous one in April 1840. By the next day, more symptoms appeared:

Monday

6 March 1843

Feel debilitated & bodily oppressed. Symptoms of fever appeared in the afternoon; they rapidly increased till about 9 P.M., when M^r Wilson took a pint and a half of blood from my right arm. By the divine blessing on this and other means, the progress of disease was arrested.

Tuesday

7 March 1843

Much better, but far from well. My place at the renewal of the tickets, yesterday & today, was kindly supplied by M^r Wilson.

Wednesday

8 March 1843

Still improving in health, but not yet recovered from the weakness induced by the severe attack of Monday. May this stroke of my heavenly Father's rod humble & strengthen my soul.

Thursday

9 March 1843

Still labouring under a severe cough, which shakes and debilitates the whole system, but am decidedly better than yesterday. I desire to give myself afresh to my God, & my work. O Lord, make haste to help me. Redeem me from all evil. Save me with an eternal salvation. May my life be entirely spent for thee. It is Thy gift. May I value it a gift of God & spend it for God. Direct me in the duties of life. May no duty be neglected. May every duty be successfully performed. May every duty be esteemed a privilege. May every duty yield a blessing for the sake of our adorable High Priest and Intercessor — Jesus Christ. Amen.

Sunday

12 March 1843

Today I renewed the tickets of the members of society at Utui. The experience of a few of the people was clear, scriptural and encouraging. They have a well grounded hope of a blessed immortality, and seem capable of giving a reason of the hope that is in them. Nevertheless, it is a painful fact that the number of such sincere believers seems very small. A great majority of the people seem dark and ignorant of the necessity of a change of heart. Their statements in their class meetings are superficial and monotonous. The declension and lowness of religious knowledge and feeling are mainly attributable to the pernicious influence of the distracting civil wars at the island of Tongatabu. Much time must elapse, much labour must be performed, and much faith exercised before the people recover their former tone of religious experience.

I returned home in the evening much fatigued. In the evening Mr Kevern preached an encouraging sermon on 'The Throne of Grace.' May the labours of this day be abundantly blessed.

Sunday

26 March 1843

Preached at Utugaki in the morning & afternoon, & on board the Triton in the forenoon.

Monday
27 March 1843

Preached at Hihifo & renewed the tickets there & at Gaakau. The Triton sailed.

The Triton was bound first for the 'more remote Islands' of the Tonga group, and then for Fiji. Accompanying John Thomas, the Chairman of the Tonga Mission, was Francis Wilson, whose departure left Kevern and Cargill as the only missionaries on Vava'u.

Tuesday
28 March 1843

Preached at Oloua & Makave & renewed the tickets at both places. The heathen ceremonies of tabakakala & muna⁷ revived at Makave.

Sunday
2 April 1843

Preached at Neiafu twice in Tongan & once in English.⁸

On Tuesday morning, 25 April, Kevern met with Cargill in his study before setting out for Utungaki, an island about four miles from the Mission premises. Cargill remained in his study, writing a report to London of his activities and impressions of the Tonga he had returned to. In none of his other writings did Cargill, by his failure to understand even the rudiments of an alien culture, unconsciously achieve so complete an indictment of himself and the religious colonialism of the Mission. To him, Christianity was supported not only by Biblical revelation, but also by the evidence of English-style houses, manners, and culinary utensils. The Tongans, living in the 'semicivilized manner of their heathen state', 'content in their condition', must be civilised and must 'feel their degradation before they can desire an elevation'.

Early in the letter, Cargill elaborated on the most striking contrast that confronted him: the emotionalism of the 1834 pentecost had worn off, leaving the Tongans bored with what remained of Christianity.

Dear Fathers and Brethren,⁹

7. The Tongan words cannot be found in a dictionary, and several Tongans questioned were unfamiliar with them. *Kakala* can be a poetic reference to a maiden; *muna* is defined as 'unreality, make-believe' (Churchward 1959).

8. The journal ends here. Some of the last entries may have been deleted, for the bottom of the page is cut off.

9. At the head of the letter is written 'Cargill's Unfinished letter'. No day is indicated. It may have been Cargill's practice to fill in the date when the letter was finished, since his longest letters were sometimes written over a span of several days.

After many vicissitudes and a few trials we at length arrived in safety at the place of our destination on the 21st January. Our voyage from Hobart Town was tedious, but as it terminated well, we feel that we have abundant cause to be thankful to Him 'whom winds and seas obey,' and who hath once more guided us safe to land. We met with a kind reception from all the members of the Mission Family, as well as from the Native Chiefs and People. I was happy to find that although some of the natives whom I formerly knew and loved have lost their first love, yet many of them have their names still enrolled with the people of God, and are exemplary in their deportment.

The sittings of our District Meeting commenced on Saturday 17th February. Unanimity characterized most of our proceedings. I need not here advert to my diversity of opinion as I intend to mention that in the miscellaneous part of my letter. On the 24th we finished the business of our meeting and the Brethren embarked for their respective spheres of labour. Without delay my Colleagues and I commenced the March quarterly visitation of the classes and have finished that arduous but useful work. Having personally met many of the classes and carefully endeavoured to ascertain the real state of the members of Society and preached to most of the twenty three Congregations of the Circuit, I think it may not be irrelevant or useless to give you a bird's eye view of the circumstances and state of the people as developed by their acquirements in useful knowledge and their advancement in civilization.

Although vital piety has evidently increased in its depth and its influence¹⁰ on the hearts and conduct of many of the members of society, yet amongst a great majority of the people it has lamentably and fearfully declined. Many of the members retain a clear and abiding sense of the forgiveness of their sins, and their adoption into the family of God. Some of them are earnestly panting after all the [] which was in Christ [and] have a tenderness of conscience which rouses vigilance carefully¹¹ to avoid all appearance of evil. As members of Christ's Church they strive earnestly to be found of God

10. The phrase 'and its influence' was repeated, then crossed out. In an attempt to show some of the character of the original manuscript, two examples of such editing are noted. Also, the original punctuation and phrasing are retained, even in those places in which the meaning is unclear. The lack of Cargill's usual precision of phrasing is perhaps an indication that this letter is what he continued writing while his 'feelings were excited' (as reported later by his wife). On the other hand, the penmanship is clear and regular throughout and quite unlike that of the entries relating to the first Mrs Cargill's death.

11. 'Carefully' is repeated, then crossed out.

in peace and blameless and pray fervently for the conversion of souls and the extension of the Redeemer's Kingdom. More than once in answer to their fervent and effectual prayers a divine influence many of our Congregations and we have heard the shout of the King of Glory in our Camp. I hail these lovers of God as the pillars of the Tongan Church: as a portion of that spiritual salt by which the heathen and apostate Tonguese are instrumentally preserved from the desolating contents of the vial of Jehovah's indignation against sin — as the light by which this part of Polynesia is to brave the darkness of wilful ignorance and wilful rebellion chased away and to be no longer a habitation of cruelty or a haunt of Satan. May they never grow weary in well-doing but may they all as with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord be changed into the same image, from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord.

But my dear Fathers, I am sorry to have to state that these remarks do not at all characterize a great majority of the people. Amongst the many the spirit of religion seems to languish in their hearts and to exert a feeble influence on their behaviour. The form of Godliness is not indeed abandoned, but its power seems to be felt only occasionally and in a limited degree. They go through their religious duties as they would attend to a routine of mere secular or unimportant business without life and apparent[ly] without profit. In their class meetings their experience is crude shallow and irrelevant. For proof of this, I quote the substance of the experience of not a few as related to myself during the last quarterly visitation. 'I make known my mind in the presence of the Lord; I pray to him to give me long life; that is my mind to day.' With such persons religion is a mere dormant principle; its power affects merely the external man but leaves the internal character untouched; it has merely thrown a chain of restraint upon its votaries for the civic [?] powers take cognizance of the violaters of Gods law and no open [] can be perpetuated with impunity but I fear with regard to the persons whom I am describing that it stops here. Whilst it binds the strong man of sin it does not cast him out of his citadel it seems only to fetter the Maniac but not to clothe him or restore him to a sound mind; it polishes the exterior but leaves the heart still deceitful above all things and desperately wicked.

In the same apathetic spirit are their other devotional exercises performed. The stiff formality, — the cold indifference with which many of their class of persons address the Divine Being is truly painful to those who have seen them in a much higher and more hopeful state of religious feeling. Not that I suppose religion to

consist entirely of feeling; but that I am convinced that mere sentiment is not religion and that notwithstanding the value of clear views of religious truth to the maintenance and increase of vital godliness there can be no religion without feeling, — and that there cannot be too much enlightened feeling on religious subjects. It is the destitution of such feeling among so many of Tonga professors of religion which I deplore. These prayers appear lip service an honouring of God with their mouths whilst their hearts are from him. The petitions of mercy are offered up, as if — like school boys they were repeating a lesson which they had successfully committed to memory. And one striking characteristic of their petition is that they relate more to others than themselves. They seem to cherish the idea that the mere form of prayer constitutes devotion — and that *such* devotion is the whole of religion. Consequently they go through a long list of names of persons and places and seem to fancy because they have thus prayed they have done their duty to God to themselves and to their fellow-creatures, apparently forgetting that the sacrifices of God are a broken spirit — and that a broken and contrite heart God will not despise. I do not animadvert upon their praying for others; but I wish to hear them praying earnestly for themselves, their prayers for others will be unavailing.

The attendance of the people on the means and the deportment of many of them whilst there, appears affecting indications of a declension in religion. The service on the forenoon of the Sabbath is the only one which is well attended. The afternoon of that Sacred day is spent by many in walking about or in sleeping or lounging in their houses whilst the house of God is attended by comparatively few. The means of grace on the week day whether for preaching or prayer — are countenanced except on some particular occasion only by those comparatively few who seem in earnest to save their souls. The congregation on a week day at the principal place in Vavau is made up principally of the local Preachers and the class leaders, who come from the inland or insular settlements to report the state of the people. This to me is a painful contrast with the state of the Sabbath afternoon and week day congregations eight years ago. Then our Chapel was crowded. Now an edifice half the size of the present would accommodate the worshippers. But the Lord's arm is not shortened that he cannot save nor his ear heavy that he cannot hear. Our prayer is Lord, revive thy work: in wrath remember mercy.

The behaviour of this class of persons even whilst in the house of God is not characteristic of a desire to increase in knowledge and grow in grace. Whilst some put themselves in a posture in which sleep

is most easily courted, others are gazing about on the congregation, as if they were spectators at the scene and not at all concerned with the discourse of the preacher. They seem to rejoice when the service is concluded as if the trammels of restraint were removed from them, and go from the house of God with a levity which ill comports with professors of religion. (Besides the deteriorated appearance of the Chapels, the filthiness of the mats with which the floors are covered, indicate their diminished attention to the respectable appearance of the houses in which they worship God and prompt the conclusion & c)

But allow me to direct your attention to a great decrease in the Society of this Circuit, during the last few years, as a lamentable attestation of the fact of the declension of religion. During the last few years the society has been decreased by about 1000 members. Here again I must premise that I do not consider the numerical state of any Church as a correct criterion of its prosperity or adversity. There may be many members in a Church who possess the mere semblance of religion and there may be few who have the root of the matter in them. The persons however, by whom the Vavauan Church has so much decreased in number are either Apostates or backsliders. There are now many individuals living as heathens in Tonga who a few years ago were esteemed creditable members of the Society of this place. Some have left their wives, others their husbands and some their parents and are now atheists without God in the world — or are the devotees of false Gods. Our hearts bleed over such instances of apostacy and were we not convinced of the long suffering and abundant mercy of God we could cherish little or no hope of such apostates.

Besides these the backsliders throughout this Circuit amount to hundreds. In every settlement we have to lament the fact that many who once appeared to walk worthy of their high vocation some years ago are now wandering sheep, and appear far from God and far from righteousness among those who are twice dead, we have to mourn over Class leaders as well as local preachers and whilst I am writing one of these fallen local preachers is labouring as a *convict* for having had promiscuous intercourse with upwards of *10 married* females a fact which awfully demonstrated the lowness of religion.

These backsliders consist principally of young men and women and what is most to be deplored, few of them manifest any concern about their state. They rather glory in their shame.

Nor do the acquirements of the people in useful knowledge by any means come up to the expectation which their former attention to reading and the depth of time they have been under instruction are

calculated to raise. The number of scholars is greatly decreased.

There are many of the people who cannot read at all. And some who a few years ago could write a plain promising hand, now feel differently in executing penmanship which is at all legible. In fact the art of writing is looked upon as comparatively useless, many of them say, we have nothing to write, and therefore do not desire to acquire the ability of writing.

Geography has been introduced to the schools, and many of the scholars have acquired a knowledge of maps. This is a science to which they would probably be much attached, as most of the people are delighted to be made acquainted with the names of persons and places. And in such acquirements the knowledge of some principally consists. They would sit for hours propounding unedifying questions about genealogies and localities.

To ascertain the cause of this moral deterioration and mental dwarfishness would be gratifying. Doubtless one cause has its origin in the deadly and dissipating wars in which the people have engaged. It is like a mildew has withered the blossoms which were once so fair and cheering. But I am not convinced that these wars furnish the only cause for this declension. I am not persuaded that a geography — useful as it is to a commercial scientific people has not contributed to divert the mind of these still infant xtians from the all important concerns of religion, and the pursuit of knowledge not merely useful but essential. And the promineny which has been given to it has been assigned to me by a respectable Chief and local preacher of whom you have probably heard (Jobe Loakai) as in his opinion and in that of many others the principal cause not only for the abandonment of the schools by so many of the people but also for their moral deterioration. We — said he — do not need to know particularly about towns, mountains, &c because in our present destitution of vessels and riches we cannot have any intercourse with the people about whom we hear. A knowledge of a useful art would benefit us, but this does not. Besides continued he, many of the adult people cannot learn it and they are ashamed, when they cannot answer a question which is put to them, and therefore they have ceased to attend school. And geography added the intelligent native has been made so prominent that it has appeared to us to *press down* and *cover* the bible. And consequently our attention has been diverted from it — the basis of wisdom and we have become foolish. Whether these are the only causes of the evils which I deplore I cannot determine; I am satisfied however they have both tended to produce these effects and so far as the schools are concerned they can

only be counteracted and removed by some absolutely needful and efficient system of tuition.

The advancement of these interesting people in civilization is an object ardently to be desired. And in one sense many of them are already civilized, for they are nominally christianized, and it is very obvious that no even formal Christian can remain a savage. The moment he conforms to the externals of religion he is an elevated man, he has risen a step in civilization. All the professing xtians of Tonga who attend to the forms of religion are of course thus raised.

But there is a civilization of which our holy religion is a precursor, and to which it is powerfully conducive, to which these people have not yet attained, and the lowness of their religion, is the cause of the lowness of their civilization. For the one is the effect of the other. Religion is the standard as well as the cause of civilization in its lowest and highest gradations. In expressing my regret that they are not so high as I expected to find them, I advert to their houses and the greatest number of the chapels, which are now worse — *far worse* than in 1835 — Their houses are filthy in the extreme and the premises of the King himself are now far inferior to what they were & No pains are taken to beautify clean or protect their Chapels. — With a few exceptions, the Chapels are covered with rotten mats, they appear to be rarely swept, and the once neat fences which ornamented and protected these sacred edifices have been allowed to fall and rot and have never been replaced.

With regard to their domestic arrangements and domestic comforts they are inferior to the heathen Fijians. They make little effort to possess themselves of European culinary utensils and distribute and eat their food in the semicivilized manner of their heathen state. They manifest little desire to imitate the manners and enjoy the comforts of civilized life. Such desire a few years ago appeared ardent and general. Now a drag is upon it, and the people seem content in their condition. The desideratum is a powerful stimulus to their minds. An increase of religion and which can only be supplied by the introduction of the Arts of civilization. They must feel their degradation before they can desire an evaluation and they must have ocular demonstration respecting the arts and comforts of civilized life, — before they can imitate and enjoy them. We need not tell them about our houses in Britain, whilst we ourselves are living in houses of native structure which are worse than English barns. We need not talk to them about those arts which elevate man and promote his comfort whilst they are not taught to practice them. A good mechanic would therefore be an important and essential

appendage to every Mission in these seas — especially in this District. And until such a person is here to build comfortable houses for the Mission families, and to devote his time to the instruction of the natives in mechanical labours we cannot expect them to raise rapidly or high in the scale of civilization. Now where the desire actually exists there is a lack of means. The Missionaries have not the time nor is it their work to teach them: — ours is to give them the Gospel, to teach them to Prepare for a house eternal in the heavens. We must come down from our great work to teach them other things but we have neither time nor ability to teach them effectually. And I do most earnestly entreat you to consider the expediency and necessity of sending a Superintendent of schools and also a Mechanic, to aid us in instructing and civilizing the people whom by God's grace we have succeeded in bringing within the pale of the Church.

The diversity of opinion Cargill mentioned in the first part of his letter referred to Turner's objections to his appointment to Vava'u. He expanded on his journal entry for 17 February:

In a former part of this letter I adverted to a diversity of opinion amongst the brethren of the District. That diversity of opinion related to my appointment to Vavau. With one exception the brethren urged my remaining here, as no obstacle prevented Mr Turner's removal. This Mr Turner opposed with vehemence and even unkindness which no one expected, and which the case did not warrant. I expressed my determination to abide literally by your instructions, viz: to go to Haabai — if any *insurmountable impediment* prevented Mr Turner's removal if not to remain at Vavau. As the only objection which Mr Turner urged was his desire to *remain in this place until he should return to the Navigator's Islands*, and as the Brethren did not deem this a sufficient reason for departing from the tenor of your instructions, they with the exception of Mr Turner *sanctioned* my remaining at Vavau.¹²

Late in the afternoon, before Kevern had returned from Utungaki Cargill continued to write in his study and (as his colleagues later revealed had become a habit) drink brandy.¹³ According to the advice given him by the physician¹⁴ on board the Haidee, he had a

12. The letter ended with the following sentence: 'Permit me to address a word to you respecting my Children's Governess' (Cargill was referring to Miss Hull, who was shortly to be married to Francis Wilson). Below this appears a very scrawled signature, simply 'Cargill'. In a slightly different hand, the letter is addressed to J. Beecham (of the WMS Committee) in London, where it was received on 14 March 1844.

13. So Calvert reported after talking with Mrs Cargill on Lakeba (letter to E. Hoole, Somosomo, 16 August 1843).

14. Dr Mair.

'tendency to a disease of the brain' and was to 'abstain altogether from Spirits and other fermented Liquor. . . and to avoid as much as possible all excitement — mental and bodily'. Acting out of either concern for her husband's health or adherence to a wave of temperance and teetotalism that had spread over Great Britain, Mrs Cargill 'reproved' her husband for drinking.¹⁵ Perhaps depressed by the content of his letter, Cargill's reaction was anything but rational. He rose, left his study, and walked to the medicine room at the other end of the house. There he found a bottle of laudanum, and having returned to his study, poured out a quantity into a glass and drank it in full view of his wife. ' . . . His feelings were excited at the time he did it . . .'. Mrs Cargill gave him an emetic, which promptly induced vomiting. Assuming that all the laudanum had been discharged from his system, Cargill remained in his study and continued writing.

But by eight that evening, he was showing signs of unnatural drowsiness. Recognising these symptoms, Mrs Cargill sent a note to Kevern, saying that her husband was dangerously ill. Kevern responded at once, and found Cargill still in his study. To conceal what had actually happened, Cargill said that he had felt slightly indisposed that day and had taken a dose of what he had thought was paregoric elixir, but turned out to be, by mistake, laudanum. Kevern reported the events that followed:¹⁶

On enquiring how long since he had taken it, & what means had been employed to extract the Laudanum, M^{rs} Cargill replied that he had taken it about two hours before, & that they had tried the use of Emetics, which had produced profuse vomiting. M^r Cargill manifested & expressed a strong disposition to sleep & earnestly entreated to be permitted to lie down and repose on the sofa, but fearing that if he did so he would probably never again awake on this world, & feeling considerably alarmed, strongly urging those who were present to keep him constantly moving, & endeavour to engage his attention, I went immediately to M^r Macurdy, a medical gentleman who has been long a resident on the Island, but confined to his bed by severe affliction, stated the case to him, & asked his advice; who also prescribed Emetics until M^r Cargill should revive, & all the Laudanum be discharged from the stomach. He also recommended the use of a warm bath and by no means to permit M^r C. to fall asleep, but keep his attention constantly engaged. All these means were promptly employed, & shortly after being put into the warm

15. Also reported by Calvert.

16. Kevern to WMS, Neiafu, 26 May 1843. Received February 1844.

bath M^r C. seemed to revive a bit & to be less drowsy than before, but it was for a short time only, for every effort ultimately proved abortive, & every means failed. He began to sink into a deeper lethargy & stupefaction, & his attention became more difficult to be aroused, until he fell into a perfect stupor & insensibility (which was about twelve o'clock) when symptoms of death too plainly appeared. My alarm being increased, I went for the *fourth* time to M^r Macurdy, to inquire what means could be employed, as a *last resource*, in reply to which he said that *every* available remedy had been employed, & that nothing more remained but the trial of the application of *heated bottles* to M^r Cargill's person. I hastened back, & made this last effort to save life, & for the moment success seemed to crown our endeavours, animation appeared to be restored, slight respiration returned, the heart throbbed, & the pulse, which had quite ceased again beat slowly & heavily, & we endeavoured again to arouse M^r Cargill's attention; but alas! the torpor was too profound, & the vital spark too nearly extinct, to be renewed or restored — all our hopes were blasted, & at half-past twelve, without a struggle [or] a sigh, and apparently sinking into a peaceful slumber, at the solemn hour of midnight, he breathed his last.

Thus, dear Fathers & Brethren, I have endeavoured to give you a statement of this most awful event. All our little Mission [party] here were thereby thrown into a state of the greatest consternation, & distress & it was some time before our minds could *realize* it as a *fact* — [it] appeared more like an alarming *dream* than a *real* occurrence, for from the first we were much alarmed, yet no imminent danger was apprehended, as it was said M^r Cargill had taken only *100 drops* of Laudanum, & we hoped by the use of suitable remedies, to counteract its effects & such also was the opinion of the Medical Gentleman before mentioned; but we ascertained that the fatal draught contained a *far greater quantity*; indeed the Laudanum was not measured, but poured into a glass tumbler.

Several circumstances conspired to prevent our obtaining, from M^r Cargill himself, the state of his religious feelings & hopes during this awful period & in the prospect of death — the confusion into which we were thrown; our hopes that the means employed would prove successful; but especially the wandering of M^r Cargill's mind, which was the case more particularly as death approached & danger was apprehended, when he became indeed quite insensible. At intervals he appeared collected, so as to call by name those around him, but from the incoherency of his language it was too evident that

he was the subject of mental aberration. A testimony from the lips of our departed Friend would have been a great satisfaction, but such a testimony could not be obtained.

As to the measures adopted, & the endeavours made for the recovery of M^r Cargill, I feel perfectly satisfied that from the period of my receiving M^{rs} C's message every means that could be obtained on this Station was, without delay, adopted and tried; but the Surgeon, on subsequently learning the quantity of Laudanum taken, declared that nothing could have saved the life of M^r C.

On calmly reviewing this awfully mysterious event, I feel quite inadequate to form a judgment thereon; but this fact ought not to be omitted, that from the period of M^r Cargill's return to Vavau, to the time of his death, there was something exceedingly peculiar in M^r Cargill's manner — some parts of his conduct were altogether unaccountable & sometimes he appeared to be under the influence of wanderings of mind: & it was evident to all who were intimate with him that there was an inward struggle, & something constantly preying on his spirit.

For an account of M^r Cargill's interment and some other particulars, I beg to refer you to another sheet, & conclude this with earnestly craving an interest in your prayers on our behalf. We are called to pass under a dark & lowering cloud, but we are comforted by the cheering doctrine of Divine Revelation that nothing happens but by the permissive Providence of Almighty God.

The next morning, Kevern sent, by canoe, a note to the nearest missionary — Stephen Rabone at Ha'apai:

I have Many things to communicate, but I may as well break the dreadful secret at once. M^r Cargill is no longer an inhabitant of this world. M^{rs} C. sent for me last night and told me that her husband had taken a large dose of Laudanum instead of Paregoric for a slight indisposition. We tried Emetics & all the means prescribed by D^r Macurdy but all proved fruitless & at half past twelve he breathed his last.¹⁷

Even though Rabone's wife was seriously ill, he left Ha'apai for Vava'u, arriving on 28 April. There he and Kevern made the arrangements for the funeral on the next day:

On Saturday, April 29, we performed the sad task of committing the mortal remains of our lamented Brother Cargill to the silent grave, to await the sound of the great Archangel's trumpet at the last

17. Quoted in letter from Peter Turner to WMS, Nuku'alofa, begun 22 April 1843 and continued in May.

day. The mournful procession started from the Mission Premises at 9 a.m. The Coffin, borne on a bier by some of the principal Chiefs of the Island & Mr. Cargill's most intimate Friends amongst the Natives, were preceded by the Captain & Mate of the 'Nereid', & followed by the weeping widow & Children, & the whole of our little Mission Party, together with a large concourse of Natives. Mr. Rabone conducted the Burial Service in English, & afterwards offered up a suitable prayer in Tonguese — whilst thus praying the Natives could restrain their feelings no longer, but gave vent to the sorrow of their hearts in loud sobs and cries, & most profusely was the Missionary's Grave bedewed with tears, indeed, I believe but few tearless eyes were present. Never did I so fully feel the force of those words in my own heart, so suitable to the present case, 'In the morning it groweth up & flourisheth; in the Evening it is cut down, & withereth.' Mrs. Cargill was graciously supported & manifested calm submission and resignation throughout the whole of this solemn season. Having thus performed the last office of friendship, committing the mortal remains 'dust to dust, & ashes to ashes,' we returned with heavy hearts to the Mission Premises. O it was a sad & melancholy spectacle, to behold a Missionary of the Cross, especially under such peculiarly aggravated circumstances, borne by a part of his [] charge between the reeded fences of this distant Isle of the sea, & amidst floods of tears, committed to the silent tomb, & then to behold the afflicted widow & children casting a last farewell glance upon a Husband, a Father, laid in the 'cold, damp grave,' in this 'strange land,' & there to see that grave filled up, never perhaps again to be opened until the Morning of the Resurrection, unless to inter a fellow Missionary.

On the following day, Sunday, we endeavoured to improve the awful event. M^r Rabone preached in Native, in the morning, & I addressed the people in the Afternoon; & in the Evening M^r Rabone preached a solemn Sermon, in English, from Ps. 89:48. A mournful Sabbath indeed for our little party.

Mrs. Cargill, the bereaved & afflicted widow, has been most generously supported throughout. When she first knew M^r C's actual danger she seemed to sink beneath the weight of this sudden & heavy stroke, but afterwards submitted with Xtian resignation to her painful bereavement. How many circumstances are there to aggravate her loss. In this 'strange land,' at so great a distance from home, she, with five young Children, too young indeed for any of them adequately to know the amount of their loss, is left without any earthly guide or protector, & without the alleviations of sorrow which

spring from social intercourse in civilized life. Truly indeed do we sympathize with the bereaved, & pray that *He* will guide and defend them, who is a 'Father of the fatherless, & a Judge of the Widow.'

I should have mentioned above that M^r Cargill is interred by the side of two Missionaries' Children, one his own Son, who died during Mr. C's former residence at Vavau — the grave is lined and filled with [] according to the Tonguese mode of burial — the Coffin was made of Cedar Plank brought by M^r C. himself, from Van Dieman's Land in Jan. last (but for how widely different a purpose), we not having any suitable Native wood. The Coffin is also enclosed in a large Case, lined with Zinc, which will answer almost the purpose of a lead Coffin.

This awfully sudden and unexpected event produced universal consternation amongst the Natives of this Station — all labour was for the time suspended — every mouth seemed 'dumb before the Lord' — & all seemed lost in amazement & terror. M^r Cargill is the first Missionary who had died *on* the Islands, so that although other of their Missionaries have been obliged to remove, through failure of health, yet M^r C is the first who has actually fallen in their midsts; & the *manner*, as well as the *suddenness*, of this departure from mortality much increased their surprise. May it teach them as well as us many important and useful lessons. . . .¹⁸

That same day the news was carried from Ha'apai to Nuku'alofa, Tongatapu, by Tupou, who arrived there from a visit to 'King' George Taufahau. There George Miller and Peter Turner received the news. Turner wrote:

How mysterious a providence is this! That such a man shd. be removed [?] so suddenly & that by his own hand. We cannot tell what to do until the chairman arrives. I may have to return to V[ava'u].¹⁹

But the chairman, Thomas, on board the Triton, did not arrive until a month later. His fellow passenger, Francis Wilson, reported the reaction to the bad news that greeted them after an absence of over eleven weeks:

On arriving in Nukualofa we found nothing but afflictive tidings awaiting us. M^r Thomas's little boy, his only child, was dead. And what was still more afflictive, our Dear Bro. Cargill at Vavau was also numbered with the dead. The loss of M^r Thomas in the death of his only child, during his absence, was a severe and painful one; but still it was only a Family bereavement. The mysterious & premature removal of Bro. Cargill is a *Public* calamity, a loss not only to his

18. Kevern to WMS, Neiafu, 26 May 1843.

19. Turner to WMS, Nuku'alofa, April-May 1843.

family, but to the Circuit and the District — to the Church and to the World.

As M^r Turner had removed to Tonga, in consequence of Bro. Cargill's appoint. to Vavau; M^r Thomas desired him to return & take again the Superintendency of the Vavau Circuit so that no Special Dist. Meet. was called. He accordingly embarked with us on board the Triton for Vavau where we arrived on 6th Inst.

I felt what I cannot describe on meeting M^{rs} C. in such painful circumstances of bereavement; and in going to the house wh. M^r C. occupied when I left; and then walking down with Bro. Turner & Bro. Kevern to see the spot where his mortal remains are deposited until the morn. of the Resurrection.

The account of Bro. C's sudden & painful removal from us you will receive from Bro. Kevern, who was the only Mis with him on the Station when he died: also from Sister Cargill, who is about to embark in the Triton, to return to the Colony & thence to England . . .

Had this painful event happened in England I have no doubt the decision would have been, that Mr. C. *died from the effects of Laudanum taken during a temporary aberration of mind*. It is much to be regretted that a Medical examination could not take place subsequent to M^r C's death; as it might have thrown some light on the nature of the malady under which he was labouring, which was probably partly *mental* & partly *physical*, and might probably be traced partly to a constitutional tendency & partly to the painful vicissitudes that thru wh. he had passed subsequent to the death of the late M^{rs} C. . . . ²⁰

Although re-appointed to serve as Superintendent on Vava'u — a turn of events that could not help but please him — Peter Turner remained in Nuku'alofa for a short time to settle his affairs and await the next run of the Triton. On 3 June, he left Nuku'alofa, 'a place to which we had been made to go by the D[istrict] M[eeting]', for Vava'u. On arrival there, he and his wife found Mrs Cargill 'so much distressed' that she could not receive them. But they called on her after tea and found her in Cargill's study — 'evidently much distressed'. ²¹

Turner himself was in no pleasant frame of mind when he was well enough into his work to see the changes that Cargill had made during the previous three months. He wrote:

. . . Since I returned to Vavau my mind had been much tempted to

20. Wilson to WMS, Neiafu, 13 June 1843.

21. Turner, journal, 5 June 1843.

complain as all the plans we had in operation before I left are almost all abandoned. There it is, one missionary makes plans which seem to work very well, but his successor may think them quite unnecessary and abandon them ~ or begin others. Thus the natives are never settled, — but are compelled to alter each now and then.²²

But his letter to E. Hoole in London dwelt on a more sentimental theme:

I recollect how much pleased I was when I first saw M^{rs} Cargill, and how glad I felt that Bro^r C. had got one so well qualified to fill the place of the late M^{rs} Cargill. But from the landing of B^{ro} Cargill a second time at Vavau there was something preying upon his mind. It seemed to be too much for him. Frequently would he weep most profusely without any apparent cause. There was also something very strange at times in his conduct, but I was in hopes that when he sh^d be more settled in his work, that these things would wear away and that he would again be in love, both with the *place* and the *people*.

Things went on until the fatal day when his earthly existence was terminated by taking Laudanum, as Mr. Cargill informed Mr. Kevern, 'by mistake for Paregoric.'

From all which we have seen & heard we must come to the conclusion that our dear and lamented Bro^r Cargill must have suffered great mental anguish which so preyed upon his spirit as to produce temporary derangement and that he took the Laudanum when in one of these fits of mental aberration. As to the particulars of his last moments I must refer you to the letter of the Rev^d G. Kevern who was the only missionary then with Mr. Cargill.

The unexpected death of the Rev. D. Cargill has thrown all our plans into confusion and frustration[?]. The natives have felt this bereavement and have sympathized with the bereaved family. This event is the most distressing that has ever happened to this mission, and we feel it most acutely. I need not say how deeply we sympathize with M^{rs} Cargill and the five orphan children. Our prayers shall be offered for them that the special blessing of Almighty God may rest upon them. When I think of the close intimacy which once existed between Bro^r Cargill and myself and of the many happy hours we have enjoyed in each other's company, my heart seems to bleed at the recollection and I almost involuntary breath[e] out and is my dear friend no more. The thought is overwhelming, that this brilliant career is so soon elapsed, and that his sun has gone down at noon.²³

22. Turner, journal, 22 June 1843.

23. Turner to E. Hoole, Nuku'alofa, 20 June 1843.

John Thomas was naturally immersed in his own grief over the loss of his son, but eventually he wrote to London about Cargill's death, which he found 'an astonishing and confounding thing... What could have caused my dear — very dear Brother Cargill to do what he has done? It is so involved in mystery and darkness'.²⁴

On 24 June, the Triton returned to Nuku'alofa, this time with Mrs Cargill and the five children on board, bound first for Fiji, then Sydney, and finally London. It was from her that Thomas heard a more accurate account of her husband's death, and for the first time, the missionaries learned that there was no mistake connected with Cargill's overdose. Here, Mrs Cargill's and Kevern's accounts clash in their reports of who first suggested that the drug was taken by mistake:

That M^r Cargill should have told M^r Kevern that he had taken Laudanum by mistake, having intended to have taken Paregoric Elixir, M^{rs} Cargill thinks may be accounted from M^r Cargill's being ashamed of what he had done. From all I can learn of this most afflictive event, and viewing it in the most charitable light I possibly can, [] obliges me to say, that it has the *appearance* of *self destruction*.

I may state that I have seen my lamented Brother Cargill and fellow Missionary since he arrived very powerfully excited at which time his conduct was more like that of a man insane than anything else, — others I found have witnessed similar effects [?]; whether or not our departed Brother was of sane mind at the time he committed the awful act, we cannot tell; it is a deep we cannot fathom — all is darkness and mystery, but the day will declare it. But I find from a Letter in the possession of M^{rs} Cargill, that it was the opinion of D^r Mair Surgeon of the Haidee, the vessel he sailed last in from England, that M^r Cargill ought to act with the greatest caution, says he, *There appears to be some tendency in your system to disease of the brain*.

Thus Dear Fathers, I have furnished you with these additions to what Bro Kevern has written, had he written you these things, I should in that case not have added to them, — he has merely informed you what M^r C. *said he had taken* &c &c. *not* what was *really the fact*, but all are agreed, there was no mistake in the thing, but a more afflicting and distressing event never befell the [Ministry] to this Mission, Oh if there had been anything to encourage our hope concerning the safety of our dear fallen fellow labourer, how comforting would that have been, but all is darkness. That a

24. Thomas to WMS, Nuku'alofa, 19 June 1843.

Christian — a *Minister* — and a *Missionary* of the Lord Jesus should have thus fallen, is [a] matter for deep humility before God. And when we behold his afflicted widow (whom we highly approve of) and five small but very interesting children left to the peltings of the storm, in this ill natured and unkind world, without her best friend, our distress is increased. Also our Mission have needed his sanctified learning, we rejoiced at his appointment, but how soon we are called to mourn over one we so dearly loved! . . .²⁵

The news that Cargill had taken the laudanum intentionally was as much of a shock to some of the mission family as was the news of his death. George Miller, stationed in Nuku'alofa, could not bring himself to write the word 'suicide' in his journal:

Further particulars having reached Tonga respecting the untimely death of M^r Cargill. Truth compels me to state the fatal fluid was not taken by mistake, as stated on the other side, but _____!²⁶

A later report shows that at least one witness to the death abandoned her efforts to conceal Cargill's intention to die. In Fiji, Dr Lyth wrote:

On the awful night in which he died he spoke but little so far as I can learn — to M^{rs} K[evern] who employed several natives to keep him moving about in order if possible to counteract the narcotic influence of the laudanum. He said M^{rs} K: do let me alone that I may die comfortably. He absolutely refused to take anything in the way of medicine. He said, if I take anything it shall be brandy. His wife took advantage of this & poured a quantity of Tartar Emetic into Brandy & water, which he almost instantly rejected from his stomach.

As the final moment approached he uttered the two following expressions — 'I am on the brink of Eternity!' — 'O how thoughts rush upon me!' ²⁷

The official report of Cargill's death was made as part of the Minutes of the Annual District Meeting for the Friendly Islands District, Nuku'alofa, 13 May 1844:

What Preachers have died since last District Meeting?

David Cargill, A.M., whose awful and lamented death took place at Vavau April 25th, 1843. After a careful investigation of the subject it is with unmingled regret that we feel it our duty to say that the evidence of two Medical men goes to show that our Brother

25. Thomas to WMS, Nuku'alofa, 19 June 1843.

26. Miller, journal extracts to WMS, Nuku'alofa, 27 June 1843.

27. R.B. Lyth, Scrap book, p. 19. ML MS. B543.

Cargill died from the effects of Laudanum taken when under highly excited feelings. . .

At this point, a copy of the minutes²⁸ shows the effect of the final shock, for the next phrase is crossed out. But a desire for accuracy overcame the missionaries' embarrassment, and the final version reinstated the offending phrase:

. . . and it is feared that he might have been under the influence of intoxicating liquor, as it is now known he was in the habit of taking it. We cannot express the feeling [in] our hearts in having to record the untimely death of a man so well-fitted by his natural habits and various attainments for the missionary work and from whose labours such high anticipations were cherished.

28. Mitchell Library manuscript B688.

Epilogue

In early July 1843, the *Triton*, with Mrs Cargill and children on board, called at Lakeba, bringing to Fiji the first news of Cargill's unexpected death. After a few days there, they continued to Somosomo, where Cross had died only months before Cargill, and where, ironically, his widow and five children were to accompany the Cargill family to London. Thus, after the Mission thrust on Cargill and Cross an unwanted partnership, the inadvertent timing of their deaths threw together the two relicts, each a second wife, each hastily chosen to allow the husband to return to the mission field. Calvert, who had been transferred at that time from Lakeba to Somosomo, wrote:

Their husbands came together to introduce the Gospel to Feejee. Dear Br. Cross died well. His active life was finished at the post. His body with his charge he laid down.¹

But unlike his colleague, Cargill had not died well. Nor, in Calvert's opinion, had he lived well. The fragment of Calvert's letter cited earlier shows the preparations he had made against Cargill's possible return to Fiji. On the *Triton's* arrival at Lakeba, a suggestion by Mrs Cargill stirred Calvert to further action. Two weeks later he finally sent the letter that was originally meant for Cargill to the Secretary of the Committee in London, with the following explanation:

Before I left Lakemba, I was informed by Mrs. Cargill that Mr. Cargill left some valuable manuscripts on Fejeean subjects which she thought would be published on her return in connection with

1. Calvert to E. Hoole, Somosomo, 16 July 1843.

Memoirs of Mr. Cargill. I think that Memoirs of Mr. C. ought not to be published — but I did not of course say anything to her. Neither do I like to write to you and your colleagues in your official capacity — lest I should expose Mr. Cargill's conduct unnecessarily. Yet, I think that such information should be possessed by some person in England as will be likely to prevent the life of a man whose general conduct was so objectionable being laid before the public. Therefore I have determined to say what I know to you. Of course I write to you in full confidence — at the same time hoping that what I say will lead you to prevent the publication of Mr. C's Memoirs. You are at full liberty to make what use you think proper of the communication.

The following is a copy of a note which awaited Mr. Cargill's arrival in Fejee will make you acquainted with the awful facts which I think you ought to know: —

'Rev. Sir, —

'When you left Fejee I was anxious for you to remain some time with us — I had felt a want of unison with you in our work, and had suffered much from your peculiar turn of mind: but yet I was desirous for you to prolong your residence in Fejee as I believed that your services were of great importance to our work in these lands.

'As you are expected to return to Fejee, I write this to inform you of a matter which I supposed would have prevented your return to these islands.

'1. During our residence in Lakemba for the first six months after my arrival in Fejee, I was led to believe, from your strange and unaccountable conduct on some occasions, that you sometimes drank too much intoxicating liquor. —

'2. On the 7th March, 1839 — if I mistake not the date — I saw you quite insensible and had to undress you. I was fully persuaded that you were completely drunk on that occasion, — but I was apprehensive that you might have been affected with a small quantity — or, during the storm, might have taken too much undesignedly or unintentionally. — 3. On your departure for Rewa in July, 1839, I felt concerned about your having nearly finished the large quantity of intoxicating drink which we brought you in Dec., 1838 — and I felt persuaded that all was not right with you. — Therefore — 4 — When Mr. Jaggar came here to the District meeting in 1841, I asked him if he had sometimes seen you in the same state in which you were when we were in Lakemba together, and whether he had ever seen you really drunk. He

answered in the affirmative.

'Mr. Waterhouse being here at the District Meeting, I told him the case — and expressed a hope that you would not return.

'I am, Rev. Sir, Your faithful friend,

James Calvert

'To the Rev. D. Cargill, A.M.'

Every brother suffered exceedingly in Fejee from the spirit and conduct of Mr. Cargill while here. He was a dreadful man. And now, poor man, his life is woefully ended. The particulars I know not. I am informed that after Mrs. Cargill reproved him for drinking brandy he took the fatal drought. . . .

Calvert continued, indicating that Cargill had been one of the causes of Cross's debilitation:

Now dear Mr. Cross is gone. He was not spared to hear of his appointment as chairman. It would have cheered him at the end of his rough career to be so honoured. He has always been in the wars — first at Tonga, others with Mr. Cargill. He was completely worn out. . . . Lately — since Mr. Cargill left — he has enjoyed a very peaceable, settled spirit.

The last strike at Cargill's reputation concerned his handling of the financial affairs of the Fiji District:

Look at the woeful accounts of the Rewa Circuit for the year ending in 1840. I was not present at the Meeting. Those who were either took no notice or regarded Mr. Cargill's painful bereavement more than the Mission funds.²

Finally, Calvert criticised Cargill and indirectly, the Committee in London for allowing him to return with his family:

I wonder why Mr. Cargill brought his children out again. Perhaps you were led to suppose though that children are easily managed here. Our families take up much of our time. It is true, the late Mrs. Cargill did much — but then she did not do it long. I believe that she was completely worn & died through hard & constant work.³

With his letters, Calvert finished what Cross had started — the destruction of Cargill's personal reputation. He added variety to his attack by criticising as well Cargill's administrative service and his judgment as head of a family. Only his scholarship was left intact, and it remained for Hunt to destroy that.

2. Note that Cargill did not wait for a higher authority to approve his return to London; nor did he choose the less expensive option of removing temporarily to the Colonies.

3. Calvert to E. Hoole, Somosomo, 16 July 1843.

The vulnerability of Cargill's language studies lay in his curious attitude toward variation. It seems inconceivable that he was as blind to the complexities of language variation as his actions as Chairman indicated. Even Cross had realised early (February 1837) that the languages of Rewa and Lakeba, for example, were sufficiently different as to necessitate separate translations. Cargill had once held a similar opinion, but somehow he had convinced himself (at least according to his journal entries) and others that the opposite view was correct. Could his policies have been influenced by the realisation that the most practical approach to the problem of diversity could result in the loss of almost four years of his work? So long as the Mission continued to make one translation serve for all the dialects, his own work on the Lakeba language would still serve as the keystone for all efforts in translation, grammatical analysis, and lexicography.

By the time John Hunt assumed the duties of District Chairman, his experience in Somosomo had given him a command of the language there, and it took only a short time in Viwa to show him that Cargill's principles were untenable. In 1843, he wrote to the Committee in London, giving a more careful analysis of language variation, and concluding that:

Even between those dialects that are most alike, there is such a difference in particles, the termination of verbs, and the forms of pronouns, etc. that it is very difficult to obtain as much uniformity as to make a book intelligible to the people of two places.

Then he alluded to the previous misunderstanding of the extent of diversity:

It is very easy for a person to sit in his study and look over a dictionary of the various dialects, and conclude that, because there are so many words alike, one translation of the Scriptures will serve the whole group, but when he visits the people in their villages and houses, and converses with them closely, he will see it is necessary to acquire the peculiar phraseology of each peculiar dialect in order to make himself understood . . .

That was the essence of the earlier draft of the letters, sent to his brethren at the District Meeting. With the arrival of the *Triton*, the news of Cargill's death reached Hunt. No doubt regretting having spoken ill of the dead, he crossed out most of the preceding remarks, but the brethren convinced him that they were a criticism of ideas, not of the man. He reinstated them, and then continued, explaining that so far as the Mission knew, the Fijians spoke as many as 'ten different dialects, each of which has so many peculiarities that they

cannot understand either books or preaching in any dialect but their own'. Cargill's opposing opinion, he suggested, was due not only to his unfamiliarity with most parts of the Group, but also to his own naive research methods. Cargill, it seems, had not accounted for the Fijians' own ability to assimilate their speech to that of the region they were visiting. 'There are linguists in Feejee as well as in other countries', Hunt pointed out. 'Why we might as well say, that because Mr Cargill understood Latin, Latin is the vernacular tongue of Scotland.'⁴

With the missionaries' reversal of Cargill's policies came an attempt to carry on translation in four dialects, but this number was not adequate even for the eastern part of Fiji, and the extreme diversity of the languages in the west was then only beginning to be known. Limited in personnel and funds, they finally had to choose a *lingua franca*. Although their reports show a weak attempt to justify the choice on linguistic grounds, it is clear that the brethren chose Bau because of its ascending political fortunes, boosted by the military prowess of Cakobau, its chief. Now, with their efforts focused on one language, the missionaries moved closer to their goals. Hunt and Lyth finished the translation of the New Testament in 1847, and drawing on the work of his predecessors and colleagues, David Hazlewood completed his grammar and dictionary in 1850. Earlier, Hunt had criticised Cargill for calling his Lakeba dialect 'Feejeean', but now Hazlewood's work on Bauan used 'Feejeean' with the sanction of the mission.

Outside Fiji and the Wesleyan organisation, Cargill's work fared somewhat better. Horatio Hale's 'Grammar and Dictionary of the Viti Language', printed in 1846, gave Cargill full credit as the source of his information. For a few years, it was the most extensive statement available on Fijian. But Hale's innovations had made the sketch partially his own, and at any rate, its distribution was limited.⁵ As soon as Hazlewood's grammar and dictionary appeared, it was his name, and not Cargill's, that became known among scholars abroad.

Thus, the efforts to conceal the circumstances of Cargill's death — and some of the details of his life — were singularly successful.

4. Hunt to WMS, Viwa, 26 August 1843.

5. In a letter written in Ontario (dated 11 July 1890, but with the addressee illegible), Hale complained that 'unfortunately the American Government had only a few hundred copies printed for distribution . . . and it is now a very rare book' (S. H. Ray Collection, Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies).

Today, people in Fiji know very little about his stay there, and those in Tonga, where he did not have the distinction of being the first European missionary arrival, know even less. But then, unlike Hawaii, where an aura of self-perpetuated prestige clings to the missionary descendants, those islands did not attract many of the second and successive generations.

Even the clergy in Fiji and Tonga have been largely unconcerned with the memories of David and Margaret Cargill, for the most tangible evidence of their presence there — their graves — has been nearly forgotten. In *Memoirs*, Cargill gave an explicit description of his wife's and daughter's grave:⁶

'The bodies were deposited within the temporary house where brother Cargill had been for some time residing, and in which our dear sister died.' [Within this larger house was erected a smaller one.] . . . A neat and yet strong wooden house has been

Sacred
TO THE MEMORY OF
MARGARET,

THE BELOVED WIFE

OF

THE REV. D. CARGILL, A.M.

WESLEYAN MISSIONARY.

SHE FELL ASLEEP AT ZOAR, REWA, ON THE 2D JUNE, 1840,
IN THE 31ST YEAR OF HER AGE.

She was the mother of six children; and possessed, in an eminent degree, "the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit." Her life was useful, and her death is lamented.

"THE MEMORY OF THE JUST IS BLESSED."

THE DUST OF HER INFANT DAUGHTER,

ANN SMITH,

IS DEPOSITED BY HER SIDE.

Novissima autem inimica destructure mors.

6. The portions marked with inverted commas are from Jaggar's 'biographical sketch of the deceased' (Cargill 1841:376,377).

erected over the site of the grave; the grave has been ornamented with sand, shells, and coral, (the Tonga method of decorating the burying-places of Chiefs,) and the whole building carefully secured with a strong bamboo fence. . . A stone containing the following epitaph has been forwarded to Feejee in 'The Triton,' under the care of the Rev. J. Waterhouse. . . to be erected on the wooden house which covers her grave: —

In 1966, when I decided to search for the grave, the head office of the Methodist Church in Fiji knew nothing of its location, and suggested consulting the Archives. Instead, Dr L. Verrier, who was organising the search, rang the pastor at Lomanikoro, the 'Zoar' of 1840 and then the site of the mission. The *italatala* — the pastor — told us that we might visit the grave, which was within his property. We set off from the landing at Wainibokasi in an outboard and reached Lomanikoro in about ten minutes. There the *italatala* took us to his back yard, where in the shadow of the impressive mound and marker for the Tui Dreketi were two graves — one with a small but ornate headstone, the other a concrete slab topped by a metal railing. No one was sure which was Mrs Cargill's, but by scraping away the mildew with a cane knife, it was found that the smaller headstone was relatively recent. The larger slab was completely unmarked; if there had been an inscription, it had been worn away.

It was then explained that Mrs Cargill's remains had been moved at some indefinite earlier time from the original spot. The constantly changing river, still very close, had washed away at the original site until the reinterment became necessary.

But public opinion is also river-like in its changing course. In late 1974, the people of Lomanikoro were making plans to erect a memorial to Mrs Cargill — a building to serve as a social centre and also as the office and home of the superintendent of the Methodist Church, Rewa division.

The search for Cargill's grave had to wait seven years until I could get to Vava'u. Once in Nuku'alofa and faced with a choice between sea and air travel to the north, time limitations made the latter a necessity, but I must admit to being further influenced by Cargill's report of his extreme seasickness on that same voyage.

On approaching Neiafu, I remembered the arrival of another missionary — James Watkin — and his assessment of the harbour ('I have not seen anything in the way of scenery to equal it since I left England') and better understood why both Cargill and Turner resisted being transferred to Ha'apai, or why earlier Cargill felt 'considerable exercise of mind with regards to Fiji'. In addition to the

beauty of the place, there must have been abundant food in the 1830s and 1840s (before the days of copra plantations), for the land is said to be fertile and the fishing good. And its one degree of latitude to the south of Viti Levu is to its advantage during the hot season, especially compared to the insufferable climate of Rewa.

The proprietor and owner of the Stowaway Motel, Sio Moa, explained that the original town of Neiafu was on the bay that the motel now overlooks. The *Faifekau Sea* (Head Pastor) confirmed that the village had moved and suggested that the harbour had been too narrow for safe passage, since attack would have been possible from either shore. But whatever the reason, Neiafu moved across a hill to the opposite harbour, and the village Cargill knew was on this now-quiet bay, suitable for canoes at high tide, but mostly exposed at low tide, when Mr Moa's trucks use the area along the sea wall as a highway.

If the site of Cargill's house was farther to the left and immediately against the hill, it may well have been windstill, as one of his successors complained, and stifling during the summer months. But its location is mere speculation.

The site of the Wesleyan Mission, however, remains in memory: the top of the hill with a view of the old harbour in one direction and the new town in the other. But when the buildings were destroyed in a storm some years ago, the Church was rebuilt on a more sheltered site below. Much of the hill is now being removed for gravel.

Cargill's memory and grave have fared even less well. The *Faifekau Sea*, not a Vava'u man himself, admitted to being uninterested in such things. Mrs Moa suggested looking in the cemetery a few hundred yards from the motel, where there were said to be 'old' graves. But the only marked stones were much too recent. Even the most substantial clue — Kevern's remark that Cargill was interred by his son, and in turn, Cargill's journal entry in 1835 that his son's grave was 'within the precincts of the burying-place of the Vavau Kings' — presented a dilemma, since there were two possible sites. On one of these, within the new town, all the graves had been moved to make room for a new building. On the other, at the foot of a hill where the mission once stood, there were possibilities. There, in a small area with the graves of a few other nineteenth-century missionaries, was a flat stone with a foundation for a vertical member, now leaning on the surrounding iron railing. Slight depressions might once have been engraved letters, but now they were illegible.

Nearby, an epitaph — this one clearly legible, for the letters are of

inlaid metal — honoured the Reverend Francis Wilson, Cargill's companion on Vava'u, who bled him for his serious illness a month before his death, and then died himself within three years. Very likely erected some years after Wilson's death (since it was not the practice in 1846 to mark the glottal stop), the stone with its inscription is enduring proof of the Wesleyans' efforts to erase the memory of Cargill:

Here lie the mortal remains of / The Rev. Francis A. Wilson / who arrived here from England in 1840. / He was the principal of the first training institution / for native ministers to be established in the tongan Islands at Neiafu, Vava'u. / Labouring with great success / his health succumbed under / excessive toil, and he passed to his reward on March 4th 1846, / *being the first Wesleyan Missionary / to die on the Tongan field.* [Italics mine] / Their works do follow them.

In 1931 the historian G.C. Henderson made an admirable attempt to salvage Cargill's reputation and to explain his motives for suicide. After discussing the suppression of his memoirs (on the strength of Cross's and Calvert's letters), he noted that Cargill's associates had complimented him as far as using his material, but had gone no further because he was 'not a *persona grata* to them'. Henderson continued his defence, speculating that had Cargill lived and conquered his 'intemperate habit', it would have been he and not Hunt who translated the New Testament; he and not Williams who became the contemporary authority on Fijian customs. He concluded:

David Cargill was the pioneer of literary enterprise in Fiji. He laid the foundations on which his successors built, and, if the structure they raised was better than his — as it undoubtedly was — he, at least, provided them with a lot of material that was helpful to them in their work. As for his regrettable end at Vavau after his return from England I am of the opinion that he acted in that dread hour from high and honourable motives. Finding that his intemperance was getting the better of him he decided to put an end to his life rather than take the risk of bringing discredit on the mission which he had so brilliantly and faithfully served.⁷

In spite of Henderson's careful research, his conclusion seems too simple. Cargill might have brought considerably less discredit to the Mission had he merely resigned. But more important, assigning such honourable motives to his action presupposes that he considered

7. Henderson 1931a:195-6.

himself an alcoholic, and there is no evidence that he did. As for his colleagues' opinion, it is not clear to what extent he had to indulge to be called 'intemperate'. In Cargill's case, the meaning of the word hinged on chronology. According to Gunson,⁸ 'the universal temperance movement, closely followed by a teetotal movement, was the product of the 1820s'. It did not become well established in Britain until approximately the time Cargill first left for Tonga. It follows, then, that Cargill's standards of temperance were different from those of his junior colleagues. If so, being drunk on occasion had a different social meaning to him than it did to the newer wave of Wesleyans, including, perhaps, his second wife.

As a cause for the state of mind that would induce a man of the cloth to disgrace himself and his associates by the act of suicide, alcoholism, then, fades into the background. To take its place, Cargill's final journal (which was not available to the historian Henderson) suggests a completely different solution: dengue fever.

From the time Cargill first fell ill — just seven weeks before his suicide — his overt symptoms followed one of the usual patterns of dengue: sudden onset, exhaustion, fever, slight improvement, and coughing. A week later (a quicker 'recovery' than from his previous bout in 1840), he resumed work, but still suffered from fatigue.

A more subtle effect of dengue fever, the seriousness of which is only beginning to command the attention of the medical profession, is the psychotic depression that typically begins in the second or third week after recovery from the physical debilitation of the illness and lasts as long as three months. During this time, the patient may find it difficult to think clearly or accomplish his work. Often he cries without reason. In extreme cases, he may exhibit schizophrenic or suicidal tendencies.⁹

Cargill's own writings and of course his final act suggest very strongly that he was suffering from such a depression. The tone of his last letter, for instance, is clearly depressed, and his irrational criticism of the Tongans' interest in studying geography, which he might normally have considered just another of the products of European civilisation he was so anxious for the Tongans to adopt, shows his inability to think clearly. As for the other symptoms, his colleague Turner provided a post-mortem enumeration: '... something preying upon his mind. It seemed to be too much for him.'

8. Gunson 1966:54-5.

9. For confirmation of my diagnosis and for a detailed explanation of various manifestations of post-dengue depression, I am indebted to Dr T.F. Ashton-Martin, Suva.

Frequently would he weep most profusely without any apparent cause. There was also something very strange at times in his conduct . . . '.

During this distorted period, Cargill's mind had an abundance of events and conditions, both past and present, to draw on: the horrors of the cannibalism he had observed, the frustration of trying to do scholarly work with uneducated colleagues, the death of his first wife — whom in his writings he had raised almost to a Wesleyan sainthood, an apparently loveless second marriage, the knowledge that he was considered subject to 'disease of the brain', and (perhaps principally) a final realisation that both his scholarly work and his pentecostal successes with the Tongans — the major accomplishments of his career — had been only temporary. All these contributed.

But still it is likely that the main cause of Cargill's depression was dengue fever, which produced a state of mind over which he had little control. Perhaps the knowledge that his suicide was not due to a lack of faith or an excess of alcohol will help wipe away the disgrace that has been attached to his name for over 130 years and give David Cargill belated but deserved recognition for his scholarly achievements and his pioneer efforts in establishing Christianity in the Fiji Islands.

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Albert J. Schütz is Professor of Linguistics at the University of Hawaii. His research on Fiji and the Fijians began in 1960 when he conducted a dialect survey there, but preliminary research in the University of Hawaii's Pacific Collection kindled his interest in the islands' history. Later, in the Mitchell Library, he first read Cargill's diary and letters and in subsequent years searched for other Cargill manuscript material in Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Tonga and England.

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