

Notes to text

Introduction

1. See Deryck Scarr's life of Thurston: I, the Very Bayonet and Viceroy of the Pacific; R.A. Derrick, A History of Fiji; J.D. Legge, Britain in Fiji 1858-1880 and for the best short account of the nineteenth century period leading into this book, Deryck Scarr, 'John Bates Thurston: Grand Panjandrum of the Pacific'.
2. Ratu Peni Tanoa to the NC, 5 March 1908, CSO 08/1174.
3. See David Wilkinson's open letter to Sir Everard in Thurn, Western Pacific Herald, 3 July 1908, for another account of Cession from the Fijian viewpoint.
4. See Deryck Scarr, 'John Bates Thurston, Commodore J.G. Goodenough, and Rampant Anglo-Saxons in Fiji'.
5. Much of the Indian story in Fiji has been told by K.L. Gillion in Fiji's Indian Migrants and The Fiji Indians.
6. Peter France, The Charter of the Land, has the best impressionistic survey of pre-Cession Fiji.
7. Sir Arthur Hamilton Gordon, Paper on the System of Taxation in Force in Fiji, p. 178. See France, Charter of the Land, p.108.
8. See Ian Heath, 'Towards a Reassessment of Gordon in Fiji'.
9. After 1904 the Council of Chiefs submitted a panel of six to the Governor, and two were given seats on the Legislative Council, three after 1929. Since independence the Council chooses eight of the twenty-two senators comprising the upper house.
10. Legge, Britain in Fiji, has an exhaustive discussion of the system summarized here and further elaborated as needed in the chapters below.
11. Figures supplied by Deryck Scarr. His Viceroy of the Pacific has a full discussion of the taxation system.

12. Legge, Britain in Fiji, pp. 193-4.
13. France, Charter of the Land, p. 123.
14. *ibid.*, p. 139.

Chapter 1. New white men without knowledge

1. Sir Everard im Thurn's address, 14 October 1907, Legislative Council Debates, 1907.
2. Sir George T.M. O'Brien to Sir Ian Anderson, 30 November 1901, CO 83/73.
3. Fiji Times, 9 September 1899.
4. Norma McArthur, Island Populations of the Pacific, pp. 26-32.
5. Basil Thomson, The Indiscretions of Lady Asenath, p.186.
6. G.R. Burt to the Governor, 12 February 1892, CSO 92/620.
7. Frank Spence to the CS, 11 February 1892, CSO 92/252.
8. W. Slade to the CS, 18 February 1892, CSO 92/645.
9. Report of a Commission of Enquiry Appointed to Enquire into the Decrease of the Native Population (1896), p. 38.
10. The turaga ni koro of Cautata, William Sutherland's minute, 13 December 1910, CSO 11/784.
11. S. Smith's minute, 10 June 1898, Kadavu Provincial Council Book.
12. W. Scott's minute, 12 April 1911, Serua Provincial Council Book.
13. Ratu Tevita Suraki's report, 29 November 1898, CSO 98/5154.

14. Basil Thomson, The Fijians, pp. 228-32.
15. W.L. Allardyce's minute, 6 December 1902, CSO 02/5451.
16. Thomson, The Fijians, pp. 229-30.
17. O'Brien's minute, 8 January 1898, CSO 89/42; address to the Legislative Council, 7 October 1898, CP 33/99.
18. O'Brien to CO, 31 December 1897.
19. Walter Carew's minute, 11 July 1896, and Sir John B. Thurston's, 14 December 1896, CSO 96/2425.
20. See letters of appointment, 14 October 1898, CSO 98/3498.
21. O'Brien's marginals, CSO 00/2693 and minute, 19 September 1900, CSO 99/3534.
22. Spence diaries at CSO 99/38, 00/3534.
23. Excerpts from Sydney Smith's 1900 diaries, CSO 02/5838.
24. Nailatikau to O'Brien, 7 May 1900 and O'Brien's minute, 18 May 1900, CSO 00/1628.
25. Proceedings of the Council of Chiefs, 1902.
26. Na Mata, May 1899, pp. 74-5.
27. *ibid.*, March 1899, p. 47.
28. For the hygiene mission see CSO 99/1777, 99/3149, 99/4930.
29. O'Brien's address to the Legislative Council, 27 September 1899, CP 29/00.
30. See O'Brien to Bishop Vidal, 10 November 1898, PMB microfilm 455.
31. W.L. Allardyce to the Commissioner of Colo North, 31 January 1899, CSO 99/567.
32. CP 29/00

33. Na Mata, July 1905.
34. *ibid.*, August 1905.
35. Proceedings of the Council of Chiefs, 1875.
36. O'Brien's minutes, 9 December 1898, CSO 98/4850.
37. See CSO 99/1483, 5426.
38. O'Brien to CO, 31 December 1897.
39. Fiji : Report for 1900, HMSO London, 1901.
40. W.L. Allardyce's memorandum, 6 December 1902, CSO 02/5457.
41. Islay McOwan to the Receiver General, 3 June 1901, CSO 01/2522.
42. CSO 02/5457.
43. Nathaniel Chalmers to the Receiver General, 1 June 1898, CSO 98/525.
44. O'Brien's minute, 13 May 1898, CSO 98/525.
45. William Sutherland's minute, 19 June 1901, CSO 01/2740.
46. Ratu Isikeli Tubailagi to the NC, 15 November 1901, CSO 00/3795.
47. R. Booth to the assistant CS, 20 October 1900, CSO 00/3795.
48. W.L. Allardyce's minute, 9 December 1898, CSO 98/4850.
49. W.A. Scott to the NC, 21 August 1904, CSO 04/4229.
50. Ratu A. Finau to the NC, 10 February 1903, CSO 00/2215.
51. O'Brien's minute, 23 June 1900, CSO 00/2215.
52. William Sutherland to the CS, 1 July 1909, enc. Sir Charles Major to CO, 6 July 1909, CO 83/92.

53. Sutherland's minute, 20 January 1913, CSO 13/5856.
54. H.B. Cox's minute on im Thurn to CO, 26 October 1906, CO 83/83.

Chapter 2. The assault on land rights

1. Sir Everard im Thurn's diary, 11 October 1904, im Thurn Papers.
2. Address to the Council of Chiefs, April 1905, im Thurn Papers.
3. Fiji Times, 20 March 1909.
4. See Gordon to CO, 25 March 1881, in Sir Arthur Hamilton Gordon, Fiji, vol. 4, pp. 516-17.
5. See Introduction.
6. F. Spence to im Thurn, 31 January 1909, enclosed in CSO F37/93.
7. Lord Stanmore (Gordon) to CO, 29 August 1908, CO 83/86.
8. Im Thurn's minute, 6 December 1907, CSO 06/3236.
9. Im Thurn to CO, 2 November 1907, CO 83/86 and 18 March 1908, CO 83/87.
10. Im Thurn's minute, 11 January 1906, CSO 05/4118. See also CSO 05/4029, 05/4556.
11. Proceedings of the Council of Chiefs, 1903, Resolution VI: 'it is our unanimous wish that the Government have the entire control of leasing such land, fixing the terms and the rents for it'.
12. Sir Charles Major's minute, 24 January 1905, and Francis Baxendale's minute, 15 March 1905, CSO 05/1206.
13. Im Thurn to CO, 22 March 1907, CO 83/85.

14. Im Thurn to CO, 26 October 1906, CO 83/84.
15. *ibid.* The ordinance was approved with the proviso that the Colonial Office's approval be obtained prior to actual resumption.
16. Madraiwiwi to the NC, August 1906, CSO 06/2854.
17. David Wilkinson to the NC, 13 August 1906, MM L/14; copy enclosed in CSO F37/93.
18. See im Thurn to CO, 12 June 1907, CO 83/85.
19. CO to im Thurn, 26 October 1907, CO 83/86.
20. Im Thurn to CO, 18 March 1908, CO 83/87.
21. See CSO 06/3236, 06/3651, 06/3602, 07/4816.
22. W.A. Scott to the NC, 30 July 1909, CSO 09/6393.
23. Komai Sawakasa and others to the NC, 1 November 1909, CSO 09/9295.
24. Letter read to the Tailevu Provincial Council, November 1909, CSO 09/9295.
25. Petition of the Planters Association to the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 30 January 1908, article 117.
26. Im Thurn to CO, 26 October 1906 and 22 March 1907.
27. Rev. A.J. Small to im Thurn, 14 March 1908, CSO 08/1174.
28. Im Thurn's minute, 16 March 1908, on Tanoa and others to the NC, 5 March 1908, CSO 08/1174.
29. See Peter France, The Charter of the Land, pp. 159-61.
30. Stanmore to CO, 29 August 1908, CO 83/86; im Thurn to CO, 15 April 1908, CO 83/87; CO to im Thurn, 15 July 1908, CO 83/88.
31. France, Charter of the Land, p. 165.

Chapter 3. The erosion of hereditary privilege

1. Ai Tukutuku Vakalotu [The Church Times] March 1932, pp. 10-11.
2. Proceedings of the Council of Chiefs, 1892, Resolution III.
3. David Wilkinson's memorandum ('Lala or Fijian Service Tenures'), 18 December 1875, CSO 00/3434.
4. Wilkinson to the CS, 6 January 1898, CSO 98/215. His singular spelling is no reflection on the quality of his observations.
5. Francis Baxendale's minute, 21 October 1904, CSO 04/4229.
6. W.A. Scott to the NC, 21 September 1904, *ibid.*
7. Im Thurn's note, 16 November 1904, im Thurn Papers, ms2, item 10.
8. Im Thurn's opening address, 10 April 1905, Proceedings of the Council of Chiefs, 1905; J. Baleiricau and others to im Thurn, 7 April 1905, CSO 05/1971.
9. Im Thurn's minute, 29 June 1905, CSO 05/2720.
10. Letter to the editor, Na Mata, September 1906, pp. 138-9.
11. Letter to the editor, Na Mata, September 1908, pp. 136-7.
12. Ratu Joni Madraiwiwi to the Governor, 26 October 1913, CSO 14/1745.
13. But see the conflict between Bau and Verata on this very point in Chapter 5.
14. See G.V. Maxwell to the CS, 11 July 1917, CSO 17/5947.
15. Rusiate R. Nayacakalou, *Fijian Leadership in a Situation of Change*, p. 316.

16. CSO 01/1058; Ratu A. Finau to the CS, 21 October 1905, CSO 05/4533.
17. W.A. Scott's minute, November 1909, Kadavu Provincial Council Book.
18. Similarly the chiefs protested in 1932 when the government removed from the Communal Services Regulation three items that seemed to offend the Geneva Convention on forced labour effective 3 June 1932: the transport of mail and government officials, the conveyance of the sick and the assistance of NLC surveyors. The chiefs said that by the abolition of free transport 'a chiefly custom of our land would be done away with' - see Sir Murchison Fletcher to CO, 9 November 1932. The government was glad to allow the provincial councils separately to re-enact these 'forced labour' provisions.
19. Proceedings of the Council of Chiefs, 1911, Resolution XVIII. The Rokos of Tailevu and Rewa held out unsuccessfully for compensation.
20. Proceedings of the Council of Chiefs, 1912.
21. D.R. Stewart's minute, 22 April 1919, SNA 19/1095.
22. Sir John B. Thurston to Ratu Epeli Nailatikau, 30 July 1894, CSO 94/2049. The following year relief supplies of rice were sent to the island - CSO 95/2579.
23. Similarly, disputes over land near the Nausori mill broke out whenever CSR required further leases. In 1885 there was an unpleasant confrontation at Nausori between the Chief of Namata with his men and the Bauans under Ratu Epeli. The Namata chief feared that some of the Bauans were bent on armed violence and on depriving him of all his lands - Ratu Marika Toroca to Lt Governor, 6 December 1886, CSO 93/3676. A further dispute over 'Nokonoko', some 70 acres on the Bau-Namata boundary, was resolved in favour of Namata by W.L. Allardyce in 1894 - *ibid*.
24. As spoken by Ratu Busa, 26 October 1907, CSO 05/3764. Im Thurn minuted: 'The Bau chiefs seem always to have played at young blackbirds in their nest doing nothing but opening their mouths.'

25. See Sir F. Henry May to CO, 25 October 1911, for a longer summary and the chiefs of Bau to CO, 14 May 1909, CO 83/99.
26. Ratu Marika Toroca's conflict with the Bauans is analysed in Deryck Scarr, 'A Roko Tui for Lomaiviti'.
27. J. Green's minute, 1 January 1916, CO 83/127.
28. William Sutherland's minute, 2 March 1911, CSO 10/7259.
29. A. Erdhardt's minute, 16 October 1912, CSO 12/6371.
30. See CP 17/06. Prior to 1906 the turaga i taukei received 8s in the f, but was expected to distribute it according to custom to the lesser chiefs - few did. In 1906 therefore, ignoring the actual social organization of the people, a new division was made: 1s for the turaga i taukei, 2s for the head of the yavusa (a descent group of third-order inclusiveness) and 3s for the chief of the legal land-owning unit, the mataqali. The Roko and the Buli were given 1s each whether or not they were landowners. After 1912 the government deducted 2s, leaving 10s to the mataqali members.
31. See evidence of Wilisoni Tuisawau and Sorita Batei, CSO 12/6371. Inoke Nawa, ex-Buli Bureta (Ovalau) stated that the reason they had not sent first fruits to the Vunivalu for some years was due to orders from the European magistrate in charge of Lomaiviti.
32. Report of the NLC proceedings in Lomaiviti, 16 November 1916, CP 14/17.
33. CSO 16/7067.
34. Wainiu's evidence, *ibid*.
35. Sir Cecil Rodwell to CO, 31 August 1922.
36. J.S. Neill's minute, 20 November 1925, CSO 23/2888.
37. A.L. Armstrong's report, 19 June 1923, CSO 22/4936.
38. Wainiu to Sir Arthur Richards, 20 August 1937, CSO F50/68. In 1940 and in 1942 the Council of Chiefs unsuccessfully asked that the Vunivalu receive a salary.

Chapter 4. The new politics of chiefly power

1. Journal of Rev. Thomas Baker, 6 August 1859, Mitchell Library, Sydney, reference courtesy of Deryck Scarr.
2. Madraiwiwi to the Governor, 26 October 1913, CSO 14/1745.
3. *ibid.*
4. Madraiwiwi to the NC, 19 April 1907, CSO 07/1452.
5. See CSO 07/5549 for Adi Vasemaca. For many details I am indebted to Ratu Tiale Vuiyasawa.
6. See CSO 07/5286. There were 300 acres already under nuts.
7. William Sutherland's minute, 31 March 1908, CSO 07/5624.
8. The Vunivalu of Bau was installed first as Tui Kaba and his wife as Ranadi Kaba. Some time later the original inhabitants of Bau now living at Namaciu on Koro (the kai Butoni) installed him as Vunivalu, and several months after that the kai Levuka of Lakeba installed him and his wife as Tui and Ranadi Levuka. See Niko Rabuku to the NC, 9 April 1907, CSO 07/1452, explaining the irregularity of the previous month's proceedings, and accompanying papers.
9. Wainiu had long been trying to discredit Kadavulevu; for instance in August 1911 he charged Kadavulevu with supplying liquor to Pita Raori and with beating one Loga twenty times with a stick until the man bled - Wainiu to the Governor, 9 August 1911, CSO 11/6509.
10. Wainiu to the Governor, 18 August 1913, CSO 14/1686.
11. William Sutherland's minute, 14 October 1913, CSO 13/8213.
12. Fiji Times, 7 October 1913.
13. Rabici to the NC, 30 May 1914, CSO 14/5063.

14. CSO 16/8918.
15. See, for example, G.V. Maxwell to the CS, 4 December 1917, CSO 17/201 and memorandum, 10 November 1919, CSO 19/31.
16. Toganivalu to the NC, 26 June 1908, CSO 07/4137; Na Mata, March 1909, pp. 44-6.
17. Cyril Francis's minute, 19 October 1912, CSO 12/5197.
18. See Islay McOwan's minute, 3 July 1908, CSO 08/3045.
19. See CSO 08/6325 and Vuama Vakabati and others to the Governor, 11 October 1911, CSO 11/8814.
20. Sutherland's minute, 26 November 1908, CSO 08/6325.
21. Qasevakatini to Cyril Francis, 25 November 1908, CSO 08/6325.
22. The presiding officer of the 1909 Provincial Council, W.A. Scott, gave as the reason for the move that 'The Roko wishes Councils to be held at different places each year so as to lend impetus to planting' - n.d. [November 1909], Kadavu Provincial Council Book. But the Council did not move from Yale in 1911. Few Tavuki chiefs came to these meetings. Ratu Asesala was conspicuously absent in 1910.
23. Chiefs of Tavuki to the Governor, 11 October 1911, CSO 11/8814.
24. Qasevakatini to Buli Tavuki, 24 August 1911, CSO 11/404.
25. Vuama Vakabati and others to the Governor, 11 October 1911, and Sutherland's minute, 15 November 1911, CSO 11/8814.
26. Qasevakatini to Sutherland, 8 December 1912, CSO 12/7932.
27. David Wilkinson's report on Serua, CSO 99/1575.
28. A comparison of the kinship units listed in the NLC final report on Serua, 1932, with those made by David Wilkinson in 1899 is the main documentary basis for the

inferences made here and amply confirmed in many conversations in villages of the province. Fijian readers will appreciate that out of consideration for prominent living personalities I have not broached the related question of the publicly disputed right of Ratu Aseri's mataqali to exclusive possession of the chiefly titles Na Ka Levu and Vunivalu.

29. Sir F. Henry May to CO, 3 May 1911, CO 83/101.
30. Rev. A.J. Small to Rev. W. Bennett, 5 June 1909, MM F/1/1909.
31. See CSO 04/4656, 13/3500, 19/1859.
32. G.V. Maxwell's minute, my emphases, 21 May 1919, CSO 19/1859; Komave's petition to secede at CSO 13/3800.
33. Ratu Aseri to DC Navua, 17 October 1917, CSO 17/10162.
34. H. Disbrowe's minute, 28 October 1921, SNA 21/1137.
35. Evidence at CSO F50/27/19; Sukuna's memorandum 3 January 1934, SNA 32/552.
36. Words of a Galoa informant, 26 August 1973.
37. ibid: 'Sa turaga levu duadua ga vei keda o Ratu Aseri.'
38. At the time of writing, Ratu Sukuna's official biography by Deryck Scarr was going to press. I was able to check some details from the early chapters in draft, by kind permission of the author.
39. Sukuna's memorandum in Sir Cecil Rodwell to CO, 23 July 1923, CO 83/165.

Chapter 5. The continuities of village life and politics.

1. Walter Carew to the CS, 24 April 1896, CSO 96/1431.
2. See CSO 08/1240. For a detailed analysis of 114 appointments of Bulis see T.J. Macnaught, 'Chiefly Civil Servants?...

3. Sukuna to the CS, 21 April 1933, CSO F15/1.
4. Regulation III of 1912, Part III.
5. Sukuna to the CS, 16 April 1940, CSO F15/1.
6. Colo East Provincial Council Report, 1929.
7. Rev. Wesley Amos to Rev. A.J. Small, 13 June 1918, MM F/1/1918. The other party to the exchange would have been the Bauans.
8. I am indebted in part for this description to the eye-witness account of Rev. Robert Green in his unpublished memoirs.
9. Rusiate R. Nayacakalou, Tradition, Choice and Change in the Fijian Economy, p. 69.
10. H.C. Monckton's minute, 17 September 1939, CSO F50/6.
11. Ratu J.L.V. Sukuna, Policy with Regard to Fijian Communal Obligations.
12. CSO F15/1.
13. CSO 13/1463.
14. Parochialism is a major theme of John Nation, Customs of Respect.
15. Nailatikau to Sir John B. Thurston, 1 September 1890, CSO 90/1734; CSO 90/3091.
16. Ravoka to the SNA, 21 January 1921 and other papers at SNA 21/230.
17. CSO 22/5611, 22/1127, 22/1728, 23/1622.
18. Ratu J.A. Rabici et al. to the Governor, 13 November 1923, CSO 23/1725.
19. CSO 23/4338.
20. A.J. Armstrong's minute, 16 February 1925, CSO 25/2441.

21. Buli Verata to DC Rewa, 28 August 1930, CSO 30/3068.
22. Sukuna's diary, 12 September 1933, CSO F15/5.
23. *ibid.*, 5-12 September 1933.
24. CSO F23/7. The following year he was exiled to Batiki.

Chapter 6. Apolosi R. Nawai and the Viti Company

1. For Tuka, see Deryck Scarr, Viceroy of the Pacific, passim, and Thurston's masterly despatches to CO, 15 January, 16 February, and 5 July 1886, 1 June and 4 July 1887, 12 August 1891.
2. Stories such as these, which are legion, are equally as often ascribed to Apolosi as to Navosavakadua, one clue to a linkage impossible to document firmly in the records.
3. Sukuna's memorandum, 12 March 1917, CSO 17/2286. See also Chapter 2.
4. Sydney Smith to the CS, 29 October 1912, CSO 12/7021.
5. The ordinance (XXVII of 1913) was based largely on G.V. Maxwell's recommendations at CSO 13/3087.
6. K.J. Allardyce to the CS, 5 February 1915, CSO 15/1166.
7. Oral accounts on which this paragraph is mostly based were gathered informally at Lutu village in 1973, and are not necessarily reliable.
8. Sukuna's memorandum, 12 March 1917, CSO 17/2286.
9. Na Mata, January 1914.
10. Kuruduadua to the Provincial Commissioner of Colo East, 28 January 1914, CSO 14/1975.
11. Recast from an awkward paraphrase of Ilaisa Seru's evidence, restricted file.

12. Escott's minute, 3 June 1914 and other papers at CSO 14/4758.
13. Ratu A. Finau to the CS, 18 February 1914, CSO 14/2413.
14. Proceedings of the Council of Chiefs, 1914.
15. *ibid.*, 1917 and CSO 14/4712.
16. CSO 14/4385, 14/19313, 14/10287.
17. Registrar of Companies to the CS, 25 November 1916, CSO 16/9253.
18. Apolosi's circular to the Bulis of Nadroga, 17 March 1915, CSO 15/2851. See also Gaunavou R. Nawai and David L. Toma's, Ai Tukutuku Bibi . . .
19. Fiji Times, 30 March 1915.
20. Fijian text, *ibid*; Gilchrist Alexander, From the Middle Temple to the South Seas, p. 72.
21. Restricted files and George Barrow to the Governor, 5 April 1915, CSO 15/3130.
22. Escott to CO, 7 December 1917, CO 83/139.
23. Na Mata, January 1916; Escott's text of verbal warning read to Apolosi in Korovou gaol, September 1916, CSO 16/6390.
24. H.E. Snell to the CS, 28 March 1917, CSO 17/3093.
25. Rev. C.O. Lelean to Rev. A.J. Small, 16 November 1916, MM F/1/1916.
26. From a conversation with miners at Vatukoula in 1973, and A. Thompson's personal communication, 17 November 1975.
27. Lutu files are restricted.
28. Co to Escott, 11 July 1917, CSO 17/7208.
29. Unless a source is cited hereafter the files are restricted.

30. Escott to CO, 7 December 1917, with enclosures, CO 83/141.
31. Sukuna's memorandum, 12 March 1917, CSO 17/2286.
32. Escott to CO, 7 December 1917, CO 83/141.
33. H. Long's minute, 28 February 1918, CO 83/141.
34. I could not locate the Fijian original of this remarkable document.
35. For the narrative of these years see my earlier account in Deryck Scarr (ed.), More Pacific Island Portraits, pp. 186-92.

Chapter 7. The vein of discontent.

1. See Legislative Council Debates, 1969, pp. 780-842 for European, Fijian and Indian testimony on the prevalence of black magic in Fiji and Ratu Penaia L. Latianara's article in Pacific Islands Monthly, September 1973, pp. 21-5.
2. A.J. Armstrong to the CS, 20 January 1937, CSO F50/46.
3. Ratu A. Finau to the NC, 8 March 1906, translation enclosed in CSO F50/47.
4. Rev. Colin Bleazard to Rev. A.J. Small, 22 April 1906, and Small to Rev. B. Danks, 31 July 1906, MM F/1/1906. The teachers were suspended and began a Free Church of their own.
5. H.C. Monckton to the CS, 29 July 1914, CSO 14/6993.
6. Nathaniel Chalmers to the CS, 11 January 1905, CSO 05/303.
7. David Wilkinson's minute, 27 January 1905, CSO 05/303.
8. A.B. Joske to the NC, 17 February 1908, CSO 08/974.

9. See Joske to the Commissioner of Colo East, 1 August 1891, CSO 91/2344.
10. This account is based on a mass of sworn Fijian testimony at CSO 14/6189, 14/7090 and attached papers.
11. Sitiveni's evidence, 11 July 1914, CSO 14/7090.
12. Sailosi's evidence, 11 July 1914, CSO 14/7090.
13. CSO 14/7297.
14. W.E. Russell to the CS, 14 December 1914, CSO 14/19450; Picherit to the CS, 15 February 1915, CSO 15/1621.
15. See CSO 17/7444, 18/3529, 18/9707.
16. Rev. Harold Chambers to Small, 22 May 1918, MM F/1/1918; SNA C19/18; CSO 18/6336; Escott to CO, 4 June 1918 and 13 June 1918, CO 83/142.
17. See Stuart Reay's diary, 1934, passim, CSO F13/21; Reay to the CS, 25 May 1935 and 25 August 1936, CSO F13/1. I visited the area in September 1974 but found the subject too sensitive to broach. Dr Karl Erik Larsson did extensive fieldwork in the area but has not yet published an account of these events.
18. W.A. Scott's memorandum, 4 January 1910, CSO 10/1242.
19. See CSO 23/2576, 27/1115.
20. Isley McOwan's minute, 21 March 1927, CSO 27/1115.
21. CO to Sir Henry Jackson, 8 May 1903, CO 83/76.
22. E.R. Leach, 'Ourselves and Others', Times Literary Supplement, 6 July 1973, pp. 771-2.
23. Proceedings of the Council of Chiefs, 1917, 1923 and passim; J.S. Neill's minute, 27 January 1925, CSO 23/2576.
24. Sukuna's minute, 22 March 1926, CSO 26/797.
25. Native Regulation IV of 1927; SNA 23/242, 26/942; Proceedings of the Council of Chiefs, 1933, Resolution XXV and reply; and 1940 Resolution XXIX; CSO F50/74.

26. Rev. Wesley Amos to Small, 9 February 1915, MM F/1/1915; Rev. W. Brown to Small, 22 February 1913, MM F/1/1913; Rev. A.G. Adamson to Rev. R.L. McDonald, 22 August 1917, MM F/1/1927.
27. Small to Rev. W. Deane, 26 January 1911, MM F/1/1911, and to Brown, 17 May 1905, MM F/1/1905.
28. Chambers to McDonald, 19 June 1933, MM F/1/1933.
29. See Ratu Sukuna's annual reports at CSO F15/1.
30. Sukuna to the CS, 21 April 1937, CSO F15/1.
31. Rev. C.O. Lelean to Small, 14 July 1909 and 9 December 1909, MM F/1/1909.
32. Small to Brown, 21 September 1904, MM F/1/1904. For the related issue of lay representation see A. H. Wood, Overseas Missions of the Australian Methodist Church, vol. 2, chapter XXXVIII.
33. McDonald to Rev. J.W. Burton, 26 January 1923, MM F/1/1923.
34. Chambers to McDonald, 26 February 1933, MM F/1/1933.
35. See charter documents requesting canonical approval from Rome, Records of the Roman Catholic Mission, PMB microfilm 454.
36. Mosese Buadromo (President) to the Acting Under SNA, 14 September 1925, SNA 25/1194.
37. A.W. Seymour to CO, 2 August 1933.
38. Drekitirua to McOwan, 5 November 1928, CSO 29/771.
39. Ravai to SNA, 22 August 1933, SNA 33/1537.
40. CSO 30/2704. Ahmed Ali, Fiji and the Franchise, pp. 158-93, has a full discussion.

Chapter 8. Compromise for a multiracial society

1. W.L. Allardyce's minute, 21 May 1889, CSO 89/415.
2. CSO 09/7249.
3. The CS to the European Stipendiary Magistrates, 13 August 1910, CSO 10/6561.
4. See also K.L. Gillion, The Fiji Indians, pp. 13-16.
5. Ratu J. Madraiwiwi, Ratu J.A. Rabici and Deve Toganivalu to the Governor, 2 February 1915, CSO 15/1034. In the preceding year the Council of Chiefs had been told it was necessary to bring native administration 'more closely into touch' with European administration.
6. This account follows Gillion, The Fiji Indians, pp. 18-46.
7. Y.M. Helliet to the Bishop, 23 April 1922, Records of the Roman Catholic Mission, PMB microfilm 466.
8. Rev. Stanley Jarvis to Rev. A.J. Small, 31 August 1921, MM F/1/1921. See Gillion, The Fiji Indians, Chapters 2 and 3 for an account of the strike from government records.
9. Ratu Pope Seniloli, Ratu S. Seniloli and Ratu J.A. Rabici to the Under SNA, 16 November 1921, CSO 21/6741.
10. Minutes of the meeting, January 1922, CSO 21/6741.
11. Copy of D.R. Stewart's speech, 12 December 1923, at CSO 23/4265.
12. F. Raiwalui and others to the Acting Governor, 10 October 1924, CSO 24/7028.
13. Ratu Pope Seniloli and others to the Governor, 25 April 1925, CSO 25/1524; Sir Eyre Hutson to CO, 6 May 1925; CO to Hutson, 16 June 1925.
14. As told by S.M. Lambert, A Doctor in Paradise, p. 166.

15. T.E. Fell to CO, 7 and 15 February 1924, CSO 24/4078; SNA 27/602.
16. See Peter France, The Charter of the Land, pp. 165-75.
17. David Wilkinson to the NC, 6 October 1905, CSO 05/4556. Marshall D. Sahlins, Moala, pp. 271-87 has a local study of actual land tenurial practices for the 1960s.
18. Sukuna's memorandum, 21 May 1932, CSO F50/27/3.
19. In 1903 Ratu Josefa Lala, then Tui Cakau, subdivided the holdings of the matagali Valelevu into individual holdings retaining five blocks and five dowry portions for his own use. On his death a commission settled these lands to his immediate heirs and they passed to his son Ratu G.W. Lala who was eventually, after a long dispute with a rival claimant, installed as Tui Cakau (1936). See CSO F50/27/1.
20. Sukuna to the CS, 8 August 1930, SNA 29/1564.
21. As reported by A.A. Wright's minute, 29 March 1934, CSO F50/27/9.
22. Sir Murchison Fletcher's minute, 21 March 1934, CSO F50/27/9.
23. Native lands actually under lease, 30 April 1911, comprised 140,974 acres (rental £23,500), with approximately 1800 Indians holding a very small proportion. The government paid small rents (total £643) for only half the Fijian land held for leasing. See CP 14/11.
24. McCrae, 14 October, Legislative Council Debates, 1907.
25. R. St Johnstone to the CS, 9 January 1914, CSO 14/1349.
26. See CO to Sir F. Henry May, 31 May 1911, CO 83/100; May's address, 27 June 1911 and Resolution XIV, Proceedings of the Council of Chiefs.
27. Ro Tuisawau and others to the Governor, 6 December 1915, Na Mata, January 1916.

28. Native Land (Leases) Ordinance, XXIII of 1916, CSO 16/9016.
29. Ruveni Naisua and 241 others to the NC, 8 October 1915, CSO 15/9101. See also Buli Nausori to the NC, 22 December 1915, CSO 15/10912 for similar dissatisfaction in the Rewa districts.
30. H.E. Snell to the CS, 25 March 1917, CSO 17/3093.
31. Proceedings of the Council of Chiefs, 1920; D.R. Stewart's report, 15 December 1920, CSO 20/8025.
32. CSO 23/4018.
33. Sir Maynard Hedstrom's memorandum, 4 August 1924, in CO to the Acting Governor, 5 November 1924.
34. T.E. Fell to CO, 20 February 1925. See also CSO 23/4117, 25/53.
35. Datwari and other leaseholders to the General Secretary of the Moslem League, 21 April 1933, CSO F37/42.
36. See correspondence and resolutions of the Council of Chiefs at CSO F37/42/2.
37. H.C. Monckton to the CS, 10 March 1933, CSO F23/7. The notes were signed successively for amounts less than £20 to render inapplicable the Native Dealings Ordinance of 1904.
38. R.N. Caldwell to the CS, 31 March 1936, and A.E. Howard to the CS, 6 August 1939, CSO F16/2.
39. This conclusion is based on the annual reports of the Provincial Commissioners and figures for applications refused 1937-39 in Lautoka, Macuata and Nadi.
40. Ratu J.L.V. Sukuna, A Vosa nei [the speech of] Ratu J.L.V. Sukuna, Bosevakaturaga 1936. Translation in Juxon Barton to CO, 17 November 1936.
41. For Cakaudrove, see the Cakaudrove Provincial Council Book 1935-1938, pp. 14-15.

42. Farewell address of Sir Arthur Richards, 21 July 1938, CP 53/38; Proceedings of the Council of Chiefs, 1938, Resolution XL (carried 38-3); Legislative Council Debates, 1940, pp. 105-8.
43. S.B. Patel to H.S.L. Polak, 31 October 1929, cited by Gillion, The Fiji Indians, p. 136.
44. Proceedings of the Council of Chiefs, 1933, Resolution XVIII, CP 8/34.
45. Ratu Deve Toganivalu, Ratu Pope Seniloli Cakobau and Ratu J.L.V. Sukuna 'for and on behalf of the senior Chiefs of Fiji' to the Acting CS, 5 November 1935. Edited text published CP 47/35.

Chapter 9. The dilemmas of development

1. Sir F. Henry May to CO, 3 May 1911, CO 83/101.
2. Tuisawau's report on Resolution IV of the Rewa Provincial Council, 11 April 1899, copy at PMB microfilm 455.
3. Nicholas to F.J. Corder, 25 March 1929, PMB microfilm 454.
4. Minutes of the Synod, October 1899, MM F/4/B.
5. Im Thurn's message, 10 October, in Legislative Council Debates, 1907.
6. Rev. Wesley Amos to Rev. A.J. Small, 30 March 1920, MM F/1/1920.
7. Dr R.F.K. Roberts, 'Routine of Child Welfare Work', n.d., CSO 28/5904.
8. Mrs Ruby Brewer to Rev. R.L. McDonald, 1 October 1928, MM F/1/1929.
9. As reported by DC Navua to the CS, 31 March 1927, and Nicholas to the CS, 19 January 1928, CSO 27/2033.

10. CSO 30/1179; SNA 33/1347, 33/1348.
11. See SNA 28/1659 for a spontaneous request from the daughter of Buli Cicia and five of her friends to begin a program in their village.
12. A favourite phrase of Governor May - 19 December 1911, Lomaiviti Provincial Council Book.
13. See CSO 17/2206, Na Mata, September 1917; Fiji: Report for 1920, HMSO, London, 1921, pp. 9-10.
14. T.E. Fell's minute, 10 November 1920, and H.W. Harcourt's 15 February 1921, CSO 20/7813.
15. CSO 18/8754, 18/10217. Other examples at CSO 12/1017, 13/2997.
16. Frequent observations such as these are in the Lau Provincial Council Book. See also SNA 29/2101, CSO F15/1.
17. Sukuna to the CS, 23 March 1935 and 17 March 1939, CSO F15/1.
18. Sukuna to the CS, 14 August 1936, CSO F15/1.
19. A.J. Acton to the CS, 22 April 1936, and Sukuna's memorandum, 'The Tabu in Lomaiviti 1934-1936', CSO F2/175.
20. H.W. Jack to the CS, 5 August 1939, CSO F2/175, and minute, 15 September 1939, CSO F15/1.
21. Jack to the CS, 16 November 1936, and Juxon Barton's minute, 17 February 1937, CSO F2/132.
22. See CSO F50/32, 30/783, 30/1288, F2/17.
23. Rev. A.D. Lelean to McDonald, 5 March 1931, MM F/1/1931. I am indebted to Mrs A.D. Lelean for her reminiscences. Lelean destroyed all his papers.
24. Sir Murchison Fletcher to H.K. Irving, 23 February 1931, CSO F2/121; Irving to the SNA, 30 May 1934, CSO 30/590.

25. C.E. de F. Pennyfather's minute, ? May 1930, CSO 30/590 and papers at CSO F2/121.
26. A.J. Armstrong's diary, 23 July 1935 and passim, CSO F23/4.
27. J.W. Gittins' diary, 19 August 1935 and passim, CSO F19/5.
28. Sir Philip Goldfinch's note, ? August 1936, CSR records, Sydney, R1-0, 1.
29. In 1966 of 2417 Fijian cane farmers, 195 were ex-Drasa. By then 677 boys had graduated. The school had problems of student unrest in the 1950s and 1960s. Ex-Drasa farmers I interviewed at Penang in August 1974 deplored the school's closure in 1967 and insisted it had been a happy place.
30. Report of the third annual general meeting of Emperor Mines, 11 November 1938, CSO 13/39/1; J.E. Windrum to the CS, 18 February 1936, CSO F50/53.
31. Stuart Reay's diary, 7 May 1934 and passim, CSO F13/2.
32. *ibid.*, 8 March 1934 and passim.
33. Reay's diary, and reports at CSO F13/1.
34. *ibid.*
35. Reay to the CS, 11 April 1938, CSO F13/1.
36. See A.J. Armstrong to the CS, 13 March 1939, CSO F23/7.
37. Reay's memorandum, n.d. [1938], CSO F50/16.
38. Jack's minute, 7 January 1936, CSO F20/2.
39. Reay's suggestion needs research - see diary, 21 March 1938, CSO F13/2 and memorandum at CSO F50/16.
40. Barton's minute, 9 October 1936, CSO F13/2; Proceedings of the District Commissioners' Conference, CSO F50/16.

Chapter 10 : Rendezvous with the modern world

1. Sukuna to the CS, 29 September 1934, CSO F15/1.
2. Asesela Ravuvu, Fijians at War, p. 15.
3. Glen Barclay, A History of the Pacific, p. 191.
4. See Ravuvu, Fijians at War for an evocative Fijian account and R.A. Howlett, The History of the Fiji Military Forces, 1939-1945.
5. See K.L. Gillion, The Fiji Indians, Chapter 9.
6. Fiji Times, 17 September 1942.
7. This summary follows Ravuvu and Howlett.
8. Unless cited, references hereafter are to restricted files.
9. Part of this report is cited in the Acting Governor's address to the Great Council of Chiefs, 1944, CP 10/45.
10. Ratu Sukuna's Memorandum, Policy with Regard to Fijian Communal Obligations.
11. *ibid.* See also Ratu Sukuna's speech and the debate in Legislative Council Debates, 1944, Fijian Affairs Bill, especially pp. 5-6.
12. Native Lands Trust Report on Ba, 1941, National Archives of Fiji.
13. Sir Philip Mitchell to CO, 16 July 1943, CP 24/1943.
14. Ratu Sukuna's annual reports were published in the Legislative Council Journal. See especially CP 2/51, 5/53 and 29/55.
15. Legislative Council Debates, 16 July 1946.
16. *ibid.*, debate on the Fijian Development Fund Bill, 20 April 1951.

17. The classic but in some respects antiquarian or at least ahistorical account of the post-war Fijian social and political system is G.K. Roth, Fijian Way of Life.
18. The most influential publications of 'the development writers' are: Cyril S. Belshaw, 'The Effect of Limited Anthropological Theory on Problems of Fijian Administration' and Under the Ivi Tree; Sir Alan Burns, T.Y. Watson, and A.T. Peacock, Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Natural Resources and Population Trends of the Colony of Fiji, 1959; O.H.K. Spate, The Fijian People; R.F. Watters, Koro.
19. The three Colo provinces lost their identity on reorganization, as did Nadi and Lautoka (merged into Ba, as they were prior to 1920), thus reducing the number of provinces from nineteen to fourteen.
20. Belshaw, Under the Ivi Tree, p. 236.
21. Spate, The Fijian People, p. 21.
22. Fiji Times, March-April 1960 has several reports of the Fijian opposition to the Burns Report.
23. Amending regulations dismantling aspects of the communal system can be found in Fiji Royal Gazette, 1961-62, prior to the final Fijian Affairs (Amendment) Regulation, 14 December 1962, which had been approved by the Great Council of Chiefs.
24. See John Nation, Customs of Respect, for a detailed study of provincial politics.
25. See Michael Moynagh, 'Land Tenure in Fiji's Sugar Cane Districts since the 1920s'.
26. Robert Norton, Race and Politics in Fiji, p. 160.
27. Milner's introduction to Roth, Fijian Way of Life, 2nd edn, p. xxvii.
28. Nation, Customs of Respect, p. 58.
29. UNESCO/UNFPA, Population, Resources and Development in the Eastern Islands of Fiji, p. 236.

30. P.S. Nankivell, 'Income Inequality in Taveuni District', in Brookfield et al Taveuni, p. 295 and passim.
31. UNESCO/UNFPA, Population, Resources and Development in the Eastern Islands of Fiji, pp. 173, 211.
32. Nation, Customs of Respect, p. 38.
33. Spate, The Fijian People, p. 9.

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