Photo 7.1 Men dressed in war garb. © *Fiji Museum.*

7 Religious Strife

> There was general hatred between the natives among themselves before the arrival of the missionaries. There were disputes, quarrels and ill-feelings between district and district and among various tribes. These were made even worse when, finally, two branches of the Christian Church arrived. They both claimed to be the true religion, so that the already rival districts found more basis for abusing each other....The words of Dr. Langham, head of the Fijian Mission...reveal this point. "The parties," he wrote, "were not hostile to one another because they were of different religions; they were of different religions because they were hostile to one another."[1]
>
> Jione Langi, The History of the Church in Its Rotuman Setting, 1971

The Clash of 1871

By 1871 most of Rotuma had converted to Christianity, with the districts of Noa'tau, Oinafa, Malhaha, and Itu'muta mostly Wesleyan, and the districts of Juju and Pepjei mostly Catholic. In Itu'ti'u, the largest district, however, an enclave of unconverted Rotumans lived side by side with Wesleyans and Catholics. The chief of Itu'ti'u, Tauragtoak, was the lone district chief who was not yet committed to Christianity. As such, Tauragtoak took responsibility for perpetuating the *sau*'s role, and accommodated a *sau* in the village of Savlei. When some Wesleyan subchiefs refused to donate provisions to support the *sau,* Tauragtoak declared that he would force them into submission. He asked support from Catholics in his district and received it, whereupon he prepared to press the issue. Thus, on the evening of 27 February 1871, Father Joseph Trouillet baptized recently converted Catholics late

into the night, sanctifying them for an expected battle.[2] At nearby Motusa, Rotuman Wesleyans spent the night fortifying their houses and constructing a defensive wall of earth. The following morning, after Mass, the combined Catholic and unconverted forces set out to engage the Wesleyans.[3] Soon the Wesleyans were routed from their positions and fell back, but reinforcements sent from nearby districts turned the battle in their favor. The Wesleyans forced Tauragtoak and his allies to flee to Fag'uta, which was the headquarters of the Catholic mission and under the Catholic chief Riamkau. In the aftermath of this defeat, a large number of "heathens," along with some Catholics, converted to Wesleyanism.[4] In addition, Tauragtoak was deposed as chief of Itu'ti'u and replaced by a man by the name of Albert.[5]

Although some of the Wesleyans prepared to attack Fag'uta, the situation cooled as word came from several leading Wesleyan chiefs that they would not participate, provided all the Catholics at Itu'ti'u either converted to Protestantism or joined the exiles in Fag'uta.[6]

For months after the initial fighting an uneasy peace prevailed, punctuated by rumors that one side or the other was rearming. On 29 August 1871, a Russian corvette arrived bearing a letter from Bishop Elloy, announcing that a French warship was being sent to take charge of the situation and protect the interests of the Catholic missionaries, who were French citizens.[7] This news produced some consternation among the Protestant missionaries and teachers who had been sent by the Wesleyan Missionary Society and thus owed political allegiance to England. On 10 September the French warship *Hamelin* arrived, bearing as one of its passengers Bishop Bataillon. Following a Mass said by the bishop at Fag'uta, Commander Poulthier of the *Hamelin* called a meeting of Rotuman chiefs. With some reluctance, the Wesleyan chiefs agreed to the meeting and gathered the next day at Motusa, along with the commander and the two Catholic chiefs, Riamkau from Juju and Mora' from Pepjei.[8] At the end of the meeting Commander Poulthier, in the name of France, drew up an agreement, known as the Treaty of *Hamelin,* which was signed by the chiefs on both sides. Neither side would be punished for its actions during the war; henceforth Catholics were to be allowed free exercise of their religion and to enjoy equal civil and political rights, and Catholics in exile could return to their houses and property unobstructed.[9]

Almost immediately after the *Hamelin*'s departure, the situation began to deteriorate. A few days later Albert wrote to Maraf, the chief of Noa'tau, announcing his refusal to accept Catholics back in Itu'ti'u, or to allow Catholic churches to be built in his district. In March 1872, Maraf, in direct defiance of the treaty, ordered his Catholic subjects either to convert or to join the exiles at Fag'uta.[10] On 25 July 1872 a second French warship, the *Vaudreuil,* arrived to see if both parties were abiding by the terms of the treaty. Learning of the actions of Maraf and others, Commander Lefevre requested that the Protestant chiefs meet with him. They refused his first two invitations but finally accepted after he sent a third, threatening letter. In consequence of their violations of the *Hamelin* treaty, Lefevre fined the Wesleyan chiefs fifty barrels of coconut oil, to be paid within six months if they wanted to avoid severe punishment from the next French warship that passed by.[11] Maraf and the other Protestant chiefs steadfastly refused to pay the fines or abide by the treaty. They lodged a complaint against Commander Lefevre with the Governor of New Caledonia, and in August 1872 they petitioned the British government to annex Rotuma as a way of heading off French interference. At that time Britain was considering the annexation of Fiji (which was ceded to Great Britain in 1874, but did not include Rotuma).[12]

The Interim

In 1872 there was movement on both sides toward reconciliation, or at least repatriation of the ousted Catholics. Fr. Trouillet wrote to the Wesleyan chiefs asking that Catholics be permitted to return to their homes, that their property and homes be restored, that they be permitted to build churches and have catechists, that the chiefs stop forcing their conversion to Wesleyanism, and that Wesleyans be allowed to convert to Catholicism if they wished.[13] Apparently Albert and Manava, the chief of Itu'muta, finding the absence of so many of their subjects damaging to their material interests, seriously considered allowing the Catholics to return. They evidently sought and received Rev. Osborne's approval.[14] Throughout 1872 there followed a heated exchange of letters between Maraf/Osborne and Riamkau/Trouillet, with the former demanding that the exiled Catholics return home unconditionally and the latter

holding out for assurances that Catholics would be given their rights under the terms of the treaty.[15]

The tension between the two sides abated considerably in 1873 when Osborne's tour of duty ended and he was replaced by Rev. William Fletcher, who had served on Rotuma from 1865 until relieved by Osborne in 1870. By all accounts, Fletcher was far less belligerently anti-Catholic than his colleague and was displeased with what had happened in his absence. Fletcher went so far as to write to the Wesleyan Missionary Secretary asking that Osborne not be allowed to serve again on Rotuma.[16] Throughout the mid-1870s relative peace prevailed, although the situation was little changed. Severe hurricanes struck the island in 1873 and 1874, and repairing damage kept both sides from renewing their quarrel. The 1874 hurricane leveled the Catholic church at Sumi, leading to a rift between Riamkau and the Catholic missionaries, who insisted the chief and his people rebuild it immediately. Fearing that his power was being undermined, and encouraged to rebel by the Wesleyan chiefs and missionaries, Riamkau asserted his authority as high chief and declared himself in charge of all the affairs of Fag'uta including the schools and other missionary projects.[17] For several years Riamkau, who was nominally Catholic, appears to have been allied with neither religious faction despite being actively pressed by missionaries and chiefs from both sides. By August 1876 he had decided to recommit himself as Catholic and in 1877 he asked to be appointed to a minor religious office.[18] Meanwhile, Fletcher had left Rotuma and been replaced by Rev. Thomas Moore, who was staunchly anti-Catholic. Tensions again began to build.

The War of 1878

Early in 1878 Maraf called together all Rotuman district chiefs, including Riamkau, who, informed that if he did not become a Wesleyan another war might ensue, refused to convert or attend future meetings. Maraf, with the consent of the other chiefs, imposed a fine of 6 pounds on any chief absent from council meetings; Riamkau refused to pay, and both sides began to take up arms and talk of war. In an attempt to avert war Albert and Zerubbabel went to Fag'uta and asked Riamkau to come with them to Noa'tau to discuss the situation. At Noa'tau, the Wesleyan chiefs showed Riamkau their assembled forces, three times as numerous as his own, and gave him an ultimatum: convert and pay the

fine or face a war. Seeing the hopelessness of his situation, Riamkau paid the fine and converted to Wesleyanism. At the ceremonies celebrating his conversion, the chiefs announced that they now wished all the chiefs on Rotuma to become Protestant.[19]

There remained only one Catholic chief, Mora' at Pepjei, who steadfastly refused to convert. Maraf and his combined forces then declared war on Mora'.[20] On 28 May 1878, the Protestant forces attacked Pepjei. Outnumbered, the Catholics under Mora' abandoned their positions on the night of 29 May and fled to the missionary station at Juju where they joined other Catholic forces and Riamkau, who had deserted the Wesleyans after the initial battle.[21] For over a month the situation continued as an uneasy standoff, with periodic skirmishes. The final decisive encounter took place on 2 July, when an estimated one hundred fifty Wesleyans attacked eight Catholics serving sentry duty. The beleaguered Catholics sounded the alarm, and others, including Riamkau and Mora', joined the battle. Riamkau was mortally wounded and Mora' was wounded three times in his left arm. The Wesleyans eventually fell back, and that evening Riamkau died at Juju, after receiving the last rites of the Catholic Church.[22]

With Riamkau's death, the war ended. As victor, Maraf appointed a new chief for Fag'uta, a Wesleyan with the title Osias, but he refused to permit any confiscation of land and he also gave protection to the Catholic missionaries, their church and property.[23] On 30 October 1878 a French warship, the *Segond,* arrived and Commander Richier met both sides separately, securing from the Wesleyans an agreement to abide by the Treaty of *Hamelin.*[24]

The Catholic Perspective

Although the Catholic priests had been first to establish a European-led mission on the island (in 1846), they were forced to close it down in 1853 as a result of persecution by non-Christian chiefs and a lack of converts, and they did not return to Rotuma until 1868.[25] In the interim (1865), Rev. William Fletcher established the Wesleyan mission. Although the native teachers preceding Fletcher had only limited success in converting Rotumans, they laid the groundwork for his more fruitful efforts. During his three years as sole European missionary on the island Fletcher consolidated previous gains, accelerated the pace of conversion, and

secured the support of several powerful chiefs. Thus, when Fathers Trouillet and Dezest arrived on Rotuma in 1868, they faced an uphill battle for Rotuman souls and the allegiance of the chiefs.

These circumstances came to define the Catholic agenda, which aimed at surviving in the face of great difficulty. Confronted with a choice of staying and contending for Rotuman allegiance against a well-established competitor, or leaving, the Catholic priests saw in their situation a test of faith, for themselves and their converts. The resulting agenda lent itself to the rhetoric of martyrdom, a language they knew would be appreciated by their compatriots. This rhetoric heavily colored the writings of Fr. Trouillet, who served on the island from 1868 until 1906. His letters, journals, and unpublished manuscript "Histoire de Rotuma" are prime sources of information on the wars of 1871 and 1878. Trouillet was the only European missionary present on the island for both conflicts and his Catholic fold twice suffered defeat. But it is the very notion of defeat and survival in adversity, followed by eventual "success," that Trouillet employed as a central theme. In his construction of history Trouillet turned the plight of Rotuma's Catholics into a Pacific version of a "Saint's Life"—a tale replete with piety, persecution, martyrdom, and the survival of the "true" faith with the help of God.

Soon after reestablishing their mission, the Catholic priests began to write of impending persecution at the hands of the "heretics." In his journal entry for 2 October 1869, Fr. Dezest wrote that the Wesleyan minister was preaching to his congregation that "it is necessary to make away with the lotu pope [Catholic mission] because it is impeding the progress of the heretical religion."[26] As tensions built over the next two years, so did the rhetoric of martyrdom, culminating in an account of the 1871 fighting written by Trouillet to his superior, R. P. Poupinel, in which Trouillet presented himself in the standard image of a Catholic martyr.[27] He depicted the Protestants as always on the move, threatening hostility, while the Catholics simply want to live peaceably. He wrote of the "lies of heresy" versus the "truth" of Catholicism, of the values of "faith, baptism, confession, and communion" that would keep the Catholic cause alive through their "martyrdom on Rotuma."[28]

The fighting of 29 February 1871 produced the first "authentic" Rotuman martyr, Jean Ninaf. Ninaf, a Catholic convert who had first warned the Catholics of the

approaching Protestant forces, was fatally wounded in a subsequent skirmish and is said to have been the "best" Catholic and to have died "while reciting his rosary."[29]

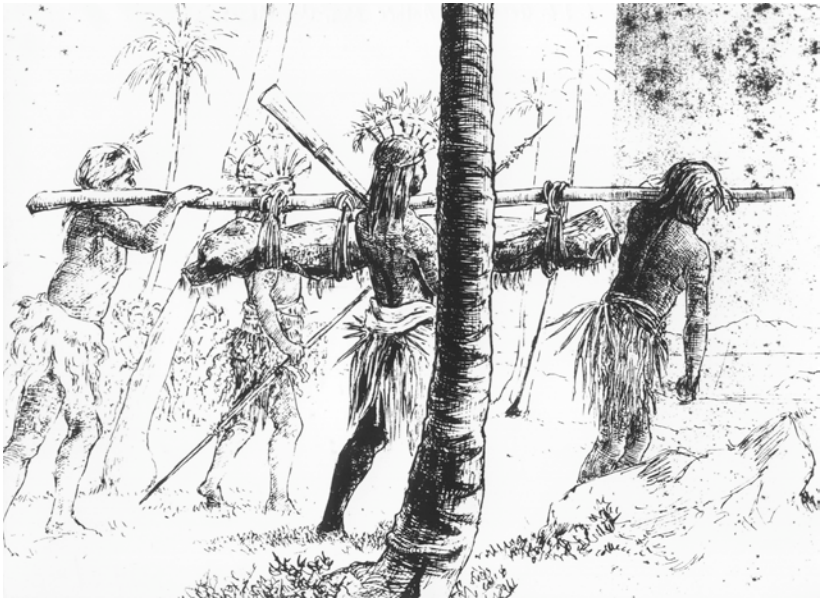


Figure 7.1 Men with headdresses and clubs carrying body wrapped in mat. *Sketch by A. J. L. Gordon, University of Aberdeen.*

A Catholic account of the 1878 war based on Trouillet's diary is also couched in the rhetoric of martyrdom. The clearest example of Trouillet's construction of a figure in the role of "martyr" is his changing treatment of Riamkau, the unpredictable chief of Juju on whose support the Catholics largely depended for their long-term survival. Trouillet's writings initially depict him as an opportunist: "Riamkau was a Wesleyan for political reasons at our arrival, the missionaries being established in his country, he quickly became Catholic always for political reasons."[30] In June 1868 Riamkau is described as "a very difficult character, constantly opposing himself to the fathers."[31] On 26 November 1874, Trouillet wrote: "At this time continual difficulties with Riamkau; one would say that authority diminishes him, so much is he arrogant and jealous."[32] Throughout the years that followed, Riamkau's image in Trouillet's writing continually shifted as he vacillated between Catholicism and Wesleyanism and demanded specific honors and privileges in exchange for his support. Although Trouillet's account of the early phases of the 1878

war suggests that he saw Riamkau as a coward who was largely responsible for the defeat or Mora', following his death in the final skirmish of the war Riamkau is abruptly transformed into a heroic martyr:

> Riamkao wanted enough time to receive the succor of religion and to repair the scandals that he had given to his country; he publicly repented anew of all that he had done against his people and the religion; recognized and adored the hand of God who struck him, finally he died in the best disposition, after having again ordered his wife and his children to never become Wesleyan.[33]

So, after a checkered career, Riamkau was cast as the grandest (and last) martyr in the Catholic ordeal, a repentant sinner dying a noble death in a holy cause. Trouillet's account of religious trials and tribulations came to an elegant close with the sanctified death of one of its central characters.

Trouillet's history contains another central theme—French nationalism. French warships served the Catholic cause on more than one occasion. The Marist order of missionaries, to which Trouillet belonged, was founded by the French in 1836 in response to the colonial and missionary success of British interests in the Pacific.[34] Being in most cases latecomers to islands already missionized by the Wesleyans, the Marists were usually fighting an uphill battle. But they were aided by the threat that French warships would punish those harming the Marist cause.[35] Marist missionaries in Tonga were helped repeatedly by the arrival of French warships, whose captains both intimidated their enemies and drew up treaties guaranteeing Catholics the right to practice their religion freely.[36] In Trouillet's view, a fear of French warships restrained Rotuma's Wesleyan chiefs from further attacks on the Catholics and was instrumental in securing their position.[37]

The Wesleyan View

Trouillet's history, then, was meant to be read by both bishops and government ministers, in the style of a parable of Catholic courage and an appeal for protection of French national interests. Wesleyan accounts of the 1871 and 1878 wars were sparse by comparison. In letters and reports from John Osborne (serving on Rotuma 1870–1873) and Thomas

Moore (1875–1878), the wars seem little more than a mild disturbance of the missionization process. Wesleyan sources, whether describing converts, houses, or barrels of coconut oil, read more like the account books of an emerging corporation than of a sacred mission. This difference undoubtedly has to do with the divergent philosophies of the missionary groups. While the Catholic Church explicitly ordered their missionaries to convert people and live amongst them while following the principles of "poverty, celibacy, and obedience,"[38] for Protestants the central notion was that "Christianity and civilization advanced hand in hand."[39] Their mission was not only to gain converts but also to westernize, to make the world more like England and, perhaps most importantly, to have the mission pay for itself in the process.

As a small station in a remote part of the Pacific, the Wesleyan mission on Rotuma was involved in a constant effort to convince its superiors that it could be turned to profitable ends. Shortly after his arrival Fletcher struck this theme:

> There is much in the peculiar circumstances of the island and in the character of its inhabitants, to check the fair and prosperous development of the work of God. Still all past outlay of labour and money have already been well repaid.[40]

The rhetoric of profit and loss in letters and reports sent by Wesleyan ministers was so pervasive that the number of souls saved seems a commodity whose production was set against the necessary outlay. Just before the war of 1878, Moore summed up the "business" of conversion as follows:

> What have we got for the labour and money expended on [Rotuma]? about 600 converts & something over 2000 nominal adherents (compared to 30,000 Fijians, for instance). These are facts to be thankful for, but there are other fields in these seas which for the same amount of labor & money would have yielded 6000 converts....Here we have one of the richest Islands in the South Pacific, & yet from the outset she has not anything like defrayed the current expenses. She has been a dead loss financially from the first.[41]

With regard to the conflicts, Osborne and Moore portrayed themselves as peacemakers while placing blame on the Catholic priests. Two years after the 1871 war, Osborne asserted, "My personal influence alone has prevented the

Protestants from chastising the Papists as they deserve."[42] Moore was even more adamant in his disavowal of responsibility for the conflicts, insisting that the 1878 war was the result of Riamkau's political ambitions, although he also accused the priests of encouraging Riamkau and providing bad advice. The Catholics are portrayed as rebelling against a legitimately constituted government headed by Marąf. Moore's assessment following the war included the following passage:

> There has been a combination of causes, but I can assure you that the causes were purely political; I state this emphatically....The priests have complicated matters very much by their meddling and by their persistent reiteration that the war was one of religious persecution carried on by the Government party for the extermination of Roman Catholics generally on the island....The Government party sent letter after letter, and by every possible means endeavoured to show them that the war was purely political....The Papists continue now, as they did before, in the enjoyment of full religious liberty.[43]

In a subsequent letter Moore stressed the material rather than the human costs of the conflict:

> The war lasted over two months. The whole of the tribes being involved there was fearful destruction of property—livestock, gardens, & nuts were destroyed not only in the immediate vicinity of the battle-ground, but all through the Island. A good deal of money was wasted on fire arms, ammunition & war costumes. All this was going on just at the time when we ought to have been holding our Missionary meetings. My hopes were not very high for this year's contribution. But now though late we are holding our meetings, and we will not do so badly after all.[44]

Moore insisted that the war "had nothing to do with either Wesleyans or Roman Catholics as such," and castigated the French priests for raising the rallying cry of religion and telling their people that "the heretics" would massacre them.

Osborne and Moore marginalized the wars, making them all but irrelevant to the more important processes of profitably running their mission and continuing their conversion and building programs. What to Trouillet were the heroic struggles of martyrs to a religious cause, to Osborne

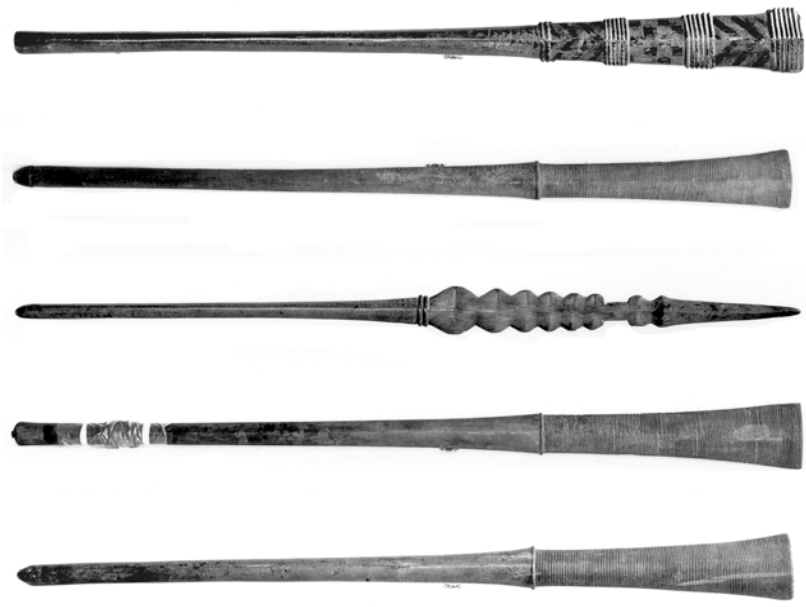
and Moore appear to be little more than negative items on a balance sheet.

From a Rotuman Standpoint

Reconstructing Rotuman chiefs' agendas during the nineteenth century is more difficult. They wrote little, so we must rely on oral histories as told to European recorders, augmented by an analysis of chieftainship and warfare on Rotuma. Two oral accounts are particularly valuable. Chief Albert of Itu'ti'u gave one to J. Stanley Gardiner in 1896, when Albert was in his late sixties. He was a main participant in both wars, and a leading figure in the period leading up to, and immediately following, Rotuma's cession to Britain. Fr. Trouillet, who recorded Rotuma's oral history from unnamed Rotumans around 1873, provides the other account. Additional sources include brief narratives told to A. M. Hocart, who visited Rotuma in 1913, and Gordon Macgregor, who was there in 1932, as well as short accounts by a trader named George Westbrook and Rev. George Turner of the London Missionary Society. Finally, we have drawn on understandings handed down to present-day Rotumans and reported to us during our recent ethnographic research.

ROTUMAN WARFARE

According to Gardiner's and Macgregor's Rotuman consultants, warfare on Rotuma was conducted in a rather ceremonial fashion. It was common practice for chiefs to send challenges announcing a particular time and place for combat. The day before, each side conducted a ceremony and feast featuring chants *(kī)* and war dances. Typically battles were conducted on flat stretches of beach, precluding ambushes. Prior to engagement each side danced menacingly and tauntingly, and sang verses proclaiming their ferocity. Then each side chanted to solicit the support of their gods. Warriors dressed for the occasion. They tied up their hair in topknots and wore conical *(miolmilo)* or crescent-shaped *(suru)* hats of basketry decorated with tapa and feathers. (see photos 4.10 and 4.11, and figure 7.1). Round their necks they wore charms, and smeared their bodies with coconut oil mixed with turmeric. Prior to the introduction of firearms, the main weapons were spears, clubs, and stones, thrown both from a distance and at close quarters.



Photos 7.2–6: Rotuman war clubs. © *The Trustees of the British Museum.*

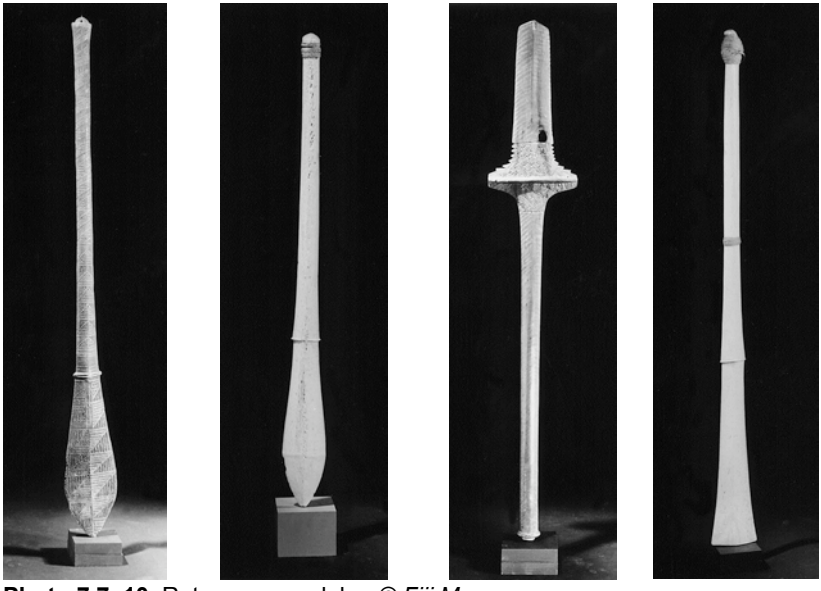


Photo 7.7–10 Rotuman war clubs: © *Fiji Museum.*

Wars were usually held for one day only, with the goal of killing the leading chief on the other side. When this occurred, the supporters of that chief would withdraw, ending the fighting. As for the spoils of victory, Gardiner wrote:

> There were no great advantages to be gained from the war by the winning side. The villages of the vanquished might be sacked, but they were seldom burnt; their plantations might be overrun, but there was little willful destruction. All pigs were, of course, regarded as legitimate spoil. The vanquished would perhaps promise to pay to the conquerors so many baskets of provisions or so many mats and canoes, a promise which was always faithfully and speedily performed, even though they might accompany the last part of the payment with a fresh declaration of war. The victorious side obtained no territorial aggrandisement, as it was to the common interest of all to maintain the integrity of the land, and the victors might on some future occasion be themselves in the position of the vanquished. Nominally first-fruits were claimed by the victors from the chief of the vanquished, or perhaps the victors might depose the conquered chiefs, and put nominees in their places....Such a course had, however, relatively little permanence....There was not such thing as indiscriminate slaughter or debauchery of the women after a fight.[45]

One of Macgregor's consultants, Varomua, also alleged that some of the large and high *fūag rī* (house foundations) were built by labor from defeated districts, suggesting the possibility of labor as a form of tribute.

ROTUMAN PERSPECTIVES ON THE WARS OF 1871 AND 1878

Rotuman custom prevailed in the 1871 and 1878 wars; the former was a one-day encounter while the latter involved three separate, limited fights. In 1871, although the interior of the Catholic church was damaged, the victorious Wesleyans did not pursue their foes, and in 1878 Maraf refused to allow confiscation of property following his victory. There were some innovations, however. Holy Communion and Christian prayers took the place of chants and supplications to local gods, and George Westbrook described the new type of clothing the warriors wore:

> It was the custom to dress a dead or dying Rotuman in his best suit of clothing and during the heavy fighting [in the 1871 war] they wore their best European clothes, collar and tie included.
>
> As soon as the war commenced there was a concerted rush for European clothiers—black suits, frock coats, and even dress suits. One Fiji firm made quite a good thing out of it by buying up all the dark clothing in Levuka, then the principal port of Fiji.
>
> The oddest part of the islanders' battle ensemble was this: though dressed as European gentlemen in black suits and starched, stiffly-ironed shirts, they wore a head-gear of basketware. This skull-covering *[miolmilo]* was bravely trimmed with feathers and red cloth.[46]

For Rotumans the wars of 1871 and 1878 were part of a sequence of chiefly struggles, primarily involving Riamkau and Marąf.[47] Rotuman accounts stress places, with wars named for the locations of the battles, while causation was generally attributed to insults and abuses of power.

Albert began his account much earlier, with the "great Malhaha War," dated by Gardiner at around the beginning of the nineteenth century;[48] it was provoked, according to Albert, by a *sau,* residing in Savlei, who proposed to take a Malhaha woman as his wife without first sending away his current spouse. While this in itself was not improper, the *sau* asked the woman directly when she and her two brothers brought an offering of food, rather than sending an official delegation to their home in Malhaha. In retaliation, the woman's brothers made the chief of Malhaha *sau* and established him in Motusa. Later they brought him back to Malhaha, leaving a substitute in his place, whereupon Riamkau went to Motusa, conferred the sauship on a man of his own choice, and brought him to Fag'uta. In consequence, Marąf stepped in and a war ensued involving Noa'tau, Oinafa, and Malhaha on one side, and Fag'uta, Itu'ti'u, and Itu'muta on the other, led by Marąf and Riamkau respectively. Albert reported that fighting was widespread and took place over several days, with heavy casualties; he told Gardiner that nearly all the young men on both sides were killed with many villages entirely depopulated.[49] The brunt of the fighting, however, was said to have involved Noa'tau and Fag'uta.

After a quiescent period, and increased traffic with Europeans, Marąf acquired a cannon from one of the many

whalers that reprovisioned at Rotuma. Given this perceived advantage, according to Albert, Marąf spoiled for a fight with Riamkau. An opportunity soon arose when a chief from Tuakoi, Itu'ti'u, on his way to see Marąf, passed by Fag'uta in his canoe without respectfully lowering its sail. Since the *sau* was residing in his district, Riamkau was furious at the insult and protested to Marąf, but the latter responded by sailing past Fag'uta on his way to Tuakoi with his sail set, and without untying his hair topknot.[50] Riamkau sent a message challenging Marąf to a fight on his return home and received an acceptance. Alerted, the Noa'tau people came through the interior to Tuakoi, dragging the cannon with them. After holding a big dance in Tuakoi, Marąf led his contingent up the coast and met Riamkau at Saukama, Juju. At first the cannon struck terror into the Fag'uta people, but after a few shots it clogged, and they rallied. In the ensuing battle, Albert reported, more than one hundred Noa'tau men, including Marąf, were killed, while Fag'uta's losses were slight. Riamkau allowed Marąf's body to be taken to Sisilo, the burial place of *sau,* as he had formerly been *sau;* the faulty cannon served as a headstone. A great number of pigs and an immense quantity of vegetables and mats were paid as indemnity.[51]

The battle took place in January 1845, according to Rev. George Turner, who visited the island three months later. Turner reported that "27 men fell" in addition to Marąf, and Riamkau lost 2 sons and 30 men. He added that Marąf's younger brother Fakraufon took his place.[52]

Another version of the war in Saukama was provided to Hocart in 1913 by Akanisi, a woman from Noa'tau, and was translated into English by another Rotuman, Sosefo. Hocart interspersed his notes with Rotuman words, which, in the interest of providing a readable narrative, we have translated. We have injected some connectives for the same reason. The text is valuable because of the insight it provides into Rotuman notions of the relationship between politics and war in the pre-Christian culture:

> Maraf was [a warrior]. Maraf [whose previous name was] Sorkiav was taking [something] to Murorou in Tuakoi and came back in [a] boat. He picked all his best men. The [war party] had gone to sing songs. He picked the best to go by boat, expecting a fight. The rest [were told] to go [inland]. They [danced] all that night till next morning. In the morning Riamkau knew that Maraf would pass and waited in Saukama. Maraf

started rowing up and down before Saukama. The people of Riamkau fired a gun to let them know. When they reached the shore they jumped off and put the boat ashore. Maraf put on his [peaked headdress]. The enemy kept shooting at them. When they had finished dressing, they shot back. Riamkau's people withdrew to [an open area within the village]. Usu, a good stone thrower, threw at Maraf but missed. Maraf [stuck out his chest], shot and missed. Usu ran away and told Riamkau [that Maraf] was [super-human]. Faguta drew back. A lot of people were killed on the beach on both sides. One bullet hit Maraf, who then [shook with rage] and shot dead a man on the other side. They fired at him again and wounded him, but he did not faint. He tried to get at Riamkau, but could not, but Riamkau's two sons [were] killed. Maraf was killed, full of bullets. Utut and Kalvak [the people of adjacent parts of Noa'tau] then ran away firing in [the] air. [The people of] Fagut killed the remaining. They made a big grave and put all into the grave with Maraf....

All the [war party] brought in the boat were finished, and Faguta nearly so. Fakrofon, brother of Maraf Sorkiav, was angry with Faguta and sent [a] message to Fonagrotoi of Oinafa, [suggesting that they join together to avenge Maraf's death].

[The people of] Oinafa went through the bush and Fakrofon [went] on the beach. Oinafa got there first. Riamkau knew it and came to Fonoagrotoi and [begged] Fonoagrotoi to [convey his apology to] Fakrofon....But Fakrofon had sent a message that he would kill men, women and children. Riamkau offered to return the [paramountcy of Rotuma]. Faguta had taken [the paramountcy] of Rotuma which belonged to Noatau. They knocked off the war and came and dug up Maraf, ended the war and buried him near Emele Tue's place.

When they had buried him, Fakrofon [was grateful to] Fonoagrotoi [and] Muamea, because they had come to fight when he asked. So he gave the [paramountcy] to Fonoagrotoi, [including the right to choose all the *sau*], etc. To Muamea he gave [the district] of Noatau. Muamea lived on Maraf's big [house foundation] in Vairahi.[53]

The war in Saukama was immortalized by Rotumans in a *temo* (chant) that has been passed down to the current generation. The words are as follows:[54]

Mose vạhi ma Ferei Tua'nạki	Had spent the night with Ferei Tua'naki
Irava tofi te ma vạhi	Irava had arranged them in columns
Tiporotu noho ma tạri tạri	Tiporotu was awaiting
La'oag 'e ufa, suag 'e sạsi	Some came by land, some came by sea
Taio ta surua 'ona lalạvi	Taio's war headdress of feathers was on
Suakmas ta soni sa'ạki	Suakmas ran while striking
Sapo la mou 'omura terán	Go forth and make it your day.
Furi ta to ma ho'i 'e sás	The booming of the big gun sent them away by sea,
'Itake vere ta so'so'ák	Strong people fell in heaps.
Furi ta to ma ho'i 'e sás	The booming of the big gun sent them away by sea,
'Aura váh'ia, lạgi ta há'	When you two finished fighting it looked like a storm had struck,
Tohia 'e Poi ma pelu ta váh	Reaching Poi, the fighting stopped.
Suru ta fại rạni ma soko tár	The warriors named the date and the opponents responded,
Tohia 'e Poi ma pelu ta váh	Reaching Poi, the fighting stopped.

In a later war (around 1858 according to Trouillet, when Tokaniua of Oinafa attempted to install a Wesleyan *sau*), Marạf and Riamkau were allies. This was before either Marạf or Riamkau had converted to Christianity. According to Trouillet's unidentified consultant, it was at this time that Riamkau handed over the position of *fakpure* to Marạf, as a reward for his assistance, and on condition that Marạf remain loyal and not abuse his power. But Trouillet's consultant told him that once Marạf consolidated his authority he declared his "independence" and the struggle was renewed.[55]

Factoring in the Missionaries

When European missionaries arrived, considerable maneuvering took place among the chiefs as they sought to align themselves with the denomination that would bring them the most benefits. Marạf, Riamkau, and others shifted their affiliations between Wesleyanism, Catholicism, and "heathenism" according to each new situation—a source of endless consternation to the missionaries. Thus, as Trouillet observed, religious allegiances were often made "toujours

pour politique" rather than for other motives. Trouillet speculated that Marąf initially had been inclined to join the Catholics but changed his mind when he discovered that, since the Catholics were situated in Riamkau's district, this would mean that he would be expected to submit to Riamkau's authority.[56] In May 1868 Trouillet reported Marąf's conversion to Wesleyanism and noted that Riamkau, as yet unconverted, was leaning in that direction.[57] During the Wesleyan rebellion against Tauragtoak in 1871 both Riamkau and Marąf appear to have remained relatively neutral, although Riamkau's refusal to aid the Catholic side is said to have angered the people in his district and eroded his power base.[58] With Tauragtoak's defeat, the office of *sau* was effectively ended.

Albert's account of the 1871 conflict, recorded by Gardiner, emphasizes political maneuvering and chiefly abuses of power (as well as an apparent lack of modesty). Indicative of the Rotuman emphasis on place, Albert referred to the "Motusa War" but apparently was unable to date it accurately since Gardiner placed the event "in 1869 or 1870."

> While the rest of the island was for the most part Roman Catholic or Wesleyan, the south side of Itoteu [Itu'ti'u] and to some extent the north side also still clung to the old religion; the people of Matusa [Motusa] and Losa, and indeed the whole of the west end of Itoteu, were Christian. Taurantoka [Tauragtoak] was chief of Itoteu, and had a *sou* in Savalei [Savlei]; Morseu [Marseu] was the minor chief of Losa and Halafa, while Mafroa was acting for his father along the north side of Itoteu; none of these were Christians. It really commenced by Morseu keeping on continually taking pigs from Losa and Halafa, till these places got exasperated and refused to give him any more, threatening to shoot anyone they might find taking them. Their leader in this was Fakamanoa, a big name in Itoteu, and the father of the present chief [i.e., Albert]. Induced however by a native Fijian missionary, they took as a *faksoro* [formal request[59]] to Morseu a pig and a root of *kava.* He accepted it, but on the next day seized a pig, and on the day after, trying to seize another, he was resisted, and a deputation sent to Taurantoka with a root of *kava;* Taurantoka, in reply, promised to take Losa and Halafa under his own charge. Meantime Mafroa and his father had been baptised into the Wesleyan body, and refused *ipso*

> *facto* to have anything to do with the *sou.* Taurantoka at once declared war; the white missionary stepped in and tried to stop it, but a fight was inevitable. It was then the south side of Itoteu, under Taurantoka and Morseu, against the rest of Itoteu, under Fakamanoa, Mafroa, and Albert. The latter was a man of considerable influence, owing to his connection with the missions, of a chief[ly] family, and living in Matusa. The battle took place almost in Matusa, on the road along the south side of the island, at dawn, lasting until midday. Nearly all the fighting was on the relatively open beach flat; it consisted of desultory firing from behind cocoanut trees. About sixty of Taurantoka's people were killed before he took to flight. As a result the office of *sou* was abolished, Taurantoka and Morseu baptised, and Albert, who had shown throughout very conspicuous bravery, made chief of Itoteu.[60]

Elizabeth Inia, a retired schoolteacher and great-granddaughter of Tauragtoak, has told a similar story. Her home is in Savlei, where Tauragtoak kept the *sau.* Inia wrote an account of the war in a reader she prepared in the Rotuman language for schoolchildren. Her narrative corresponds in most respects with Albert's, and indeed may have been influenced by it, but she added interesting details and twists. She also differed with Albert regarding the role played by Osborne, the Wesleyan missionary. Inia pointed out that Marseu was Riamkau's son, and Tauragtoak his sister's son; thus Marseu and Tauragtoak were first cousins. According to her narrative, after the pig incidents, Marseu, worried that the Wesleyans would attack him, sent kava to Tauragtoak to ask for his help. In her account, Albert and Fakmanoa, encouraged by Osborne, initiated the attack on Tauragtoak, who was on his way to aid Marseu. Tauragtoak turned to Riamkau for aid, but none came, in part, Inia wrote, because Marạf told Riamkau not to assist.

In the years that followed, more and more chiefs converted to Wesleyanism and became loyal to Marạf, whose position as paramount chief was consolidated. Riamkau, although he, too, laid claim to paramountcy, was increasingly isolated. According to Trouillet, as Marạf's power grew, so did his ambition to eliminate Riamkau: "The great power is still there: by fact, in Malafu, Wesleyan, and by right in Riamkau, Catholic, here is the source of both the political and religious quarrel."[61] Gardiner's text reporting the final

clash in 1878, apparently constructed from discussions with Albert and the current Marąf (in 1896), again provides a scenario more complex than that presented by European observer-participants:

> The last great war was in 1878, and was practically Wesleyans v. Roman Catholics. Really it was largely brought about by white men, working on the old enmity between Marafu and Riemkou. It arose through the intrigues of Albert, who wished at the council meetings of the chiefs to get his name called for *kava* before that of Tavo, the chief of Oinafa. Riemkou was supporting him, as he was jealous of Marafu, who was both chief of his district and *fakpure,* or head chief, of the island. Albert then in a meeting at Oinafa brought up his own matter and that of Marafu's two offices; Marafu replied through his brother Hauseu, who was his spokesman, or *hoasog* [*haiasoag* (helper)], that, as far as the chieftainship of his district was concerned, it was no business of theirs, and that, as he was entitled to receive the *kava* first, it was his business to see that it was called to all in their proper order. Riemkou did not attend the next meeting of the council, and, as he refused to pay a fine, it was considered equivalent to a declaration of war. A white missionary then, called Moore, seems to have gone to Albert, and also into Malaha [Malhaha] and Oinafa, practically preaching a war against the Roman Catholics. As a result, Riemkou brought a *faksoro* [formal apology] to Marafu, who accepted it; and to settle the matter Riemkou let himself be baptised a Wesleyan. The Wesleyans, who had begun to gather, were dispersed, and Riemkou at once turned Roman Catholic again. Marafu...informed me that then there was no question of war, and that the affair was considered settled until this missionary came and practically began to preach a war of extermination against the Roman Catholics.[62]

Felise Vuna, a Catholic warrior at the time, gave clear voice to the Rotuman view of the conflict: that to kill the opposing chief was to win the war. As the Wesleyan forces advanced on the Catholics, he shouted, "Where is Marąf that I may kill him?"[63] After months of sporadic skirmishes, it was the death of Riamkau, rather than the defeat of the Catholics, that ended the conflict.

The Death of Riamkau: Conflicting Accounts

Riamkau's death, perhaps more than any other event, epitomizes the irony behind the contrasting accounts. Trouillet wrote that Riamkau died while directly confronting the Wesleyans, and that he offered his life and the authority resting in him for the propagation of the Catholic religion in Rotuma.[64] George Westbrook made him seem even more a hero:

> The native chief who distinguished himself most in the war was Remkau, the Catholic leader, who put up a very strong fight. Unfortunately for his party, he, in an excess of bravado, jumped out single handed and challenged the Wesleyans with the result that he fell riddled with more than 40 bullets.[65]

The story told by many Rotumans, down to the present, is quite different. They say that Riamkau was killed by one of his own people. As Elizabeth Inia told it, he was killed by a man from Fag'uta whose pig Riamkau had allegedly appropriated while the man was away from home. The man's wife told her husband that Riamkau had not come to her; he just took the pig without asking. The man then went after Riamkau, who was fighting the Wesleyans, and shot him in the back.[66] In Inia's version Riamkau did not reconvert to Catholicism until he was mortally wounded.

Chiefs, Missionaries, and Warfare: Historical Complexities

Rotuman accounts focused on chiefly rivalries on the one hand, and on chiefly abuses of power vis-à-vis their own people on the other. In both the Motusa and Fag'uta wars, chiefs who took pigs from their own people without consent were portrayed as provoking the conflicts. In both instances they were defeated in warfare. The confiscation of pigs symbolically epitomizes authority abuse in Rotuman culture, and the ultimate fate of the offending chiefs satisfies Rotuman notions of immanent justice.[67]

The wars on Rotuma during 1871 and 1878 were the outcomes of a complex web of historical conjunctures involving French Roman Catholic priests, English Wesleyan missionaries, and Rotuman chiefs. Others influencing these events included European traders, who provided guns and ammunition; French ship captains, who drew up treaties and

made threats; British colonial officials in Fiji, whose presence was always imminent; and perhaps most crucially, a host of Rotumans with vested interests, kinship alliances, and grievances. In the final analysis the Rotumans did the fighting.

The simplest perspective was that the wars were purely religious in nature. Such a view appealed to critics of missionization. Forbes and Westbrook, both writing for general audiences,[68] placed the blame squarely on the European missionaries. They implicitly juxtaposed images of knowledgeable, but hypocritical, Europeans, and innocent, unknowing, and easily manipulated Rotumans. One senses in their accounts a pandering to romantic images, popularly held by European and American readers at the time, of noble savages being corrupted by jaded agents of civilization. By attributing causality in such a one-sided manner, however, their reports deny Rotumans agency—a responsibility for the conduct of their own affairs—and diminish their humanity.

Roman Catholic accounts, produced mostly by French priests, and particularly by Fr. Trouillet, focused on the trials and tribulations of the faithful (including, of course, themselves). Their sense of audience was strong. Their narratives seemed structured to evoke compassion and sympathy, to elicit moral as well as material support. They drew on images of martyrs and saints as a way of translating Rotuman history into a discourse familiar to European Catholics. In the process, they created martyrs out of men like Riamkau.

Letters and reports by the British Wesleyan missionaries reveal a preoccupation with "civilizing" the Rotumans and with cost accounting. They give the impression of a business enterprise in which the products were converts, who in appearance and decorum, inside church and out, should aim to project an image of European gentility.

Photo 7.11 Tomb of the Catholic "martyrs" of the 1878 war, decorated for the Catholic mission's centennial celebration, 1996. *Jan Rensel.*

The issue that preoccupied many of the Wesleyans was whether the expense of supporting a white missionary on Rotuma was worth it. The wars were mere distractions; they imposed additional costs and so affected the profit/loss equation. The Wesleyan missionaries also recognized the importance of chiefly rivalries and preferred to portray the wars as indigenous affairs in which they played no significant part.

However, we should not exaggerate the differences between the agendas and proclivities of the two sets of missionaries. To a great extent their agendas overlapped. When we take all their writings into account we find the differences to be one of foreground and background: what one group emphasizes, the other treats as of secondary interest. It would be wrong to infer that the Catholics were unconcerned about "civilizing" the heathen Rotumans—according to Forbes they took pains to provide "instruction in the useful arts of civilisation"[69]—or with financial matters. Like the Wesleyans, they had to make their missions pay. The main difference, it appears, is that the Catholic priests, perhaps consistent with their vows of poverty, were motivated to downplay finances in their correspondence. Nevertheless, they were deeply involved in the money game, as reported in an account by John W. Boddam-Whetham, who visited Rotuma a few years after the 1871 war:

> At Rotumah I was struck by the ingenious method the Roman Catholic priests have adopted for paying the natives for their labour. They, the priests, are all poor men, having as a rule barely sufficient means to support themselves except in a native fashion, and consequently they have no money to expend in wages. They have therefore adopted a system of fines, which when enforced are usually found to exceed in amount the sum due for service. Absence from church is fined; smoking on Sunday, or even walking out, is against the law. Women are fined for not wearing bonnets when attending mass, kava drinking ensures a heavy penalty, and fishing on holy days is strictly forbidden. The chief source of revenue comes from absence from church, as service goes on two or three times a day, and most probably just when the poor people are fishing or cultivating the ground.[70]

The reports of the Wesleyan missionaries, for their part, included occasional references to hardships, which were

obviously aimed at evoking sympathy. They too employed the image of suffering to elicit support, although to a lesser degree. And both groups were concerned with acquiring land for churches and mission stations, a matter that is muted in their accounts.

Both sides also played upon international rivalries and sectarian competition. Sprinkled through the narratives are amusing anecdotes illustrating the follies of their rivals. Sometimes rough language proved an embarrassment to outside readers anxious to preserve a notion of Christian virtue based on tolerance, if not brotherly love.[71]

Rotuman accounts of the wars, cryptic as they are, and filtered through translation, European recorders, and generations of oral transmission, remain the most complex. They are vibrant with a sense of place and persons, with actors who have justified or unjustified grievances, whose ambitions led them to break rules and violate protocol. In other words, from a Rotuman perspective, they themselves were the key actors, and the missionaries were merely on the sidelines.

Photo 7.12 Cannon used as grave marker, 1960. *Alan Howard.*

Notes to Chapter 7

We have chosen in this chapter to emphasize the contrasts in the perspectives of the English Wesleyan ministers, the French Catholic priests, and the Rotumans regarding the so-called "religious wars." Our narrative draws heavily on a paper entitled "Martyrs, Progress and Political Ambition: Reexamining Rotuma's 'Religious Wars'" by Alan Howard and Eric Kjellgren (1995), published in the *Journal of Pacific History.*

For more extensive accounts of Rotuma's missionary history, from first arrival until well into the twentieth century, see Rev. Jione Langi's thesis, "The History of the Church in Its Rotuman Setting: An Introductory Outline" (1971), and *Overseas Missions of the Australian Methodist Church,* volume III (Fiji-Indian and Rotuma), by Rev. Alfred Harold Wood (1978). A short but still useful account is Rev. C. M. Churchward's "One Hundred Years of Christian Work in Rotuma," published in *The Missionary Review* (1939).

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[1] Langi 1971, 59. The quote is from a letter sent by the Rev. Frederick Langham to Arthur Gordon, 3 May 1880; see Gordon 1897, 288.

[2] Historique de la Station Notre Dame de Victoires 1949. Translation from the French by Eric Kjellgren.

[3] Letter from Trouillet to Poupinel, 10 March 1871 [Pacific Manuscripts Bureau Reel 428].

[4] A narrative by Litton Forbes, who visited Rotuma shortly afterwards, places responsibility for these events largely in the hands of the missionaries. Forbes attributed the battle to the Wesleyan minister Osborne's advising his converts not to support the *sau*. See Forbes 1875, 241.

[5] This apparently arbitrary appointment has been a source of continuing conflict in the district of Itu'ti'u. According to Jioje Konrote (personal communication, 2004):

> The deposing of Tauragtoak...created a very bad precedent in violating traditional protocols regarding the selection of a *fa 'es itu'u.* The victors of the so called "clash of 1871" arbitrarily selected Albert, who was not from a chiefly *mosega.* Consequently this has continued to plague the district of Itu'ti'u...because the members of the traditional *moseg*...[have] continued to dispute and reject successive claims of Albert's descendents to the office of *fa 'es itu'u.*

[6] Trouillet to Poupinel, 10 March 1871 [Pacific Manuscripts Bureau Reel 428].

[7] Historique de la Station Notre Dame de Victoires 1949, 27.

[8] Historique de la Station St. Michel, Upu, Rotuma, Fiji, 1949; Historique de la Station Notre Dame de Victoires 1949, 27–28. Translation from the French by Eric Kjellgren.

[9] Roman Catholic Archives, Fiji (RCAF 5/4/31/49, 9).

[10] Roman Catholic Archives, Fiji (RCAF 5/4/31/49, 9–10).

[11] Roman Catholic Archives, Fiji (RCAF 5/4/31/49, 10–11); Wood 1978, 127.

[12] Wood 1978, 127. A proposal that Rotuma be included with Fiji had in fact been made, but a misreading of a cable to the Governor of Fiji lead to its exclusion (Eason 1951, 60).

[13] Roman Catholic Archives, Fiji (RCAF 5/4/31/49, 11).

[14] Roman Catholic Archives, Fiji (RCAF 5/4/31/49, 11).

[15] Historique de la Station Notre Dame de Victoires, 1949, 35–52.

[16] Wood 1978, 128.

[17] Historique de la Station Notre Dame de Victoires, 1949, 57–58.

[18] Historique de la Station Notre Dame de Victoires, 1949, 71.

[19] Historique de la Station Notre Dame de Victoires, 1949, 73–74.

[20] Historique de la Station Notre Dame de Victoires, 1949, 74–75.

[21] Historique de la Station Notre Dame de Victoires 1949, 76, 81; Historique de la Station St. Michel 1949, 15.

[22] Historique de la Station St. Michel 1949, 16–17. By comparative standards this, and the war of 1871, were mere skirmishes. Even if the highest estimates of casualties are granted, considerably fewer than 100 were killed or wounded in each. If only reports of casualties on one's own side are considered the figures range from 20 to 40 in each instance.

[23] Eason 1951, 58.

[24] Historique de la Station St. Michel 1949, 15–16.

[25] Roman Catholic Archives, Fiji (RCAF 5/4/31/49, 1–3).

[26] Historique de la Station St. Michel 1949, 2.

[27] Trouillet to Poupinel, 10 March 1871, Catholic Diocesian Office, Suva, Fiji [Pacific Manuscripts Bureau Reel 428].

[28] Trouillet to Poupinel, 10 March 1871, Catholic Diocesian Office, Suva, Fiji [Pacific Manuscripts Bureau Reel 428].

[29] Historique de la Station St. Michel 1949, 2.

[30] Historique de la Station Notre Dame de Victoires 1949, 6.

[31] Historique de la Station St. Michel 1949, 1.

[32] Historique de la Station St. Michel 1949, 14.

[33] Historique de la Station Notre Dame de Victoires 1949, 82.

[34] van der Grijp 1993, 136.

[35] van der Grijp 1993, 138.

[36] van der Grijp 1993.

[37] Rotumans were aware at a very early date that the struggle between Christian sects was confounded by national politics, as shown by a comment recorded by Fletcher in 1866: "They [the Rotumans] do not understand what the lotu is, especially as some speak of a rotu *[sic]* Lonidoni and a rotu Franise [French]." Methodist Church of Australasia, *Wesleyan Missionary Notices,* no. 37 (October 1866).

[38] van der Grijp 1993, 146.

[39] Horne 1904, 40.

[40] Quoted in Williams and Calvert 1870, 586.

[41] Methodist Church Archives, Mitchell Library, Sydney, Moore to Chapman, 6 May 1878; see also Osborne to Rabone, 11 July 1872. That South Sea Islanders were well aware of the Wesleyans' obsession with profit was testified to by John W. Boddam-Whetham (1876, 263), who visited Rotuma shortly after the 1871 war.

[42] Osborne to Chapman, 1 March 1873, quoted in Wood 1978, 127.

[43] Moore to Chapman, 18 July 1878, quoted in Wood 1978, 129.

[44] Methodist Church Archives, Mitchell Library, Sydney, Moore to Chapman, 23 September 1878.

[45] Gardiner 1898a, 470–471.

[46] Westbrook 1935, 147.

[47] The chief of Noa'tau has almost always, to the present, taken the title Marąf; the title Riamkau belongs to Juju district and was in constant use from the time European recording began (in the 1820s) until the death of Riamkau in 1878. In the accounts below, references to Marąf and Riamkau are to titles, not to individuals.

[48] Gardiner (1898, 474) made his estimate by using 30 years per generation, based on the participation of Albert's paternal great-grandfather, Foragmontou.

[49] This report of carnage should be taken with caution; exaggeration of casualties on the opposing side during warfare appears to be a pan-human propensity.

[50] Since tying up one's hair in a knot was identified with warfare, not loosening one's hair was considered a challenging gesture (see Macgregor 1932, box #1, war and weapons).

[51] Gardiner 1898a, 474–475.

[52] Turner 1861, 356.

[53] Hocart 1913.

[54] We are grateful to Elizabeth Inia for providing us with the text of this *temo;* the translation to English is hers.

[55] Historique de la Station Notre Dame de Victoires 1949. It should be noted that Trouillet's informant was almost certainly from Fag'uta, whereas Hocart's was from Noa'tau. The discrepancies in

accounts most likely represent different historical perspectives influenced in large measure by district politics.

[56] Historique de la Station Notre Dame de Victoires 1949.

[57] Historique de la Station St. Michel 1949.

[58] Historique de la Station St. Michel 1949.

[59] The Rotuman word *faksoro* can be used either to designate a formal apology (as in Gardiner's text describing the previous war between Marạf and Riamkau in Fag'uta), or as a formal supplication, as in this context.

[60] Gardiner 1898a, 475–476.

[61] Historique de la Station Notre Dame de Victoires 1949.

[62] Gardiner 1898a, 476.

[63] Historique de la Station St. Michel 1949.

[64] Historique de la Station Notre Dame de Victoires 1949.

[65] Westbrook 1879, 6.

[66] See also Eason 1951, 58.

[67] Howard 1990.

[68] Although Westbrook's account was actually written by Julian Dana, one presumes that Westbrook knew a popular book would result, and constructed his oral narrative with a general audience in mind.

[69] Forbes 1875, 237.

[70] Boddam-Whetham 1876, 265.

[71] Wood 1978, 126–127.