

# Index

- Ad-Interim Government, Fiji,  
chiefs' rights ensured, 397-398  
appointment and membership, 399  
no right to demand taxes under old laws,  
404
- Anderson, J.W., resident of Matuku,  
M's 'magnates ... full of their own  
superiority', 460  
praise for M, 461
- Aleamotu`a, TK (d. 1845),  
father of M, 1  
visited Lakeba as a young man, 77  
'friend' of Malani, TN, 77  
appointed TK, 3,5, 7-8  
detains Tahitian missionaries, 5, 77  
permits missionaries to proceed, 6  
limited power, 3-4  
authorises missionary school, 6  
supporter of Christianity, 6  
flees Tongatapu, 6  
agrees to renounce *lotu*, 7  
resumes *lotu*, 8  
baptism as Josiah and marriage, 9-10  
influence on young M, 12  
description of his compound, 15, 25  
seeks Tāufa`āhau's help (1840), 29  
meeting with Rabone and Tucker, 30  
meeting with Commodore Wilkes, 30-31  
seeks help from Captain Croker, 32-33  
supplies cutters for 1829 sandalwood  
expedition, 37  
provides men for 1842 expedition, 38-40  
writes to Queen Victoria, 48-49, 83  
fears French influence in Tonga, 49  
receives gifts from George Miller, 50  
final illness and death, 50-51  
missionary criticism of, 51, n.104  
assessment, 51
- American 'debt',  
origins, 95  
US Consul believes Tupou should be partly  
responsible, 164  
Cakobau given one year to pay, 164  
Polynesian Company's offer to pay, 165  
supposed admission of liability by  
Cakobau, 178  
M offers to pay, 178  
Americans prefer payment by the British,  
196
- Consul warns Tongans not to interfere, 260  
payment eases M's path to power, 293
- Ata, Hihifo chief,  
opposes *lotu*, 8
- Baba, Tui Moala,  
installation, 118, 134
- Baker, Rev. Shirley Waldemar, (1836-1903),  
Wesleyan missionary in Tonga,  
chief influence over 1862 Tongan Code  
of Laws, 200  
devised 1875 Tongan Constitution, 458  
nature of Tongan kingship, 457-458  
claims Gordon wanted M to succeed in  
Tonga, 495  
appointed Premier of Tonga (1880), 496  
welcomed news of M's death, 510
- Baker, Rev. Thomas, (1832-1867), Wesleyan  
missionary,  
account of Cakobau's capture of Mara, 175  
on Fiji's *Realpolitik*, 206-207  
describes Golea as 'a thorough heathen',  
207  
witnesses treaty between Bua and Tonga  
(1865), 235-236
- Barff, Rev. Charles, (1792-1866), Wesleyan  
missionary,  
visits Tongatapu (1830), 5, 12
- Bataillon, Pierre, Monseigneur, (1810-1877)  
asked to ensure French protection for  
Ovalau, 146
- Bau,  
offers tribute to visiting Tongans (1840), 71  
growing conflict with Rewa, 108  
deteriorating fortunes against Rewa, 137  
peace concluded with Rewa, 137  
victory over last Rewan opponents, 143
- Bayley, George,  
M's choice as Secretary for Lau and  
private secretary, 341-342  
on M's reasons for secession, 352  
fails to convince Hedemann that  
rifles contract is void, 435
- Beddoes, William, American settler in Fiji,  
buys plots of Vanuabalavu land, 281  
friendship with M, 281, 512
- Beecham, Rev. John, (1787-1856), General  
Secretary of WMMS,  
condemns slaughter at siege of Hule, 23
- Belmore, Lord (Somerset Lowry-Cowry,  
1835-1913), Governor of New South Wales  
1868-1872,

- Ma'afu, prince of Tonga, chief of Fiji
- urged to press Whitehall for annexation of Fiji, 301
  - suggests Hawaiian protectorate for Fiji, 301-302
- Beqa island,
- visit of Tongan *folau* (1855), 144
  - rebellious villages subdued, 144
  - chiefs cede island to M, 176-177
  - labourers removed in 1870 still not repatriated in 1874, 378
  - labourers had been rehired, 414
  - 430 labourers finally repatriated (1875), 431, 434
- Bete, Macuata chief,
- rival of Ritova, 170
  - becomes chief of western Macuata, 172
  - advised that Pritchard will deal with Ritova, 185
  - supported by Col. Smythe as Tui Macuata, 185
  - murdered by Ritova's son, 189
- Biganzoli, Louis,
- becomes Secretary for Lau (1870), 278, 328
  - resigns, 341
  - appointed SM for Moala, 342
- Binner, Rev. John, (d.1863), Wesleyan missionary,
- tries to warn Tongan emissaries of danger, 138
  - Vanuabalavu 'heathens' call themselves *lotu popi*, 159
  - anticipates departure of Tongan 'marauders', 181
- Blyth, James, temporary British Vice-Consul in Tonga,
- instructed that Tonga's independence must be respected, 495
- Bonaveidogo, Macuata chief, half-brother of Bete,
- becomes chief of eastern Macuata, 172
- Bosevakaturaga* (Great Council of Chiefs), established by Provisional Government, 430
- Draiba meeting (1875), 450-452
  - Waikava meeting (1876), 469-471
  - prison regulations, 470
  - debate on *lala*, 471
  - letter to Queen Victoria, 471
  - M's outstanding performance, 471
  - Rewa meeting (1877), 480-481
  - M's late arrival, 480
- Gordon's praise for M, 480
- adopts Native Taxation Ordinance as reform measure, 481
  - chiefs' disapproval of 'the way [Ordinance] was worked', 481
  - Lau report an exercise in dissimulation, 481
  - Bua meeting (1878), 485-486
  - chiefs' concerns for the future of Fiji's lands, 485
  - Bosevakaturaga* as theatre, 485-486
  - Bau meeting (1879), 490-491
  - M's report, 490-491
  - M absent from ensuing debate, 491
  - Mualevu meeting (1880), 496-502
  - M and Roko Tui Dreketi admonished for their alcoholism, 498-499
  - Lau report uninformative, 499
  - 'licentiousness and debauchery', 502
- Boutwell, Edward, commander of USS *John Adams*,
- investigates American 'debt' (1855), 148
  - presents demand for US\$30,000, 148
  - raises demand to US\$43,686, 148
- Bréheret, Père Jean-Baptiste, (1815-1898), Marist missionary,
- accuses M of carrying on religious war in Macuata, 173
  - complaint against Semisi Fifita, 191
  - claims French man-of-war about to visit Fiji, 233
- British Subjects' Mutual Protection Society, self-appointed opposition to government, 329
- 'manifesto' sent to CO, 329-330
  - threat of armed force against government, 338
  - requests King to annul constitution, 338-339
- Britton, Henry, Australian newspaper correspondent,
- description of M, 278-279
  - praises M's management of Lau, 279, 294, 300
- Brooks, Rev. Samuel, Wesleyan missionary,
- expresses views of planter community, 369
- Brower, Dr Isaac Mills, US Vice-Consul in Fiji,
- says M sought US recognition as king of Fiji, 162
  - acknowledges M's power in Lau, 163-164
  - claims Tupou is partly responsible for

- American 'debt', 164  
 appointed as Vice-Consul, 183  
 'probability' that Tongans will overrun Fiji, 207  
 claims that Wainiqolo had M's consent to wage war in 1862, 212  
 belligerence towards Tupou, 218  
 encourages Cakobau to organise armed resistance to Tongans, 223  
 false account of meetings with Jones and Tupou, 231  
 rapacious attitude towards Tongans, 232  
 favours British protectorate for Fiji, 269  
 M 'a disturbing element' and a 'tool of faction', 292-293
- Bulu, Joeli, (c.1810-1877), Tongan teacher  
 arrives in Lakeba (1838), 73  
 accompanies M to relieve Lomaloma Christians (1854), 131  
 appeals to Golea to stop fighting (1862), 206  
 requests M 'to help in the war', 207  
 accompanies M to conference at Wairiki, 219
- Burnes, William, Viti Levu planter,  
 murdered with wife and children, 344
- Burt, George Rodney, planter in Nadroga,  
 invites M to 'clear out the mountains and reign there', 272, 410  
 instigates meeting of Europeans at Levuka (1871), 305  
 'nucleus' of Cakobau government formed, 305
- Burt, Sydney, commercial agent to Cakobau,  
 Chief Secretary of Fiji  
 sails yacht *Xarifa* to Fiji and sells it to M, 287-288  
 Premier of Kingdom of Fiji, 313
- Buzacott, Rev. Aaron, (1800-1864), LMS  
 missionary,  
 sees divine judgment of Samuel Henry, 46
- Cakobau, Vunivalu of Bau, (c.1815-1883),  
 complains about Lakeban vassals, 71  
 depends on support of Lauan Tongans, 76  
 assumes power at Bau, 87  
 erroneously called King of Fiji, 87  
 intends to lotu eventually, 87-88, 98  
 approves conversions on Lakeba, 97  
 sends gifts to Tui Nayau, 98  
 foments violence against Bua Christians, 102-103
- planned wholesale 'extirpation' of Christians, 103-104  
 aware of menace posed by resident Tongans, 104-105  
 wants to remove Lakeba Tongans, 105  
 fears intentions of visiting US warship, 105-106  
 declares 'freedom of conscience' at Bau, 106  
 remains wary of Mara, 106  
 urges Moala chiefs to rebel against M, 118  
 formal installation as Vunivalu, 127  
 allows resident missionary at Bau, 127  
 presents *Ra Marama* to Tupou, 127  
 decides to lotu, 129-130  
 receives submission of Rewan chiefs, 142-143  
 approves mooted cession of Ovalau (1855), 146  
 acknowledges American 'debt' 'through fear', 149  
 sends fleet to relieve Buan villages, 159  
 asks Tui Bua not to appeal to M for help, 159-160, 165  
 seeks Tupou's help against Mara and his Buan allies, 160  
 again seeks help from Lakeba, 163  
 under intense pressure over rebellion and 'debt', 164  
 formal offer of cession to Great Britain, 164  
 prestige weakened by American 'debt', 165  
 visits Bua to pressure 'heathen' chiefs, 167  
 apprehends M's involvement in Bua and Macuata, 170  
 appeals to Pritchard to check M's 'intrigues', 175  
 deprecated cession of Beqa to Tongans, 176-177  
 enhanced prestige following first cession offer, 181  
 Tupou 'dead with crying' over proposed cession of Fiji, 184  
 detained as hostage on board *Cornélie*, 191  
 refuses to sell Wakaya to Pritchard, 192-193  
 confirms foreign ownership of lands in Fiji, 198  
 apprehensive about Tongan intentions, 215  
 plans for code of laws similar to Tonga's, 215-216

Ma'afu, prince of Tonga, chief of Fiji

tells Tongan Commissioners he desires peace, 227  
says Tupou is 'at rest', 228  
under pressure from many sides, 233  
dilemma posed by limits to his power, 233  
would never relinquish Lau, 233  
refuses to give up land to Tongans, 233-234  
proposes joint expedition to Macuata with M, 234  
pressed by Europeans to resist Tongans, 236  
protests about Tongan occupation of Matuku and Moala, 237  
contemplates the chimera of power, 244  
first president of the Fijian Confederation (1865), 246  
desires to form government like that of Sandwich Is, 251  
'coronation' at Levuka (1867), 251  
chiefs' oath of allegiance, 252  
writes to U.S president, 253  
agreement with Polynesian Land Company, 258-259  
repudiates P.L.C. agreement under pressure, 259  
dreads M's power, 262-263  
invites 'foreign military settlers' to Fiji, 271  
'evil will come upon Fiji through ... M', 293  
obtains support from Taveuni planters, 295  
support from Nadroga and Rewa chiefs, 302  
M's 'treachery', 302  
attitude to land alienation, 307  
recognises M's rule in Lau, 311  
gives consent to Fiji's constitution, 313  
apparent unity of purpose with M, 313-314  
outward trappings of office, 315  
oath to respect constitution, 315  
seeks to interfere in Bauan dispute, 318-319  
formally opens Privy Council, 322-323  
signs BSMPS petition, 330  
refuses to accept ministers' resignations, 347  
receives Levuka traders' spokesman, 362  
hostile to any intervention by Captain Simpson, 363  
formal installation as Tui Viti (1873), 367

resents Goodenough's attitude, 369-370  
misrepresents M's career in Fiji to Goodenough, 370-371, 372-373  
seeks to influence Commissioners against M, 32  
desperation to have M removed from Fiji, 378  
reluctantly tells M he can remain in Fiji, 383  
annoyance with M, 383  
formal refusal of Cession, 387  
requests Thurston to carry on government, 387  
recognises Thurston as head of new government, 391  
offer of Cession, 396  
fears Fijians' loss of land and chiefly authority, 396  
formally presents Cession letter to Commissioners, 396  
reasons for reversing his decision, 397, 398  
supposed jealousy of M, 39  
offered a yacht if he agrees to Cession, 398  
'Fiji will become like ... drift wood in the sea', 420  
'The whites ... are mere stalkers on the beach', 420  
M 'is trying to foment discords', 420  
agreement among chiefs at Nasova meeting, 420-421  
anxious about land tenure after Cession, 421-422  
submits Deed of Cession to Robinson, 422  
accepts gifts from M and Tui Cakau, 425  
friendly reception of M and Tui Cakau on board *Pearl*, 426  
presents war club to Robinson at Cession ceremony, 428  
'Sa oti, Ma'afu', 428  
Tui Viti title bestowed at Cession ceremony, 429  
reminds chiefs of their subordination to British Crown, 431  
returns from visit to Sydney with measles, 438  
recovers, 438  
formally receives Gordon at Bau, 450  
Calvert, Rev. James, (1813-1892), Wesleyan missionary,  
urges Täufa`āhau to promote Christianity in Fiji, 60

- on Tongan menace in Lakeba, 74  
 believes Tupou seeks to challenge Bau, 75  
 report's Tupou's approaches to Tanoa and Cakobau, 75-76  
 aware of Mara's imminent return to Fiji, 78  
 entreats Cakobau to end mistreatment of Christians, 102  
 solicits Tongan help to defend Bua Christians, 103  
 believes all is quiet in Lau and Cakaudrove, 108  
 optimistic about peace prospects, 116  
 preaches at Cakobau's conversion, 130  
 accompanies Cakobau and Tupou to Rewa, 143  
 supportive of Tupou's mission in Fiji, 145  
 returns to Fiji and admonishes M, 189-190  
 on reasons for Cakobau's detention by French, 192  
 skilled diplomacy prevents war (1861), 194  
 the 'wild Tongans' are 'tamed down', 195  
 would blame Pritchard for any 'war' (1861), 195  
 favoured cession of Fiji, 196  
 believes Tupou 'covets' Fiji, 197  
 Tongans indignant about being 'shut out' of Macuata, 204  
 optimistic about keeping 'Tongans and Bau united', 208  
 believes Wainiqolo's death would 'constrain' M, 208  
 apprehensive about Tupou's plans for Tongan lands in Fiji, 210  
 ignorant of M's plans after Wairiki, 210  
 'assumed predominance' of Tongans in Fiji, 210  
 dilemma posed by Tongan presence in Fiji, 210  
 renewed war between Ritova and Tui Bua, 211  
 Tongans 'cannot look on' in Fiji, 211  
 urges M to assure Cakobau of peace, 211  
 'one-sided' nature of Tupou's letter to Cakobau, 214  
 alarm over reinforcements requested by M, 214  
 Europeans' anxiety about Tongan plans in Fiji, 217  
 attempts to reconcile M and Golea, 218  
 believes M satisfied with Waikava agreement, 220  
 derides 'idleness and oppression' of M and his people, 222  
 seeks British protection against Tongans, 224  
 blames Tongans for failure of agreement with Consul Owen, 226  
 utopian vision of resident Tongans, 228  
 Europeans in Fiji would support Fijians against Tongans, 228  
 says Vanuabalavu not rightfully M's, 229  
 pleasure at peace agreement between M and Golea, 230  
 urges Cakobau to accept Tupou's proffered friendship, 236  
 seeks alliance of *matanitu* against Tongans, 244  
 Carey, Rev. Jesse, (1832-1914), Wesleyan missionary,  
 on outcome of Macuata 'civil war', 191  
 'nasty little breezes' emanating from M's fleet, 297  
 Cargill, Rev. David, (1809-1843), Wesleyan missionary,  
 opinion of A, 13  
 dependent on Lauan Tongans, 69  
 despairs of Lakeban Tongans, 70  
 Carnarvon, Lord, (Henry Howard Molyneux Herbert, 1831-1890), Secretary of State for the Colonies 1866-1867, 1874-1878,  
 favours acceptance of Cession offer, 398  
 War Office advice that M is 'anxious for British rule', 415  
 reassures Queen Victoria of M's 'concurrence' after Cession, 432  
 Chapman, William, commander of HMS *Dido*,  
 intervenes against rebellious Viti Levu settlers, 344  
 promises to protect M from government, 349  
 Clark, Bouverie, Lt, commander of HMS *Esk*,  
 praises Tongans in Rewa, 248  
 Clarkson, Howard, Minister of Finance in Kingdom of Fiji,  
 attempts to increase taxation revenue, 335  
 M's 'misunderstanding' over 'Deposition of taxes', 342-343  
 Cocker, Joshua, (1824-1880), British Vice-Consul in Tonga,  
 appointed Vice-Consul, 199  
 instructed to refer all matters to Consul

- Ma`afu, prince of Tonga, chief of Fiji
- Pritchard in Fiji, 199
  - appointment as Vice-Consul confirmed (1864), 231
  - Cokonauto, Roko Tui Dreketi, paramount chief of Rewa,
    - death (1851), 108
  - Collis, William, Wesleyan schoolmaster on Lakeba,
    - interpreter at cession meeting (1859), 179
  - Colonial Office, Great Britain,
    - lack of interest in cession of Fiji, 165-166, 180 n.127
    - appoints Commission to investigate Pritchard, 203
    - hearings and findings of Commission, 203-204
    - remains uninterested in cession (1870), 289
    - recommends against acceptance of Cession offer, 398
    - approves 'confidential advance' to M, 437
  - Commission of Enquiry (1863),
    - Commissioners, 222
    - meeting with M, 223
    - visits to Bua, Kadavu, Beqa et al, 223
    - meet Consul Owen, 224-225
    - agreement with Owen impossible to enforce, 226
  - Confederation of 1865,
    - resolutions, 245-246
    - weaknesses, 246-247
    - causes of failure, 250, 251
  - Cook, Captain James, (1728-1779),
    - visit to Tonga (1777), 63
  - Court of Arbitration (1865),
    - evidence of Vanuabalavu chiefs' submission to M, 131-132
  - Croker, Walter, RN, (c1784-1840), commander of *Favourite*,
    - killed at siege of Pea, 33
  - Cross, Rev. William, (1797-1842), Wesleyan missionary,
    - witnesses *As* inauguration as TK (1827), 7-8
    - dependent on Lauan Tongans, 69
  - Crown Colony of Fiji,
    - structure of government, 449
  - Cruikshank, James, Taveuni planter,
    - sought settlers' protection from Commodore Stirling, 360
    - address of grievances to Cakobau, 360
  - Dama, village in Bua,
    - outbreak of anti-Christian violence, 102-103
  - Denham, Henry Mangles RN, (1800-1887), commander of HMS *Herald*,
    - offered cession of Ovalau, 145-146
    - convenes conference of Cakobau, Tupou and Ovalau chiefs, 146-147
    - unable to accept offer of cession, 147
  - Denison, Sir William, (1804-1871), Governor of New South Wales 1855-1861,
    - advised that Fijians sought cession to Great Britain, 163
    - believes French presence in Pacific poses potential danger, 165
  - Dennison, Samuel, captain of *O.C. Raymond*,
    - participates in 1842 sandalwood expedition, 38
  - De Robeck, George, secretary to Sir Hercules Robinson,
    - describes M's compound, 423-425
  - Des Voeux, Sir William, (1834-1909), Governor of Fiji,
    - chairs 1878 *Bosevakaturaga* as Lieutenant-Governor, 485-486
    - orders M to appear before Police Magistrate, 488
    - valued cordial relations with M, 488
    - temporary departure from Fiji, 488-489
    - represented by ADC at M's funeral, 506
    - arranges deportation of Lauan Tongans 'without ... visible means of support', 508
    - orders Siale`ataongo's permanent deportation, 509
    - faint praise for M after his death, 510
    - M's ambition thwarted, 511
  - Donumailulu (Donu), first Moalan Christian,
    - brought *lotu* to Moala, 115
    - requests help from Lakeba, 116
    - 'expelled the Society', 123
  - Drew William, private secretary to Cakobau,
    - persuades George Burt to withdraw petition to M, 272, 410
  - Drury, Charles, Special Commissioner for Lau,
    - Ratu Tevita's filial relationship to M, 406
    - puzzled about ultimate fate of Lauan taxes, 410
    - deprecates Bayley's influence over M, 410
    - plans to appoint Fijian magistrates in place of Tongans in Lau, 411

- raises with M the fate of Beqan labourers, 411
- Lau tax collection 'has gone on smoothly', 413
- expects M, Tui Cakau and Tui Macuata to fight against Bau, 415-416
- concerned about hundreds of people 'held in servitude' in Lau, 433
- Du Bouzet, Josephe, (1805-1867), Governor of Tahiti,  
concludes treaty with Tupou I, 135
- Dunn, Thomas, American trader on Ovalau,  
convenes abortive peace conference at Bau, 143
- Efate, New Hebrides,  
visited by 1842 sandalwood expedition, 42
- Egglestone, Rev. John, (1813-1879), Wesleyan minister,  
protests to M about Tongan savagery in Macuata, 171
- 'eiki*,  
definition, 4
- Emberson, Horace, Vanuabalavu planter,  
appointed a magistrate for Lau, 433  
asks Layard's advice about M's contract with Hedemann, 436  
'death, desolation and woe' at Lomaloma following measles outbreak, 438-439  
shortcomings of tax collection in Lau, 440  
satisfied with arrangements for Tongans' repatriation, 441  
orders shrubs and trees from Sydney for Lomaloma botanical gardens, 442
- Erromango, New Hebrides,  
visited by 1842 sandalwood expedition, 41-42
- Erskine, John Elphinstone, (1806-1887),  
commander of HMS *Havannah*,  
interviews Methuselah Tae (1851), 38-39  
interviews two New Hebridean men, 43  
informs Tupou that Britain will not protect Tonga, 93
- Executive Council, Fiji,  
appointed as part of Ad-Interim Government, 399
- Fale Fisi,  
origins, 3, 64  
sacred nature of, in Tongan polity, 64
- Fangalua, Pita, Tongan resident of Bau,  
says Pritchard encouraged M to enforce Tongan claims in Fiji, 193  
Tupou did not approve of war against Bau, 193
- Fatafehi, Tu'i Tonga in 17<sup>th</sup> century, 63
- Fifita, Semisi, brother of Lausi'i,  
orders seizure of Tongan canoe 105  
leaves Lakeba for Tonga, 107
- second in command to Wainiqolo in Macuata, 171  
responsible for floggings in Yasawas, 191-192  
attempted to force Yasawas' cession to Tonga, 191  
'trial' on board French corvette, 192  
taken to New Caledonia as a prisoner, 192  
prays with M at Fawn Harbour, 216  
arranges repatriation of Tongans from Fiji (1885), 508  
'an untrustworthy schemer sent ...to recruit tax payers for [Tupou]', 508  
few Tongans wished to leave with Fifita, 508
- Fiji Argus*, newspaper,  
M is 'perfectly effete', 416  
attributes benign intent to M, 421
- Fiji Gazette*, newspaper,  
government has 'cleared all misunderstandings' with M, 351  
claims M did not secede, 353, 354  
'utopia of rampant Anglo-Saxons', 368  
favours Cession, 392
- Fiji Times*, newspaper,  
endorses M's administration of Lau, 300  
on M's 'armed neutrality', 303  
necessity for 'some kind of union' in Fiji, 306  
Europeans should pull the strings in any 'native' government, 307  
praises constitutional model of Lau federation, 310  
sees pragmatism behind the Kingdom of Fiji, 314  
M and Cakobau support government (1871), 325  
presence of Tongan troops in Levuka, 328  
settlers favour Cession, 339  
queries M's failure to provide taxes or arms, 345  
notion of Anglo-Saxon pre-eminence, 345  
'immense importance' of M and Tui Cakau

Ma'afu, prince of Tonga, chief of Fiji

- to Fiji, 345-346
- M and Tui Cakau intent on a separate government, 351
- confirms secession of M, 354
- 'M is a very ambitious man', 359
- annexation 'only a matter of time', 367
- detrimental effects of secession of M and Tui Cakau, 371
- Thurston did predict dire consequences for chiefs after Cession, 385
- M's deposition at Bau, 392
- M and Tui Cakau have 'a mutual understanding', 398
- 'the long-winded and expensive farce', 397
- war between Cakobau and M 'out of the question', 402
- M 'ready to swoop down on Cakobau', 402
- Thurston's demand for Lauan taxes 'preposterous', 404, 405
- Ad-Interim Government should 'leave M alone', 405
- Cakobau and Thurston's hatred for M, 405-406
- Government ministers must consider M 'an utter fool', 407-408
- Lau neglected by 'unscrupulous settler regime', 408
- M and Tui Cakau have 'aggressive movements in contemplation' 416
- 'a flagrant piece of barbarity on the part of M', 430-431
- 'petty tyranny' of tax system for Fijian people, 440
- final departure of Tongan 'predatory picnic', 441
- M's 'delight' in beautifying Lomaloma, 442
- M's court house and botanical gardens 'handsome additions' to village, 465
- M 'somewhat the worse for wear', 475
- Lauan planters 'among the most wealthy in the country', 479
- 'system of native taxation is a disgrace', 482
- lala* 'has degenerated into simple robbery', 490
- Finau 'Ulukālala Tuapasi, chief of Vava'u, 6
- Tupou accuses of deception, 75
- Fisi'ihoi, brother of M, 10
- Fison, Rev. Lorimer, (1832-1907), Wesleyan missionary and ethnologist,
  - predicts Tongan domination of Fiji, 251
  - on the absurdity of Cakobau as Tui Viti, 274
  - wants M to head F, 274
- 'Cakobau is no more king of Fiji than I am', 325
- M's concept of the oath of allegiance, 325-326
- Hennings Bros profiteering from copra, 454
- M but one of several legitimate successors in Tonga, 456
- Wesleyan Mission's expertise in fund raising, 463
- accompanies M to deal with Matuku 'angels', 466-468
- 'angels' were 'hopelessly stupid', 467
- praises M's intervention at Matuku, 468
- Fonomanu,
  - first Tu'i Lakepa, 64
- Fordham, John Smith, (1828-1904), Wesleyan missionary,
  - mediates between Cakobau and Pritchard, 194
  - on Tongan ambitions in Fiji, 194-195
  - disagreement with Pritchard, 195
  - on continued Tongan menace to Bau, 195
- Foreign Office (Great Britain),
  - preferred a U.S. protectorate over Fiji, 271
  - recognises need for a decision about Fiji, 289
  - still uninterested in annexation, 307
  - accords only de facto recognition to Fijian government, 325, 329
- Fo'ui, Tongatapu,
  - murders at, 29
- Friend, Rev. Percival, Wesleyan missionary and schoolmaster,
  - to 'keep track of M', 270
  - disagrees with M over 'laws of the Kingdom', 375
- Fremantle, Stephen, (1810-1860), officer at Royal Navy Australian Squadron,
  - accuses Commander Boutwell of extortion, 148
  - states that British government must decide on cession of Ovalau, 148-149
  - urges British annexation of Fiji and Tonga, 152
  - gratuitous advice to Tupou, 152

- visits Tonga, 157
- Gataialupe, Elenoa,  
 marriage to M (1840), 35  
 family and ancestry, 35  
 separated from M, 47-48  
 adultery with Semisi Banuvi, 100  
 visit with M to Ratu Golea, 230  
 'severe illness', 368  
 'a nice fat old lady', 400  
 'a very fine old lady' 478  
 rift with M, 492  
 remains in Lomaloma until 1885, 508  
 visit to Mago, 508-509  
 departure from Fiji (1885), 509  
 interment at Falevai, Vava'u, 509
- Giblin, John,  
 appointed as Secretary for Lau against M's wishes, 341  
 complains of tax irregularities in Lau, 347
- Goleanavana, Ratu, (Golea), (d.1879),
- Tui Cakau  
 bent on exterminating Christians at Fawn Harbour, 205  
 convert to Catholicism, 207  
 wounded at Wairiki (1862), 208  
 reconciles with M, 213  
 sells Vanuabalavu to George Henry, 214, 236  
 sold lands partly to defy M, 213, 214, 235  
 mistrust of M, 217  
 sold two islands 'for ammunition', 218  
 opposes Tongan Commissioners' agreement with Consul Owen, 226  
 sells Mago, Kanacea and Katafaga, 226  
 defiance of Tongan Commissioners, 227  
 receives M and Elenoa at home, 230  
 still exercising arbitrary rule in Vanuabalavu, 236  
 evidence at Court of Arbitration (1865), 238, 240  
 acknowledges his father's gift to M, 238  
 acquiescence at M's control of Vanuabalavu, 240, 241  
 declines to remove Rabe inhabitants without M's permission, 275  
 created Tui Vanua Levu, 290  
 co-operation with settlers, 295  
 refuses to recognise Kingdom of Fiji, 314  
 reluctantly swears 'allegiance' to Cakobau, 315  
 takes oath of office as Privy Councillor, 323-324
- secedes from Fiji government, 349  
 150 Tongan 'visitors' at Somosomo, 349  
 maintained separate identity of Cakaudrove, 351-352  
 repudiates all connection with 'Cakobau's white government', 352  
 his goals in seceding, 354  
 changes mind over secession, 356  
 signs letter declining Cession, 384  
 astonished at M's *volte-face*, 386  
 joins M at Lomaloma to await Cession decision, 415  
 formal meeting with Robinson and Goodenough at Lomaloma, 425  
 signs Deed of Cession, 426  
 death (1879) and legacy, 487
- Goodenough, James Graham, (1830-1875), Commander-in-Chief of Royal Navy Australia Station,  
 appointed as a Commissioner to investigate state of Fiji, 348  
 on influence brought to bear on M, 355-356  
 Nasova a 'test' of Fijian government's resolution, 364  
 impossibility of tax collection, 364  
 arrival in Fiji, 367-368  
 represents white interests only, 369  
 denigrates both Cakobau and the European community, 369  
 antipathy towards Thurston, 369-370  
 need to respect 'rights and powers ... in existence', 373  
 sense of confidence and moral rectitude, 374  
 M 'a man of the world', 374  
 advice to CO that both M and Cakobau support Cession, 376  
 'general indebtedness of the country' a matter of concern, 376  
 willing to misrepresent Fijian situation to CO, 378  
 advised chiefs their privileges would be preserved after Cession, 379  
 asks M why he now favours Cession, 380  
 personal liking for M, 380  
 insists that M's position be respected, 381-382  
 chiefs 'spit out their venom' against M, 382-383

Ma`afu, prince of Tonga, chief of Fiji

- confrontation with Cakobau at Cession meeting, 383
- would not interfere in any Fijian civil war, 385-386
- disapproves chiefs' rejection of Cession, 387
- willing to assist M against Bau, 388-389
- persuades M to return to Vanuabalavu, 389
- opposed to Thurston's plans for a new government, 390
- principal chiefs' hatred for M, 392
- party to M's plans, 393
- supports William Hennings in his riposte to Thurston, 395
- attempts to bully Cakobau and leading chiefs, 396
- visit to M at Vanuabalavu, 399-401
- growing rapport with M, 400-401
- enjoys Tongans' hospitality, 400
- Commissioners' *Report*, 403-405
- fair and objective assessment of M, 403
- recommends M continue as Tui Lau, 403
- M 'a Tongan and a stranger', 403
- praises M's 'personal government' in Lau, 404
- Report's recommendations for Fiji after Cession, 418-419
- M 'always truthful and straightforward', 426
- Gordon, Sir Arthur, Baron Stanmore, (1829-1912), first resident Governor of Fiji, M's interest in a *civitabua*, 82
- arrives in Fiji, 447
- determined to preserve Fiji's existing hierarchy, 448
- real aims of Cakobau Government's taxation policies, 448
- takes oath of office at Nasova, 449
- entertains M, Tui Bua, von Hügel and Wilkinson to dinner, 449-450
- impressed by order and progress of Lomaloma, 453, 469
- M not Tupou's legitimate successor, 456
- confusion over M's renunciation of rights, 457
- deplores 'waste' of Fiji's taxation system (1875), 462
- new tax system to be community-based, 462-463
- partial success of Taxation Ordinance (1876), 463
- displeased about 'copra business' in Lau, 463
- M's successor should have only half M's salary, 465-466
- impressed by M's troops, 466
- compares Tongan and Fijian *yaqona* ceremonies, 469
- M showing 'no signs of life', 474
- fears secret timber contract between M and Hennings Bros, 474
- arranges to meet M at Bua, 474
- Code of Regulations, 474
- urges M to meet him before visiting Tonga, 476
- values relations with Tupou, 476-477
- disquiet in Lomaloma over Siale`ataongo's actions, 479
- appointed High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, 482
- instructs M to accompany him to Tonga, 482
- pleasure in visit to Lomaloma, 483
- advocates treaties between Great Britain and Tonga, 483
- Fijians' massive debts to traders 'evil', 486
- returns home for visit, 488
- wants 'a lasting Treaty of Friendship' with Tonga, 489
- Treaty signed during his visit to Tonga (1879), 490
- advises CO that Fiji's taxation revenue exceeded estimates, 491
- rebukes M for public intoxication in Levuka, 492
- saddened by M's conduct, 492
- deplored M's residence with Theodore Wood, 495
- wished to learn full history of Rabe, 495-496
- wished to thwart German influence in Tonga, 496
- final parting from M, 498
- Gordon, Lady, née Rachel Shaw-Lefevre, (d. 1912)
- favourably impressed by M, 453, 466
- also impressed by Lomaloma, 466
- Gordon Cumming, Constance, English travel writer and artist, (1837-1924)
- Vava'u chiefs 'plotting against King George', 477
- M 'splendid ... stalwart and stately', 478

- '...the Tongans walk ... as if they scorn the ground they tread on', 478
- Grey, Sir George, (1812-1898), Governor of New Zealand 1845-1854,  
believes Tongan and Fiji people wish to be under British rule, 82  
assures Tupou I of his friendship, 84
- Grey, Henry George, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl Grey, (1802-1891), Secretary of State for War and the Colonies 1846-1852,  
urged to reply to A's letter of 1844, 83
- Hamond, Andrew S., Commander and Senior Officer at the Society Islands,  
writes to Aleamotu'a, 49
- Hape, Tahitian teacher, 5
- Harris, Charles Coffin, (1822-1881), Minister for Foreign Affairs of Hawai'i,  
suggests M and Cakobau visit Hawai'i, 302  
prescient views of Kingdom of Fiji, 315
- hau*,  
definition, 1-2
- Havea, Jone, Tongan teacher,  
arrives at Lakeba (1838), 73
- Hazlewood, Rev. David, (1820-1855), Wesleyan missionary,  
on Mara's humiliation at Lakeba (1849), 95
- Hedemann, Frederick, German trader in Levuka,  
accepts M's order for rifles and ammunition, 349-350, 414-415  
denied access to his warehouse, 361  
second agreement with M, 414  
refuses to release M from contract, 435-437  
threatens legal proceedings against M, 443  
summons M, 443  
under cross-examination, 444  
allowed to become non-suited with costs, 444
- Hennings, Christian, German trader,  
difficulties collecting M's debts after his death, 513
- Hennings, Frederick (Friedrich Wilhelm), b. 1837  
appointed German Consul in Fiji (1869), 270
- Hennings, Gustav, German Consul in Fiji,  
protects William Hedemann and his clerk, 362
- Hennings, Gustav Mara, (b. 1868), grandson of Ratu Mara,  
on his grandfather Ratu Mara's exile in Tonga, 78  
inaccurate account of Mara's death, 174
- Hennings, Adi Mere, daughter of Ratu Mara Kapaiwai and wife of Frederick Hennings,  
account of M's part in Mara's death, 174
- Hennings, William, German trader in Fiji,  
advised Great Britain would not accept cession (1862), 203  
purchases Mago from Golea (1863), 214  
sells Mago to Thomas Ryder (1864), 235  
extent of Hennings Bros' operations on Vanuabalavu, 294  
persuades M to accept office as Viceroy, 311  
welcomes M's appointment as Viceroy, 318  
appointed Warden of the Eastern Group, 328  
authorised to collect all Lauan taxes, 342  
to pay salaries of M and Ratu Tevita from tax revenue, 342  
attempts to have M's debts to him settled, 342  
all Lauan taxes paid into M's account at Hennings' store (1847), 347  
caught unawares by M's secession, 356  
co-operates with M in arms procurement, 391  
reproves Thurston for his dismissal of M, 394  
heavily in debt to Rabone, Feez and Co, 405  
reasoned defence of M's record in government, 408-409  
warns M about his 'wrong-doing to tenants', 487
- Henry, George Matthew, (1817-?), Tahitian-born settler in Fiji,  
'purchase' of Adavaci, 183  
complaint of assault against M, 189  
purchases Vanuabalavu from Golea, 213  
purchase of Adavaci (1860), 217  
persuades Cakobau to endorse purchase of Vanuabalavu, 228  
sells Vanuabalavu to George Winter, 228  
evidence at Court of Arbitration (1865), 239  
threatened with deportation over attempts to sell Vanuabalavu, 256  
renews claim to Vanuabalavu (1875), 462

- Ma`afu, prince of Tonga, chief of Fiji
- Henry, Samuel Pinder, (1800-1852),  
Tahitian-born ship's captain,  
conveys Tahitian teachers to Lakeba, 5  
supposed inspiration for M's  
Christian name, 11  
1829 sandalwood expedition to  
New Hebrides, 37  
1842 sandalwood expedition, 37-47  
calls at Lakeba, 40-41  
arrives at Tanna, 41  
bitterly denounced by John Thomas, 45
- Hicks Beach, Sir Michael, Bt, (1837-1916),  
Secretary of State for the Colonies 1878-1880,  
disapproves Fiji's Native Taxation Scheme,  
486
- hiki mo e falike*,  
name of M's canoe, 79  
presented to Tui Cakau, 78, 79-80
- Hill, John, Irish-born Australian businessman,  
intends to purchase Rabe, 275  
completes purchase, 324
- Home, Sir (James) Everard, (1798-1853),  
British naval officer,  
engages M as pilot, 50  
visits Tonga in command of HMS *Calliope*  
(1852), 113  
writes letter to M, 113  
visits Moala, 115  
urges Cakobau to *lotu*, 115-116  
finds atmosphere of 'joy' at Viwa, 116  
accompanies Calvert to Bua, 116  
presides at meeting of Buan chiefs, 116  
urges Cakobau to forbid strangulation  
of widows, 119
- Hope, Charles Webley, (1829-1880), captain of  
HMS *Brisk*,  
conveys M and Thurston to Niuafo'ou, 255  
describes M as 'a gentleman', 255  
believes Fiji should be two separate  
kingdoms under Cakobau and M, 256  
British annexation 'only a matter of time',  
270  
impossible to coerce M to support  
constitution, 341
- House of Commons,  
vote on annexation of Fiji (1872), 330  
motion for annexation of Fiji again  
defeated (1873), 367
- House of Lords,  
queries whether M will be bound by  
terms of Cession, 413
- Hule, fortress on Tongatapu,  
siege, 19-21
- Hunt, Rev. John, (1812-1848), Wesleyan  
missionary,  
As motives in becoming TK, 7-8  
alerted by Calvert to Tupou I's ambitions, 75
- Ives, William, American trader on Lakeba,  
abducts two girls from Lakeba, 112  
returns to Lakeba with one girl, 116  
seeks to recover abducted girl, 122
- Jaggar, Rev. Thomas, (1814-1882), Wesleyan  
missionary,  
disapproval of Taliai Tupou, 73
- Jenkins, Robert, RN, (1825-1894), commander  
of HMS *Miranda*,  
conveys official delegation to Fiji, 203-204  
*Miranda's* tour of Fiji, 204-205
- Jones, Henry Mitchell (Michael), VC,  
(1831-1916), British Consul in Fiji,  
appointed as Consul (1864), 230  
approves Tupou's Tongan code of laws, 231  
'no sovereign chief' in Fiji, 231  
seeks to recognise Cakobau only among  
Fijian chiefs, 232  
recognises Tonga's inalienable links with  
Fiji, 233  
sees justice in Tongan land claims in Fiji,  
234  
acquiesces in Tongan control of Matuku  
and Moala, 234-235  
declines to countenance Tongan control  
of Vanuabalavu, 235  
orders Moss to lower Tongan flag  
at Vanuabalavu, 235  
will not approve commercial treaty  
between Tonga and Great Britain, 235  
adjudicates in ownership disputes  
on Vanuabalavu, 235  
convenes Court of Arbitration to resolve  
Vanuabalavu ownership dispute, 237  
judgment that Vanuabalavu was rightfully  
M's, 240-242  
endorses peacemaking by M and  
Tui Cakau, 243  
'instructions' to M, 244-245  
convenes meeting of Fijian chiefs, 245-246  
arrogant letter to Cakobau, 247  
on Tongan rapacity and 'cupidity', 248  
aware of realities of power in Fiji, 248

- seeks formal statement from Tupou on  
 Tongan land claims in Fiji, 249  
 admonishes M for his debts, 250  
 endorses *Tovata*, 251
- Josiah, brother of M, 11  
 baptism, 57
- Josiah Tubou, 'King', *see* Aleamotu`a
- Kaba, village in Rewa,  
 attacked by Bauan forces, 127  
 unsuccessful Bauan campaign (1854), 129  
 destruction by Tongan and Bauan forces,  
 140  
 consequences of battle, 140-141
- Kaloafūtonga,  
 sister of Ngata and wife of Fatafehi, 63-64
- Kamehameha V, (1830-1872), King of Hawai'i,  
 invites M and Cakobau to visit Hawai'i,  
 302, 317
- Katonivere, Macuata chief,  
 appointed Governor of Macuata, 290  
 signs Deed of Cession and taken to  
 Nasova, 427
- Kaufusi,  
 paternal grandmother of M, 3
- Kimberley, Lord (John Wodehouse),  
 (1826-1902), Secretary of State for the Colonies  
 1870-1874, 1880-1882,  
 favours annexation of Fiji, 348
- Kingdom of Fiji,  
 hardening of Europeans' racial attitudes,  
 306, 312-313  
 constitutional convention meets (1871),  
 308  
 chiefs paid salaries to ensure their loyalty,  
 310-311  
 inauguration meeting, 311  
 adhesion of M and Cakobau, 311-312  
 details of constitution, 312-315  
 bureaucracy, 321  
 chiefly discontent with apparatus  
 of government, 332  
 ministry unable to continue in office, 364
- Kuila, Cakaudrove chief, cousin of Raivalita,  
 wants to kill Golea, 206  
 ambitious to become Tui Cakau, 206-207  
 solicits Wainiqolo's aid against Catholics,  
 207  
 invites Wainiqolo, Kuila and Joeli Bulu  
 to meet him, 207  
 invited instead to meeting with them, 207
- Lakeba,  
 expected attacks from Cakaudrove, 71-72  
 continuing threat from Bau, 72, 77  
 reality of Tongan power in, 72  
 first chapel opens (1838), 73  
 fortunes of *lotu* on, 74  
 traditional links with Tongatapu, 77-78  
 security dependent on resident Tongans,  
 95-97  
 Tongan community 'a volatile wayward  
 element', 98  
 departure of hundreds of Tongans (1851),  
 107  
 centre of political and religious influence  
 in eastern Fiji, 133  
 taxation burdens imposed by M, 272-273  
 deaths from measles, 439  
 settlers complain to M about Ratu Tevita,  
 443  
 people's intense suffering from unjust  
*lala*, 484
- Lala*,  
 chiefs urge its retention under British  
 rule, 451  
 reasons for planters opposition, 451  
 source of gross chiefly exploitation in  
 Lau, 454, 484, 486
- Land tenure in Fiji,  
 contrasting Fijian and European concepts,  
 306-307  
 proposed Crown Lands Bill intolerable to  
 chiefs, 324-325  
 land dealt with on makeshift basis,  
 326-327  
 provisions in Deed of Cession, 429  
 Native Affairs Ordinance (1875), 447-448  
 problems over land 'sold' to foreigners, 497  
 M's legacy in Lau, 514-515
- Lands Claims Commission,  
 established (1880), 496  
 M gives evidence, 496  
 aim to examine all 'sales' to foreigners, 497
- Langham, Frederick, (1833-1903), Wesleyan  
 missionary at Bau,  
 claims Cakobau sought French protection,  
 227  
 M's warlike intent, 296  
 wants Jesse Carey as missionary at  
 Lomaloma, 304  
 predicts chiefly support for M's secession,  
 350-351

Ma`afu, prince of Tonga, chief of Fiji

- possibility of M's being taken into custody, 351
- reports M has changed his mind over Cession, 375, 377, 393
- Thurston's threat to dismiss M, 388-389
- seeks to have Cession question re-opened, 391
- predicts M's secession and subsequent war, 393
- Lasike (Abraham), brother of A,
  - removes A and family to safety (1840), 30
  - at Lakeba in 1838, 77
- Lasike, brother of Tupou Toutai and leader of Tongans on Lakeba,
  - meets Täufa`āhau at Lakeba and convenes *vono*, 60, 71
  - first arrival in Fiji (1833), 69
  - sent as envoy to Somosomo, 71
  - death (1844), 75
- Lau,
  - Tongan influence in, 62-68
  - emigration to Tonga, 64
  - twentieth century links with Tonga, 65-69
  - economic importance of Tongan community in, 67-68
  - political situation in 1840s, 70-71
  - traditional links with Bau and Cakaudrove, 70-72, 134
  - inclusion of Yasayasa Moala and Vanuabalavu, 134
  - joins *Tovata* to form Chiefdom of Lau, 264-265
  - M installed as Tui Lau, 265
  - constitution and code of laws, 265
  - M's leasehold policy in, 265
  - taxes raised to be M's property, 265
  - taxation under M's rule, 273
  - legal opinion of M's land practices, 279-280
  - under efficient administration (1872), 332
  - disposal of tax revenue, 347-348
  - divisions after Cession, 430
  - hierarchy intact, 430
  - people exploited in tax collection, 440-441
  - burden of tax in copra, 453-454
  - tax assessment for 1876, 462
  - tax assessment for 1877, 473
  - maladministration of justice under M's rule, 475-476
  - tax assessment for 1878, 479-480
  - increasing theft in both Vanuabalavu and Lakeba, 483
  - tax assessment for 1879, 486
  - onerous and inefficient tax system, 486
  - people's double burden of taxation and *lala*, 486
  - 'there is disquiet everywhere', 500
  - Tongan ascendancy under M's rule, 502-503
  - dislike of Tongans manifest after M's death, 507
  - remaining Tongans welcome to stay in Lau, 508
  - contemporary Lau seen as M's creation, 515
- Laufilitonga, Tu'i Tonga, (c.1798-1865),
  - defeated at Velata (1826), 4
  - evidence of plot against Täufa`āhau, 54-55, 61
- Laufitu, wife of Ratu Rasolo, TN
  - promotes Tongan settlement in Lau, 63
- Lausi'i, brother of M,
  - birth, 10
  - death & funeral, 27
- Lausi'i, brother of Täufa`āhau,
  - brings Tupou's letter to Cakobau (1845), 75
  - prevents fighting between Tongans and Fijians on Lakeba, 76
  - accompanies M to Fiji (1848), 80-81
  - leads *folau* of Tongans home from Lakeba, 88
  - continued visits to Bau during late 1840s, 89
  - quick to ally with Tui Nayau following latter's conversion, 94
  - meets Mara on the beach at Lakeba, 95
  - helps to build 'Bethel' chapel on Lakeba, 105
  - leaves Lakeba for Tonga (1851), 107
  - heads Commission of Enquiry to Fiji (1863), 223
- Lavaki, supporter of M,
  - at Vanuabalavu with M (1854), 132
- Lawry, Rev. Walter, (1793-1859), Wesleyan missionary,
  - forwards A's letter to Queen Victoria, 48
  - praises Tongan Christians on Lakeba, 73-74
  - urges Cakobau to *lotu*, 87-88
  - on 'godless' Tongans at Lakeba, 88
  - notes disquiet in Tonga over Tongans

- resident in Fiji, 99  
 believes Lakeba Tongans to be  
   law-abiding, 99-100  
 dubious about Tui Nayau's conversion, 108
- Layard, Edgar Leopold (Leo), (1824-1900),  
 British Consul and Commissioner,  
 appointed as a Commissioner to  
   investigate state of Fiji, 348  
 arrival in Fiji as a Commissioner, 371  
 warns against constitutional change, 271  
 widespread anger among Europeans over  
   rejection of Cession, 389-390  
 'pride and vagaries of ... upstart and  
   dishonest British subjects', 397  
 urges patience on M, 404  
 knowledge of M's 'plot' against  
   Ad-Interim Government, 432-433  
 authorises payment of part of M's salary  
   to William Hennings, 437  
 misinterpretation of Tongan succession  
   laws, 455  
 influence of Wesleyan missionaries on  
   Tongan succession, 455-456  
 avers wrongly that M did not swear  
   allegiance to Gordon, 456  
 M would enjoy wide support if he sought  
   Tongan succession, 456
- Leggoe, Rev. John, Wesleyan missionary,  
   'red-letter day' in Lomaloma, 304
- Le Hunte, Sir George, (1852-1925, SM in Lau  
 and private secretary to Sir Arthur Gordon,  
 food scarcity and influenza epidemic in  
   Lau, 460  
 concern about labourers employed in  
   Vanuabalavu, 460  
*Xarifa* one of only three seaworthy vessels  
   in Lau, 460  
 complains to Gordon about M's and  
   Hennings' corruption, 464  
 second copra impost from Ratu Tevita,  
   464-465  
 Hennings has 'done' M into timber  
   contract, 474  
 'very complicated mess' at Lomaloma, 478
- Loganimoce, Ratu Eroni, Tui Nayau, son of  
   Taliai Tupou,  
   chosen by M as Tui Nayau (1876), 470, 472  
   removed as Tui Nayau by Gordon (1878),  
   483
- Loganimoce, Lote, Lakeban chief,  
   attends Tongan parliament (1868), 259
- Lomaloma village,  
   exiled teachers return, 128  
   massacre of Christians (1854), 130  
   settlers' meeting formulates Lau  
     constitution, (1869), 298-299  
   second meeting (1870), 308-309  
   settlers' committee to consider  
     constitution, 318  
   neglect, malpractice and corruption, 479  
   decrease in resident Tongans after M's  
     death, 508
- Lovoni people, central Ovalau,  
   order attack on Tongan missionaries, 138
- 'Lovoni war', 298  
   insurrection, trial and banishment of  
     fighters, 303
- Lualala, Sefanaia, leader of Lakeba Tongans &  
   uncle of Tupou I,  
   cousin of Taliai Tupou, 58  
   and Tāufa āhau's visit to Lakeba, 60-61  
   exiled to Fiji (c1831), 89  
   arrives at Lakeba (1837), 89  
   most senior-ranking Tongan on Lakeba  
     (1848), 89  
   praised by John Calvert, 89  
   family relationships, 89  
   leads *folau* to Vanuabalavu (1847/48), 90  
   baptised (1851), 108  
   anxious to restore peace on Matuku, 123  
   appointed joint governor of Tongans in  
     Fiji, 124
- Luisa Tupou, sister of M, 11
- Lupupau'u (Queen Charlotte), wife of  
   Tāufa āhau,  
   half-sister of Elenoa Gataialupe, 35
- Lyth, Rev. Dr Richard Burdsall, (1810-1877),  
 Wesleyan missionary,  
   on Tāufa āhau's baptism, 17  
   chooses Tongan teachers for Lakeba  
     (1838), 73  
   fails to appreciate political dimensions of  
     *lotu*, 74-75  
   records M's arrival in Fiji (1847), 80-81  
   on Tuikilakila's opposition to *lotu*, 92  
   on reasons for chiefly conversions  
     at Lakeba, 94  
   on Lakeba's loyalty to Bau, 95  
   approves Tui Nayau's treatment of Mara,  
     97  
   favoured appointment of Governor of  
     Tongans in Lau, 97-98

Ma`afu, prince of Tonga, chief of Fiji

- complains of Lakeba Tongans, 98
  - despairs of more Tongans 'flocking' to Fiji, 104
  - rejoices at departure of hundreds of Tongans, 105
  - complains about remaining Tongans, 105
  - pleased at Cakobau's discomfiture, 106
  - speaks to M 'about his soul', 106
  - alleges conspiracy between Tuikilakila, Cakobau and Mara, 107
  - praises M's spiritual state, 108
  - apprehends Tongans returning to Lakeba, 109
  - lavish praise for M, 100
  - laments M's fall from grace, 110
  - fearful of 'large army' at Vanuabalavu, 111
  - entreats Tui Cakau to permit Christian worship in Cakaudrove, 111
  - on threat posed by Tuikilakila's sons, 112
  - growing distrust of M, 113
  - expects Tupou to visit Fiji, 113
  - pastoral visit to Moala (1852), 115
  - account of M's actions in Moala, 119
  - understands true reasons for conversions in Yasayasa Moala, 120
  - rebukes Joeli Bulu over 'Lakeba physic', 120
  - understands M's motives in sailing to Vanuabalavu, 120-121
  - regrets M's absence from Lakeba, 122
  - expulsions from church meeting over Matuku 'war', 123
  - disapproves M's conduct in Moala and Matuku, 123-124
  - approves appointment of two Tongan governors, 124-125
  - Matuku war 'a political dispute', 126
  - astonished by M's reforms of Lakeba Tongans, 128
  - sends M to help Christians at Lomaloma, 130-131
  - praises M's intervention, 131
  - departure from Fiji (1854), 135
- Ma`afu, Tui Lau (c1825-1881),
- birth, 1
  - ancestry, 1-3
  - flees Tongatapu as a child, 6
  - baptism, 9-10
  - known as Henry or Enele, 11
  - education, 14-19, 26
  - unrest in Tonga during his adolescence, 27
  - at Fo`ui (1840), 30
  - marriage to Elenoa Gataialupe (1840), 35
  - two visits to Fiji in 1841, 36
  - defies his father to join Samuel Henry's expedition, 38
  - interviewed by Lt Pollard, 42
  - suffocation of Efate people in cave, 42-43
  - degree of blame for NH slaughter, 46-47
  - separation from Elenoa, 47-48
  - acts as pilot for *North Star*, 50
  - father's death, 51
  - not considered as TK in 1845, 54
  - rebuffed approach to oppose Täufa`āhau, 54-55
  - exact retribution on John Thomas, 58
  - speculation about his reasons for leaving Tonga, 59-62
  - relationship to Vuanirewa family of Lakeba, 64-65, 77
  - reasons for coming to Fiji (1847), 77-80
  - preparations for voyage, 80
  - arrival in Fiji (July 1847), 80
  - dines at Government House, Suva (1875), 81
  - great interest in *civitabua*, 81-82
  - supports Taliai Tupou in Lakeba, 87
  - first visit to Vanuabalavu (1849), 89
  - emerges as leader of Lakeba Tongans, 87, 91
  - accompanies Tui Cakau to Cakaudrove (1849), 92
  - receives levying rights from Tui Cakau, 92
  - aids Tuikilakila in persecution of Christians in Cakaudrove, 92-93
  - ceremonial visit to Bau with Cakaudrove chiefs (1850), 99
  - returns to Lakeba after 'exile' in Cakaudrove, 101
  - investigates attack on Lyth, 102
  - helps with construction of 'Bethel' chapel on Lakeba, 108
  - authority over Lakeba Tongans acknowledged by chiefs and missionaries, 106, 109
  - visits Oneata, 107-108
  - 'subject of serious religious impressions', 108
  - helps build canoe on Kabara, 108
  - engaged by Lyth on pastoral duties, 108-109

- aids removal of some Christians from Lomaloma, 109-110
- asks Lualala to help keep Lakeba Tongans 'in order', 110
- apparent spiritual reformation, 110
- recalled from Kabara to defend Lakeba, 111
- and William Ives' abduction of two girls from Lakeba, 112, 116
- leaves Lakeba with Mara, 112
- requisitions boat on Oneata, 112
- leaves for Ovalau with William Ives, 112
- returns to Lakeba, 113
- growing network of contacts throughout Fiji, 114
- building house for schoolmaster on Lakeba, 115
- responds to appeal for help from Donu, 116
- joins siege of Navucunimasi, 117
- ransacks Navucunimasi and captures chiefs, 117
- sends 'heathen' *tanoa* to Lyth, 118
- cautions Moala chiefs against resistance, 118
- his account of conquest of Yasayasa Moala, 118-119
- quick to seize opportunity in Moala, 119
- leads abortive *folau* to Vanuabalavu, 120-121
- formal visit to Bau, 122
- 'searchings of heart' over Matuku reversals, 122
- professed ignorance of 'real root of [Matuku] war', 122-123
- knows his actions in Matuku were 'ill-advised', 124
- appointed joint governor of Tongans in Fiji, 124
- convenes *vono* on Lakeba, 124-125
- not an 'agent' of Tupou, 125
- myth of supposed expulsion from church, 125-126
- denies guilt over Matuku, 126
- urges Lakeba Tongans to behave like Christians, 128
- plans to liberate Matuku captives, 130
- offered submission by Yaro and Mualevu chiefs, 131-133
- gives Cikobia to Wainiqolo, 132
- confirmed as owner of Vanuabalavu, 133
- rumoured intrigues against Tupou, 136-137
- joins Tupou's *folau* at Lakeba, 138
- probable involvement in battle of Kaba, 141
- aids Tevita 'Unga to subdue Beqan village, 144
- formally hands his Fijian lands to Tupou, 149-150, 239-240
- short visit to Kabara, 151
- prospects of succession to Tongan throne, 155
- living on Lakeba in 1857, 156
- disciplines Lakeba Tongans, 156-157
- visits Tonga, 158
- provides turtles and taro for the Polglases, 158
- visits Bua, 158-159
- his forces attack parts of Bua and Macuata, 160
- takes Tui Wainunu prisoner, 160
- takes up abode in Lomaloma c.1857, 162
- again acknowledged by Lomaloma chiefs, 163
- manipulated into signing cession offer, 166
- reasons for supporting cession (1858), 167
- aids Cakobau to sentence 'rebel' chiefs at Bau, 168
- arrives off Ovalau with 200 men, 168-169
- pretence of being Cakobau's ally, 169
- joins hostilities in Macuata, 171
- appoints Tui Cakau as 'King' of Vanua Levu and Lau, 172
- ostensible ally of Cakobau and the missionaries, 172-173
- reassures Consul Williams over free flow of commerce, 175
- claims to wish to rule Fiji for England, 176
- tries to extend his rule over Kadavu, 176
- his power in Fiji at its zenith (1859), 177
- deceives US Consul over American 'debt', 178
- proposes division of Fiji, 178
- out-maneuvred at cession conference, 178-179
- signs cession offer under duress, 179
- reasons for his acquiescence over cession, 179-180
- pressure placed on chiefs over cession, 180
- in debt to Isaac Brower, 181
- regrets agreeing to cession offer, 181-182
- involvement in revolt at Rakiraki, 182

Ma'afu, prince of Tonga, chief of Fiji

- brings his allies to meet Consul Pritchard, 182
- seeks Consul Williams' support, 182
- acknowledged by Vanua Levu chiefs, 182
- seeks to influence chiefs against cession, 184
- advised not to interfere in Macuata, 186
- told to remove Wainiqolo from Macuata, 186
- attends Tongan parliament (1861), 187
- enmity between him and George Henry, 189
- unhappy with 1861 agreements, 191
- 'system' of enforcement in Fiji, 192
- still feels humiliation over 1859 cession offer, 193
- ready to attack Bau (1861), 193-194
- 'I shall be chief at Bau', 193
- claim against Bau referred to Tupou, 194
- agrees not to attack Bau, 194
- seeks to exploit rift between Cakobau and Pritchard, 194
- returns to Lau, 196
- actions in Fiji independent of Tupou, 197
- second in order of precedence at Tongan parliament, 200
- in Tonga during visit of Young's delegation to Fiji, 204
- Tukutuku Raraba* account of his instructions to Wainiqolo, 206
- absent when Wainiqolo's forces defeated at Wairiki, 208
- expected return from Tonga (1862), 208-209
- still in Tonga (Sep 1862), 210
- returns to Fiji with 200 kegs of gunpowder, 211
- at Waikava with 'document' from Tupou, 211
- probable prior consent for Wainiqolo's actions, 212
- angry with Wainiqolo's men, 213
- reconciliation with Golea, 213
- asks Tupou to come to Fiji with 1,000 warriors, 214
- accompanied Tu'i Ha'apai to enquire about Wairiki, 216
- adamant that he does not want war, 216
- seeks again to meet in class, 216
- mutual distrust between M and Golea, 217
- asks Consul Owen not to register sale of Vanuabalavu to George Henry, 217
- confers with Cakobau at Waikava, 218-219
- accompanies Cakobau to Wairiki, 216
- spiritual 'earnestness' noted by three missionaries, 219
- proposed treaty with Golea and Cakaudrove chiefs, 220
- lays claim to large parts of Fiji, 220
- marginalised by Tongan chiefs, 222
- reasons for not remaining in Tonga, 222
- meets Tongan Commissioners, 223
- accompanies Commissioners to Bau, 227
- laments loss of Munia and removal of its inhabitants, 229
- surprise meeting with Golea at Kioa, 229
- nine quiet months on Lakeba, 230
- still owes allegiance to Tupou, 231
- responsible for collecting Tupou's taxes in Fiji, 232
- 'all appeared to be settled' between M and Cakobau, 234
- seen as heir to the Tongan throne, 235
- removes Mago people to Lomaloma, 236
- formal statement about his acquisition of Vanuabalavu, 237
- Petitioner's Plea in Court of Arbitration, 237
- dual basis of his claim to Vanuabalavu, 238
- formal presentation of Vanuabalavu to Tupou, 239-240
- his rights on Vanuabalavu as defined by LCC, 241
- considered a *de facto* chief of Fiji, 242
- bound to Tui Nayau by treaty, 243
- non-participant in chiefs' conference (1865), 246
- conduct praised by missionary, 247
- possible murder plot, 249
- first Chieftain Supreme of *Tovata ko Lau*, 250-251
- renounces claims to Munia and Yanuyan, 253
- tactical withdrawal from Fijian politics, 254, 257
- deferential treatment during visit to Niuafu'ou, 255
- cultivates cotton on Wakaya, 256
- meets Cakobau on Moturiki, 257
- handles Fijians better than Europeans can, 257-258
- attends Tongan parliament (1868), 260

- involved in renewed Solevu hostilities, 262  
 refuses to give up Beqa to Cakobau, 262  
 prevented by British and US influence  
   from taking control of Fiji, 263  
 secures agreement of Lakeba, Cakaudrove,  
   Bua and Macuata chiefs to remain in Fiji,  
   263  
 all Tongan lands in Fiji except Rabe  
   formally ceded to M, 263  
 now an 'alien' from Tonga, 263  
 resents giving land to Swanston, 264  
 leasehold land system in Lau, 264  
 Vanuabalavu and Yasayasa Moala formally  
   *Vakarorongo* to M, 265  
 formal installation as Tui Lau, 265  
 absolute powers over leases and taxation,  
   265  
 formally acknowledged as 'a fellow  
   chieftain of Fiji', 266  
 acknowledged by chiefs to control Tongan  
   lands in Fiji, 266  
 supports resolution for British  
   protectorate, 269  
 visits Nadroga (1869), 271-272  
 Tonga not responsible for M's actions in  
   Fiji, 272  
 mortgages three islands to Hennings Bros,  
   272  
 exchanges schooners with merchant  
   Charles Mcfarland, 272  
 signs petition to Queen Victoria seeking  
   annexation, 273  
 asserts ownership of Beqa, 274  
 'the one man' preventing Cakobau  
   becoming King of Fiji, 274  
 advocates British annexation, 276, 288  
 German settlers wanted 'to have M as  
   king', 276  
 support expressed by Lomaloma  
   Europeans, 278  
 addresses Lauan chiefs on progress in Lau  
   (1870), 278  
 absolute authority over sale of  
   Vanuabalavu land, 281  
 establishes *magimagi* allotments on  
   Vanuabalavu, 281-282  
 leasehold land practices in Lau, 282-287  
 disregards interests of *taukeyi*, 283-284  
 taxation policies, 287  
 purchase of yacht *Xarifa*, 287-288  
 at Wairiki for *Tovata* 'parliament', 289-291  
 on Europeans in Fiji, 291  
 letter to Consul March on Solevu troubles,  
   291  
 veiled threats to Cakobau over Solevu, 292  
 effective control over settlers in Vanua  
   Levu and Taveuni, 295  
 voyages around Fiji to gather support, 296  
 takes 230 prisoners on Beqa, 296  
 '[a] Tongese gentleman dressed in a black  
   coat and a large gun', 297  
 threatens Europeans in Lau, 297, 298  
 approves constitution of Lau, 299  
 instigates Lovoni insurrection, 303  
 preaches on 'love and endurance' at  
   Lomaloma, 304  
 heavily in debt, 305  
 called to account by Lomaloma  
   Europeans, 307-308  
 address to his Tongan and Fijian subjects,  
   309-310  
 settles differences with Cakobau and  
   appointed Viceroy, 310  
 member of Privy Council, 310  
 views on formation of constitution, 312  
 disparate support for M as Viceroy,  
   313-314  
 reasons for accepting role as Viceroy,  
   314-315  
 'will always prefer the substance to the  
   shadow', 316  
 false promises to St Julian, 317  
 presides over Privy Council meeting, 318  
 apparent adherence to new government,  
   317, 319  
 appearance (1871), 321  
 visit to Macuata, 322  
 Commander-in Chief of the military, 323  
 concerned over high taxation, 323  
 persuades Tui Cakau to adhere to new  
   regime, 324  
 conditional nature of his oath of  
   allegiance, 326  
 asserts rights over Vanuabalavu and  
   Moala, 327  
 title to Yasayasa Moala confirmed, 327  
 appointed Governor of Lau (1872), 328  
 exercises administrative responsibilities,  
   328  
 signs B.S.M.P. petition, 330  
 seeks appointment for Siale'ataongo, 331  
 President of Privy Council, 331

Ma'afu, prince of Tonga, chief of Fiji

- harassment by Europeans in Levuka, 332-333
- expresses support for Cakobau's government, 333
- joins Queen's Birthday celebrations, 333-334
- delivers King's speech and gives Royal Assent to 20 Bills, 335-336
- speech condemns dissension among Europeans, 336
- ordered to build himself a house, 342
- Lauan taxes not passed on to the government, 342
- perennial problem of debts, 342-342
- misappropriation of Lauan taxes, 343
- views on payment of tax, 343
- other sources of income, 343
- offers to help military expedition to Ba, 343
- declines involvement in 'Viti Levu wars', 344, 346
- reports of coercion, 344-345
- supports dissident Vanuabalavu planters, 346
- secedes from Fijian government, 349
- consults Captain Chapman, 349
- orders rifles and ammunition, 350
- 'a man who knows the meaning of borrowing', 350
- public debate over his secession, 351
- attempts to manipulate Captain Chapman, 349
- 'playing false' after secession, 353-354
- letters to Chapman, 355
- alleged threats from ministers, 356
- renounces secession, 356-357
- 'papalangis' everlasting talk and bluster', 356
- supports King's expression of confidence in ministers, 360-361
- calls on Commodore Stirling, 361
- heads armed force to confront Levuka traders, 362
- actions at Nasova cost him 'much sympathy' among Europeans, 363
- firm ally of Cakobau at Nasova, 363-364
- reasons for opposing traders and settlers, 364
- succession provisions in new constitution, 365
- thanks Europeans who helped in Ba campaign, 365
- a signatory for establishment of bank, 365-366
- awarded annual salary of \$4,000 by Privy Council, 366
- sends three tons of copra in lieu of tax, 366
- proclamation 'favourable to the cause of religion and morality', 367
- unable to meet Goodenough, 368
- arrives at Levuka to meet Commissioners, 372
- only *Tovata* laws should be recognised in Lau, 375
- unfettered power over Lakeba chiefs, 375
- Cabinet's ultimatum to submit unpaid Lauan taxes, 375-376
- secretly orders Lauan taxes to be retained at Lomaloma, 377
- assured he would retain authority in Lau after Cession, 377
- 'cold and sulky' during dinner with Goodenough and Thurston, 379
- 'detested by the Fijian chiefs', 380
- undaunted by Fijian chiefs' hostility, 380-381
- dismissed as Governor of Lau, 382
- twice consults Swanston over Cession, 383-384
- consults Goodenough over rejection of Cession, 384-385
- claims that chiefs would be 'shot like pigs' if Cession occurred, 384-385
- Commissioners' warning of consequences of Cession, 385
- 'the source of all the trouble in Fiji', 385
- severe loss of face at Cession conference, 385
- suddenly favours Cession, 386
- left meeting 'silently angry', 386
- reasons for changing his mind, 386, 392
- blames Thurston for rejection of Cession, 387
- named Lieutenant-Governor of Lau, 387
- advises Commissioners that he favours Cession, 388, 391
- receives death threat from Ratu Savenaca, 389
- ready to send Mafi to Tonga to fetch 'an army', 389
- member of Thurston's Council of Advice, 390

- pressure from German traders to reject Cession, 391
- does not appear on Thurston's list of chiefly appointments, 392
- M, Tui Cakau and Tui Macuata 'ready for revolt', 393
- dismissed by chiefs as Governor of Lau, 394
- 'M's men' drilling on the beach at Lomaloma, 400
- determined to defend his rights if British do not accept Cession offer, 402
- his power and influence acknowledged in Commissioners' *Report*, 403
- no government in Lau but himself, 404
- continues tax and rent arrangements in Lau, 405
- support from Europeans, 405-406, 407
- apparent acquiescence in Drury's suggested reforms, 408
- praised by Isaac Rooney, 413-414
- continued exploitation of Beqan labourers, 414
- 150 Tongans 'over on a visit', 415
- has kept a 'Tongan mob' at Lomaloma for over a year, 416
- tells Lakeba chiefs there is no government in Fiji, 418
- 'taken aback' by chiefs' 'concurrence' over Cession, 421
- 'a man of stately presence', 424
- preoccupied and apathetic, 424-425
- 'of one mind' with Cakobau over Cession, 425
- formal reception on board *Pearl*, 425-426
- signs Deed of Cession, 426
- private meeting with Cakobau and Tui Cakau on board *Pearl*, 426
- 'M's manner ... undignified ... uncivil ... vulgar', 427
- gazetted as Roko Tui Lau, 430
- 'intends giving up his peculiar ways now', 431
- claims he is forbidden to take delivery of rifles, 431, 435-436
- welcomes Fiji's newly-acquired unity, 431-432
- 'a subordinate administrator', 432
- 'let the people know I am Ma'afu', 433
- has not freed hundreds 'in servitude', 433
- legal checks on his power to free prisoners, 433-434
- presents court house and gaol to Provisional Government, 435
- precise instructions for tax collection, 435
- 'very grateful' for financial assistance, 437
- instructed Lakeba 'natives' to prepare copra to pay for rifles, 437-438
- cruises Vanua Levu coast, 438
- recovery from measles, 439
- speaks at Hennings' celebration dinner, 439
- 'zealous' in tax collection and census, 439-440
- satisfied with arrangements for Tongan teachers' repatriation, 442
- gives land for 'People's Park' in Lomaloma, 442
- relieves starvation in Ono-i-Lau, 442
- fails to persuade Ono people to move, 442-443
- again advises Hedemann that he cannot honour contract, 443
- summonsed for debt by Hedemann, 443
- court proceedings, 443-444
- ruling in his favour, 444
- instructed to attend Gordon's installation, 447
- consultation with Gordon, 447-448
- witnesses Gordon take oath of office as Governor of Fiji, 449
- swears allegiance, as Roko Tui Lau, to Governor, 450
- statesmanlike speech to *Bosevakaturaga*, 451-452
- views on *Vakapiritania*, 451
- urges retention of *lala*, 451
- views on punishment for disobedience, 452
- part of 'a co-opted indigenous hierarchy', 452
- 'he is regarded with much bitterness and ill-will', 452
- 'the handsomest of them all', 453
- 'high-handed manner' in enforcing new regulations in Lau, 454
- prospects of succession under Tonga's new constitution, 454-459
- allegiance to Great Britain no impediment to succession in Tonga, 457

Ma`afu, prince of Tonga, chief of Fiji

- claims to support Tevita 'Unga as Tupou's successor, 457
- opposition to Tungī Halatuitui'a's succession in Tonga, 457-458
- consistently declined Tupou's invitation to chiefs' meetings in Tonga, 458
- sails *Xarifa* to escort HMS *Barracouta*, 459-460
- legal restrictions on his powers under British rule, 460
- house praised by English visitor, 461
- in debt to George Bayley, 462
- fails to submit monthly reports to Gordon, 462
- quells civil disturbance at Ono, 464
- secret agreement with Hennings over construction of a schooner, 464-465
- seizes schooner *Uluilakeba*, 465
- 'being done horribly' over schooner, 465
- allowed to choose penalty for incestuous couple, 465
- objects to David Wylie's appointment as missionary at Lomaloma, 465
- sends troops to help in Kai Colo wars, 466
- affair of the Matuku 'angels', 466-468
- takes 'angels' into custody on Matuku, 467
- shrewd and humorous interrogation of female 'angel', 467-468
- sentences two male 'angels' to one year's imprisonment, 468
- humorous treatment of 'angels' en route to Lomaloma, 468
- receives Governor's permission to live at Lakeba to build church, 469
- people in Tonga 'sorely harassed' by Shirley Baker, 469
- apologises to *Bosevakaturaga* for Lau's shortcomings in food, 469
- recounts story of Matuku 'angels', 469-470
- secures adoption of new prison regulations, 470
- content with division of lands in Lau, 470-471
- limitations to *lala* on Lakeba, 471
- planting regulations 'too onerous' for parts of Lau, 471
- joins other chiefs in letter to Queen Victoria, 471
- recommends dismissal of Ratu Tevita as *Buli* Lakeba, 472
- instructed that rent should be paid to leaseholders, 473
- illness (1877), 473
- dines with Gordon at Levuka, 473
- told to 'get on with' 1877 tax collection, 473
- ordered to regulate hours people work on tax produce, 473
- told to cease unnecessary logging, 473
- rumours of Vava'u chiefs' plot to make him king of Tonga, 474
- determined to visit Tonga, 476
- 'cutting a great dash' in Tonga, 476
- gives Tupou letter from Gordon, 477
- press speculation about succession prospects in Tonga, 477-478
- 'he is a splendid man', 478
- consequences of his neglect at Lomaloma, 478-479
- levies unauthorised tax in Lau, 479
- brings canoe from Tonga as gift for Cakobau, 479
- people in Tonga 'much harassed by injudicious measures', 479
- advised to bring few attendants to *Bosevakaturaga*, 480
- 'the behaviour of the white man is incomprehensible', 480
- circumspect about problems in Lau, 481
- continuing difficulties collecting rent in Vanuabalavu, 483
- ordered to assist European magistrate in Lakeba, 483-484
- reallocates *taukei* land in Lakeba to a Tongan, 484
- some Cakaudrove people 'cleaned out' by M's men, 484
- late arrival at 1878 *Bosevakaturaga* because of illness, 485
- fails to address Lau's problems at *Bosevakaturaga*, 485
- speaks about differences with European magistrates, 486
- plans for piped drinking water for Sawana and Lomaloma, 487
- in 'very good humour' at dinner with Le Hunte, 487
- attends funeral of Golea, Tui Cakau at Somosomo, 487
- forcibly removes prisoner from gaol, 488
- fined £10 in police court, 488

- tearful farewell to Des Voeux, 488-489  
 puzzled about Germans' influence  
   in Tonga, 489  
 to precede Gordon on official Tongan  
 visit, 489  
 M's vessels again extort *lala* in  
   Cakaudrove destined for Tonga, 489-490  
 failure to redress problems of *lala* and  
   land alienation, 490  
 intent on maintaining Tongan ascendancy  
   in Lau, 490  
 presents vague details of Lauan taxes to  
   1879 *Bosevakaturaga*, 490-491  
 'some of our affairs are not in good  
   ...condition', 491  
 Lau had not met its 1879 tax  
   requirements, 491  
 rift with Elenoa, followed by  
   reconciliation, 492  
 rebuked by Gordon for 'habits  
   ...unbecoming and evil', 492  
 intoxicated in public in Levuka, 492  
 cajoled into signing promissory notes and  
   pursued by creditors, 493  
 conduct castigated by David Wilkinson,  
   493  
 blatant disregard for financial liabilities,  
   493-494  
 puzzle over his public intoxication, 494  
 orders *tapa* prepared as gifts for Tupou,  
   494  
 staying with Theodore Wood, 493,494  
 'awfully cheated' over mail order teeth,  
   495  
 ordered to bring Mafi for conference with  
   Gordon, 495  
 host for 1880 *Bosevakaturaga* at Mualevu,  
   496-502  
 three days' evidence at Lands Claims  
   Commission, 497  
 Fijians 'discouraged' at Gordon's  
   departure, 498  
 farewell to Gordon, 498  
 not forthcoming in address to 1880  
   *Bosevakaturaga*, 499  
 criticises Mafi's 'laxness', 499  
 wanted Siale`ataongo brought to court,  
   500  
 the 'evils' of Lakeba and Vanuabalavu, 500  
 'how can you expect the land to be  
   clean?', 500  
 legal constraints on his authority in Lau,  
   500-501  
 complains of Europeans refusing  
   sustenance to distressed Fijians, 501  
 concern over ownership of reefs, 501-502  
 return home following Mualevu  
   *Bosevakaturaga*, 505  
 final illness and death, 505  
 his body conveyed to Lakeba, 506  
 condolence messages, 506  
 funeral, 506-507  
 his legacy in myth, 510-511  
 assessment of his life, 511-517  
 Ma`afu of Vaini, grandfather of Tāufa`āhau,  
   conversion to Christianity, 25  
   death, 53  
 Ma`afu`otu`itonga, 6<sup>th</sup> TK,  
   great-grandfather of M, 1  
   meaning of name, 2  
 MacGregor, Sir Malcolm, (1834-1879),  
   commander of HMS *Harrier*,  
     secures Cakobau's release from French  
     detention, 192  
 Macomber, John, American settler in Fiji,  
   reported conversation with Wainiqolo, 212  
   purchases Munia from Golea, 213-214  
   complains M refuses to relinquish Munia,  
     273  
   renews appeal to M to remove Munia  
     'natives', 305  
 Mafi, Sione, *matapule* of M, Native  
   Stipendiary Magistrate,  
   Consul Jones' recognition of M as owner  
     of Vanuabalavu (1885), 242  
   appointed Assistant Native Judge  
     in Supreme Court, 337  
 M opposes Cession in early 1874, 372  
 signs, on M's behalf, letter  
   rejecting Cession, 384  
 support for M in his confrontation  
   with Thurston, 385  
 appointed NSM for Lau, 430  
 formally receives Sir Arthur and  
   Lady Gordon at Lomaloma, 453  
 complains about being forbidden to hold  
   court, 470  
 criticism of his actions as magistrate at  
   Lomaloma, 475  
 uses justice system to exploit Fijians on  
   Vanuabalavu, 475-476  
 both incompetent and corrupt, 476

- Ma`afu, prince of Tonga, chief of Fiji
- tax obligations of Lakeba people, 480-481
  - critical of Tongans' manners on Vanuabalavu, 481
  - at 1880 *Bosevakaturaga* refers to children suffering on Vanuabalavu, 481
  - joins castigation of Siale`ataongo at *Bosevakaturaga*, 500
- Mafileo, Joeli, Tongan local preacher, acts as intermediary between Tupou and Fijian chiefs, 99-103
- Mafoa, messenger of Mataiase Vave, appeals to Lakeba for help, 130, 237
- evidence at Court of Arbitration (1865), 239
- Mago island,
  - part of Cakaudrove, 89
  - many inhabitants *lotu*, 90
  - Christians harassed by raiders from Somosomo, 107
  - sold to William Hennings, 214
  - sold to Thomas Ryder, 235
  - awarded to Ryder brothers by Consul Jones, 235
  - M removes inhabitants to Lomaloma, 236
  - some inhabitants return, 248-249
- Malani, Tui Nayau,
  - welcomes Tahitian teachers, 5
  - visited by Samuel Henry (1829), 40
  - visited by M (1841), 36
  - unable to *lotu* (1832), 72
- Malvern, Rev. John, (1818-1901), Wesleyan missionary,
  - praises Taliai Tupou, 85
  - complains of Tongans at Lakeba, 88-89
  - political impetus for Taliai Tupou's conversion, 94
- Mara Kapaiwai, Ratu, (c.1817-1859),
  - possesses *vasu* rights on Lakeba, 70
  - determined to claim *vasu* rights, 76-77
  - arrives at Lakeba (1845), 77
  - exiled in Tonga (1846-1847), 78
  - to make his peace with Bau, 78
  - arrival in force at Lakeba (1849), 94-95
  - hostile intentions thwarted, 95
  - makes peace with Tui Nayau, 95
  - removal to Moala, 97
  - still harbours ill will towards Lakeba, 106
  - prevented from returning to Lakeba (1851), 109
  - scheming to exercise *vasu* rights on Lakeba, 110
  - allies himself with Rewan chiefs, 110
  - arrives at Lakeba (1852), 112
  - appears at Moala and Matuku, 121-122
  - in command of Rewan forces, 127
  - boasts that Kaba can never be taken, 137
  - orchestrated attack on Tupou's emissaries, 138-139
  - defiance of Tupou and Cakobau at Lakeba, 139
  - escape to Ovalau following battle of Kaba, 140
  - plotting against Cakobau (1857), 156
  - murders chief of Nadi village, Bua, 160
  - foments rebellion in Bua and Kadavu (1858), 163
  - still a force for instability (1858), 167
  - tricked into coming to Bau, 174-175
  - hanged at Bau (1859), 174
- March, Edward, British Consul in Fiji,
  - submits annexation petitions to Foreign Office, 276-276
  - detailed report to Foreign Office on state of Fiji, 276
  - offended by letter from M, 291-292
  - 'impending war between ... Cakobau and M', 294, 298
  - summons M to interview over Beqa visit, 297
  - confrontation with M at Levuka, 297-298
  - growing despair over Fiji situation, 300-301
  - unpopularity, 301
  - requests ammunition from NSW Governor, 303, n.165.
  - Cakobau the dupe of scheming Europeans, 307
  - Kingdom of Fiji 'an impertinence and an absurdity', 311
  - a 'burlesque constitutional government', 312
  - accepts reality of new government, 313
  - new 'bearing' of Cakobau and M, 314
  - on Fijian chiefs' support for new regime, 314
  - denigrates Cakobau's 'mental capacity', 325
  - great discontent among settlers (1872), 329
  - advocates return to *status quo* in Fiji, 340
- Martin, Edward,
  - interpreter at cession meeting (1858), 179

- Pritchard's 'overbearing' conduct towards chiefs, 180  
 at Commission hearing (1862), 205  
 M's power and influence in Fiji, 205
- Martin, Sir James, Attorney-General of New South Wales 1856,  
 advises NSW Governor on impossibility of assuming control of Fiji, 308  
 expects foreign intervention in Fiji, 329
- Mataeleha`amea, 4<sup>th</sup> TK, 35
- Mataeletu`apiko, TK, 2
- Mata ki Bau, Lakeban envoy to Bau,  
 leads mission to resolve Moalan conflict, 116-117
- matapule*,  
 definition, 4
- Matuku island,  
 all villages but one are *lotu*, 115  
 war over (1853), 123  
 seven chiefs acknowledge that Matuku belongs to Tonga, 234  
 poverty prevailing (1875), 460  
 M and the Matuku 'angels', 466-468
- Maudslay, Alfred, (1850-1931), British Vice-Consul in Tonga,  
 no Tongan understands 1875  
 Constitution, 459  
 favours M as successor to Tongan throne, 459  
 blames Baker for M's exclusion from direct succession, 459  
 anticipates disputed succession after Tupou's death, 478  
 Deputy High Commissioner of Western Pacific, 483  
 suggests British protectorate for Tonga if M succeeds, 498
- Maxwell, John, captain of HMS *Dido*,  
 visit to Tonga (1848), 82, 84
- McConnell, James, Taveuni planter,  
 articulates planters' fear and distrust of M, 354
- McLean, George, mate on *Sophia*,  
 account of 1842 sandalwood expedition, 40-47
- Miller, Rev. George, (1806-1854), Wesleyan missionary,  
 borrows horse from M, 50
- Miller, Henry, interpreter to M,  
 claimed Wainiqolo acted without M's consent at Wairiki, 209
- leased land at Vanuabalavu from M, 294  
 visit from Commodore Goodenough, 401
- Moala, (Mele Moala), mother of M,  
 baptism & marriage, 9  
 esteemed by missionaries, 14  
 takes refuge in Vava'u with her children, 21  
 returns to Tongatapu, 24  
 son 'gone to the heathen', 50  
 castigated by John Thomas, 57  
 apparent remarriage, 57
- Moala island,  
 people fearful of Mara, 106  
 murder of a local preacher, 116  
 formal submission to *lotu*, 117  
 under M's control, 118  
*Tukutuku Raraba* account of Tongan conquest, 119  
 chiefs' written acknowledgement of Tongan sovereignty, 234  
 'purchase' by Reece brothers, 327  
 M's laws 'opposed' to those given out by Stipendiary Magistrate, 460
- Moore, Rev. William, (1821-1893), Wesleyan missionary,  
 accuses Cakobau of fomenting anti-Christian violence, 102  
 Fiji's more 'cheerful' aspect, 182
- Moso island, NH,  
 massacre, 43-44
- Moss, David Jebson, (Tupou Ha`apai), private secretary to Tupou,  
 sent by Tupou to consult Consul Jones, 232  
 instructed to take possession of Fijian lands gained through conquest, 232  
 brings Tongan bureaucracy to Fiji, 232  
 threatened enforcement of Tongan rights 'by power', 233  
 visits Bua accompanied by Ma`afu, 235-236  
 enquires about ammunition prices, 236  
 asks Thurston to regard Tongans in Fiji as M's subjects, 265-266
- Mo`unga-`o-tonga, 6<sup>th</sup> TK, 2
- Moturiki island,  
 visit of Tupou's *folau* (1855), 138
- Mumui, Setaleki, nephew of A,  
 plot to murder, 32  
 warning to Methuselah Tae, 38-39  
 prospects of succeeding as TK, 53-54

- Ma'afu, prince of Tonga, chief of Fiji
- Nailatikau, Ratu Epeli, Cakobau's eldest son,  
 aids M in defence of law and order at  
 Nasova, 363  
 joins M in Council of Advice, 390  
 member of Ad-Interim Government, 399  
 accompanies Goodenough to Lomaloma,  
 422
- Nanovo, Tui Nadroga,  
 declares Nadroga 'part of Tongan  
 dominions', 223-224
- Naulivo, Suliasi (Julius), Tongan teacher,  
 arrival at Lakeba (1838), 73  
 death (1841), 88
- Navucunimasi village,  
 under siege from *lotu* force, 117  
 chiefs captured by M, 117  
 ransacked by M's party, 117
- Newcastle, Duke of, (Henry Pelham-Clinton,  
 1811-1864), Secretary of State for the  
 Colonies 1859-1864,  
 advises NSW Governor that Great Britain  
 will not assume sovereignty of Fiji, 203
- New Hebrides (now Vanuatu),  
 1842 sandalwood expedition, 38-47
- Ngata, first TK,  
 sent from Samoa to Hihifo, 2
- Ngū, Wellington, son of Tevita `Unga,  
 appointed as Tupou's successor (1880), 496
- Nisbet, Rev. Henry, (1818-1876), LMS  
 missionary,  
 meets Samuel Henry in NH (1842), 41
- Niumeitolu, brother of M, 10
- Nukubati island,  
 restored to Ritova, 186  
 houses and gardens destroyed by  
 Tongans, 186
- Ovalau island,  
 attack on Tongan emissaries (1855), 138  
 many chiefs owe no allegiance to  
 Cakobau, 145-146  
 visit by Tupou and Cakobau, 145-146
- Owen, William, Acting British Consul in Fiji,  
 urges Tupou to maintain 'friendly  
 relations' with Fiji, 218  
 confers with M at Waikava, 218  
 describes Fiji's 'insecurity' because  
 of Tongan threat, 224  
 response to Tongan Commissioners, 225
- refuses to sign written agreement  
 with Commissioners, 226  
 distances himself from both Tongan  
 and Fijian chiefs, 227
- Paleisasa, Vuanirewa chief,  
 marries into family of TK (18<sup>th</sup> century), 64  
 grandfather of Mumui, 64
- Pangai island,  
 abortive meeting of chiefs (1840), 31
- Parsons, Henry, Warden for Taveuni,  
 surprised at Tui Cakau's secession, 349
- Perroquet*, French armed transport,  
 calls at Levuka (1855), 149
- Philp, Richard, planter,  
 need to bring M and Tui Cakau under  
 Cakobau's actual authority, 337-338
- Polglase, Rev. John, (1823-1860), Wesleyan  
 missionary,  
 visits M at home in Lakeba, 124  
 unaware of momentous political changes  
 of 1855, 151  
 praises M for disciplining Lakeba  
 Tongans, 157
- Pollard, Lt Walter, commander of HMS  
*Bramble*,  
 interviews M (1850), 41-42  
 visits Fiji (1850), 95
- Pritchard, William Thomas, (1829-1907), first  
 British Consul in Fiji,  
 Bau's pursuit of *vasu* rights, 76  
 appointed British Consul (1858), 93  
 arrives in Fiji as Consul, 163  
 advocates cession to Great Britain, 163,  
 164, 165-166  
 on Tongan teachers as political agents  
 of Tupou and M, 163-164  
 deception over Cakobau's alleged  
 sovereignty of Fiji, 164, 166  
 draft of cession offer, 164-166  
 threatens chiefs unwilling to  
 endorse cession, 166  
 leaves for London with cession offer, 167  
 returns from London, 175  
 secures Kadavu chiefs' support for  
 cession, 176  
 accuses M of fomenting trouble in  
 Rewa and Rakiraki, 177  
 lobbies chiefs ahead of cession meeting, 177  
 determined to 'stop...Tongans in their  
 tracks', 178

- succeeds in gaining chiefs' support for cession, 178-179
- 'Act of Cession' (1858), 180
- claims he did not condone depredations in Macuata, 185
- blames M for Macuata violence, 186-187
- asks Tupou to restrain M, 187
- enquires whether Tupou wants British protection for Tonga, 187
- sees M and Wainiqolo as responsible for Macuata killings, 189
- accuses M of enforcing a 'common system', 191
- petulance towards Cakobau, 192-193
- reassures Cakobau that Tongans will not attack, 194
- visit to Tonga, 197-199
- claims Tupou admitted his 'designs' on Fiji, 198
- acknowledges M's strategic skill, 198
- claims M is 'dreaded' in both Tonga and Fiji, 198
- agreement with Tupou forbidding Tongan aggression in Fiji, 199
- Commission of Enquiry and dismissal from office, 203-204
- rift with Col. Smythe, 207-208
- Pritchette, Kintzing, (1800-1869), Acting US Consul,
  - approves Thurston's views of M (1867), 257
- Provisional Government of Fiji (1874),
  - five-man Executive Council established, 429
  - administrative structure, 429-430
  - taxation system, 440
- Qaraniqio, brother of Cokonauto,
  - succeeds as Roko Tui Dreketi and expels Bauans from Rewa, 108
  - says he will *lotu* when war ends, 115
  - anticipates destruction of Bau, 137
  - anticipates ingestion of Cakobau, 137
  - death, 137
- Rabe island,
  - atrocities against Tongans, 147-148
  - hundreds killed by Tupou's forces, 148
  - island given to Tupou, 148, 260
  - sale to John Hill, 324
- Rabone, Rev. Stephen, (1811-1872), Wesleyan missionary,
  - Tongatapu chiefs' hostility to A, 21
  - preaches on mercy and love, 24
  - describes heathen chiefs as 'afraid', 25
  - meeting with A and Tucker, 30
  - opinion of A, 51
- Raivalita, Tui Cakau, (D. 1862), son of Tuikilakila,
  - disrupts service at Lomaloma, 109
  - forced to leave Vanuabalavu, 111
  - resumes keeping Sabbath, 111
  - succeeds at Tui Cakau, 131
  - informed of Vanuabalavu chiefs' submission to M, 132, 239
  - installed as Tui Cakau in Tupou's presence, 147
  - appointed by M as 'king' of Vanua Levu and Lau, 172
  - shifted support to defeated Macuata faction, 206
  - a prisoner of war, 207
- Ransome, Henry, captain of *Elizabeth*,
  - approval of A, 12
  - describes A's compound, 15
- Rasolo, Ratu, TN, 63
- Ravunisa, Sefanaia, Vanuabalavu chief,
  - expels Tongans from Lomaloma, 109
  - seeks Christian teachers from Lakeba, 120
- Rees (Reece), Joseph, resident of Viti Levu,
  - reports that M urged Tuikilakila to make war on Lakeba, 112
  - with M at Ono, 116
- Rewa,
  - conclusion of peace with Bau, 137
  - remaining disaffected chiefs united under Mara, 137
  - end of resistance to Cakobau, 142
  - visit of Tupou and Cakobau, 142-143
  - Tongan residents ready to attack Bau, 193
- Ringgold, Cadwalader, (1802-1867), member of US Exploring Expedition,
  - visits Lakeba, 73
- Ritova, Tui Macuata,
  - taken prisoner by M, 160-161
  - orders murder of Christians at Tiliva, 167
  - surrenders to forces of M and Cakobau, and deposed, 172
  - threatens war, 184
  - his lands restored, 186
  - forced to take refuge on Kia, 190

Ma`afu, prince of Tonga, chief of Fiji

- his forces begin 'reign of terror'
  - in Macuata, 191
- seeks Golea's help against Wainiqolo's Tongans, 205
- absent from *Tovata* 'parliament', 290
- oath of allegiance to Cakobau, 322
- hoists Tongan flag in Macuata, 417
- berated by Cakobau, 427
- signs Deed of Cession and taken to Nasova, 427
- death (1875), 444
- Robinson, Sir Hercules, (1824-1897),
  - Governor of New South Wales 1872-1879,
  - Fiji bureaucracy 'preposterously large', 341
  - government of Fiji is 'a charade', 367-368
  - sent to Fiji to investigate chiefs' offer of Cession, 425
  - precise instructions from CO concerning Cession, 419
  - advises Cakobau that transfer of sovereignty must be unconditional, 420
  - Cakobau's alleged sovereignty over Fiji 'simply ludicrous', 422
  - official visit to Vanuabalavu, 423-427
  - signs Deed of Cession after M, 426
  - convenes meeting of chiefs at Draiba, 431
  - confidence in Provisional Government, 432
  - told M he should not possess rifles but should honour his contract, 436
- Roko Tui Ba,
  - attacks Lau administration at 1879
  - Bosevakaturaga*, 491
  - criticises M's absence from debate, 491
  - blames resident Tongans for increasing thefts in Fiji, 499
  - angrily rebukes Siale`ataongo for criminal conduct, 499-500
- Roko Tui Bua,
  - castigates M and Roko Tui Dreketi for alcoholism, 498-499
  - supports M in condemnation of European attitudes, 501
- Rooney, Rev. Isaac, Wesleyan missionary
  - praises hospitality and generosity of M and Elenoa, 275
  - financial support from M, 344
  - lavishes praise on M's rule in Lau, 413-414
  - commends M's support for the church, 414
  - foresees no threat from M and Tui Cakau, 417
  - again praises M's financial contributions, 445
  - tax obligations prevents people from supporting Mission, 464
  - agrees to remain at Lomaloma at M's behest, 465
- Roulleaux, Joseph-Francois, (1805-1871),
  - Marist missionary in Fiji,
  - chagrin over Wesleyan triumph in Moala, 119
- Royce, Rev. James, (1829-1907), Wesleyan missionary,
  - praises M's intervention in Bua, 170
  - on M's campaign against 'rebels', 174
- Ryder, George, (1844-1927), Australian settler in Fiji,
  - arrives in Fiji (1864), 235
  - admiration of M, 235
- Ryder, Rupert, planter of Mago,
  - chairs settlers' meeting at Lomaloma, 277
  - Ryder Bros own 'finest cotton plantation in Fiji', 294
- Ryder, Thomas, Australian settler in Fiji,
  - purchase of Mago from William Hennings (1864), 235
- Sahl, Carl Ludwig, Commercial Agent for Fiji in Sydney,
  - interviews Foreign and Colonial Secretaries in London, 339
  - advises Thurston of requirements for Cession, 339
  - William Hennings' account books 'excellent', 347
  - much of Lauan tax revenue paid directly to Hennings, 347
  - helps audit government finances, 365
- Sāltoe Tupou III, Queen of Tonga, (1900-1965),
  - installed as Tu`i Kānokupolu, 65
  - unveils M's headstone (1935), 507
- Samate, supporter of M,
  - at Vanuabalavu with M's forces (1854), 132
  - evidence at Court of Arbitration (1865), 238-239, 241
- Samuel, brother of M.,
  - birth & death (1837) 10, 11-12
- Savenaca, Ratu, brother of Cakobau,
  - death threat to M, 389
  - joins M in Council of Advice, 390
  - member of Ad-Interim Government, 399
  - accompanies Goodenough to Lomaloma, 422

- Scott, -, captain of *Sultan*,  
participates in 1842 sandalwood  
expedition, 54
- Seed, William, acting SM at Lomaloma,  
Siale'ataongo's actions as acting  
magistrate 'highly injudicious', 474-475  
Mafi's corrupt conduct as magistrate, 475
- Seemann, Dr Berthold, (1825-1871), German  
botanist,  
M's role in NH, 40  
1853 agreement between Cakobau and  
Tupou, 127  
reasons for chiefs' support of cession  
(1858), 181  
Tongan teachers as M's spies, 183
- Seymour, J. Beauchamp, (1821-1895),  
commander of HMS *Pelorus*,  
proposes that M and Cakobau accompany  
him to Macuata, 189  
convenes conference on board *Pelorus*, 190  
presides over two agreements between  
Macuata chiefs and M, 190-191
- Sia-ko-Veiongo, Tongatapu,  
site of Wesleyan chapel, 11  
erection of stockade, 20
- Siale'ataongo, (Charley Ma'afu),  
(c.1841-1883), M's son,  
hearsay account of 1842 expedition, 43-44  
drills 'a standing army' at Lakeba, 303  
overstepping his duties, 331  
gains commission as captain, 331  
responds to toast for his absent father,  
334  
escorts Goodenough on visit to  
Lomaloma, 401  
takes armed force from Lomaloma  
to Lakeba, 406  
'a veritable scamp', 407  
sent to Lakeba with 250 men, 418  
'his weakness is said to be for gin', 424  
'highly injudicious' conduct as acting  
magistrate, 474-475  
seizes Tui Lomaloma's land and gives it  
to Tongans, 478-479  
publicly intoxicated at Levuka, 492  
'a daring, bad young man', 500  
account of father's illness, 505  
conveys letter from Tui Nayau to Tupou,  
507  
taken into custody after theft of a cutter,  
509  
claims he had been appointed governor of  
Vava'u, 509  
denied permission to return to Fiji, 509  
'the vagrant Tongan' deported from Fiji, 510  
'Charley Ma'afu ought to be in gaol', 509  
'Siale is a frightful liar', 509  
death in Nuku'alofa (1883), 509  
his children ineligible to succeed in  
Tonga, 509  
ancestor of Tonga's present King, 510
- Simpson, Cortland, commander of HMS  
*Blanche*,  
invited to intervene in Levuka traders'  
protest, 362  
advises British subjects at Levuka not  
to arm themselves, 362  
'Convention' to limit his intervention in  
Fiji, 363
- Sinaitakala, first Tu'i Tonga Fefine,  
Fijian spouse, 63
- Sinclair, Arthur, commander of USS *Vandalia*,  
fixes American 'debt' at US\$45,000, 164
- Siumafua'uta, Tu'i Tonga Fefine,  
ancestor of M and Elenoa Gataialupe, 35
- Smythe, Sarah, Mrs,  
approves of M's influence in Fiji, 183
- Smythe, Col. William, head of British  
Commission of Enquiry,  
visit to Lakeba (1860), 134  
appointed head of Commission of  
Enquiry, 181  
arrives in Fiji and meets M (1860), 183  
anticipates Tongan conquest of Fiji, 183  
consults Cakobau at Bau, 184  
on limits to Cakobau's authority, 184  
visits Rewa, Kadavu and Beqa, 184  
meetings at Bua and Macuata, 184-185  
advises CO of Fijian disunity, 185  
visit to Lakeba, 185  
meeting in Cakaudrove, 185-186  
his *Report* submitted to CO, 187-188  
his views on M's power in Fiji, 188  
*Report* recommends against cession, 188,  
203  
recommends dismissal of Pritchard, 203  
changes his mind about cession, 340
- Sokutukivei, senior Vuanirewa chief,  
accompanies M to Moala, 116
- Solevu village, Bua,  
chief intends to destroy Christian villages,  
159

Ma'afu, prince of Tonga, chief of Fiji

- destroyed by Christian forces, 159
- surrenders to M and Tui Bua, 160
- placed under suzerainty of Tui Bua, 172
- Stanley, Fabius, (1815-1882), captain of USS *Tuscarora*,
  - arrives in Fiji to press for payment of 'debt', 253
  - urges Tupou not to interfere with 'debt', 253, 261
  - meets M at Lomaloma, 254
- Stephen, Sir Alfred, (1802-1894), Chief Justice of New South Wales 1844-1873,
  - believes Cakobau is 'acknowledged ... King' of Fiji, 333
- Stirling, Frederick, commander of HMS *Clio*,
  - supports Cession, 361
- St John, Samuel Avery, (1826-1904), private secretary to Cakobau,
  - calls meeting of planters (1867), 252
- St Julian, Charles, (1819-1874), law reporter, consul and Chief Justice of Fiji,
  - advises Tupou on Tongan constitution, 145
  - considers M as a potential threat to Tonga, 161
  - claims M was appointed as Tupou's 'chief judge' in Lau, 161
  - suggests Hawaiian protectorate over Fiji, 302
  - astute analysis of M's position as Viceroy, 316-317
  - expects M to be 'actual ruler of Fiji', 317
  - alert to M's sophistry, 317
  - aware that Kingdom of Fiji is unsustainable, 317-318
  - pessimistic about new government's prospects, 325
  - presides over Parliament as Chief Justice of Fiji, 334
  - consultation process over cession 'essential', 340
  - announces constitutional amendments, 346
- Suckling, Lieut. Thomas, (1844-1922), HMS *Renard*,
  - Cakobau jealous of M's yacht, 398
  - Ratu Tevita's visit to Lomaloma, 406
  - description of M at home, 407
- Sukuna, Ratu Sir Lala, (1888-1958), second Tui Lau, Commissioner for Lau,
  - confirms M's *magimagi* (1939), 284-285
- Sullivan, T.R., captain of HBM *Favourite*,
  - participates in 1842 sandalwood expedition, 38
- Susui island,
  - Christians harassed by Cakaudrove raiders, 107
- Swainson, Henry Gabriel, (1830-1892), crew member of HMS *Bramble*,
  - notes strength of Tongan community on Lakeba, 100
- Swanston, Robert Sherson, (1825-?), acting British Consul, secretary to M,
  - accuses M of wishing to 'aggrandise' himself, 169
  - on M's ambition, 170
  - urges M to defend himself to Consul Williams, 173
  - mollifies Consul Williams and Père Bréheret, 173
  - dilemma posed by M's ambitions, 173-174
  - becomes M's secretary, 244
  - secretary of *Tovata ko Lau*, 251
  - predicts *Tovata's* fall, 252
  - tells Thurston that *Tovata* is 'broken up', 255
  - M 'represents Tongan interests solely', 255
  - M's succession hopes in Tonga, 257-158
  - M's impregnable power in Fiji, 258
  - Fijians could never establish their own government, 270-271
  - advocates working in union with chiefs, 277
  - evidence of M's care with leases, 283-284
  - public support for M and the *Tovata* chiefs, 293
  - appointed Minister for Native Affairs, 334-335
  - approached by M's creditors, 335
  - appeals to M over problems in Bua and Macuata, 337
  - Cakaudrove people 'crying out in despair', 375
  - Macuata 'utterly disorganised', 375
  - M should not be considered in Cession negotiations, 378
  - instructed to tell Cakobau that M's position must be respected, 382
  - warns M against confrontation with Bau, 386-387
  - 'M's word is in the hills', 394-395
  - refuses to act as Warden for Lau, 395

- Minister for Native Affairs in Provisional Government, 434
- instructions to M as Roko Tui Lau, 434
- advises Emberson that M can ignore Hedemann contract, 436
- suspended from office as Minister, 437
- clerk in Colonial Secretary's Department, 439
- no allowance for M's use of his own vessels, 439
- Swayne, Charles, Lau SM, 1887 opinion of M's ownership of Vanuabalavu, 241
- various findings on M's leases in Lau, 279-281
- visit from Commodore Goodenough, 401
- distrust of M, 484
- pre-tax food supply in Lau, 487
- distrust of Semisi Fifita, 508
- Sydney Morning Herald, The*, Australian newspaper, collision between M and Cakobau 'far from improbable', 346
- Commissioners would not support M in a 'war', 407
- M's house had 'a vulgar public-house sort of air', 427
- Fijians will be bound by Cession only if convenient, 428
- Symonds, Henry, British Vice-Consul in Tonga, Tongans 'always looked on M as the rightful ...successor', 459
- believes Tevita 'Unga would never have succeeded as king, 494-495
- Tae, Methuselah, account of sandalwood expedition, 38-41, 42-43
- Tafeta, Tahitian teacher, 5
- Tagici, daughter of Tanoa, taken to Bau and ill-treatment there, 70-71
- Tahara`a, Tahitian teacher, arrives at Lakeba (1830), 41
- Tait, Francis, Wesleyan missionary, 'political tendencies' of Tongan teachers in Fiji, 224
- on collection of Tongan taxes in Fiji, 232
- Takai, Lakeban chief, stay in Tahiti (1825), 5
- Taliai Tupou, Tui Nayau, (d. 1875) visited by Samuel Henry (1842), 40
- cousin of Lualala, 58
- son of Ratu Rasolo, 61
- uncle of Vuetasau, 67
- sends Lasike to Cakaudrove, 68
- orders Tubou fortified, 68
- sends emissary to Vanuabalavu, 69
- described by Thomas Jaggat as 'persecutor', 69
- regarded by missionaries as a tyrant, 73
- political reasons for failure to *lotu*, 73
- moral character impugned by Lyth, 74
- fails to impress Commodore Wilkes, 85
- good reputation noted by Erskine, 85-86
- genealogical table, 86
- seeks Tupou's help against Bau, 93-94, 95-96
- accepts *lotu* (1849), 94
- prepares *soro* for Bau, 95, 97
- looking 'this way and that' for help, 85, 105
- refuses to renounce wives, 108
- dismayed by arrival of Tongan canoe builders, 110
- reassures Cakobau that he will resist Mara, 111
- suspicious of Tuikilakila, 112
- sends *tabua* to Moalan chief, 117
- sends military assistance to Moala Christians, 117
- moral dilemma over conversions, 120
- orders M not to sail to Somosomo, 121
- assures Cakobau of loyalty, 122
- condemns violence on Matuku, 124
- refuses help to Mafoa, 130
- aids Lomaloma chiefs, 130
- condones M's campaigns, 134
- refuses to sign Pritchard's offer of cession, 166-167
- stated by Smythe to be 'under Tongan influence', 185
- claims that Lakeba and Yasayasa Moala are independent, 185
- treaty with Tupou, 243
- declines to join *Tovata*, 252-253
- death, 445
- Tanna, New Hebrides, arrival of sandalwood expedition (1842), 41
- Tanoa Visawaqa, Ratu, Vunivalu of Bau, father of Cakobau, returns from exile with Tongan help, 69, 70

Ma`afu, prince of Tonga, chief of Fiji

- death (1852), 119
- Tapu`osi,
  - Fijian husband of first TTF, 63
- Tāufa`āhau, TK (c1797-1893), later King
  - Tupou I, (for references after 1845 see Tupou I),
    - master of Vava`u and Ha`apai, 3-4
    - praised by missionaries, 16-18
    - acknowledged as *hau*, 17
    - baptism (1833), 17
    - becomes Tu`i Vava`u, 18
    - saves A in Tongatapu (1834), 18
    - calls at Vava`u (1836), 21
    - position as *hau* challenged by civil war, 22-23
    - religious justification for his actions at Hule, 24
    - sole guarantor of peace on Tongatapu (1837), 25
    - promulgates code of laws (1839), 29
    - arrival in force on Tongatapu (1840), 30
    - confers with Commodore Wilkes, 30-31
    - fortifies Nuku`alofa, 31-32
    - respectful towards A, 31-32
    - visited by French priests, 49-50
    - appointed TK, 51-53
    - stay at Lakeba (1842), 60
    - rapprochement* with Tongan leaders on Lakeba, 60-61
  - Tavaki, Vanuabalavu chief,
    - evidence at Court of Arbitration (1865), 239
  - Tawaki, Tupou's emissary,
    - killed at Ovalau, 135
  - Taxation Ordinance (Fiji), 1876
    - details of implementation, 463
    - teething problems, 463
  - Tevita, Vanuabalavu chief,
    - evidence at Court of Arbitration (1865), 239
  - Thomas, Rev. John, 1796-1881, Wesleyan missionary,
    - views of A, 4, 6, 10, 12-14,
    - on A's renunciation of *lotu*, 7
    - praises Moala, 21,
    - urges forbearance on Tāufa`āhau, 22
    - supports Christian chiefs in Tongatapu war, 22-23
    - finds Tongatapu at peace, 33
    - meets principal chiefs on Tongatapu (1840), 34
    - castigates M for unauthorised visits to Fiji, 36
    - opposes 1842 sandalwood expedition, 38-40
    - investigates 1842 expedition, 44-46
    - endorses Tāufa`āhau as TK, 52-53
    - condemns Moala's moral character, 57
    - thrown from his horse, 58
    - condemns M's conduct, 58-59
    - intolerance, 59
  - Thomas, Mrs Sarah, née Hartshorn, (d.1867)
    - records arrival of two canoes from Fiji (1841), 36
  - Thomson, Sir Basil Home, (1861-1939),
    - describes M's land practices, 282, 285
    - Tongans at Lomaloma unfairly treated after M's death, 508
  - Thurston, John Bates, (1836-1897), acting British Consul,
    - Wainiqolo 'a cruel treacherous marauder', 209
    - notes *rapprochement* between M and Tui Cakau, 247
    - supports M's authority over Europeans on Vanuabalavu, 257
    - opposition to Polynesian Land Company, 259, 261
    - urges M to pay his debts, 262
    - reluctant to request protectorate, 269
    - 'Fiji is ... almost the birthright of the Australian colonies', 270
    - deplores chiefs' European secretaries, 271
    - submits annexation petitions to Consul March, 275
    - notes M's and Tui Cakau's perks of office, 295-296
    - declines to join new government, 315
    - poor relations with Consul March, 330
    - 'incongruous elements' in Fiji government, 332
    - protests to CO over *de facto* recognition of Fiji, 338
    - need for constitutional reform, 338-339
    - ready to take M and Ratu Epeli to London for cession talks, 339
    - consults Cakobau, M and Tui Cakau about annexation, 339-340
    - requests FO to consider cession, 340-341
    - advises Sir Hercules Robinson of parlous state of Fiji, 341
    - rumours of disaffection in Lau, 345-346

- 'grasping and rapacity' of Europeans in Fiji, 348
- blames M for his and Tui Cakau's secession, 352, 353
- attempts to reverse secession, 353
- persuades M and Tui Cakau to consult Cakobau, 353
- chiefs' disillusionment with government, 356
- urges new constitution or annexation, 357
- threats to depose King and Viceroy, 362
- M 'very staunch' resisting armed Europeans at Nasova, 362-363
- Cakobau, M and Tui Cakau resentful towards Europeans, 364
- many whites wished 'to clear the niggers out', 364
- proposes new constitution, 365
- deplores Goodenough's overbearing attitude to Cakobau, 370
- terse correspondence with Goodenough, 371
- M 'playing a double game all round', 378
- informed M he was to be deposed as Viceroy, 381
- offended by Commissioners' 'specious promises', 385
- calls M a liar to his face, 385
- bore M a grudge ever after Cession conference, 385
- warns Tui Cakau not to heed M, 388
- prepared to use armed force against opponents, 389
- 'a triple-eyed villain and traitor', 389
- preparations to form a government, 390
- calls Council of Chiefs at Levuka, 390
- accused of lies and deceit by Goodenough, 390
- supported by M and Tui Cakau, 390-391
- breach with Goodenough beyond repair, 391
- determined on M's permanent expulsion from Fiji, 392, 394
- on M's emissaries in Bau, 393
- asked by chiefs to hold office, 393-394
- M has 'wilfully and wholly broken' his agreement with government, 394
- to send mercenaries to Lau to undermine M's authority, 395
- warned not to attempt M's expulsion from Fiji, 395
- antipathy towards settler interests, 397
- displeased with letter from Goodenough, 401
- pleased with Cession offer and with M's dismissal, 401-402
- warns King of Tonga not to deal with M, 402
- warns Layard not to recognise M, 402
- demands Lauan taxes from M, 404
- judgment clouded by 'spite', 406
- detailed riposte to Hennings on M's record in government, 409
- M 'a dangerous, dissembling man', 410
- justice of many of his charges against M, 410-411
- urges Layard not to visit Lomaloma, 417
- instructs Ratu Tevita to meet Robinson at Bau, 418
- false representations to Robinson concerning Cakobau, 422
- denies M deed of transfer over Lomaloma court house and gaol, 435
- warns M over Lauan tax collections, 439
- M requires permission before removing people from their homes, 443
- 'there are good reasons for brewing a row at Lomaloma', 479
- great resentment in Fiji over land given to Tongans, 490
- Tupou received 'valuable presents' from German Emperor and Crown Prince, 496
- sent to Tonga to 'expostulate' with Tupou, 496
- deprecates 'Tongan raj' in Fiji, 502
- queries M's leasing and rent practices, 502-503
- 'the bouncing, lazy, bullying Tongan has disappeared from [Lau]', 508
- 'Charley Ma`afu ought to be in gaol', 509
- 'Siale is a frightful liar', 509
- regret for the manner of M's passing, 510
- The Times* (London),  
opposes annexation, 359
- Tingea, *matapule* to M,  
on 1842 sandalwood expedition, 37 n. 49, 38
- on M's reasons for voyage to Fiji in 1847, 79, 81
- To Kivea, Sakiusa, Lakeban chief,  
attends Tongan parliament and impressed by code of laws, 211

- Ma`afu, prince of Tonga, chief of Fiji
- wants to adopt similar code in Lau, 211
- Tongatapu,
- unsettled state in 1820s, 6
  - Wesleyan mission schools, 14-16, 21
  - hostility to Christianity, 6-8, 20-27
  - famine, 21
  - civil war (1837), 22
- Tovata ko Lau*,
- formation (1867), 250-251
  - new locus of power centred on M, 251-252
  - Tupou not consulted, 253
  - adhesion of Lakeba, 264
  - resolutions of 1870 'parliament', 290-291
- Truxton, William, commander of USS *Jamestown*,
- recommends refund to Cakobau if 'debt' paid, 273
  - threatens force against M, 273
- tu`a*,
- definition, 4
- Tucker, Rev. Charles, (1808-1881), Wesleyan missionary,
- condones slaughter at Hule, 23
  - funeral of M's brother Lausi'i, 27
  - confers with A and Rabone, 30
  - sees Mumui as future TK, 54
- Tucker, Mrs Jane, née Hall, (1806-1875)
- in charge of Mission school, 16
  - funeral of M's brother Lausi'i, 27
- Tu`i Ha`apai, brother of Tupou I,
- his Tongan forces intervene in Bua, 103
  - begins 'clearing out' Tongans from Fiji, 104-105
  - leaves Lakeba for Tonga (1851), 107
  - sent to Fiji to enquire about M's claim against Cakobau, 194, 197
  - accompanies M to enquire about Wainiqolo's defeat, 216
- Tu`i Ha`atakalaua, title,
- creation, 1-2
  - extinction, 2
- Tu`i Kānokupolu, title,
- creation, 2
  - growth of power, 2-3
  - revival, 4
- Tuikilakila, Tui Cakau, (d. 1854),
- determined to acquire M's canoe, 79-80
  - succeeded (1845), 89
  - opposed to *lotu*, 90, 92, 101
  - genealogical table, 91
  - visits Lakeba and conveys M to Cakaudrove, 92
  - grants M levying rights for some islands in Cakaudrove, 92
  - seeks to explain raids on Mago and Susui, 107
  - continued campaign against Christianity (1852), 111
  - deceives delegation of missionaries at Bau, 111-112
  - murdered (1854), 128
- Tuilakeba, chief,
- ringleader of massacre of Christians on Vanuabalavu, 130
  - prisoner of M, 133
- Tui Levuka, Ovalau chief,
- accepts *lotu*, 138
  - seeks cession of Ovalau to Great Britain, 143, 146
  - secret approach to French bishop, 146
- Tui Lomaloma, Vanuabalavu chief,
- lands requisitioned by Siale`ataongo, 478-479
  - rivalry between M and Fison over Mission collections, 480
- Tui Nadroga,
- asserts his rights against Cakobau, 324
- Tu`ipelehake, Tongan leader on Lakeba,
- allies with Tui Nayau, 94
- Tu`i Tonga, title
- creation, 1, 63
  - revival, 4
- Tui Wainunu of Solevu,
- viewed as outlaw by missionaries, 160
  - taken prisoner, 160
- Tui Yaroi, Matuku chief,
- steadfast opponent of *lotu*, 117-118
  - awaiting *lotu*, 121
  - accepts *lotu*, 123
  - death in custody on Lakeba, 133-134
- Tungī Halatuitui`a, (d.1900)
- visits Bua and converts Tui Bua, 159-160
  - first in order of precedence at Tongan parliament, 162
  - heads Tongan Commission to Fiji, 223
  - tells Owen some Tongan claims in Fiji must be referred to Tupou, 224
  - says M was 'compelled' to sign 1859 cession offer, 224
  - Tupou disapproves M's conduct, 224
  - verbal agreement with Owen over Tongan lands, 225-226

- refuses to sign written agreement, 226
- Tupou I, (King George, c.1797-1893), King of Tonga 1845-1893, (for references before 1845, see Tāufa`āhau),
- seeks to enhance Tongan influence in Fiji, 75-76
  - approves M's voyage to Fiji (1847), 77-84
  - seeks British protection for Tonga, 83-84
  - fears French interest in Tonga, 84
  - assists Bau (1847), 88
  - assassination plot, 88
  - seeks to recall Tongans from Fiji, 99-100
  - urges Cakobau to *lotu*, 101, 127, 129
  - punishes Tongans who transgressed in Lau, 101
  - emerges as undisputed ruler of Tonga, 113
  - calls at Lakeba en route to Sydney, 124
  - appoints M and Lualala joint governors of Tongans in Fiji, 124
  - visits Cakobau at Bau, 127-128
  - proffers help in war against Rewa, 127
  - concludes treaty with France, 135
  - prepares large *folau* for Fijian visit (1855), 135-136
  - determined to discipline Tongans in Fiji, 135-136
  - arrives at Lakeba with force of 3,000, 137
  - murder of his emissary Tawaki at Ovalau, 138-139
  - Tongan chiefs united against Mara, 140
  - merciful to defeated Fijians, 142
  - visit to Rewa, 142-143
  - visit to Beqa, 144
  - constitutional position, 144-145
  - mass conversions at Beqa, Kadavu and Vatulele, 145
  - again at Bau, 145
  - leaves Cakaudrove 'for home', 149
  - praises M at *fono* on Tongatapu (1855), 150
  - arrives at Lakeba on way home, 150
  - presents his war club to Thomas West, 151
  - farewell service on Lakeba, 151
  - political and religious consequences of long visit to Fiji, 151-152
  - supports M as his successor, 155-156
  - seeks treaty with Great Britain, 157-158
  - false rumour of Ovalau visit, 160
  - demands payment for services from Cakobau, 187
  - signs agreement to remove Wainiqolo from Fiji, 198
  - reluctant to acknowledge Tongan danger to Fiji, 199
  - convenes Tongan parliament (1862), 200
  - expanded Code of Laws (1862), 200
  - awaits decision on cession (1862), 209-210
  - arrives in Fiji with Semisi Fifita (1862), 210, n.42
  - orders Tongans in Fiji not to 'meddle' in Fijian troubles, 211
  - wants Fijian chiefs to confirm *status quo* of Tongan lands, 211-212
  - enjoins M not to engage in war in Fiji, 212
  - seeks authority over sales of Tongan lands to foreigners, 212
  - writes provocatively to Cakobau, 214
  - active plans for invasion of Fiji, 215
  - reasons for displeasure with Cakobau, 215
  - 'pained' by M's renunciation of Tongan rights, 215
  - invited by group of settlers to invade Fiji, 215
  - lays up ammunition in Tonga as preparation for war, 216
  - had planned peacemaking visit to Bau, 216
  - apprehension in Fiji over his proposed visit (1863), 221
  - Tongan chiefs resolve to send 1,000 warriors to Lakeba, 221
  - proposed visit to Fiji 'given up', 221
  - dissuaded from visit by letters from two Consuls in Fiji, 221
  - to send a commission of enquiry to Fiji, 221-222
  - 'pained' at land sales to foreigners in Fiji, 222
  - claims Tongan lands in Fiji 'held by right', 222-223
  - has 'six tons of powder' ready for use in Fiji, 236
  - seeks formal disengagement of Tonga from Fiji, 260
  - rejects Cakobau's request for help, 261-262
  - reasons why he relinquished Tongan lands in Fiji, 263
  - his successor not chosen by 1865, 264
  - formal termination of treaties with Bua and Lakeba, 264
  - sends food aid to Lau, 275
  - sends ship to Fiji to fetch home Tongans willing to leave, 438
  - orders M not to hinder Tongans wishing

- Ma`afu, prince of Tonga, chief of Fiji
- to leave Fiji, 438
  - succeeded by his great-grandson, 459
  - rejoices in Tonga's independence, 472
  - signs Treaty of Friendship with Germany, 472
  - rumours of Vava'u chiefs' plot to overthrow him, 474
  - requests M to visit him (1877), 476
  - friendly letter to Sir Arthur Gordon, 477
  - 'writhes under [Shirley Baker's] tyranny', 482
  - promises Tungī and M that repressive laws will be repealed, 482-483
  - extends deadline for ratification of treaty with Great Britain, 496
  - writes to Tui Nayau of 'long-standing links' between Tonga and Lakeba, 507
  - Proclamation on succession in 1885, 509-510
- Tupoulahi, TK, 2
- Tupouto`a, TK, death (1820), 3
- Tupou Toutai, leader of Tongans on Lakeba, and Tāufa`āhau's visit, 60, 71
- arrival in Fiji (1833), 69
  - death (1848), 89
- Turner, Rev. Dr George, (1818-1891), LMS missionary,
  - account of 1829 sandalwood expedition, 37-38
  - meets Samuel Henry on Tanna, 41
- Turner, Rev. Nathaniel, (1793-1864), Wesleyan missionary,
  - A's renunciation of *lotu*, 7
  - witnesses A's inauguration as TK (1827), 7-8
  - produces Tonga's first school book and opens missionary school, 9
  - praises Tāufa`āhau, 16-17
  - accompanies Tupou on Lakeba visit (1853), 125
- Turner, Rev. Peter, (1802-1873), Wesleyan missionary,
  - on Tongatapu civil war (1840), 32-33
  - endorses Tāufa`āhau as TK, 52
- Twynning, John, sailor,
  - describes Tongans resident on Lakeba, 67-68
- Uluilakeba, Ratu Tevita, (d. 1876), Tui Nayau, son of Vuetasau,
  - chosen successor as Tui Nayau, 265
  - appointed as Governor of Lakeba division of Lau, 267
  - M's personal representative in Lakeba and Ono, 278
  - appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Lau, 328
  - ordered to Tonga by M, 377
  - appointed an executive officer of Lau by Ad-Interim Government, 399
  - again sent to Tonga, 402
  - subservience to M, 403
  - declines appointment as Governor of Lau, 406
  - possible attempt to accept appointment, 406
  - 'offside' with M, 418
  - resigns as Governor of Lau, 418
  - appointed a NSM and *buli* for Lakeba, 430
  - supports M on retention of *lala*, 451
  - imposes tax burdens on Lakebans, 464-465
  - death (1876), 465, 470, 472
  - sau ni vanua*, 472
  - regarded as tyrant by Lakeban people, 472
  - reprimanded by Governor, 472
- Unga, Tevita, son of Tāufa`āhau, (c.1824-1879),
  - on his father's baptism, 17
  - accompanies M to Fiji (1847), 79
  - precedes Ratu Mara to Lakeba (1849), 95
  - leaves Lakeba for Tonga (1851), 107
  - helps M subdue Naceva village, Beqa, 144
  - prospects for succession to Tongan throne, 155, 200
  - fourth in order of precedence at Tongan parliament, 200
  - prospects of succession to Tongan throne, 456-457
  - named as Tupou's heir in 1875 Constitution, 458
  - death (1879), 494
- Vakaloto, son of Tuikilakila,
  - leads raid on Cicia, 111
- Vakawaletabua, Tui Bua, (d.1874)
  - seeks M's help against 'heathen', 158
  - defeat of Solevu, 159-161
  - wary of M's wider ambitions, 161
  - signs offer of cession (1858), 167
  - again seeks M's help, 170
  - visits Yasawas with Semisi Fifita, 191
  - concludes treaty of 'perpetual peace'

- between Bua and Tonga, 236  
 attends Tongan parliament (1868), 259  
 seeks closer ties with eastern Fiji, 262  
 determined to seek help from M and  
 Golea against Cakobau, 278  
 appointed Governor of Bua, 290  
 ready to use force to resist tax collection,  
 379  
 sent by M to consult Swanston, 384  
 taken on board *Pearl* to Nasova for  
 Cession ceremony, 427
- Vanuabalavu,  
 civil war during 1840s, 89-90  
 fear of Tongan intervention, 90-91  
 murder of Fijian teacher (1850), 100-101  
 massacre of Christians (1854), 130-133  
 chiefs' formal submission to M, 131-133,  
 237  
 still subject to Cakaudrove, 133, 228  
 Tongan rights on island under  
 Fijian custom, 229  
 in 'abject subjection' to Cakaudrove, 230  
 chiefs state that only M has right to sell  
 their land, 234  
 chiefs' statement to Court of Arbitration,  
 238  
 M's ignominious leasehold practices,  
 282-284  
 settlers' security of tenure, 299-300  
 deaths from measles, 439  
 people suffering under tax and *lala*  
 demands, 481  
 Fijians forced to build houses for Tongans,  
 482  
 Tongan ascendancy maintained under M,  
 501
- Vanuatu, *see* New Hebrides
- Vava`u,  
 religious revival, 20-21
- Vave, Mataiase, Tongan teacher,  
 reports raids on Christians on  
 Vanuabalavu, 106-107  
 seeks help from Lakeba, 109-110  
 working at Lakeba, 122
- Vecsey, Gideon, Hungarian settler in Fiji,  
 leases land on Vanuabalavu, 286  
 failure as planter, 287
- vesi*,  
 Fijian hardwood used for canoe  
 construction, 66-67  
 prevalence on Vulaga and Kabara, 66-67
- Vi, Pita, Tongan teacher,  
 on siege of Hule, 22  
 death from measles, 438
- Vika Kaufusi, sister of M, 11
- von Hügel, Baron Anatole, (1854-1928),  
 naturalist and museum curator,  
 dines with M at Government House, Suva  
 (1875), 81-82  
 'Ma`afu is a splendid specimen of  
 humanity', 448  
 'those deep hazel eyes speak for  
 themselves', 448
- Vuetasau (Viliame), (d. 1856), nephew of Taliai  
 Tupou,  
 materially aids *lotu* at Lakeba (1840s),  
 69-70  
 close associate of M, 87  
 seen as leader of Fijians on Lakeba, 109  
 commands relief expedition to Lomaloma,  
 109-110  
 arrives too late for Navucunimasi siege,  
 117  
 seeks to prevent M's mission to Bau, 122  
 campaign in Matuku, 122  
 fear of M and the Tongans, 123  
 'expelled the Society', 123, 126  
 queries his expulsion, 126-127  
 difference of opinion with Lyth, 126  
 lost at sea (1856), 87, 157
- Vuna, son of Tupou I,  
 death (1862), 155, 200
- Vunuku village, Moala,  
*lotu* introduced, 115  
 attacked and burnt, 115
- Wainiqolo, (d. 1862), Tongan chief and M's  
 lieutenant,  
 accompanies M to Moala, 117  
 battle against Mualevu forces, 132  
 receives Cikobia as gift from Tupou, 132  
 sent by M to enquire into affairs at Bua,  
 170  
 his forces' depredations in Macuata, 171,  
 186  
 again intervenes in renewed hostilities,  
 188  
 his forces wreak destruction on those of  
 Ritova, 190  
 forced 'retirement' from Fiji, 190  
 his forces 'had taken Taveuni', 205  
 intent on capturing Golea, 205

- Ma`afu, prince of Tonga, chief of Fiji
- appeal for help to Waikava, 205
  - takes Golea prisoner at Somosomo, 206
  - agrees to help Kuila destroy Golea, 208
  - death at Wairiki, 208
  - defiance of Golea at Wairiki, 209
  - 'a cruel, treacherous marauder', 209
  - his defeat a 'pyrrhic victory' for his chiefs, 209
- Waqaimalani, senior Vuanirewa chief,
- accompanies M to Moala, 116
  - accompanies Vuetasau to Matuku, 122
  - attends Tongan parliament (1868), 259
- Waterhouse, Rev. James, Wesleyan missionary,
- retirement of many Tongan teachers, 441-442
- Waterhouse, Rev. Joseph, (1828-1881), Wesleyan missionary,
- misunderstands Tongan power structure, 33
  - on Cakobau's reluctance to *lotu*, 88
  - becomes resident missionary at Bau, 127
  - and Cakobau's conversion, 129-130
  - concerned about disaffection on Ovalau, 144
  - approves M's actions in Bua and Macuata (1862), 172
  - urges M to help Pritchard or leave Fiji, 177
  - favours 'Tongan-Fijian government', 204
  - confirms that Pritchard urged Tongans to attack Bau, 204
  - claims that M would never recognise any treaty made by Cakobau, 205
- Watkin, Rev. James, (1805-1886), Wesleyan missionary,
- opinion of A, 20
- Watsford, Rev. James, (1820-1907),
- on Vanuabalavu chiefs' renunciation of *lotu*, 93
  - accuses M and Tuikilakila of 'iniquity', 93
- Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society,
- lobbies British government over cession of Fiji (1858-1859), 180
- Wesleyan Mission in Tonga,
- schools, 14-16, 26
  - theories of kingship, 16
  - Tongan publications, 16, 19, 24
  - schools' curriculum, 24-25, 26
  - on 'holy war' on Tongatapu, 25
- West, Rev. Thomas, (1824-1890), Wesleyan missionary,
- urges Tupou to reduce size of his *folau*, 135
  - on Tupou's motives in visiting Fiji (1855), 136
  - on unsettled state of Lakeba Tongans, 136
  - describes M as once 'a chief opponent' of Tupou, 136
  - declines to acknowledge M as a champion of the *lotu*, 136
  - pleased at outcome of Tupou's long visit to Fiji, 151
  - defends Tupou against accusations of imperialist ambition, 152
- Whippy, David, (1802-1871), US Vice Consul on Ovalau,
- urges Tupou to keep war away from Ovalau, 142
- White, Rev. Joseph, Wesleyan missionary,
- M 'daily expected with a large army' (1862), 210
  - still expects M 'with a large army' (1863), 218
  - convinced of M's sincerity in religion, 219
- Wilkes, Commodore Charles, (1798-1877), Commander of U.S. Exploring Expedition,
- call at Tongatapu and opinion of A, 4-5
  - praises Tongan Mission school, 16
  - finds Sia-ko-Veiongo in uproar, 31
  - seeks to mediate in Tongatapu disputes, 30-31
  - on religious and political aspects of Tongan civil war, 34
- Wilkinson, David, secretary to Tui Bua,
- witnesses treaty between Bua and Tonga, 236
  - secretary of *Tovata ko Lau*, 251
  - praised by Sir Arthur Gordon, 251, n.34,
  - interprets for M during Robinson's visit, 425
  - advises Gordon of plethora of problems in Lau, 491
  - 'disgraceful and disgusting' conduct by M, Siale`ataongo and others, 492-493
  - M has been cajoled into signing promissory notes, 493
  - M pursued by creditors, 493
  - M guilty of much 'indiscretion and misconduct', 493
  - advises M to attend Tevita 'Unga's funeral, 495
  - favours Tungī to succeed, 495
  - addresses chiefs at M's funeral, 507

- Williams, Rev. John, (1796-1839), Wesleyan missionary,  
 visits Tongatapu, 5, 12  
 praises Tāufa'āhau, 17  
 praises A and Moala, 18  
 on Tongatapu's 'leadership role' over Lakeba, 77-78
- Williams, John Brown, (1810-1860),  
 appointed U.S. Commercial Agent in Fiji (1846), 93  
 destruction of his house by fire and subsequent damages claim, 93  
 views of Tongans in Lau, 162-163  
 asked to intervene between Cakobau and rebel chiefs, 168  
 his intervention prevented by M, 169  
 astute appraisal of sources of M's power, 169  
 commends M for making peace at Solevu, 175  
 urges M to respect 'peace and commerce', 175  
 death (1860), 183
- Williams, Rev. Thomas, (1815-1891), Wesleyan missionary,  
 reports Tongan 'fugitives' at Lakeba (1841), 36-37  
 records visit of *Triton* to Lakeba (1842), 40  
 describes innovation in canoe construction, 67  
 Lakeban tribute to Bau, 70  
 importance of *vasu* rights, 76  
 Tuikilakila's opposition to *lotu*, 92  
 M as 'the Tongan Hengist', 228
- Williamson, Henry, Lands Claims Commissioner,  
 Golea not justified in selling Vanuabalavu, 229
- Wilson, Rev. Matthew, (1808-1876), Wesleyan missionary,  
 baptises M's son, 57
- Winter, George, Australian settler in Fiji,  
 M's friendly overtures to Bete, 171, n.83  
 advises Cakobau to seek French assistance, 229, notes 129 and 138  
 applies for Crown Grant of Vanuabalavu, 327, n.28  
 claims title to Vanuabalavu, 462
- Wood, Theodore, English visitor to Fiji,  
 intoxicated in public with M, 492  
 apparent hold over M, 493
- Woods, George Austin, (b. 1828), Premier of Fiji,  
 wary of M, 308  
 seeks a loan in Sydney, 326  
 appointed Premier (1872), 334  
 proclamation of order for planting of cotton trees, 335  
 asks M to lead 'Western Contingent' through Viti Levu mountains, 343  
 borrows money for ministers' salaries, 348  
 likely consequences of Nasova 'affray', 363  
 proposes new constitution, 365  
 M 'tamata vuku', 383
- Yasayasa Moala,  
 description, 115  
 traditional links with Bau and Lakeba, 115, 116-117  
 political nature of islands' conversion, 118  
 new chiefly appointments under M's aegis, 133-134  
 effectively under M's control, 134  
 M's appointee as chief deposed, 443
- Young, Sir John, (1807-1876), Governor of New South Wales 1861-1867,  
 leads official delegation to Fiji, 203-204  
 formal advice that Great Britain will not accept cession, 204
- Young, Rev. Robert, (1796-1865), Wesleyan missionary,  
 accompanies Tupou on Lakeba visit, 125

This text taken from *Ma`afu, prince of Tonga, chief of Fiji: The life and times of Fiji's first Tui Lau*, by John Spurway, published 2015 by ANU Press, The Australian National University, Canberra, Australia.